

The Black Dwarf

ESTABLISHED 1817

VOLUME 14 NO. 14

FORTNIGHTLY 1/6d.

DWARF COMMENT

What can the militants in the factories achieve? The workers at Ford's gained a few more shillings a day, headed off a system of sanctions which management and government would like to impose, and reinstalled control from the floor where union officials had by-passed democratic demands.

But what else has been gained? The government's incomes policy has not been destroyed; *In Place of Strife* has not been withdrawn; and the hand-wringing, the noble appeals churned out by the press indicate that the anti-union lobby has life in it yet.

In a sense, the bourgeois pundits are right. Wage increases are regarded by the owners as an increase in costs, and are passed on as an increase in price. Which affects, as they put it, us all. Militancy in the factories, Mrs Castle suggests, achieves nothing at all — unless productivity increases in step.

To see the error in this, it is not necessary, like our kind-hearted Labour backbenchers, to come up with more facts, to lament today's prices for groceries and rent. It is necessary to step outside the bourgeois system as such; to see in whose interests the present system persists.

The economy does not operate in the interests of those bereft of stock, shares, and income from rent. The concentration of wealth in Britain today is stupendous indeed; and matches the growing concentrations of power. 5 per cent of the adult population owns 75 per cent of the private capital wealth; twenty years ago, this top 5 per cent owned only 68 per cent of such wealth. So twenty years of industrial strife, of militants believing they were harming the bosses, have availed not at all, the Ford workers lose ground to those who own the company's shares.

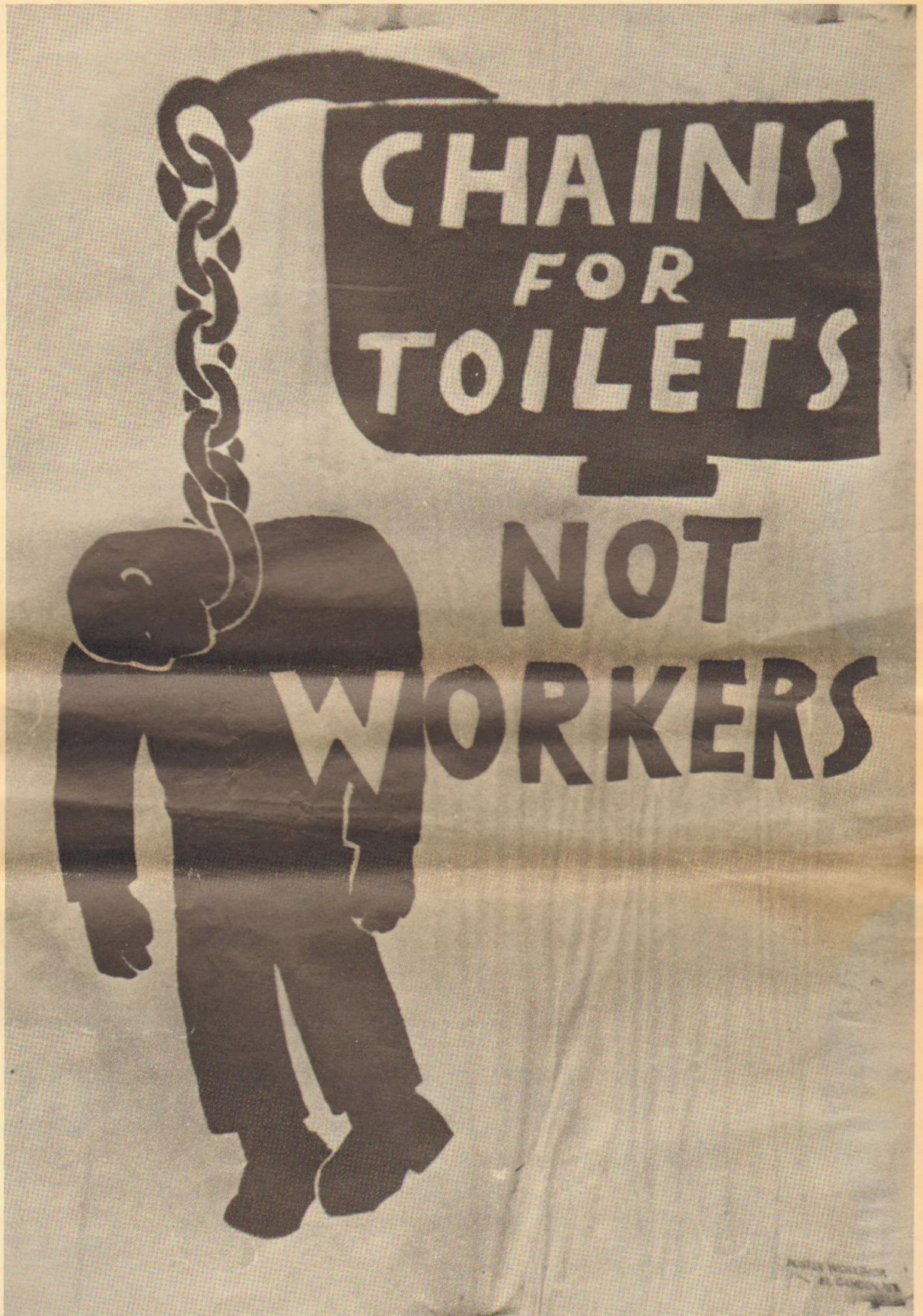
At most, industrial militancy just permits wages to keep up with prices; in times of industrial peace, the working class (and part of the middle class) swiftly lose ground.

Six Labour governments have been voted into office in the past fifty years; and have never tackled this problem. When Capitalism was thriving, they could afford to ignore it, but, now that the system veers close to collapse, they have had to react. Mrs Castle, whose rhetoric may once have swayed Labour voters at Fords, is now their most vicious opponent — a fact which has only just begun to sink home.

Without a long period of industrial peace, the government has argued, there is no hope for Great Britain. They neglect to inform us whose Britain it is — it belongs to the top 5 per cent — and they have never admitted that industrial peace is accompanied by a growing concentration of income and wealth.

The present number of *Dwarf* devotes a good deal of space to the issue of workers control. It does so, not in the belief that such control will emerge step by step in the night, that 'participation' will gradually supplant the owners themselves.

In the present situation, workers control is a utopian goal — but so is the notion that somehow the cake can be more fairly cut up, decent slices for all.



POSTER CARRIED BY FORD STRIKERS, PRODUCED BY POSTER WORKSHOP

**WORKERS CONTROL
VIETNAM S.F. STATE
MARCUSE LENIN
FORD MOTORS CHINA**

VIETNAM

Victory Is Near

In four short weeks, the house of cards has collapsed. The house, that is, built up from cards marked 'success', 'Vietcong dead', and 'areas brought under US control'.

The house had been built with some skill. In the twelve months which followed the offensive at Tet, the Americans prided themselves on a degree of success. Hostile districts had been brought back under US control; fortifications had been renewed or rebuilt; Saigon's forces were once more prepared; and in the north, not far distant from Da Nang, operation 'Taylor Common' was flushing the reds from the hills.

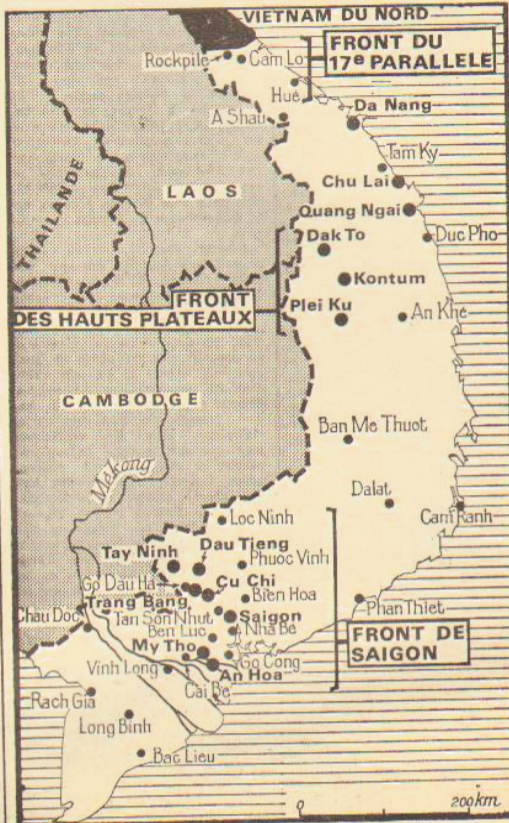
In the four days which followed February 23, the liberation forces struck two hundred coordinated blows, and, in the days that followed, the offensive widened out until no portion of the country was free from the prospect of a US defeat. Three fronts had been opened up. Around Saigon, American defences were pinned down by barrages of rockets and of mortar, while North Vietnamese troops, replete with heavy armour, advanced ever closer. The first airborne division, America's finest, was powerless to stop the infiltration, and, according to Saigon, upwards of thirty thousand troops are gathered to the city's north. Pacification was revealed once again as a myth.

In the north, 'Taylor Common' has been brought abruptly to a halt, and North Vietnamese and NLF units remain embedded in the hills. Close to the demilitarised zone, these troops have shown themselves in force, although, so defective is American intelligence, it is uncertain whether they have crossed the zone direct or have arrived by skirting round through Laos.

In the centre, North Vietnamese pressure in the region of the High Plateaux is resisted by only one American division; tanks, lorries, and artillery pieces have been seen, perhaps in preparation for a battle. Devoid of populous, historic cities, the area is nonetheless important to Saigon: it fears this turning movement, whose success would give the liberation forces control of the Laotian and Cambodian borders, and more access to the south.

If the Americans have therefore been taken by surprise, and have been deprived of all initiative again, the 1969 offensive marks no new departure in the conduct of the war. The pattern has existed at least since 1965. At that date, massive reinforcements and the extension of the bombings to the North enabled the United States to launch two strategic counter-offensives, whose import was to stave off what looked like inevitable defeat. The first, with the introduction of 180,000 US troops, began in October 1965, and continued throughout the 1965-1966 campaigning season; it was repulsed. The second counter-offensive took place in the 1966-1967 dry season; and was no less decisively thrown back. Operation such as 'Cedar Falls' and 'Junction City' either

failed to flush out guerillas, or were frustrated and thwarted.



The NLF offensive beginning on February 23 has seen a series of attacks and bombardments on numerous towns and military objectives. The Front has, however, concentrated on three important sectors: the demilitarized zone south of the 17th parallel; the High Plateaux region; and the Saigon region, including the Mekong Delta. Particularly significant is the advance on Saigon; and, according to Saigon sources, thirty thousand NLF and North Vietnamese troops are grouped in the provinces to the north of that town. The map illustrates the three fronts; the dots mark the major NLF strikes.

The consequence of two years of failure was seen in the winter-spring campaign of 1967-1968. No counter-offensive took place on the pattern of those which hitherto had annually occurred. The initiative passed wholly to the NLF. The Americans, extended through every portion of the country, received severe setbacks during Tet; and the NLF, switching operations at will from the north to the south, created threats to which the US forces could only belatedly respond. The American command

moved northward such forces as it could, relinquishing any hold on the delta; it denuded, even the garrisons of the towns, which, politically, it needed above all to secure.

The present offensive, therefore, accords with the pattern of preceding years. The Americans, too weak to bring the war to a decision, are placed in a predicament from which they cannot escape: they must either escalate further the war or accept, through the peace talks, a humiliating defeat.

On the ground, the situation is open. Three fronts have emerged: and, like Napoleon, the NLF generals have seen their opponents' weaknesses with unerring skill. Napoleon's principal victories came through means as simple to understand as they were hard to effect. He first made a great show of a threat to the flank; when his opponent, fearing that the flank would be turned, denuded the centre. Then came the Emperor's decisive assault: delivered at the centre itself.

Where the next blows of the liberation forces will fall is hard now to see. But, whether it be around Saigon, on the Plateau, or close to the 17th parallel, they are faced with the same pathetic array: of flanks already rolled back, of a centre denuded and soggy. America is about to lose its first war.



DEMO: POLICE POWER

Under four thousand demonstrators gathered shivering on March 16 at Marble Arch, before singing and sloganing their way to Trafalgar Square.

Giving the proximity of the March 30 demo, the lack of preparation, the end of University terms, and the 'deafening silence' of the Press, the small figure is understandable.

The police were taking no chances, though, and marched like school matrons at five-yard intervals on both sides of the procession.

The mood at first was jaunty and gay, with none of the tensions which marked the October demo.

Grosvenor Square can be passed over quickly. The police, in over-whelming numbers steered the march round the side of the square and no one got anywhere near the fortress-embassy. After a one minute token sit-down by ten people the procession found its way back to Oxford Street.

Oxford Street saw some well-planned delaying tactics, leading to speedy if somewhat chaotic 'Ho Ho' charges.

The junction in to Tottenham Court Road produced from everybody the almost pavlovian response: 'Occupy Centre Point'; though if they felt like that, they should have set about doing it, for no one else would.

For a short time there was a rival attraction

lies about an NLF escalation of the war. It must be realised, he said, that the US forces have dropped more tonnage of bombs of every kind in the last six months than they did in the whole of last year.

He urged: "Our politics must not be reduced merely to demonstrating for others abroad. The best way we can help the Vietnamese people is to open a front in this country itself."

An ex-student from Berkeley gave a very graphic account of the situation in the States.

"Many soldiers were and are very unhappy about the war. They had no option about being drafted and must be distinguished from the police who did at least choose their job.

"Always when the casualty figures are given, they say something like, '28 American soldiers died yesterday but before they did, they took with them 2,540 Communists'. Notice that casualties on the US side are always by nationality while those of their enemy are always by ideology. If they were to say 'Vietnamese casualties', then it would be inescapable that they are killing Vietnamese in Vietnam and the aggression would be plain to all.

"We have done a lot of work in Army Bases by sending in students to talk and girls also. You've no idea how easily a discussion can start that way.

"We in California started a paper for the

demo of 3,000 G.I.s in Saigon."

After the speeches and a collection, the march, headed for a time by a group of Anarchists moved down Whitehall to the Embankment.

The leaders stopped almost by accident on the steps of the Ministry of Defence, where they hoped to break up the demonstration peacefully after an attempt at the "International".

Demonstrators lined the steps and for once the police seemed to be caught on the hop. Some small scuffles broke out and though many thought the Anarchists were at it again, do not wish to malign them because they were very likely plain-clothes cops.

However it was all the police needed. They began to edge onto the steps and to push people from them. This caused some anger.

Soon they were reinforced on the steps, and then suddenly they leapt on to the crowd below and started a rare old punch-up.

Meanwhile cop-coaches had moved into position on either side of the building, blocking off the road. A strong force advanced up the only other escape route.

They began a squeezing operation which was not too difficult now because they were out-numbered the marchers. They gradually split them into three separate groups.

As a show of power it was very impressive

In 1966, Barry Richman, an American expert on industry and management, visited China. A report on his findings and impressions was published from which the Dwarf reprints these excerpts.

The Chinese do not seem nearly as concerned as the Soviets about economic inefficiency at the factory level resulting from state planning and resource allocation problems. For the Chinese enterprise is not viewed as a purely economic unit where economic performance clearly takes priority. In fact, Chinese factories seem to pursue objectives pertaining to politics, education, and welfare as well as economic results. . . .

The Chinese factory is a place where much political indoctrination occurs both at the individual and at the group level, with the aim of developing the pure Communist man as conceived by Mao. It is a place where illiterate workers learn how to read and write, and where employees can and do improve their work skills and develop new ones through education and training. It is a place where housing, schools, recreational facilities, roads, shops, and offices are often constructed or remodelled by factory employees. It is also a place from which employees go out into the fields and help the peasants with their harvesting.

Hence, if supplies do not arrive according to the plan, Chinese factory workers generally do not remain idle or unproductive — at least, by the regime's standards. In factories I visited where this type of situation arose, workers undertook some education or training during the period of delay in order to improve their skills; or they studied and discussed Chairman Mao's work; or, as was the case at the Tientsin Shoe and Wuhan Diesel Engine factories, they undertook various construction and modernization activities; or they worked on developing new or improved processes and products.

This type of activity makes more sense than meets the eye in a country where illiteracy has been widespread, the level of industrial skill generally low, and factory housing and other welfare facilities sparse and inadequate. The benefits of political indoctrination seem more questionable, but even this activity seems to have a favorable motivating impact which is difficult for the capitalist Western mind to grasp fully. . . .

In order for a Western mind to make sense out of some of the more surprising and strange things going on in Chinese factories, one must be aware of two pure Communist ideological tenets which the regime takes seriously and has gone a long way in implementing: (1) the abolition of classes, class distinctions, and elites; and (2) the abolition of distinctions between mental and physical labor.

In the Soviet Union upper-level industrial enterprise managers have long been paid substantially more than workers, generally live significantly better with favored housing and an allocated car, and have become a type of elite. In fact they are recognized as an integral part of the Soviet intelligentsia because of their special knowledge, skills, abilities, and/or education. Not so in Red China. The Chinese regime realizes that one sure way to breed class distinctions or elites is to pay managers substantially more than workers and provide them with substantially better living conditions. Hence when great stress is placed on pure ideology in practice, one can expect a narrowing of such gaps between managers and workers. There are indications that this is happening today. Thus:

At the 38 Chinese industrial enterprises I visited, the director alone is the top paid employee at only 3, while he shares the top pay slot with the party secretary, experts, and/or workers at 12 others.

At 2 of the enterprises, the party secretary alone gets top pay, and at 12 others he shares this slot with other personnel.

Vice directors, department heads, and engineers are the highest paid at 12 factories, and share this position at 7 others.

Workers are the highest paid employees at 8 factories — mostly fairly small ones — and share this slot at 2 others.

At some of the enterprises I was told that recently the directors and other key managerial and technical personnel had "voluntarily" asked for and received cuts in salary to put them more in line with the workers. This happened at the Wuhan Iron and Steel Corporation, Wuhan Heavy Machinery factory, and Loyang Tractor factory. The director of the Nanking Chemical Fertilizer factory claimed that he had refused a salary increase. At most factories the ratio between directors' incomes and the average factory pay was less than 2 to 1; the highest ratio I found was about 3 to 1. . . .

At Chinese enterprises there also seem to be no really very substantial differences in the housing conditions of managers, or workers. At the Nanking Chemical fertilizer, Wuhan Iron and Steel Corporation, and Peking Cotton Textile No. 3 enterprises I spent quite a bit of time inspecting the factory housing. Top managers, lower-level managers, engineers

and better furnished flats, and this could be some type of incentive.

All personnel eat together in the same canteen during working hours. Even though the larger factories have cars (some of them old U.S. models), top managers, key experts, and party officials claim that they walk, ride bikes, or take the bus to work. I was told that cars are only for official use or emergencies, and are used by all personnel. One can tell usually very little from dress or personal appearances in Chinese enterprises. Most personnel at all levels generally wear the conventional blue suits with caps — even the women. (In fact, it is usually difficult to tell the women from the men!). . . .

CHINA

Dumplings in the kitchen

Worker participation in management in Chinese factories takes the form of committees, meetings, suggestions, and elections. Some Chinese managers interviewed admitted that in the past — apparently during the Great Leap Forward period — workers spent too much on-the-job time in meetings, and now most of these meetings are held "voluntarily" after hours.

The major formal on-the-job meeting of workers is generally held monthly or quarterly to discuss the enterprise plan and performance. At most factories only a committee of worker representatives elected by the various sections, shops, and departments participate. The worker representative committees can and apparently do exert considerable influence at times, even to the point of reversing managerial decisions. For example, at the Canton Electrical Appliance factory some managers wanted to buy a new machine; the workers made them reverse the decision, and the factory rebuilt an old machine at a fraction of the cost. This, I was told, is in line with the state policies of self-sufficiency and innovation.

Much time is spent in after-work meetings (and I did unexpectedly drop in on some when I stayed late at various factories). The workers discuss how to improve performance and their own skills, and of course they talk much about politics and ideology. They also vote on who should get what size bonus, as well as on which members of their group should be elected to lead during the period. . . .

Apparently, the Chinese regime is not yet willing to have the workers play major management roles at their enterprises. If they did, chaos would surely result. It is significant that at the majority of factories I found no workers on the enterprise party committees, and at the other factories workers did not make up more than about 10% of the committee membership.

As for the factory trade union committee, it is supposed to play a major role in motivating and organizing worker participation, but here again the party clearly plays the dominant role. In fact, the trade union in Soviet enterprises, although not very strong, seems to be significantly more influential and important than in China.

Yet elections and worker participation in general do seem to have some favorable impacts at Chinese factories. They give the workers a sense of identification, loyalty, belonging, and commitment to their enterprises. They also keep managers on their toes, since they must at least listen to the workers; also, the latter can and do evaluate the managers and point out what they view as deficiencies in administrative performance. The workers still earn bonuses for favourable economic results, and if their bonuses are lost because of poor management, their voices are probably not silent. Perhaps more important to the regime is that worker participation results in a form of bottom-up control not only over economic performance, but also over the proper interpretation of state policy and ideologically correct behavior.

During my first visit to a Chinese factory . . . I was introduced to the director who was cooking dumplings in the kitchen. He was doing one of his two days a week of physical labour. I soon learned that all enterprise directors, vice directors, party secretaries, and trade union leaders spend from one to two days each week in physical labour. So when I later saw the director of the Tientsin Watch factory cleaning up a shop, and a vice director of Shanghai Steel No. 3 working on a machine, I was no longer shocked. In fact, managers, experts, and key Reds of organizations above the enterprise also come to plants each week to engage in physical labor. For example, when I was at the Shanghai Truck factory, there were three managers from the Shanghai Bureau of Transportation and Construction

manual labor each week working out technical or managerial problems through the physical process of writing.

Management participation in labour at Chinese factories appears to have some favourable effects. It seems to create a type of cohesive team spirit, and to enable managers to observe and keep in close touch with concrete operating conditions and problems in their enterprises. But where experts — in a country that has a critical shortage of experts — are forced to spend as much as two days each week in physical labour, may not the disadvantages outweigh the advantages, especially in terms of economic performance? . . .

instructions; also, managers are often seen going directly to workers, and personnel from different shops and departments can be seen communicating and interacting directly with one another and under-taking joint decisions and tasks. Reds play the role of experts, experts play the role of Reds, workers train each other, managers train and help each other, and so forth. In numerous cases "leading workers" float around doing all types of jobs, from working on different machines and technical problems to innovating and giving advice and even orders. (In fact, on several occasions workers popped uninvited into my discussions with managers and made themselves at home.) In any random group of factory employees, it is indeed often difficult to tell who's who.

Such disregard for the division of labour, work specialization, and formal relationships can and often does lead to considerable confusion, unproductive time, and general inefficiency. However, this great stress on informal organization also makes more sense than meets the eye in a country that does not have nearly enough skilled people or experts to meet its minimum needs.

When relatively few employees are highly skilled, the pooling of know-how, the sharing of information, mutual aid, and cooperation may frequently lead to net gains in productivity and efficiency over time. In addition, such activities often seem to promote trust, cohesiveness, harmony, unity of purpose, and, perhaps, better information for decision making at all levels. However, if Chinese industry is to progress substantially, and hence become more complex, it appears that more stress must be placed on formal organization.

SQUATTERS

Recent Developments

Since the roof occupation of luxury flats in Wanstead before Christmas, the squatters movement has been spreading fast. There were token occupations on December 21 in Leyton and Notting Hill. Squatters moved into an empty vicarage in Capworth Street, Leyton, and stayed there for twenty four hours. In Notting Hill they were in occupation for five hours.

The next stage was the permanent occupation of empty property by the homeless families themselves, supported by squatters groups. The Ilford squat has held out for several weeks and the squatters have won an important victory in the courts. In Notting Hill, too, Maggy O'Shannon, who had been living in a basement with two children while sewage leaked through from a lavatory, picked up her belongings and moved across the road into an empty house. She was soon joined by the Matthews family, who left their room into which water leaked from the ceiling. Again, the court decision went in their favour.

On March 15, Notting Hill squatters moved two families into a house in Artesian Road which had been empty for nine years. On one floor, there is a couple who have just been evicted from the room in which they were living; and another, a man whose wife and child are in a hostel for the homeless.

The crucial, recent development is the spontaneous squat. People are taking up the idea and thinking to themselves: if they can do it why not us? The squatters movement is reaching a new stage and people are just moving in. In Stoke Newington a young couple in their twenties have moved into 85 Prince George Road. They were burned out of their furnished flat a month ago, and their baby was two weeks in hospital suffering from suffocation. They contacted North London squatters for advice and support after taking action themselves.

Similarly, a young couple, Elaine and Dave, had squatted in a house in Adelaide Road, Leyton, for a week before they could contact Leyton squatters. They had seen the vicarage occupation on television, but did not know how to get in touch with the squatters. The main force of Leyton Squatters were helping out with the Ilford occupation and were not around. Elaine and Dave knew the house was empty, because Elaine's sister Pat Worth and her husband Harry live next door. The previous tenant did a moonlight flit before Christmas. Pat and Elaine contacted the agent about renting the house but got non-committal answers. It was impossible for them to stay with Pat and Harry Worth because their house is council property. They were offered accommodation but separately in a homeless hostel, in true poor law style. Elaine was far gone in pregnancy and that's no time to be either split up or homeless. In desperation, they simply moved next door. They bolted the doors and fastened the windows and waited. First the builders came. They told them they'd have to get out. Dave and Elaine sat tight. By this time, members of Leyton Squatters were on the

later Elaine was rushed off to hospital and delivered her first baby. Dave is still in the house and determined to stick it out. Leyton squatters are bringing charges against the builders.

There are dangers in the progress of the squatters movement. It could bite off more than it can chew and find that people are suffering as a result; or it could turn into merely a charitable affair. Fortunately, the way things are being handled at the moment, there is no danger of this. When people take up the idea, get on with it, and then contact the groups who have had the experience of other squats, it becomes a political action in the proper sense of the word. When you squat, you redefine all the cockeyed priorities of a society in which whoever has most comes first and gets most again. More than this, you do something which even the mass media cannot distort. The action in itself says what is wrong with an unequal class society.

In the 1940's, a judge denounced the squatters as a "bunch of ignorant busybodies going about making confusion". Well, here we are again:

IGNORANT . . .

because we don't believe in the law of the judges and the privileged class

BUSBODIES . . .

because we care what happens to other people

MAKING CONFUSION . . .

as much confusion as we can because we know that that is the only way to get things changed

If you want to work with existing squatting groups or form your own, contact the Dwarf and we will put you in touch. Please send us information about what is going on, so that news can get out to other people

Late News: Edinburgh has a housing waiting list of 6,000. The corporation owns a large number of properties which it is renting out at between seven and nine pounds a week — which excludes anyone who would normally get a council house. On March 17, the Edinburgh Squatters occupied one of these flats, which has been partially empty since 1965. This was a token occupation lasting six hours in solidarity with the London Squatters. They hope to install a family as the next stage of the campaign — which will be in about a month. There are important legal implications in the Edinburgh squat. Police evicted the squatters and are trying to bring charges against them. There is a law of 1865 which makes lodging in private property illegal.

Anyone interested contact Tom Woolley, 14 Preston St, Edinburgh 8, Tel: 031-667-7241.

Late News: London. Squatters in Drury Lane have been in occupation for three weeks. They are in a large building empty for two years, and due for demolition in 1973. They are busy cleaning it up and organising washing facilities. They intend to adapt it into an arts centre and home for unmarried mothers. They pay money each week to do this. Each floor has a

STRIKE

As industry slowly changes itself and its methods, so the means of struggle against the employers must change. In the old days the workers came out and that was that: production was at a standstill until they came back. But in the new technological age, production can often be kept going by a handful of managers, many of whom have worked their way up through the industry. In such situations strikes will fail.

The best example of this is the commercial television industry and its strike last summer. The point has been reached in this industry where there can be no argument about the relative tactics of walkout or occupation. Unless the workers are prepared to take over this industry and continue to run it whilst at the same time negotiating with the employers for improvement, their strikes will continue to fail.

Commercial television has high wages, high profits and low job security. It is one of the few industries in Britain where capital investment can be recouped in three years. The union ACTT has 100% shop and includes producers and directors who in an older industry would be called middle management, but who now provide some of the unions most militant members.

Last summer new contracts were awarded in secret session by the Independent Television Authority, in a vulgar scramble which must never be allowed to happen again, to three new companies Yorkshire, London Weekend and Harlech. The old contracts were shuffled around amongst the existing franchise holders. Simultaneously the previous ACTT settlement came up for negotiation and the companies dug their heels in. The new ones lacked cash and the older ones decided on a trial of strength for a variety of reasons. In the autumn of this year all television goes coloured. Apart from the big capital expenditure involved in the changeover, there is also the fact that coloured ITV will be up against not one channel but two. BBC 2 has to take some of its viewers from ITV and advertising revenue will fall.

The companies final offer was a pay rise no bigger than the Prices and Incomes norm plus the removal of the existing cost of living clause. The union responded with an attempt at a new kind of hit and run tactic: non-transmission of occasional programmes without warning. This wrecked the programme schedules and lowered advertising revenue. The employers sacked the men concerned and the union called a general strike, confident that with blank screens and no income the management would be willing to sit down and talk.

But it didn't happen. The companies using taped and filmed material went on operating the machines themselves: maintained the commercials and therefore the revenue, and kept the viewers happy. This was more than just a terrible comment on the content of British Television. It was an action by the employers of enormous significance for the future of working class struggle and tactics.

After three weeks the strike ended. The sacked workers were reinstated and a deal was made on a settlement little better than the original.

One obvious tactic for the strikers would have been to close down the transmitters themselves. But these were in the hands of the Post Office Workers Union who wouldn't cooperate. Of course in a crisis it would be a simple matter for the ITA to operate the transmitters themselves as became clear at Christmas when the Post Office workers threatened to strike.

As the *Dwarf* once proclaimed: Don't Demand: Occupy. And that is exactly what ACTT should have done: stood by the telecine and videotape machines, transmitted the programmes but not the commercials. The men would have been sacked but they should have stayed in, leaving the employers with the following course of action:-

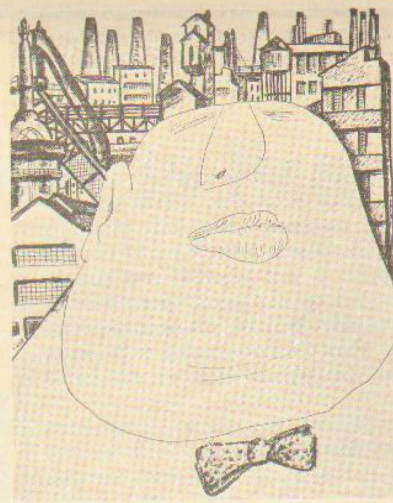
(1) They could appeal to the ITA to block the transmitters. But as it could hardly be described as a national emergency if the commercials don't appear, it seems an unlikely course.

(2) Call in the police and arrest the occupying workers for trespass. A step not lightly taken as it would mean police violence not outside the factory gates but in the middle of a great deal of delicate and expensive electronic equipment. The conflict in these new industries is that although the machinery can be run, at a pinch, by a few managers, it can also be just as easily wrecked. But even if the police were called in the best action would be to turn live cameras on them producing not only the best show of the year but also revealing testimony on employers' methods.

In any event the situations would be worker controlled for a vital period. The commercials could be replaced by a card explaining the

WORKERS CONTROL

Ramelson/Coates
Rooney/Love



LONG OVERDUE

In recent years, the largest trade union in Britain has adopted a programme which demands numerous reforms in the structure of industrial power and would greatly extend trade union control over the process of industrial decision-making. Numerous important trade union leaders, like the secretaries of the Public Employees and Foundry-workers' unions, and prominent leaders of the technical white-collar workers' associations, have spoken out for major changes, broadening and developing the workpeople's power over, and responsibility for, production. The second largest union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, has as its president a convinced and dedicated partisan of the idea of workers' control. And out from this base, the argument for workers' control has invaded the universities and reached up, in the past twelve months, to become a most important issue in the internal discussions of both the Labour and Liberal Parties.

Commitment to an extension of democratic forms of control does not imply conformity to the precepts of a pre-established political philosophy. Indeed, far from representing a monolithic creed, socialism, cooperation, and trade union democracy have always, in their most creative moments, given rise to a great range of ideas. Sometimes it appears that these ideas will never cohere, that their spokesmen will never arrive at a common programme for change. Perhaps, until they discover a particular issue, or even a particular battle, around which the contenders can gather, they will continue to do more harm to themselves than to those whom they wish to oppose. But when the issue does present itself, it may suddenly engender an uncontrollable coherence and drive. At such moments, a polarisation of society will take place.

In Modern Britain, such an event is overdue. When it happens, the demand for the democratisation of economic power, and for the overthrow of industrial autocracy, will be the central concern. For socialists and radicals who mean business, workers' control has already become the strategic axis around which all other reforms and demands must revolve.

This is not to say that the campaign for workers' control has yet precipitated the kind of political movement which can make it effective. But those who support it are no longer alone. Certainly, they carry with them the spirit of the syndicalists and industrial unionists of the 'great unrest', and they owe a debt to the guildsmen and the first communities who grew out of that ferment. But they add something very new, something responding to the conditions which we are facing today — conditions of concentration of power. Economic power is more concentrated than ever before. This power is firmly established not only in the form of property rights increasingly at war with the human needs of the working population and with the rationale of production itself, but also at the political level, where it has resulted in the growth of state activity, of indicative planning, incomes policies, etc. The new complex of power, usefully described as neo-capitalism, confronts trade unions with a whole series of difficulties.

Unless they can generate an aggressive, attacking strategy, the unions will find themselves involved in a whole series of purely defensive battles. The delicate balance of bargaining power in modern industry is not fixed by any abstract standards of equity. It is an unstable equilibrium of forces. If one of the forces is weakened, the balance will tilt. At the moment it is tilting against the unions, in a most dangerous way. Against a hostile press, which is itself an integral arm of the power-structure, unions find themselves constantly under attack for 'conservatism', luddism, purblindness and greed. At the same

were served with both). All the while, industry by industry, attempts are made by blandishments, or kicks, or judicious combinations of the two, to pare back and whittle down the areas of control which local union forces have already established over management prerogatives. The motive behind all such pressures, of course, is the appreciation of the competitive weakness of British industry, and the need to cut costs accordingly. But increasing productivity can be pursued in two ways: by intimidation, or by collective understanding and commitment. The Prime Minister, before he assumed office, promised a fierce drive to implement the humane approach. If, in the event, it has never been tried, this is not a result of his inherent duplicity: the truth is, that a great increase in productivity in British industry cannot take place without a structural reform. Reforms within the structure of economic power can only result in intensified burdens upon the workpeople: simple rationalisation schemes all unwind purely within the limits of commercial rationality, which is quite incapable of seeing, leave alone taking, the long social view. To rationalise car production, in this sense, is simply to still further aggravate the insanity of our road and transport system; and similarly, commercially motivated policies in other industries not only ignore, but frequently flout, elementary human needs. The present

the scope allowed to the market in determining Yugoslav economic policy has itself greatly jeopardised factory democracy. In Cuba a new experiment appears to be beginning, which, in emphasising the primacy of moral rather than material incentives in production, and in insisting upon central planning, implies the need for democratic forms of industrial organisation. Moral incentives, indeed, must be self-generating, and cannot be imposed by exhortation.

From these experiences, one thing emerges: that planning and democracy are not separable priorities for those who wish to overcome the profit-motive, but that both must be combined in institutions which can mount a sustained attack upon the sovereignty of the market, imposing, on a wider and wider scale, the norms of welfare distribution. If Cuba can, in the midst of siege, plan to abolish rents by the end of the decade, and has already introduced not only free educational and health services, but free public telephones, student textbooks and the like, then the advanced economies have quite an extraordinary scope for development beyond the old capitalist, barbaric forms of distribution.

But although the possibilities for a real revolution in the quality of life in this-country have never been more exciting, the obstacles to such a revolution are formidable. First and most crucial among these is not the power of the financial oligarchs, nor the manipulative force of the media of communications in their hands, nor the pliability of political leaders who operate within a system designed to attenuate and overcome all suggestions for major change. The major conservative force which radicals must overcome is the fact that the present indefensible order of things is the only one in which people have ever lived, and is, for that reason, 'natural'. It is 'natural' even when it violates every principle of human nature, driving men deaf in infernal noise, stealing their sleep and alienating their families in shiftwork systems, forcing them to assume postures to which animals would never adapt, and robbing them all the time of the fundamental human characteristic, of the right to act thoughtfully, to form one's own goals consciously in association with one's fellows.

If such outrageous conditions are 'normal', and if the atmosphere in which men breathe is one of subordination, and if men must learn to make comparisons with other conditions before they can be fired by divine discontent: then there is only one place to look for such comparisons. That place is a difficult one to reach. It consists of the great, uncharted territory of human potentiality, the world in which what men have it in themselves to become is more real than the poor little things they have already been, in which the achievements of all men who ever were extend into the very fabric of the personality of any man.

The idea of workers' control is the key by use of which the artisans and clerks, the skilled but powerless technicians, the labourers and students and busmen and miners and dockers, and all the working people, can discover such a world. Once they do, all the endless succession of daily battles, of partial struggles for limited rights, of routine meetings and protests and lobbies, which marks out the life of every trade unionist, will become for all trade unionists, a line of march. Workers' control puts the goal of human brotherhood right back into every dispute about piecework. This makes men whole again, and men who know themselves can change the world.

Ken Coates

This article is adapted from the book *Can The Workers Run Industry?* (Sphere, 8/6d).

* Vladimir Mayakovsky: 'An Order to the Art Army', December 1918. Reprinted from *Art*

To work in a factory
blacken your face-with smoke
then at leisure later
to flap bleary eyelids at
other men's luxuries —
what is the good of that?
Wipe the old out of our hearts!
Enough of penny truths!
The streets our brushes
the squares our palettes.
The thousand-paged book of time
says nothing about the days of
revolution.
Futurists, dreamers, poets,
come out into the street. *

Government contains numerous eloquent persons who at one time earned an honest living by denouncing the perfidy of multi-million pound expenditure on advertising while social and educational services were grossly undernourished. The perfidy is no less because certain people have learned to live with it. The sum of commercial rationalism is the present painfully absurd situation in which, in a savagely miscalled 'welfare state', capable of astonishing feats of advanced technology, seven and a half million or more people live at or around the meagre living standards established as the norm for public relief. For such problems to be solved, the reforms must not be within, but of the power structure. Its dismantling is the prior necessity. If planning has become a crucial need, given the state of modern technique and industrial organisation, then it has also become transparently clear that none of the most basic and elementary liberal values can survive such planning upon such a scale unless it is arranged along lines which are profoundly democratic.

How planning and democracy can be reconciled is a crucial problem which has not yet been solved. Some things, however, have now been established. Experience in socialist countries shows that autocratic central planning encounters serious problems in its response to economic needs, never mind the problems of arbitrary power which it engenders in the

The topicality of the subject of Workers' Control arises from the revolutionary changes that are taking place in the technique of production. The employers, in order to achieve maximum profit return on the vast outlay of capital on new equipment, are attempting to introduce radical changes in traditional conditions of work, wages structure and manning scales of particular processes as well as drastic reductions in the total labour force.

This in turn evokes a reaction from the working class in demanding and achieving as a result of struggle the right to negotiate on matters which until fairly recently were considered outside the field of negotiations.

This is the background of the movement rapidly developing for an extension of industrial democracy — which has given rise to the slogan of Workers' Control.

Workers' Control, if there is clarity of what is meant by it and it is not interpreted literally, can be of tremendous help in mobilizing the movement in the struggle to extend the area subject to negotiation between the workers and employers, as well as in deepening the political understanding of workers of the real limits to workers' control under capitalism.

My attitude to the Workers' Control movement is that of a Marxist to any major reform. I support it, first because it satisfies an immediate need of the working class — extension of the field subject to negotiation between trade unions and employers so vital in the rapidly changing mode of production; and second, because in the course of struggle to achieve this reform, the working class learns from experience the serious limitations to its attainment under capitalism. The inherent alienation of the worker in the field of production in a class-divided society becomes a

living experience, and consequently numbers of them begin to reach the political conclusion that society itself needs to be changed.

The method of extending the workers' right in determining the environment in which they work is only through struggle; and not, in my view, through representation on management boards.

Any advances that have been made in this field — and there have been considerable ones — have been achieved through the traditional mode of struggle by confrontation of the workers represented by their trade unions and the employers, and this readiness to use their ultimate weapon — withdrawal of labour.

All demands which strengthen the workers' bargaining position advance the cause of Workers' Control. That is why the campaign to 'open the books' — to provide the trade unions with maximum information — is an important demand in the campaign for Workers' Control.

But the most important campaign of all — absolutely vital if the present level of industrial democracy is to be retained let alone any advances made — is to defeat the Government's plans to cripple the trade unions outlined in *In Place of Strife*.

The means of fighting to advance Workers' Control is struggle to encroach on managerial functions. The vehicle to conduct this struggle is the workers' organisation at work — the trade unions.

What confuses the debate is the illusion created by some that Workers' Control over the whole field of production is possible under capitalism, or alternatively, that it is possible to develop it to a stage when production for profit becomes impossible and thus the capitalist economy, through the struggle for Workers' Control, is brought to the brink of, if not

FULL CONTROL?

actually to, revolution.

This, in my opinion, is very harmful from every point of view.

It creates the illusion that there is a short cut to socialism; that it is possible to by-pass the building of a revolutionary political party capable of mobilizing the mass of the workers as well as other strata of the population for the seizure and transformation of the state as the only means of building socialism.

It is a harping back to anarcho-syndicalist ideas proven, half a century ago, to be an immature, unscientific and hopeless ideology for the transformation of society. The idealism and revolutionary intentions of its advocates are irrelevant.

It is also harmful because, in its presentation, the emphasis is on the ultimate aim and very vague on the immediate, essential, and attainable objectives. This takes the form of playing down the role of trade unions as the major vehicle for advance.

The discussion is further confused by not making the distinction between what is possible before the working class seize political power and after.

Once a socialist state is established, Workers' Control becomes not only possible but essential for the most rapid development of both the socialist structure and superstructure. But even here the manner of its coming to fruition is not

Short term and long term objectives

as simple as it is sometimes presented.

Full Workers' Control, even under socialism, is not realized only or even mainly at the place of work. Certainly, workers participate in decision-making in a whole number of fields inconceivable in a capitalist society, including the means of challenging not only management decisions but the appointment of management. But there are whole series of decisions, e.g. pricing, major investment, and the dominant factor, in determining wages, in which the worker exercises his democratic rights not in his place of work but as a citizen in influencing the overall Socialist Economic Plan.

It is important that we are aware of the limitations in a capitalist society if we are to put forward demands which are seen by workers as realistic and attainable and hence drawn into a struggle to achieve them.

That means that even within capitalism different demands aimed to extend democracy at work ought to be put forward in the nationalised industries (even though it is a capitalist state that runs the nationalised industries), the social services — e.g. education, health, housing, etc. — and in the private sector.

Bert Ramelson
A fuller and more considered statement of the author's views are to be found in the October 1968 issue of *Marxism Today*; views which are now the subject of discussion in that journal.

CRITIQUE

All things to all men

Clearly, the demand for workers' control should be at the forefront of a socialist strategy in Britain today; but unless the meaning and implication of this demand is set out with sufficient clarity, much of its force will be lost.

The Ken Coates and Tony Topham pamphlet *Participation or Control*, for instance, suggests that "workers' control exists wherever trade union practice, shop stewards' sanctions, and collective power constrain employers". In what sense, however, does this state of affairs constitute workers' control? Certainly, in capitalist society there is some degree of workers' constraint; but control would involve having actual hegemonic power over the capitalists, which, in this society, the workers now lack.

The demand for workers' control is useless unless it is specifically linked to a political strategy and hence to a revolutionary political organisation committed to breaking capitalist power. To a certain extent, Ken Coates and Tony Topham are right when they state: "The case for the positive advance of workers' control programme now is that the best form of defence is attack: that unless new positions of workers' control are won over and against property rights, the defence will, at best, produce the old stalemate of pure collective

bargaining". The essential test, then, is the strength of the attack on property rights. This involves class struggle; and it is a mistake for anyone on the left to suggest that complete workers' control can be achieved by a strategy of encroaching on the capitalists. Surely no one believes that socialists can sneak up on the ruling class with sophisticated demands. The Institute for Workers' Control needs to be explicit about this.

In the light of this analysis, it is clear that the Labour Party document on Industrial Democracy is basically reactionary. There are parts of it which can be used by socialists, but basically it is a 'heading off', not a socialist, tract. It is essentially about 'humanising' industrial relations inside the existing structure of society. Its principal and fallacious assumption lies in seeing the State as able and willing to hand over power to the workers via the established trade unions. It is, in fact, our job as socialists to emphasise that the workers will not get power until they take over the State. We need to be sharp in our criticisms of such documents.

Industrial democracy is indeed all things to all men. The more opportunist politicians, capitalists and trade union officials have realised that some of the murmurings about

'industrial democracy' may have unwelcome consequences for capitalism. They set out, therefore, to sidetrack the left. We hear Wedgwood Benn talking about a 'participating democracy' (while operating the IRC as a State merchant bank to strengthen big business); de Gaulle has used the same rhetoric since the May uprising (while repressing French socialist organisations). And the West German trade unions have been co-operating for years in a scheme of industrial relations under which a limited number of places on the boards of industrial companies are legally reserved for the trade union side. How many British trade union officials have any fundamental criticisms of the above examples of so-called 'industrial democracy'? Let us take the case of Jack Jones, the general secretary of the TGWU. Certainly he uses the language of 'industrial democracy' these days, but analysis of his words and actions shows that he only wants to reform capitalism. As he says: "When I talk about industrial democracy I mean that within a factory those who invest their lives in the business should have an acknowledged right to say which way the job should be done. I believe that the joint object of management and unions should be greater efficiency. This can only really be achieved if managements take shop floor representatives into their confidence." For those with any illusions that Jack Jones is leading workers in a struggle to take over the factories, I would recommend a reading of his speech at last year's TUC on the reactionary resolution about workers' participation.

Clearly, workers' control is too important an idea to be left in the hands of the Labour Party or trade union officials. We can only depend on them to bend the idea into the Fabian tradition. We have a continuing task of

countering this reactionary tradition with that of such socialists as Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg, and Gramsci.

Advances in the struggle for workers' control will involve at least three kinds of activity.

First, to strengthen shop stewards' organisation — in the face of opposition from the TUC and from certain trade union hierarchies. Socialists can assist shop stewards to improve their democratic rank-and-file organisations. More combine committees, industry-wide committees and national committees of shop stewards should be developed. At the same time all anti-working class industrial legislation and procedure must be smashed. The struggle here ranges from *In Place of Strife* to the engineering industry procedure of 'going to York'. (The undemocratic National Joint Negotiating Committee arrangement with Ford management should be broken.)

Second, to educate and agitate on workers' control issues. Our work in this field should be as positive and as practical as possible, so as to gain the support of workers. At the same time we need to oppose all 'workers participation' propaganda.

Third, to build a revolutionary political organisation, to develop socialist consciousness among workers and to organise for workers' control.

Alan Rooney

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the Institute for Workers Control, Nottingham, for their help in assembling these pages. Ken Coates is a director of the Institute; Bert Ramelson is Industrial Organiser for the Communist Party.

FORD MOTORS

Uneasy Peace

"The cry of 'STOP FUCKING ABOUT' could be the theme song at Ford. I once saw a new man stop work to blow his nose. While he fumbled for his handkerchief the charge hand rushed up. 'What's wrong? Has the machine

broken?' No, the man answered, 'I'm just blowing my nose. 'Well, you're not paid to blow your nose', screamed the charge hand, 'you're paid to work. Don't let me see you fucking about again'".
Ford Worker

"What is unconstitutional action? It means exactly what the government wants. It means for example that if you say you're not going to work overtime, and you know people are working seven days a week, and they've had enough, the management say it's unconstitutional action. We've found in the past that the only way to get anything done is to say

that we've had enough, that we're going to stop the job. Now, by stopping the job they immediately come and do something. But if we do this in the future — and it's the only method we've got — it's immediately called unconstitutional action and we lose all the bonuses..."
Ford Worker

The average Ford worker with a wife and child was earning £4/3/4 in 1938 for a 44 hour week. He paid no income tax. His insurance deductions were 1/2d and rent 15/7d inclusive of rates. The average Ford worker today earns £20/11/8 for the same work. Income tax swallows up £2/16/0. A further £1/3/8 goes to National Insurance and a similar

Fuel, fares and clothing prices have also soared. To get the same standard of living as he got thirty years ago, the average Ford worker would have to earn £23/10/0 for a forty hour week... All the chat about the average worker taking home a fat wage packet is a lot of wind and piss. If our wives were not working



The student strike at San Francisco State College marks a quantum leap in the history of the student movement. The tactics are new: they jump beyond the politics of confrontation. For the orgasmic decision to occupy buildings, we have substituted the long strike, at times educational, at times disruptive,

always insistent on building mass support over a long haul. Instead of acting out a defense with barricades, where we wait the inevitable retribution, we keep moving, attacking in our own time, defending ourselves when the police try to block our momentum. Instead of sealing ourselves in a building,

apart from the student body, we are outside, everywhere, among them. We can rely on the clumsiness of the trustees and the desperate incapacity of the administration to drive students and faculty into the movement, into a radical sense of who they are, what they need, who their enemies are.

Todd Gitlin

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE



Striking oil union leader G. T. Jacobs after being beaten by cops

All over America in the last few weeks students have confronted the authorities with demands for more control over the way their lives are run. Reports have come in of major actions at fifteen universities, including Montreal in Canada where ninety have been arrested, forty of them West Indians, and eight refused bail.

In many cases the strikes and sit-ins have been led by black students. Authority has acted in the way it nearly always does when asked to give up even a little of its power — with violence. Behind the benign liberal face of the college principle stands the police and behind them the army. Capitalism is painfully digging its own grave with nightsticks.



San Francisco State College students have linked up with oil workers on strike in nearby Richmond. They joined picket lines and were immediately attacked by the police. Strike leader G.T. Jacobs was himself badly beaten up (see photo) when he went to inquire about arrested pickets. Later Jacobs commented on the worker/student alliance with these words. . . . "There was a time when we in the labour movement were widely respected as the champions of the underdog. That was a profound source of power of the organised

workers. We earned the support of the community by our actions in solidarity with people getting a dirty deal from the big corporations and the establishment. But this moral authority has been seriously undermined by the smug complacency and blind narrowmindedness of the bulk of the labour movement. We are going to try and revive the old spirit of solidarity and identification with progressive social causes that characterised the historic movement of organised workers for justice and equality."



POLICE IN ACTION WITH 5-FOOT BILLYCLUBS; THE PHOTOGRAPHER (FAR RIGHT) IS ABOUT TO BE STRUCK



HERBERT THE LEFT

Herbert Marcuse at 77 is, strenuously denies it, the founder of left wing campus speech (which we reprint in version) was made recently anniversary of the New York race Guardian to an audience of Fillmore auditorium.

Let me start by pointing contradictions with which our faced. On the one hand, we all feel in our bones — that this society increasingly repressive, increasing of the human and natural capabilities to determine one's own life without others.

And we — and by this, I mean but all those who are repressed, enslaved by their jobs, by the demands required from them, all those who by the internal and external contradictions of this country — this large we is change; on the other hand, we that, in large part, this population really feel, is not politically conscious need for change. This presents, first great problem for our strategy.

The second great problem for that we are constantly faced with "What is the alternative?" "What is that is better than what we have believe that we can simply bring question by saying, "What is to destroy; afterwards we will see. We cannot for one very simple reason our goals, our values, our own to be visible already in our actions human beings who we want to be we must already strive to be beings right here and now.

And that is why we cannot sidestep question aside. We must be able in a very small way, the model one day be a human being. I see



MARCUSE SPLIT

Now, if this is the alternative, how do we transmit it, because people will look around and will say, "Show us, where is this kind of socialism?" We will say, it is perhaps, it is probably going to be built up in Cuba. It is perhaps being built up in China. It is certainly fighting in Vietnam [against] the supermonster. But they will reply "No, this isn't socialism. Socialism, as we see it, socialism is what we have in the Soviet Union. Socialism is the invasion of Czechoslovakia." Socialism, in other words, is a crime.

And how can we meet this contradiction? The two contradictions which I just outlined can be telescoped into one. Radical change without a mass base seems to be unimaginable. But the obtaining of a mass base - at least in this country - and in the foreseeable future - seems to be equally unimaginable. What are we going to do with this contradiction?

The answer seems to be easy. We have to try to get this support. We have to try to get this mass base. But here we meet the limits of democratic persuasion with which we are confronted today. Why the limits? Because a large, perhaps a decisive part of the majority, namely the working class, is to a great extent integrated into the system; and on a rather solid material basis, and not only superficially.

The second reason why we are here faced with the limits of democratic persuasion is the mere fact that the left has no adequate access to the media of mass communication.

Today, public opinion is made by the media of mass communication. If you cannot buy the equal and adequate time, if you cannot buy the equal and adequate space, how are you supposed to change public opinion, a public opinion made in this monopolistic way.

The consequence is as follows. We are, in this pseudo-democracy, faced with a majority which seems to be self-perpetuating, which seems to reproduce itself as a conservative majority immune against radical change. But the same circumstances that militate against democratic persuasion also militate against the development of a revolutionary centralized mass party, according to the traditional model. You cannot have such a party today, not only

change and obtaining change. One further thing. The contradictions of corporate capitalism are as serious as ever before; but I must immediately add that today the resources of corporate capitalism are not only strong, they are daily strengthened by the cooperation - the collusion - between the United States and the Soviet Union. What we are faced with is a temporary stabilization of the capitalist system. And in any period of temporary stabilization, the task of the left is a task of enlightenment, a task of education, a task of developing a political consciousness.

I would like to discuss under three headings the target of the strategy of the New Left, its methods and finally, its organization. First, the notion of the seizure of power. Here, the old model wouldn't do any more; the notion that in a country like the United States under the leadership of a centralized and authoritarian party, large masses concentrate on Washington, occupy the Pentagon and set up a new government, seems to be a slightly unrealistic and utopian picture. We have to envisage some kind of diffuse and dispersed disintegration of the system, in which interest, emphasis and activity is shifted to local and regional areas.

The second concept that should be re-examined is the role of the working class. And here I would like to say a few words about one of the most defamed notions today, namely the concept of the new working class. I know what can be said against it, and what has been said against it. It seems to me that the concept of the new working class simply comprehends and anticipates tendencies that are going on before our own eyes in the material process of production in capitalism: namely that more and more highly qualified salaried employees, technicians, specialists, and so on, occupy a decisive position in the material process of production. And even in orthodox Marxian terms, just in this way become members of the industrial working class. What we see, I submit to you, is an extension of the potential mass base over and beyond the traditional industrial working class to the new working classes that extend the range of the exploited.

Now this extension, which indicates a large but very diffuse and dispersed mass base, changes the relationship between the politically militant cadres of the left and the mass. What

lacking political consciousness and which will depend more than before on political guidance and direction by militant leading minorities.

A few words on the strategy of the New Left. To the degree to which the pseudo-democratic process, with the semi-monopoly of the conservative mass media, creates and constantly reproduces the same society and a largely immune majority, to that degree must political education and preparation go beyond the traditional liberalistic forms. Political activity and political education must go beyond teaching and listening, must go beyond discussion and writing. *The Left must find the adequate means of breaking the conformist and corrupted universe of political language and political behaviour. The Left must try to arouse the consciousness and conscience of the others. To break out of the language and behaviour pattern of the corrupt political universe, a pattern which is imposed on all political activity, is in almost super-human task and requires an almost super-human imagination. It requires finding a language and organising actions which are not part and parcel of the familiar political behaviour.*

In terms of the establishment and in terms of the rationality of the establishment, such behaviour would and must appear as foolish, childish and irrational; but that may very well be the token that here is the attempt, and the at least temporarily successful attempt, to go beyond, to break out of the repressive universe of the established political behaviour.

Now, last, to the organization of the New Left. I already mentioned the obsolescence of traditional forms of organization, for example, a parliamentary party. There is no party I can envisage today which would not within a very short time fall victim to the general and totalitarian political corruption which characterizes the political universe. No political party, but also no revolutionary centralism and no underground - because both are all too easy victims to the intensified and streamlined apparatus of repression.

As against these forms, what seems to be shaping up is an entirely overt organization diffused, concentrated in small groups and around local activities, small groups which are highly flexible and autonomous.

I want to add one thing here that may almost appear as heretic - no immature unification of strategy. The Left is split! The Left has always been split! Only the right, which has no ideas to fight for, is united!

Now the strength of the New Left may well reside in precisely these small contesting and

be the basic organization of libertarian socialism - namely councils of small manual and intellectual workers, soviets, if one can still use the term. I would like to call it organized spontaneity.

Let me say a few words of the alliance which I think should be discussed in the New Left. No alliance with liberals, who have taken over the job of the un-American Committee in denouncing the left, doing the job the Committee has not yet done, and I think I don't have to mention names, you know perfectly well. But instead, alliance with all those, whether bourgeois or not, who know that the enemy is on the right, and who have demonstrated this knowledge.

Let me come to the summary of the perspectives for the New Left. I believe, and this is not a confession of faith, I think this is at least to a great extent based on what you may call an analysis of the facts. I believe that the New Left today is the only hope we have. Its task is to prepare, in thought and in action, morally and politically, for the time when the aggravating conflicts of corporate capitalism dissolve its repressive cohesion and open a space where the real work for libertarian socialism can begin. The prospects for the next year, the prospects for the New Left are good if the New Left can only sustain its present activity. There are always periods of regression. No movement can progress at the same pace; sustaining our activity would already be a success.

And, a word on a friend or enemy on the left. Those who denounce the young of the New Left, those who denounce them as infantile radicals, snobbish intellectuals, and who, in denouncing them, invoke Lenin's famous pamphlet; I suggest to you that this is a historical forgery. Lenin struck out against radicals who confronted a strong revolutionary mass party. Such a revolutionary mass party does not exist today. The Communist Party has become and is becoming a party of order, as it itself called itself. In other words the shoe is today on the other foot. In the absence of a revolutionary party, these alleged infantile radicals are, I believe, the weak and confused but true historical heirs of the great socialist tradition.

You all know that their ranks are permeated with agents, with fools, with irresponsibles. But they also contain the human beings, men and women, black and white, who are sufficiently free from the aggressive and repressive inhuman needs and aspirations of the exploitative society sufficiently free from them in order to be free for the work of preparing a society

WE REQUEST YOU TO INFORM US MORE FREQUENTLY AND MORE CONCRETELY OF WHAT MEASURES YOU HAVE TAKEN TO COMBAT THE BOURGEOIS HANGMEN, WHETHER YOU HAVE SET UP WORKERS' COUNCILS AND DOMESTIC SERVANTS' COUNCILS IN THE URBAN DISTRICTS, WHETHER YOU HAVE DISARMED THE BOURGEOISIE AND ARMED THE WORKERS, WHETHER YOU HAVE SPECIFICALLY EXPROPRIATED THE FACTORIES AND PROPERTY OF THE CAPITALIST AGRARIAN ENTERPRISES IN THE SURROUNDING AREA, WHETHER YOU HAVE CANCELLED THE MORTGAGE AND TENANCY DEBTS OF THE SMALL FARMERS, WHETHER YOU HAVE DOUBLED AND TREBLED THE WAGES OF THE FARM WORKERS AND THE UNSKILLED WORKERS, WHETHER YOU HAVE CONFISCATED ALL PAPER AND PRINTING MACHINERY SO AS TO DISTRIBUTE POPULAR LEAFLETS AND NEWSPAPERS TO THE MASSES, WHETHER YOU HAVE INTRODUCED THE SIX-HOUR-DAY WITH A TWO - OR THREE-HOUR PERIOD OF WORK IN THE STATE ADMINISTRATION, WHETHER YOU HAVE FORCED THE BOURGEOISIE TO TAKE UP LESS LIVING PLACE SO AS TO BRING WORKERS INTO THE HOUSES OF THE RICH IMMEDIATELY, WHETHER YOU HAVE CONTROL OF ALL THE BANKS, WHETHER YOU HAVE TAKEN HOSTAGES FROM THE BOURGEOISIE, WHETHER YOU HAVE INTRODUCED HIGHER FOOD RATIONS FOR THE WORKERS THAN FOR THE BOURGEOISIE. HAVE YOU MOBILISED ALL THE WORKERS DOWN TO THE LAST MAN IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC AND FOR THE PROPAGATION OF IDEAS IN THE SURROUNDING VILLAGES? YOUR POSITION MUST BE SECURED THROUGH A TIRELESS IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE AND SIMILAR MEASURES ON A WIDE SCALE THROUGH THE AUTONOMOUS ACTIVITY OF THE WORKERS' SOVIETS AND OF THE SMALL FARMERS' DELEGATES. IT IS ESSENTIAL TO IMPOSE A SPECIAL TAX ON THE BOURGEOISIE IN ORDER TO GUARANTEE THE WORKERS AND FARM-WORKERS A GENUINE IMPROVEMENT IN THEIR CONDITION AT ONCE AND AT ANY PRICE. BEST GREETINGS AND WISHES FOR SUBSTANTIAL SUCCESSES. LENIN.

This telegram of Lenin's published for the first time in English, shows a magnificent insight into the mechanics of seizing power in a revolutionary moment.

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DWARF LETTERS

SHEFFIELD DEMONSTRATION

The recent VSC demonstration in Sheffield, and the arrests that ensued, led a number of readers to write to the Dwarf; many critical of the manner in which the stewards had handled the march, but others insisting that revolutionary discipline must be maintained.

It should come as no surprise to comrades to hear that the Sheffield Vietnam mobilisation culminated in 24 arrests on the usual trumped-up charges. What is surprising is the bloody ferocity of the police and the extremely heavy fines.

Despite the insistence of the Communist Party officials on a 'disciplined' and 'stewarded' march through the centre of Sheffield, many comrades decided that the only real way to show solidarity with the NLF was to fuck up the system by occupying the streets for a few hours at least. The Communist Party were appalled at this decision and attempted to shepherd the march into 'orderly' lines of six abreast. This was resisted of course, by the militants, who were determined to stop the traffic.

It must be made quite clear to those members of the YCL who supported the militants, that this is not a petty sectarian attack but a refutation of the report in the *Morning Star* which described the militants as a 'handful of troublemakers'.

If the attempt to stop the traffic for a few hours constitutes 'trouble' then we are indeed troublemakers — surely all revolutionaries must be willing to create some 'trouble' for the system we are all trying to destroy!

The militants decided that the idea of supporting the Vietnamese revolution by walking six-abreast in the gutter, and disturbing no one, was a retrograde step from the gains of previous demonstrations throughout the country and could not be contemplated.

As a result, twenty-four comrades were arrested by the Sheffield police, who in their usual tradition took particular delight in busting anyone who was left unprotected. (One girl chanting 'No police arrests' at the head of the march was later fined £10 for threatening behaviour.)

The following Monday morning, ten of the arrested comrades were tried before the equally sadistic Sheffield magistrates.

One defendant accused of kicking a constable in the shins, denied this and requested that the constable roll up his trouser leg and show the court his 'bruises'. The magistrates, with a typical sense of British justice, refused this request and fined the comrade £35.

Another comrade asked for a definition of 'Assault' before deciding how to plead. The answer was an immediate and unequivocal 'If you touch a policeman you are guilty of assault'. The comrade then pleaded 'guilty' after which he was amazed to hear that he supposedly seized a constable by the scruff of the neck and punched him in the kidneys — both of which are covered by the designation 'touching' — Fined £35.

A comrade of seventeen years old made his own personal protest by sitting down in the road. First offence — Fined £10 (Did I say 'justice'?)

Ten comrades have now been fined a total of £225. The fourteen remaining face more serious charges, and it would appear that the local magistrates, following the national pattern of awarding stiffer fines for revolutionary activity, are preparing for a field day.

These comrades desperately need financial help. The fact that this demo was outside London makes it all the more necessary to give it. The students and workers already fined, and those awaiting trial cannot afford this kind of money. We, on the other hand cannot afford to see the movement attacked in this way.

Hold a meeting and collect.
Fines after Sheffield Wilson demo 1968.
Threatening Behaviour £2 — £3
Obstruction £3

The increasing cost of Militancy!

More comrades to be tried on April 10. Be there!

Support the Fine Fund:—

Keith Bullock,
Sheffield University Soc-Soc,
164 Tom Lane, Sheffield,
S10 3PG.

This was not a case of police provocation, because that entails arresting someone only when he has actually transgressed the law. No. This was indiscriminate in what proved to be successful attempts to grab anyone within reach until the numbers arrested had satisfied Moloch's appetite for justice.

And who is helping them? The stewards have gone clean out of their minds. They abuse and pull and hit just like the police. Surely they are plain-clothes cops, not stewards?

Too often, tragically, no.

We are still 12 abreast. Suddenly the police charge between the ranks. I clasp the flag to prevent it being trodden beneath steel-tipped boots. I cannot even move while a camera clicks thrice in my face.

Then excruciating pain. A boot from behind has kicked me in the balls. Utterly deliberate and carefully aimed.

I turned and saw five fuzzi, no possibility of getting the offending number. All around there is struggle. A plain clothes man seizes me and a policeman joins him.

I'm copped. What in hell have I done?

Three poor bastards are pulled across the road by their hair and another has his head hit against a wall. "Disgusting, disgusting!" I chant.

"You shut up see; you're under arrest." I continue.

Passers-by are genuinely shocked. The lost long hair is not entirely in vain. By such small tokens are the days of the bourgeoisie numbered.

We are shoved into that bus. A policeman yells with relish: "We'll show you; this is Sheffield; we aren't those bobbies down in London."

It was not until I was in the police cell that I learnt of the agreement which not only the CP but other organisations, had made with the police about marching six abreast.

Whatever sectarian reasons the groups may have had for making this agreement, I cannot sympathise with those elements who have so little self-discipline that they flout all attempts at organisation under the plea of freedom, anti-bureaucracy, self-expression or whatever.

We do not gain either the sympathy or the respect of workers by cavorting through the streets. Most marches at this stage of comparative working-class non-consciousness are counter-productive.

Certainly, if we had been told of the agreement, before the march had begun, I am certain most people would have stuck to it. But we were told nothing; nothing that is until halfway through the march when the news came to us as an order, and when to have obeyed it would have been tactically dangerous.

This for me was the internal failure of the march. In future I hope we may be told about such arrangements though, as for myself, I shall not be going on any march for a long time, not until through hard work and much explanation to workers, it has a chance of bearing fruit. . .

(name and address withheld)

Some fundamental points have to be raised. Firstly, the behaviour of the stewards has to be condemned. They were provoked, but this does not excuse the actions of some of the stewards who acted as auxiliaries of the police.

The second point applies to some of the Revolutionaries present. They behaved as if they wanted to wreck the meeting. They have to get their priorities right. Are they more



have with him, is a part of the working-class movement. It would have been far more constructive to have listened to what he said and, if need be, heckle him on contentious points.

Julian Atkinson (VSC),
Frank Gortan (IMG),
Nottingham.

BELFAST

Dear Comrades,

I would like to clean up the vague report on the suspension of two Sixth-Formers from the Royal Belfast Academical Institution. The two comrades were not suspended because they were involved in a leafletting campaign but because in January they had walked out of a "Business Conference" organised by the Industrial Society in protest against the authoritarian manner in which the propaganda-session was handled. After this "act of great discourtesy", the pupils concerned were warned that any further breaches of the rules would lead to immediate suspension and a report being sent to the board of governors. The two comrades concerned were caught not attending morning Assembly and were automatically suspended - it would have been 'dishonourable' for the Principal to break his previous 'agreement' with them. Both comrades have now been reinstated in the school and are continuing their attack on the Establishment.

Yours fraternally,
(name and address withheld)

REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES

Dear comrades,

May I take up some of the points raised by your report in the February 28 *Black Dwarf* of the recent debate between Tony Cliff and Gerry Healey?

For such debates to be useful, there must be a readiness at least to consider common activity on points on which there is agreement, if only to provide a common touchstone by which to clarify the differences which remain. But the comrades of the Socialist Labour League, as they have always made clear, are not prepared to cooperate with groups on the left which they consider 'revisionist'. Their justification of this is provided by the allegedly anti-Marxist nature of all other left elements, and any attempt to discuss questions of strategy with them must inevitably end by concentrating on the questions to which your reporter refers. This was no doubt the reason why Cde. Cliff decided to concentrate on these questions from the beginning of the London debate. Had he done otherwise, as happened in a recent Oxford debate, a monologue alone would have ensued.

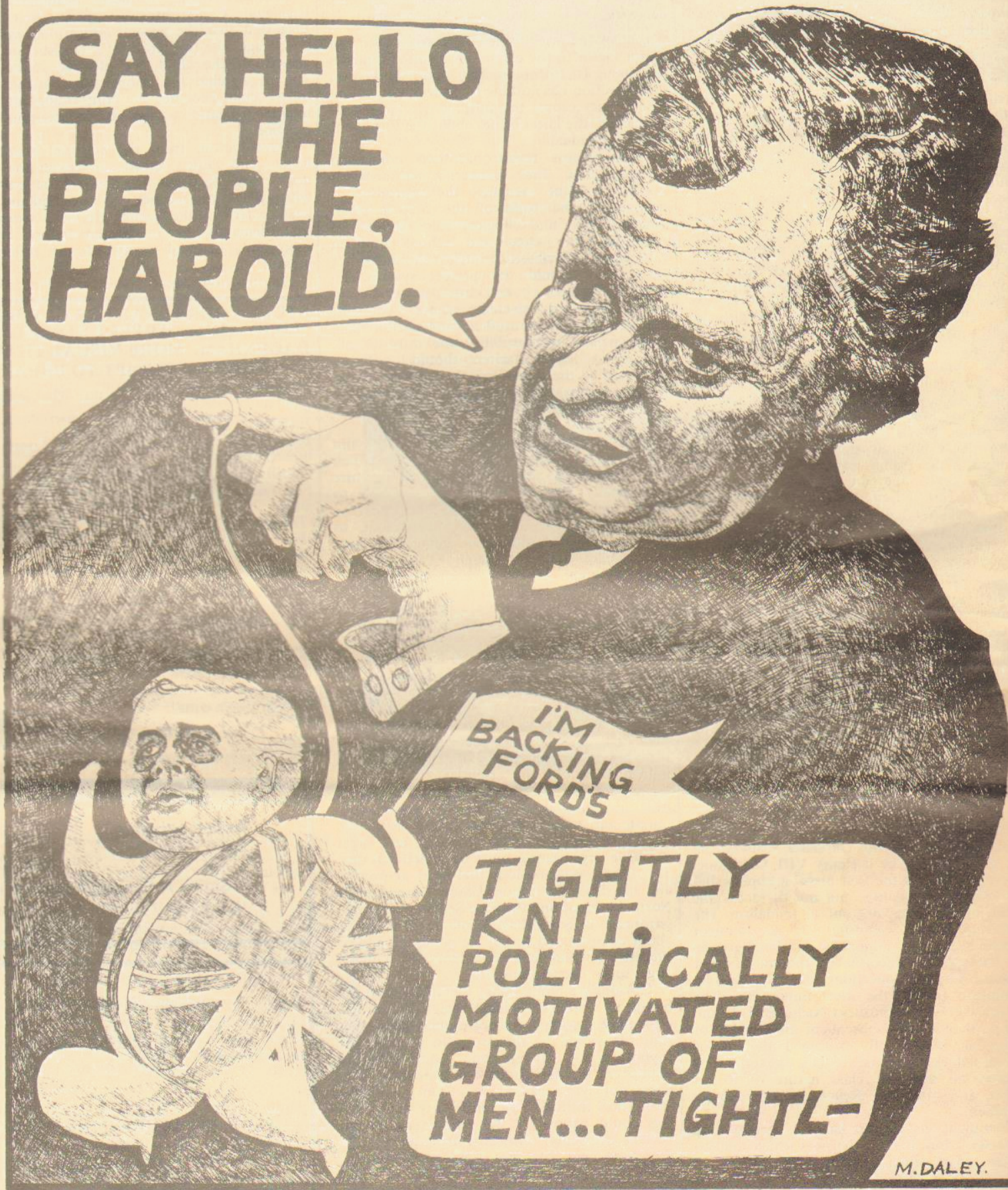
The sectarian divisions which disfigure the Marxist left today arose during a whole generation in which all revolutionaries, and especially the Trotskyists, were walled off from any contact with the workers movement by the twin bureaucracies of Social Democracy and Stalinism; they were in Victor Serge's phrase 'exiles in their own class', and exile politics are notoriously fissile. The reasons are the same in both instances: theoretical differences cannot be resolved in practice - the only way which is ultimately decisive for Marxists - and lead therefore to splits. This isolation was imposed by the hold which reformism had: a hold made possible by the changes in capitalism after the war, but which is coming now to an end. In this period, capitalism grew faster than at any other time this century, and tremendous questions had to be answered on topics like the role of arms expenditure in ensuring stability, the nature of reforms, changes in the nature of imperialism and Stalinism, and changes within the working class itself.

Whether International Socialism's answers to those questions have been correct or useful, *Dwarf* readers can decide for themselves; but that they exist is an undeniable fact, as any examination of back numbers of IS (soon to be republished in book form) or of the book of articles from *Socialist Review* can show. Whether the same claim can be made for the SLL is also a question which *Dwarf* readers should be able to answer.

But apart from this, your report's conclusion on the irrelevance of the existing groups to "building the left that the present situation makes possible and requires" must be challenged from another angle. Both IS and the SLL devote the bulk of their efforts to building an organised force of political militants in industry. To conclude with Robin Blackburn that "the time is not yet ripe for creating the revolutionary party of the British left" is to postpone this task to the revolutionary Kalends and in fact adopt a position of 'postponed spontaneism'. We reject this theory. The struggles in which many *Dwarf* readers will be engaged, in industry, in the Universities and colleges, on the estates, and in the schools, all

BRITAIN'S 'READY ACCEPTANCE' OF THE RIGHT TO STRIKE WAS CONDEMNED LAST MONTH BY JOHN DAVIES, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE CONFEDERATION OF BRITISH INDUSTRY, AS 'ANTEDILUVIAN AND RIDICULOUS BEYOND WORDS'

SAY HELLO TO THE PEOPLE, HAROLD.



M. DALEY.

IS believes that such an organisation must take the form of a single, democratically centralised revolutionary party; but even before the theoretical and organisational agreement required to this end has been actually gained, a united organisation is needed. Such a body would attract a mass of militants who cannot be reached by any of the existing organisations; when all those taking part could examine their differences in the light of a common experience, and not, as at present, in the spirit of abstract sectarianism. IS's unity proposals therefore still stand; and it is because the comrades of the SLL, or at least its leadership, reject this perspective that any debate with them must seem as sterile and irrelevant as the last Cliff-Healey debate did to your reporter.

There is one factual mistake in your report which I should like to correct. Together with others, I am quoted as defending "the IS position on the Americans in Korea". To the best of my recollection this aspect of the Korean war was not raised in the debate, as both organisations are on record as opposing US Imperialism in Korea and British

PRIORITIES

Dear Comrades,

I have returned from Berlin, where I was talking to the missions of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the NLF, on behalf of the monthly broadsheet *SYNIC*.

Both missions wanted me to pass on to members of the solidarity movement in this country their thanks for the work done, and also to tell people that if ever there are any comrades visiting Berlin (East, not West), who would like to go and talk to them, they would be only too glad to receive them, and discuss with them.

The NLF person with whom I was talking, Dinh Van Niem, the Second Secretary of their mission there, made one point that I think should be passed on. I was talking to him about the various actions in this country over the past year, especially the demonstrations last March and October, and mentioned that the main objective of the first one of them was the American Embassy while a small group tried

position of solidarity, rather than provoke clashes outside the American Embassy with British police, especially as we have no chance of succeeding in occupying the building.

I am aware that the vast majority of the people active at the present time in the solidarity movement in this country take this position anyway, but I thought it might be worth pointing out to *Dwarf* readers that the NLF is happier with the turn which our activity has taken.

Although both Dinh Van Niem and the DFL First Secretary, with whom I also spoke, emphasised that they would be very grateful for material support, particularly in the field of medical aid, they did make quite clear that their first priority was in the field of informing public opinion in this country about the continuing state of the war, the disguised American escalation in South Vietnam, and the fraudulent nature of the American position in the Paris 'peace' talks.

I would be prepared to help put anyone in contact with the two missions in Berlin who might be going there. Fraternally

SCHOOLS: RANK AND FILE

In the past six months the discontent which has always existed in Britain's schools has started to express itself coherently and actively. Whereas previously school pupils have always been isolated and powerless in their dissidence, groups designed to radicalise opinion and oppose the authorities in schools have sprung up in at least fifteen major towns. Their power must not be over-estimated: four hundred on the recent Schools Action Union demo in London is a start, not a signal for the barricades! It does show that a basis exists for a campaign which, given hard work and a sense of direction, could become as powerful as the French "Comites d'Action Lyceens".

The symptoms of the faults in our secondary schools are known to all who have suffered in them. The most obvious is the petty authoritarianism. 'Get-your-hair-cut, wear uniform (the regulation blazer from the monopolist in the High Street), play rugby (or soccer), like-it-or-else, hold-your-hand-out-and-don't-question/disobey-me-again.

Concealed by this crap is the coherent theory, that pupils should be taught to know their place in authoritarian society. Public schoolboys are taught leadership in its military quintessence, via the army cadet corps; secondary school pupils are taught their role through being talked down to, and beaten, by the 'higher beings', the teachers; and girls are taught to be submissive and efficient.

Pupils are rarely granted any responsibility in the administration of schools, because, if they were to have responsibility in the running of their lives, they would have booted out the ruling class long ago. The prefect system? In most schools these overseers are chosen by the head master (another way in which he represents the ruling class). Prefects are the future foremen: they are given petty privileges, and the right to punish, which sets them off from the rest of their society. All this conditions the schoolkid to the conditions he will find when he leaves school.

Another aspect of authoritarianism, no less sinister for being more blatant, is compulsory religion in schools. The only meeting of the school *en masse* is the morning's conformity class, where the authorities, like their counterparts the bourgeoisie, propound the Great Lie: they are however, doubly hypocritical, often disbelievers themselves, forcing God on pupils who, in most cases, don't believe either. But it encourages submissiveness, and the acceptance of codes handed down from on high.

A more subtle form of authoritarianism exists in the examination system, which forces us to learn what they decree, and conditions opinion by channeling learning into 'safe' channels. Look for example at recent history 'A' level examinations: the emphasis is always on the 'great man' - be it Henry VIII, Gladstone, or even Lenin. In the first place, it implies that the king, a personality, and not the economic trend, brought England out of feudalism. The Gladstone/Disraeli conflict is a frequent question, but the important conflict between the Victorian bourgeoisie and proletariat never figures. In rare questions on the Russian revolution (surely the most important single historical event this century), Nicholas II, Lenin, and particularly the subsequent dictatorship of Stalin, are superficially examined: the role of the proletariat ('servile tools'), the ethics of Bolshevism, and the class nature of Russia before and after the Revolution, are always excluded.

Examinations set up barriers between the 'successes' and 'failures, barriers which tend to follow class lines; though naturally the bourgeoisie is very willing to receive into its ranks such working-class children as show sufficient intelligence to overcome class barriers installed in the schools. These pupils, set aside from their familiar working-class ideology, are easily indoctrinated with the ideals of their own technocratic efficiency and leadership.

Competitiveness is a direct result of the

examination rat-race.

Those who are to succeed in reaching the top rank of society, must be prepared to fight like hell to beat their fellows in examinations. Someone whose ethics sink to taking all the short-cuts (including, possibly, efficient cheating) to grab at the success that someone else defines for him (really, one who is prepared to fight to do as he's told) is the authorities' hero, for he will deal thus ruthlessly and unquestioningly in the world.

This striving to gain what somebody else decrees, and being judged by their standards, is

a root of the pupils' alienation. Alienation is a major factor in the classroom revolt, for pupils are seeing (if unconsciously) that examination and selection has nothing to do with education. The former causes the fulfilment of industrial efficiency, the latter brings about the fulfilment of the individual.

The schools revolt has two connected aspects. The first concerns authoritarian conditions, the second the purpose of education. The basis of the first is clear. Anachronistic and illogical rules should be removed. The cane and school uniform (abolished in civilised countries) should be got rid of, as should the prefect system. To maintain democracy and order, power should be vested in elected school councils, representative of the students and staff, making freedom and responsibility the duty of all. Naturally, representation should not be restricted to the sixth-form. Life can be just as hellish for a fourth-former; besides, such a restriction could lead to a new privileged elite, and a weaker council.

What of the purpose of education? Its aim should be to provide an environment in which the individual is encouraged to mature emotionally and intellectually, to be able to take a critical place in society. For this the pupil would choose his own curriculum, to develop in the direction he finds most worthwhile, and self-discipline and genuine interest would replace examinations as the motive for study. The so-called 'fairer' means of assessment provide no replacement at all, for they imply decisions being taken, and judgments made, by somebody else. Besides, who can, and who wants to, assess a human being? Only the capitalist class needs to sort out the brains required for its technocratic regime.

These are our grievances and proposals: what then of action? Obviously the grievances vary from school to school, so that groups inside individual schools are essential. However, the bigger the group, the less feeling there is of isolation, and the greater the capacity to initiate and undertake action, such as leafleting, demonstrations etc. The strongest and most desirable organisation must be a national one. The largest organisations that exist at present are the Schools Action Union (strongest in North London) and the Free Schools Campaign (strongest in South-East London). Discussions about co-ordinated action are going on, and, if successful, could lead to activity on a much larger scale: occupations, etc.

Obviously anyone taking a stand against the bourgeois state's educational system is, ultimately, taking a political stand against that state. It would be disastrous to alienate the support of any student who, while feeling in opposition to the educational system as such, have not yet realised the root of their frustration through a 'Revolutionary analysis' - this could happen if the schools movement became avowedly political. Furthermore, once the movement becomes political in nature, there is a likelihood of splits between different political groups which have seldom worked effectively together. Besides political youth groups exist already; it would seem pointless, at this time at least, to set up yet another one, when there is such enthusiasm and potential for fighting this issue over the schools themselves.

Gus Denson

THE HEAD, THE TEACHER, AND THE CHILD.

A meeting organised by Rank and File on March 7 in Conway Hall, London, attracted about two hundred people - teachers and school students - to discuss the topic 'The Head, the Teacher, and the Child'.

Many of the speakers were concerned to stress the interdependence of politics and education, and to deplore the consequences of this relationship in present-day society.

Michael Duane, formerly headmaster of Risinghill Comprehensive, spoke first. He suggested that the present educational system encourages the formation of a 'fascist character structure': the child, his identity stunted at school, searches for authority externally. The unfree child becomes the conforming adult - unable, because untrained, to examine his position.

Dave Picton, from the editorial board of Rank and File, urged an extension of democracy, to break the hierarchical pattern which places the teacher over the child and the headmaster over the teacher. His view, however, that demands be moderated before being submitted, irritated many of the militants present.

Among those who disagreed with Picton was

Bob Labi, from the Schools Action Union. Socialists, he said, must press for workers' control: "that is, control of education by the labour movement". The idea of isolating the schools and pressing for reform from within was unrealistic - "schools are not oases, but are part of a society which must also be changed". He opposed a programme which involved only the abolition of uniform, prefects, assembly, because it was too alluring to the middle class rebel; SAU must broaden its demands or it would degenerate into a middle class movement.

Floor speakers divided between those who felt that moderate demands were quite insufficient, and who asserted the need to align the schools with the whole labour movement; and those, principally teachers, who considered that, in order to gain educational change, it was unnecessary to launch a "headlong assault on capitalism".

Pupil action, one speaker opined, was essential. Without it, two weapons could be used against pupils who did not conform. Working class children could be expelled; middle class children blackmailed by means of his UCCA form.

STUFF YOUR PENAL UP YOUR BONUS - A PLAY CREATED AND PERFORMED BY THE AGIT-PROP STREET PLAYERS FOR THE FORD WORKERS OF DAGENHAM. MORE VISUAL THAN VERBAL, THIS EXCERPT REFERS TO FORD'S ATTEMPT TO BREAK THE STRIKE THROUGH THE COURTS.

GRABALOT: What shall we do? What shall we do?

HAROLD: Injunctions!

BARBARA: Yes! Take them to Court for breach of contract!

GRABALOT (to WORKERS): You hear that? I'm taking you to Court... and here's the judge.

(The JUDGE advances shakily, and sits on a chair with HAROLD, BARBARA and GRABALOT huddling round him. He is wearing an old mop on his head.)

JUDGE: Will the Prisoners - or - defendants step forward?

(The advance en masse.)

WORKERS (in unison): No penal clauses!

(The JUDGE falls off his chair, and his accomplices register extreme consternation.)

JUDGE (recovering): You are arraigned before Her Majesty's Court for preventing the employers at Ford's from making all the profit that they so richly deserve.

BARBARA: And, if I may say so, for holding up the nation's productivity. I just thought I'd make that point...

JUDGE: Thank you Barbara. Now then, fellows. What have you got to say?

WILDCAT WORKER (advancing and pointing his rear at the JUDGE): Kiss my arse!

JUDGE: I didn't quite catch that. What did he say?

BARBARA: He wants you to kiss his bottom, sir.

JUDGE (Leaping up): Twenty years! Off with his head! Off with his head!

GRABALOT: Wait a minute! Not so fast. We'd better be careful. There are more of them than there are of us. Look! (He points at himself and his friend.) One, two, three, four... (He points at the WORKERS) One, two, three, four... (He points at the audience)... Five, six, seven thousand, eight thousand, nine thousand...

JUDGE: Case dismissed! Case dismissed!

Adrian Mitchell
Leon Russell

on

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Bai-Ley



HOUSING

Agitprop's publicity team, composed of designers, artists, journalists, photographers, and other publicity people, was formed with the intention of providing a professionally qualified publicity service to left-wing activists.

As a first project, the group decided to try out a full-scale publicity 'package' geared to a specific political issue. A prefabricated package (consisting of posters, leaflets, stickers, handouts, etc.) would be devised - on housing. It would be adaptable to the varying needs of different factions within the overall political struggle - to squatters, tenants' organisations, GLC action committees, and so on. The political points would remain constant, but their emphasis would be altered to suit the particular needs of 'client' activists.

Thus the task was set to the team: each member was to devise, in terms appropriate to his own skills, a contribution to such a model package.

The decision to take the housing struggle as a pilot project was reached with little disagreement. Given the attention which the housing problem has aroused, it offered much scope for political education. And other advantages were immediately apparent.

The first such advantage lay in its domestic nature. Unlike Biafra and Vietnam, on which the new left has tended to concentrate its efforts, the problem was of immediate importance to the British working class. Youthful militancy would lose much of its vicariousness if it could be linked up with the struggle. John Hoyland, of Agitprop, expressed a particular concern that new left protest be made more relevant to the situation at home.

The second such advantage lay in the visible urgency of the housing problem: its ramifications were felt by almost every member of the working class (private tenants, council tenants, and homeless). It was a superb means, therefore, of illustrating the nature of capitalism - the social tragedy of housing could be easily and effectively revealed as a direct consequence of the system. Public projects and literature could be systematically drawn up to clarify the connection between the resources poured into office block building, and the housing situation; to illustrate the direct effect of a monopoly of private wealth on property speculation and its consequences for council rents, the state of private housing and the

availability of mortgages. We felt that it was of utmost importance to politicize the campaign - to increase working class awareness of the fact that all factors of the issue were, in fact, parts of the same struggle. This would work against the moral blackmail utilized by the social democratic power structure in pitting one faction against another, e.g. telling council tenants that they don't know how well off they are - that they should be grateful not to be in the clutches of private landlords; in implying that private tenants should be happy to have homes at all; in quelling protests by the homeless with the suggestion that they ought to be glad that there are welfare state hostels to care for them.

An *ad hoc* committee would coordinate the project. It would be composed, hopefully, of representatives (not necessarily in the official sense) from all or most of the different parties involved: from squatters' groups, GLC tenants' groups, private tenants' organisations, local IS groups active in housing, and so on.

Its work would centre on providing information, on familiarising working class families with the intentions, aims, and procedures of activists like squatters; on helping to organise private tenants - this could be done by leaflet, poster and sticker campaigns (two leaflets already produced) followed up by personal advice and help from a team of visiting housing campaigners recruited by the *ad hoc* committee for this purpose; arranging co-ordinated events (rallies? demonstrations? exhibitions?) with the intention of illustrating the common cause behind all the various housing movements; acting as a clearing-house for information on all aspects of housing so that various groups are not out of touch with what comrades in other fields are doing, and so that such communication between projects can be readily available. A chief feature of such an approach, it was felt, was that it should avoid left-wing jargon and the more banal sorts of sloganizing. Words like 'capitalism', 'exploitation' and 'repression' were to be avoided in the publicity material in favour of much more specific and evocative references.

Late News: leaflets and other material for Agitprop's Centre Point demonstration on March 21 was provided by the publicity team.

Janet Daley.

Research by Roger Hudson.



The Housing Problem: An Answer?

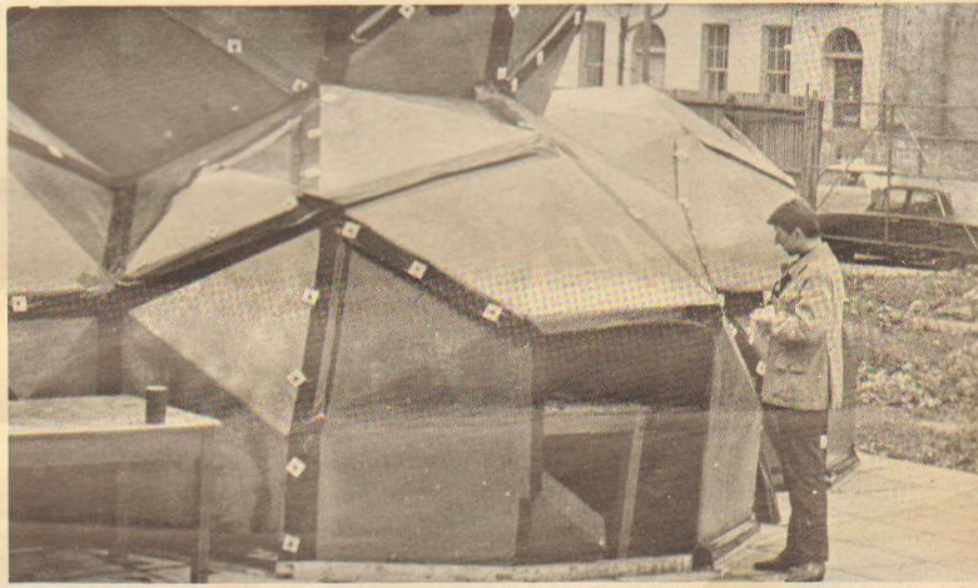
The monstrously ugly structure photographed above, is the product of a clutch of Architectural Association students. The construction is conceived to be an answer to the problem of homelessness. Shelter plans a promotion campaign with the A.A. students in the hopes of encouraging the use of the "house" as an aid to the housing shortage.

This is one more attempt by wide-eyed, technocratically obsessed social engineers to see the political dilemmas of our society as curable purely by technical innovation. The idea that genuine social progress could be achieved without fundamental changes in the power

structure of a classridden society is not only misguided but pernicious.

This reformist red-herring is an anti-ideology expressed in another form by Des Wilson Shelter: the solution to inequality in housing (and in other areas) is thought to reside in technical accommodations. The answer to homelessness is more effective mass-production. The answer to exploitation is social work. The delusion that politics is avoidable in matters of systematic oppression and injustice is causing great many well-intentioned and talented people totally to evade the genuine responsibilities of revolutionising society.

Janet Daley



CHE GUEVARA'S BOLIVIAN DIARIES, 5s post free from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St, London W11 4PZ.

RANK AND FILE: militant teachers' journal. Available quarterly from 87 Brooke Road London N16. Single copy: 1/2; 9/0 per dozen. Annual subscription: 4/8.

SMASH CAPITAL NOW. Christopher Logue poster 5/- post free from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St., London W1A 4PZ.

FLAGBAGS. Carrier bags in NLF colours. 2/- each from Wild Enterprises 20 Chalcot Road, London NW1. Proceeds to Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam.

STUDENT INTERNATIONAL: BULLETIN OF STUDENT POWER. Available from Murray Smith, 61 Fergus Drive, Glasgow NW. Price 1/3 (post inclusive). Bulk terms available.

POEMS PUBLISHED. sae., Ken Geering, D/Breakthru, Lindfield, Sussex.

Posters: *Viva Cuba* 17" x 22" ... 3/-; *Rosa Luxemburg* 17" x 22" ... 4/-; *L'Enrage* ... satirical journal of the revolutionary French students, 5/-. Castro denounces bureaucracy and sectarianism, 4/6. Culture and Socialism ... Trotsky, 3/-. All p. pd. From Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee St., London E.1.

ROMANCE/MARRIAGE: INTRODUCTIONS EVERYWHERE, ALL AGES. SEND S.A.E. FOR FREE DETAILS TO ALPHA CORRESPONDENCE AGENCY, 30 BAKER ST. LONDON W1.

ADVERTISE IN THE BLACK DWARF. CLASSIFIED RATES 6d per word business, 8d per word personal. Rate card available from David Kendall, The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St., London W1A 4PZ.

SOCIALIST WOMAN is produced by a group of socialist women of the Nottingham Socialist Women's Committee. A subscription costs 4/- for 6 issues (bi-monthly). Send to 16 Ella Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham NG2 5GW.

MOZAMBIQUE 20 minute film shot in liberated areas, for hire. 16 or 35mm. £2/10/0 or O.N.O. Pamphlet available 1/4. Write to Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, 1 Antrim Road, London NW3 or ring 01-722-9030.

SOCIALIST WORKER - THE WEEKLY PAPER THAT CAMPAIGNS FOR WORKERS' POWER. ANNUAL SUB. 30s. PAXTON WORKS, PAXTON ROAD, LONDON N17.

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DWARF DIARY

For some time, Britain has been exporting specially made nooses to a number of countries including South Africa and Nigeria. These nooses — made to careful specifications by craftsmen — are exported by a government agency. The firm that makes them, John Edgington in the Old Kent Road, has specialised in nooses for the Prison Commissions for over 200 years. All exports are done through the Crown Agents, who act on behalf of the governments concerned. One director of the company said: "We manufacture and deliver to the instructions of the Crown Agents. . . We don't export to Communist countries." Many famous nooses have left the premises of John Edgington — "We exported a lot for the Nuremberg Trials. . . The Americans used them there." Noose-making ("A very specialised art") is now only a microscopic part of the firm's business, and they have tried to get out of the job for many years. Before the break-up of the British Empire, the company used to send its nooses out for use for executions to every Crown Colony — now that most of these countries have won independence, they still do much of their shopping through the Crown Agents. A director of the company admitted: "I think it's true that our ropes are used in Nigeria". The Crown Agents' job is to buy and sell for foreign governments and to find people to fill administrative posts for these governments. They refuse to comment on their activities — "We don't normally discuss with any outsider the sort of stuff we purchase for our principals". Similarly, the Press Office refused to say whether the Crown Agents engaged in arms selling.

Properly manipulated (if you're not afraid of that word), housewives can be given the sense of identity, purpose, creativity, the self-realisation, even the sexual joy they lack — by the buying of things.

— from an interview with Ernest Dichter, head of multi-million pound motivation research firm.

With hundreds of copies of this quote to leave as a mark, a number of women from the Turnell Park Women's Liberation Group visited the Ideal Homes Exhibition at Olympia, in twos and threes, and at various times of the day. Their object was to engage as many women as possible in conversation, and with the aid of some questions worked out beforehand, to try to assess how they felt about advertising and the manipulative society they lived in, and to better explore what contradictions in this society most affect women. Sample questions were: "Why did you come here?" "Does this exhibition make you dissatisfied with your house?" "Does it make you feel good to buy something new for your house? How long does the feeling last?" "Who do you think benefits more from what you buy, you or the manufacturer?" "Do you think this exhibit is aimed specifically at women?" "If you had equal training with your husband or boyfriend, would you want to trade places with him? Do you think you could?"

This was their first attempt at direct action aimed at raising the issues of women's liberation with other women. While the sample interviewed at Olympia was admittedly biased (middle class), and the women generally complacent ("I'd rather have men open doors for me then get equal pay"), the method of approach seemed to work well and could be adapted to other situations, for instance neighbourhodd laundromats.

Arrests for political offences continue to grow: fines and prison sentences are escalating wildly. Punishment can vary from magistrate to magistrate, depending, presumably, on their political attitudes. An hilarious example of this occurred recently in the case of the LSE students who were arrested outside Bow Street police station where they had gone to inquire about their comrades who had been arrested because of those bloody gates. The charge was a simple one of obstructing the highway. The students hadn't done anything except refuse to obey a police order to move on. About half of the thirty in the dock came up against a new magistrate, Mr. Crowther, who showed a commendable sympathy with the solidarity of those accused and discharged the lot of them. But Mr. Frank Milton, the chief metropolitan magistrate, who dealt with the other fifteen, handed out fines up to £25 and bound everyone over to keep the peace.

Good news however, for all those likely to be arrested in the future. The legal aid organisation *Release*, which until now has dealt mainly with drug offences, is prepared to give its assistance to anyone who feels his civil rights are in danger. The daytime office number 229:7753, the 24 hour emergency service number is 603:8654. Like everyone else this organisation needs bread so if you feel like helping write, call or phone their office at 50A Princedale Road W.14.

Instead of a productivity bargain, why not a CONTROL BARGAIN? The first stage would be conducted by the stewards and unions themselves, in a particular firm or industry. Detailed discussion and careful preparation would be conducted, setting the goals and the minimum demands. What aspects of workers' control do we wish to advance, what areas of managerial authority do we wish to challenge and acquire for the workers, what reductions in top executive salaries do we seek and what restrictions on information do we wish to challenge? What wage structure and overall wage increase will we settle for? What research into the firm's profits, structure, links with monopolies and with the state, is needed?

— from *Productivity Bargaining and Workers' Control*, by Tony Topham, published by the Institute for Workers' Control.

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ANGRY ARTS FILM SOCIETY announces its 3rd season. April 21-22: *Le Joli Mai*. May 19-20: *The Organiser*. June 16-17: *Before the Revolution*. All shown 7.30pm at Unity Theatre. Season membership 2/6. Tickets 5/-. Information and bookings from Angry Arts Film Society, Sue Crockford, 6 Bramshill Gdns, NW5. Tel: 01-263-0613.

FREEDOM IN MOZAMBIQUE. Mondlane has been assassinated, but the fight against Portuguese colonialism continues. For information contact Polly Gaster, 1 Antrim Road, NW3. tel: 722-9030.

END OF A TACTIC? This film of the October 27th demonstration has a sound track which includes discussion on the effectiveness of mass demonstrations here. It is 16mm and lasts 16 minutes. Available from Newsreel, 10 Downside Crescent, NW3. Tel: 01-SW1-3228. They also have the Columbia Revolt, Black Panthers, Riot Control Weapons, and The Pig Film.

EVENTS

SAT MAR 29th — SUN MAR 30th: WORKERS CONTROL CONFERENCE IN SHEFFIELD. Speakers include Hugh Scanlon, Lawrence Daly, Ernie Roberts. Fee of 10/6 per delegate. Full board at Sheffield University available at £3.6.6. Enquiries or bookings to the Conference Organiser, IWC, 91 Goldsmith St, Nottingham NG1 5LT.

SAT MAR 29th: NORTHAMPTON WORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE. First meeting, offers an open debate at the following address: 118 Greenfield Avenue, Eastfield, Northampton. 8pm.

TUESDAY APRIL 1st: CAMDEN I.S. PUBLIC MEETING. Robin Blackburn on Cuba. 8pm, Grafton Arms, Prince of Wales Road, NW5.

EASTER FRIDAY April 4th: Faslane, Glasgow and Edinburgh demonstrate against Britain's nuclear policies. Newcastle anti-Vietnam War demonstration with speaker Madame Nguyen Thi Binh of NLF. Caerwent in Wales and Bristol — demonstrate against presence of NATO arms dump in Wales and British involvement in US war policies.

EASTER SATURDAY April 5th: Middlesborough, Fylingdales, and Sheffield; expose complicity of British Universities in development of Chemical and Biological Weapons. Salisbury, Porton and Southampton; expose the work done at Porton Down and the use of British developed Chemical and Biological weapons in Vietnam. Speaker at Southampton, Madame Binh.

EASTER SUNDAY April 6th: March from Alermaston to Burgfield against British nuclear policy. Ecumenical service for peace in Old Cathedral Coventry with Madame Binh taking part. Demonstration against NATO and British complicity in US war policies at Ruislip headquarters of USAF in Britain.

EASTER MONDAY April 7th: March from Hampstead Heath (Whitestone Pond) 10 a.m. to Speakers Corner 1. a.m. and Rally in Trafalgar Square 3.00 p.m. Speakers include Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, Dr Malcolm Caldwell and speaker on NATO.

DEFENCE FUND: A fund has been set up to cover defence costs for the 32 people arrested on the Zimbabwe demo outside Rhodesia House and South Agric House on January 12th. At least £200 is needed. Contributions to Anti-Apartheid, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1.

BIAFRA PROTEST CO-ORDINATION: Nigel Wright, 1 Colville Houses, Talbot Rd, London N.11. (tel: 01-727-5524), is trying to co-ordinate the existing student groups working for a cease-fire in Biafra, and to help students start new groups.

PEOPLE WANTED: A new acting group, based at Unity Theatre, 1 Goldington Road, London NW1. (EUS 8647), has formed and will be producing original plays with 'socialist intent', also Brecht, etc. They need more actors and helpers, and would welcome scripts for forthcoming productions.

TIME OUT: What's on in London — it's becoming indispensable, is available from almost all newsagents and newstands, and wants to include more information on political meetings and demos. It appears every 3 weeks and copy date is 10 days before publication. What you advertise (all free) reaches a very wide audience, so contact 70 Princedale Road, London W.11. tel: 01-229-1121/1131/1141.

SAT APRIL 12th — SUN APRIL 13th: SHE CONFERENCE (Socialists in Higher Education) in London. Contact Colin Stoneman, Old School House, Swine, Hull.

SUN APRIL 13th: 9am to 1am. POVERTY IS VIOLENCE: EXPLOITATION OF THE THIRD WORLD. Bobby Seale, Chairman Black Panthers; Helder Camara, Archbishop of Recife, Brasil; Cuban Emissary, Havana; Oginga Odinga, Kenya; etc. **FILMS, WORKSHOP, C.A.S.T., AGIT-PROP;** P.P. Arnold, Alexis Korner. **POETRY READING:** Dennis Brutus and Ricardo Luna. **DISCUSSION GROUPS:** Tony Cliff, Roy Sawh, Robin Murray, Michael Kidron, Ruth First, Bill Luckin, Obi Egbuna. Fee 15/- or advance booking 10/-. Send cheques to the Haslemere Group, 515 Liverpool Road, London. N.7.

FRIDAY APRIL 25th — SUNDAY APRIL 27th: LEFT CONVENTION at St. Pancras Town Hall, Euston Road, London NW1. Agenda: Friday 25th at 7pm: Final sessions of Specialist Commissions; Saturday 26th at 10.30am: First main Convention session Day — presentation and discussion of policy documents prepared by Subject Commissions. Sunday 27th at 11am: Sessions wholly devoted to discussion and formulation of future strategy and action. All information from Organising Committee, 11 Fitzroy Square, London W1. Registration fee for delegates and for individual participants in £1. Cheques to National Convention of the Left, at above address. Contributions towards administrative costs of the Convention will also be welcomed. Accommodation for delegates from outside London can be provided.

MAY DAY FESTIVAL: On Mayday, a Thursday, it is hoped that as many workers as possible will leave their work and join the May Day Festival in Victoria Park, Bethnal Green. Music, dancing, games and plays have already been arranged, and there will be a maypole and refreshments. There will be a procession starting from Tower Hill at 11.30, towards Victoria Park. Anybody who would like to help with food, entertainment, etc, contact John Young, 8 Union Square, N1. tel: 359-2323.

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