

The Black Dwarf

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FORTNIGHTLY 1/6d

Permanent Revolution?



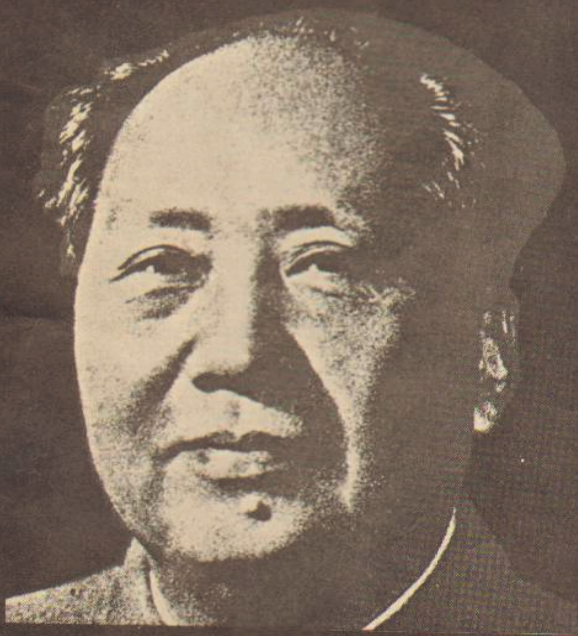
Yes



Yes



Yes



Sometimes,
but not where we're on good
terms with the national
bourgeoisie



On principle yes,
but I prefer to
forget Mexico and France



A year of the Dwarf
Mandel/Krivine/Mitchell/Halliday
Equal Rights for women

For a revolutionary journal...

The first issue of *The Black Dwarf* hit the streets exactly a year today. At that stage even our well-wishers expressed grave doubts as to our viability. There were others who sneered at us and saw us basically as a threat to the unimaginative and dull political journals they themselves were involved in producing. There were even times when we ourselves were infected by the prevailing pessimism and gloom. Despite all this we are still here and, in the circumstances, that in itself is sufficient reason for self-congratulation. This we hope will explain the incestuous character of this particular issue of the newspaper.

However it would be incorrect to say that it has been an easy job to keep the Dwarf alive and from the financial point of view alone we have to acknowledge and thank a few of our readers who came to our rescue at moments when we really needed them. In particular we would thank a reader in N. Wales who donated £1500 to us at various stages. We will repay her when the revolution comes.

It would also be dishonest to maintain that we have made no mistakes in the past. Some of these must be analysed to prevent their recurrence. But we would not accept the view that the last four or five issues of the Dwarf represent our Thermidor or that we have become a degenerated socialist journal pandering to norms of reformist journalism. Admittedly all has not been well over the last few weeks but a more accurate description of what happened would be: insularity and isolationism. What are the reasons for this?

The strength of the Dwarf — its non-sectarian attitude and the fact that it is not affiliated to any organisation is in ONE sense also its main weakness. It means that we exist in a sort of political limbo and therefore it makes it easier to make concessions to reformist journalism. A revolutionary socialist

newspaper should exist for a specific purpose; it should have a clearly defined perspective. Comrade Lenin saw such a newspaper as an organiser and indeed there is no doubt regarding the role which ISKRA played in organising Russian revolutionaries both inside and outside the Soviet Union. The Dwarf would obviously like to see a regroupment of the revolutionary left in Britain and such a regroupment would obviously exclude those who saw parliamentary activity as the only way to a socialist Britain. We would obviously like to see ourselves as the organ of a revolutionary party however embryonic it may be. At the moment this is merely a pipe dream and the transitional period (i.e. the period of increasing radicalisation and at the same time the absence of a revolutionary organisation) is an exceptionally difficult period for us. We revolutionise the ideas of large numbers of young activists but can offer them no immediate perspective except to read *The Black Dwarf* and take part in multifarious demonstrations. The same problem, though admittedly in a more limited and indirect way, faces independent, theoretical journals such as *New Left Review*. For us this problem is more practical and more immediate as organisational links would go a long way towards solving our chronic distribution problems. Problems which face almost every revolutionary journal (and some reformist ones) in a capitalist society.

Furthermore the absence of an organisation leaves the responsibility of deciding editorial policy to the editorial board which tends to get isolated, particularly if some of its members do not participate in revolutionary movements. They begin to see themselves as professional journalists. In the best reformist traditions, of course.

The Dwarf has in the past always seen itself as a vanguard paper of the revolutionary left, a large majority of which grew out of the activities of the

Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, or as a result of the May/June events in France and needless to say the rapidly developing contradictions which continue to weaken British capitalism despite the efforts of social-democracy. Our purpose should be to service the needs of these militants in the absence of a revolutionary party; to educate them; to reflect their problems and attack their weaknesses. Of course we want our circulation to increase but this must not happen (in fact it can't) at the cost of weakening our crudely aggressive, brash and optimistic political image. We should not pander to centrism in any form or shape. We are first and foremost socialist revolutionaries and our journalism is only one of the methods we use to win support for our ideas. We abhor the fake-reformist illusions of those who talk in terms of appealing to bourgeois objectivity. To paraphrase Comrade Lenin: while our socialist theory should never capitulate before spontaneity, we should at the same time learn to apply spontaneity to our socialist theory. The same fact is stressed in the birthday message we print elsewhere in this issue from Comrade Mandel.

The Black Dwarf should be audacious and yes, vulgar. It should offend bourgeois sensibilities and appeal to young workers and students. It should write about struggles elsewhere in the world and relate them to struggles in Britain. For too long have left politics in this country been tied to a dull and narrow insularity. We will change all this and our motto will be:

Knowing what we know
we hope to be
increasingly dangerous
as the years roll by

Tariq Ali



For a red black dwarf...

After a year of combat and production we are in a position to survey some of the problems of a revolutionary journal. The role of such a journal is defined on the one hand by the objective political situation in which it finds itself and in which other revolutionary groups are working, and on the other by its own abilities, its estimates of the potentialities for struggle and by its ideas about what a revolutionary journal can do.

The British left is now faced with a set of political opportunities it cannot grasp. We can see the day to day piling up of the contradictions and problems of British society in its post-imperialist decline; the traditional container of the working class, the Labour Party, though by no means dead, is at least temporarily weakened and discredited; in addition large numbers of young people have gone into forms of opposition to capitalist society which vary from the intensely political (socialist students and apprentices) to the narcotic and pseudo-religious aberrations of the contemporary underground.

The collapse of

of groups, big and small, all battling away against capitalism and each other but singularly unable to fill the political vacuum which has now been created in capitalist Britain.

The British left is the most *parochial, defensive* and divided of any in a major Capitalist nation: the task of a revolutionary journal is to change this, to turn the left into one that is *internationalist, aggressive and united*. To do this we have to fill a number of different political tasks related to agitation and propaganda; we are not a theoretical magazine, although theory is an essential part of the revolutionary practice, and yet like a theoretical magazine we are trying to convey the information and the concepts needed by revolutionaries.

Our most obvious problem is that we are not the organ of a party or group. This has a technical side to it: people do not automatically give us information for publication and we have no ready-made way of distributing the magazine once we have got it out. It is also a political problem — we can state our policy on issues and urge revolutionaries to

want to be collared by an existing group, and there are many people within existing groups who are not satisfied with the productions of their own organisations. We cannot abolish the divisions of the British left nor can we call on mass support; but we can get a readership that transcends the political divisions of existing groups, and which is a forum where comrades from different affiliations can write. Every political organisation needs a publication; but every publication does not need a political organisation.

As a non-affiliated revolutionary journal we have four essential tasks: information, demystification, fantasy, and policy. Information on revolutionary action in Britain and abroad is sorely lacking and what is needed is both feature-length pieces on student, guerrilla and workers' struggles and short items of news. This kind of information is important in several ways: one is that a group of student militants or squatters will benefit by learning of the experiences and activities of groups elsewhere; another is that a constant illustration of the worldwide nature of the revolutionary movement

demystification is important for propaganda work. Lenin in *What is To Be Done?* insisted on the LSE Directors (issue no. 13) and of the truth about strikes (no. 12) are precisely the kind of material revolutionaries can use to combat the picture put out by the bourgeois press about students and workers.

Fantasy and policy are the two other tasks we have. The May movement in France was not only revolutionary in politics, but also in spirit. It used ideas and symbols from all revolutionary sources — Trotskyism and Maoism and Guevarism — and from movements that are normally considered as being separate from the revolutionary struggle — from Dada, and surrealism, and theories of individual liberation. The normal heavy-handed response is to write off rival political trends as deviations and to condemn movements that are not explicitly political as "petit-bourgeois" "individualist" etc. etc. What is needed is the confidence to learn from Trotsky and Mao and Ho and Che and Freud and Reich and Marx and William Blake —

movement and not to cling, defensively, to one strand in it. In addition, fantasy in the sense of enthusiasm can be contributed by a revolutionary journal. It is interesting that the slogan "Don't Demand, Occupy" on the cover of issue no. 6 was both the most condemned and the most popular thing we ever published: the traditional political groups accused us of irresponsibility and the young militants in factories and universities put it on public display. If we could come out more frequently it would be essential to publish provocative revolutionary positions on contemporary events — congratulating the Koreans on shooting down American spy planes, or giving our solidarity to guerrilla actions by Palestinian and Vietnamese which were reported with horror in the bourgeois press. Instead of the enfeebled Tribune or sectarian tone of much of the publications on the left, our job is to convey a sense of unrelenting, enthusiastic and dynamic

Palestinian revolution. These questions have been opened up on the left within the last year and we have played some part in pushing them forward. In more general terms, we are simultaneously advocating a revolutionary position and advocating policies that are within the realm of political reality. Precisely because we are not the organ of a constituted group we have been able to convey the renewed revolutionary confidence which, although it has begun to falter, has spread over the European left in the past few years.

Two other problems need some mention: style and audience. There is no existing style of revolutionary journalism which we can use. The theoretical concepts of Marxism have to be introduced, but they cannot be assumed; on the other hand a revolutionary journal that confined itself to the vocabulary and concepts of the bourgeois press would merely be an organ of liberal radicalism. The aim is to fuse Marxism with the best in the imagination of

such a development we are faced with having ourselves to overcome the twin options of turgid left-wing prose and the banalities of bourgeois sensationalism.

The problem of our audience has often been raised: we are read by students, workers, intellectuals, immigrants, and apprentices but among these different groups we are read by people who are both politicised and who are interested but not committed. We have been accused of trying to appeal to contradictory groups of people; and both of preaching to the converted and of trying too much to pander to the susceptibilities of the undecided. Taking the second question first, we are not incomprehensible or meaningless to the non-revolutionary but our prime appeal is to people who are already revolutionary and who need a journal for the political activities. This kind of audience, left-wing but not deeply committed to an existing group has only come into existence in the past four

in itself wholly incapable of overcoming what it is in revolt against. Part of our audience has got to lie there in that the mass defection of youth from bourgeois society is only partially political and the non-political forms of defection have to be converted if the revolutionary potential of this development is to be realised. The audience itself is diverse but people do not want to read just about struggles like their own; they need to see a bit about themselves but they also want to know what other militants are doing in different fields. A revolutionary movement consists of different social groups; it is for this diverse movement in its revolutionary unity that we are writing.

We have by no means resolved any or all of these problems. Our only guides are the people who read our magazine and our commitment to revolution here and abroad. The bourgeois press defends capitalism with its news and opinions; we aim to use the same weapons to

Last August we printed an issue which contained a complete text of the BBC script CAUSE FOR CONCERN which Scotland Yard had tried to suppress because it proved beyond doubt that certain policemen were racists and this came over in their dealings with black citizens in Britain's ghettos. In the same issue (B.D. 14 August 1968-back numbers available) there was a small diary item which referred to the fact that a Notting Hill Gate policeman was not very popular with the borough's black population. There was one mistake in the report. We referred to the policeman as a Sergeant whereas he was and still remains a simple Constable. We also promised readers that in subsequent issues we would further investigate the activities of the aforesaid 'Sergeant'. However in typical Dwarf style we forgot.

The strange case of P.C. Pulley

By Dwarf Crime Correspondents
(with thanks to Det. Sup. Moody and Det. Sgt. Cressy)



The name of the policeman was Frank Pulley. A few weeks ago our memory was jogged by Superintendent Moody and Det. Sgt. Cressy from Scotland Yard who visited us and told us that complaints had been lodged with them on grounds of criminal libel and that they were preparing a report for the Director of Public Prosecutions. Why they waited 9 months before proceeding with investigation is something they were not able to explain. However it gave us the opportunity to fulfil a promise made last August. We will continue with an exposure of police/black relations in Notting Hill Gate in subsequent issues. This is just a starter.

SUNDAY MIRROR BULLSHIT

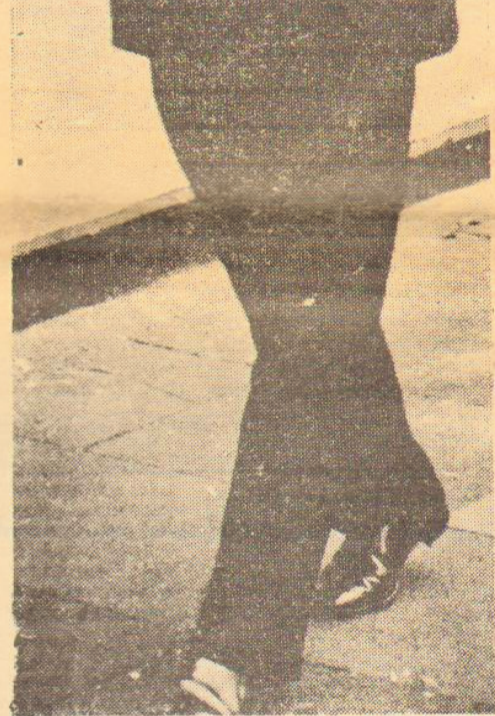
On January 5th 1969 the *Sunday Mirror* began publishing a series of articles on police and immigrants in Notting Hill Gate. They contained the usual Mirror clichés - what a good job the fuzz were doing etc. Found the necessary Uncle Tom and put a few words in his mouth. On January 12th 1969 the black citizens of Notting Hill Gate who read the rag must have pished themselves laughing. There on Page 11 was a benevolent looking PC Frank Pulley staring them in the face. Behind him was a section of a wall with a slogan, NEVER WORK, painted on it. What the intrepid Mirrorman did not photograph was a remainder of the wall which had another slogan on it: THE PROOF OF THE PULLEY LIES IN THE BEATING. It is the only slogan which has been painted over in the borough of Notting Hill. The article was full of quotes about PC Pulley presenting him as a black man's friend. PC Pulley was quoted as saying:

"By and large, even if you do arrest a West Indian - that is if you haven't pulled a fast one and 999 out of 1000 coppers don't - he won't resent it."

Notting Hill Gate must have resounded with shrieks of laughter that Sunday morning. The article and the one which followed it were part of a special report by a Gordon McGill. We suggest that the *Sunday Mirror* commission a special report on how PR jobs are done for the fuzz.

A Dwarf investigation team which is continuing its work in Notting Hill had uncovered the following facts by the time we went to press.

1. PC Pulley has over the last three years been reported on numerous occasions to his superiors. Most of the complainants have been black people and they have complained of mistreatment and fake evidence. The charges were taken sufficiently seriously to merit an investigation by Sup. Merrick, who is supposed to look after community relations. However nothing was done. WHY?
2. Situated on All Saints Road in Notting Hill Gate is a popular West Indian restaurant. The Mangrove is owned and run by blacks and its clientele is largely black as well. On a Friday night in the middle of January P.C. Pulley walked in followed by ten fuzz while another ten waited outside. He wanted to search the place. The manager asked to see the search warrant. Pulley produced a piece of paper from his pocket, flashed it in front of the manager's eyes for a second and refused to let the latter scrutinise it in order to ascertain its genuineness. Pulley and friends begin to search the place. They find nothing. They then proceed to search the customers. Again they are faced with failure. Desperate PC Pulley asks a couple of blacks who have already been searched once to step outside for another search. Several whites eating at the restaurant object and insist that the men are searched in front of witnesses. PC Pulley and gang leave. They will have to search elsewhere to notch up another success. Immediately after they left the Manager rang the Notting Hill Police Station who disclaim all knowledge of the raid. The next day, of course, they accept responsibility. A complaint is lodged with the Race Relation Board. Nothing is done. WHY?
3. One of Notting Hill Gate's black citizens works in a garage. He has refused in some way or the other to pander to P.C. Pulley. On 8th September 1968 he is arrested by Pulley who informs him that he's going to arrest him and charge him with living off



Charles Carter asks: "Who are you?". Pulley points to someone in the group and says: "He'll tell you who I am."

Apart from that he gives no indication that he's a fuzz and at that stage many of the VSC militants did not recognise him. Pulley starts pushing Charles Carter who says: "I'll move on, but there's no need to push me." At this stage he is grabbed and pushed to the ground and while two fuzz hold him down another brave one begins to punch him. Within a few minutes the place is packed with uniformed fuzz. An ambush or do the Notting Hill fuzz employ telepathy?

Charles Carter, Chris Gray, Ken Murray and Richard Bell are arrested. Carter and Bell are beaten up in the van and again at the police station. Pulley shouts at them: "As long as we have this legal system I'll lie in court for as long as I like." and at another stage, "Notting Hill's going to blow up one of these days and I'll be around."

The VSC militants are charged with assault, obstruction, etc. The trial lasts four days stretched over a period of seven months. The last day was 27th January 1969. The defendants are represented by Lord Gifford and Mrs Patricia May. The magistrate admits that the defense evidence is overwhelming. All the charges are dismissed and the defendants are granted costs and expenses. A group of white militants defended by able lawyers have got off. They are now thinking of suing Pulley and others for wrongful arrest.

HOWEVER P.C. PULLEY IS STILL THERE. THE BLACK CITIZENS OF NOTTING HILL ARE GETTING IMPATIENT. THIS IS JUST THE FIRST OF OUR REPORTS ON P.C. PULLEY. MORE HAS YET TO COME AND THEN THERE IS ALSO P.C. PRYCE. WE APPEAL TO SUPERINTENDANT PATTERSON OF THE NOTTING HILL POLICE TO ASK FOR A PUBLIC INVESTIGATION BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!

immoral earnings. The victim is happily married and has children. He is taken off to the cop shop and while in there he hears Pulley remark to an Inspector: "If the immoral earnings charge doesn't stick we'll get him for driving while disqualified." Last January the immoral earnings charge was dismissed. And now coincidence of coincidences our informant is due to come up on a charge of driving while disqualified. We shall comment on this charge after the case is over.

4. The date is 5th July 1968. About ten members of the Notting Hill Vietnam Solidarity Campaign were drinking outside Finches on the Portobello Road. At 11.15p.m. Pulley arrives in plainclothes with three others. He walks to the group and says: "Are you having a meeting or something. Move off!" One of them,

The pound may be devalued again. But our food will remain the same.

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LAB, NEW CINEMA CLUB)

Woman's rights:

EQUAL PAY NOW demonstration organised by National Joint Action Campaign Committee for Women's Equal Rights.

In the pouring rain on Sunday May 18 women from all over the country demonstrated for EQUAL PAY NOW. Women trade unionists were most strongly represented in numbers but there was also a significant number of men trade-unionists as well as revolutionary socialists — all species.

There was a march from Temple tube to Trafalgar Square. The sight of this far from typical demonstration aroused considerable interest amongst on-lookers not only because it was headed by a pipe-band but because of the predominance of women. In Trafalgar Square drenched figures stood resolutely under a canopy of umbrellas listening to the speakers, who included Agnes McLean, AEF shop steward from Glasgow, Rose Boland from Fords, Christine Page, Audrey Wise from USDAW, Ernie Roberts and Fred Blake from the AEF and NUUB were there too to extend solidarity to the women in the struggle for equal pay. AEF, USDAW, SOGAT, NUUB banners were on the plinth. The speakers stressed how half of the women employed are getting less than 5s an hour, how there are 4 million women getting less than £10 a week.

Agnes McLean made the important point for socialists on equal pay when she stated that it should not be defined as equal pay at the expense of male workers. She said "we're not asking for a share in the exploitation of the men. We are asking for it from the shareholders."

Some of the slogans women had improvised on the official NJACC placards put it more bluntly.

BARBARA GETS HERS WHY NOT US?

and

GONE IS THE VICTORIAN AGE WHEN WOMEN USED TO PLAY NOW WE'RE WORKING BLOODY HARD SO GIVE US EQUAL PAY.

A woman from the Post Office Engineers in Enfield held up

WE WANT A CHANCE TO PROVE WE CAN DO THE WORK OF ANY MAN.

"All my own work", she commented as I scribbled it down.

Pottery workers from Stoke on Trent carried **EQUAL PAY NOW WE MAKE MUGS. BUT WE ARE NOT MUGS.**

They told us it was the first demonstration they'd ever been on. They thought more women would have come but they were a bit nervous demonstrating. "You hear such funny things about what goes on at them". They'd been to conferences before. If it was possible to

get enough women involved, and the men saw they had a strong movement, they felt sure they'd stand by them. Part of the problem was that women often found it difficult to speak up at union meetings. They'd formed women's advisory groups in their lodge which met as well as general lodge meetings within the National Society of Pottery Workers. This helped women to work out their problems at work and put a case to the men in the union. Transport workers stressed the importance of the men's support and referred to the hostility of some of their men over the issue of women drivers.

Rose Greenford said they were now putting the demand of equal sick pay. For a man this is granted after he's worked for a year. Women have to wait five years. They thought they'd be able to get this through.

The odd hostile man popped up but was instantly denounced and upbraided from all sides. One scornful bespectacled man suddenly became the centre of an angry group of very small young women, who prodded him indignantly and were supported by a great mountain of a man with a red face and black beret. The bespectacled man became most embarrassed and obviously regretted having created the confrontation. "WE WORK FOR YOU. YOU LIVE OFF US" shouted the girls. His knees were visibly knocking. "Sock it to him" said a young policeman watching with delight.

A policewoman, asked whether she had equal pay, refused to comment. But two policemen said policewomen worked less hours. They did a different kind of work which couldn't be compared. Policemen should get danger money. Dwarfs offered solidarity for police demo.

Everyone I talked to felt this was only the beginning. The movement for EQUAL PAY NOW is going to get bigger, noisier and more determined. And it's not just about equal pay. You can't challenge the economic subordination of women without immediately highlighting the total secondary social position. Something is stirring.

Something which has been silent for a long time.

WHERE THE ACTION IS:

Brief guide to existing groups which have been formed in the last few months.

NATIONAL JOINT ACTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS.

Developed from women's struggle at Fords last year. It demands the 'removal of sex discrimination against women in employment, education, social and public life' and the 'inclusion of equal pay for work of equal value in all trade union agreements with employers'. Contact Serena Wadham at CAN 3982 for more information.

SOCIALIST WOMEN'S COMMITTEES.

Have been formed now in several towns. The emphasis of these groups has been very much on the issue of equal pay but this in no way implies a lack of interest in the total situation of women in capitalism. At a meeting on Sunday 18th May in London discussion ranged from equal pay to legal inequalities and the nature of the family in a socialist society. The Socialist Women's Group in Nottingham produces the journal SOCIALIST WOMAN. It has been going for a few months and has included articles on equal pay, pub sit-ins, the pill, women in Cuba.

For information about Socialist Women's Committees and Socialist Woman, contact: 16 Ella Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham NG2 5GW.

If you're in London contact Mrs Sabina Roberts, 83 Leigham Court Road, Streatham SW16. There are groups in south and west London.

RSSF WOMEN'S LIBERATION GROUP.

At the RSSF conference in Manchester the tendency for the dominance of men within capitalism to be reflected within our own

socialist organisations was raised by girl students and a discussion group held. At a meeting at Caxton Hall on May 18 it was agreed that Women's Liberation should hold a discussion at the RSSF seminar in June. Contact 59 Fleet Street, London EC4. tel: 353-5735.

IN LONDON:

An RSSF study group has just been formed — it has discussed Engels' 'The Origin of the Family' and Lenin 'On the Emancipation of Women'. Contact Val Bateson, Temple Ford Mansions, London NW11; or London RSSF Sub-Committee, c/o 2 Eleanor House, Queen Caroline Street, London W6. There are also study/discussion/action groups in Tufnell Park and Islington (Women's Liberation Workshop). Contact Hilary Rawlings, 154 Barnsbury Road, London N1.

GERMAN SDS BABY COMMUNES.

These are base groups in which both men and women comrades participate. They developed from the practical needs of militants with young children. They are rather different from children's play groups as we understand them, because they take the form of political discussion groups which also provide a means of involving local working-class parents. In both Germany and America pressure from women on the left has initiated considerable theoretical discussion.

The proliferation of groups here has been a result of their recent extremely spontaneous growth. There are differing emphases within them. At the moment there is a lot of contact between all groups, and an informal communications network.

EVENTS

JUNE 1: CINEMA ACTION FILM SHOW. Cinema Action was born out of the Ford strike. They have shown programmes at the Workers Control Conference at Sheffield, the National Union of Miners' Easter School, and are planning further showings at factories, universities, schools, community centres and clubs. Their material includes films on the movements in industries, universities and communities, both here and abroad, and also on the liberation struggles in the Third World. They are now preparing cine tracts on specific areas of conflict such as the White Paper, productivity agreements, and so on. **ON SUNDAY JUNE 1,** they will be showing films of the Chicago democratic convention, Paris May 68, and English cine tracts on the White Paper and the GLC tenants strike, at the Paris-Pullman (of Fulham Road) at 11pm. Tickets are 10/- from LUSIA FILMS, 17 Shepherd Street, W1. tel: HYD 3341.

JUNE 3: DISCUSSION MEETING: CHINA IN MAY 1969, a report from Roland Berger. 7.30pm at SACU (Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding), 24 Warren Street, London W1. (tel: 387-0074).

JUNE 14: THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND VIETNAM: In 1967 and again in 68 British trade unionists called on the British government to dissociate from American policy in Vietnam and based upon the 1954 Geneva

JUNE 14 - 17: Leicester: National Seminar on Student Struggle (see also News in Brief). Documents to be prepared. Further details, contact RSSF, 59 Fleet Street, EC4. tel: 353-5735.

JUNE 16 - 17: Angry Arts Film Society is showing "Before The Revolution", Bertolucci's subtle observation of the tensions of Italian society towards the idea of revolution, at Unity Theatre, 1 Goldington Street, London NW1. 7.30pm both evenings. Tickets 5/- or membership 2/6 from AAFS, 6 Bramshill Gdns, NW5. tel: 263-0616.

JUNE 18: THE NURSES' CONDITIONS ACTION GROUP is marching through Fleet Street to Parliament. Meet Tower Hill at 10.30am. More details from 23 Bromfield Street, London N1.

JUNE 29: Plans for a demonstration during South Africa Solidarity Week calling attention to the links between British capitalism and the fascist regimes in Southern Africa are now under way. The demonstration will be at 2.30pm. More details from Southern Africa Solidarity Committee, c/o Free Assembly, 41 Cecil Park, London N8.

OXFORD ATTACKED. From Wednesday 18th - Friday 20th June, an open conference will be in progress in Oxford University to criticise the form and content of teaching in Philosophy, History and the Social Sciences. Much work is being put into this conference by the Oxford

SMALLS!!!

The Directory of Social Change. The Radical Media Guide. 15/- each; 25/- for the two. Fifth Estate Press, 64 Muswell Hill Road, N10.

Poems published. SAE., Ken Geering, D/Breakthru, Lindfield, Sussex.

Che Guevara's Bolivian Diaries. 5s. post-free from the Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St., London W1A 4PZ.

The Mineworker — for workers' control of the mining industry on the Anti-Capitalist programme. From D. Douglass, 16 Abbeyfield Rd., Dunsroft, Doncaster, Yorkshire. 1/0 per copy.

Socialist Worker — the weekly paper that campaigns for workers' power. Annual sub. 30s. Paxton Works, Paxton Road, N17.

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

Lonely! Join the Patra Correspondence Club, friendly, private and confidential. Shares your hobbies, find new friends, both sexes, all ages, world wide. Send stamp for details Mrs. P. Gill, 66 Laburnum Road, Redcar, Teesside, England.

PATRESC (Clairvoyant) Tarot Readings by post plus Touchstone/Talisman. Details by post (no callers), s.a.c. please 66 Laburnum Road, Redcar, Teesside, England.

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.

John Peel said it, "If you want to know what is really happening, you must read Peace News", currently available on a 6 weeks trial offer for 5s. from Caledonian Road, London N1.

DIRECTORY OF ORGANISATIONS, 300 groups for 1969. 1/6 post paid from: 18, New End

Student International. Bulletin of Student Power Available from Murray Smith, 61 Fergus Drive Glasgow NW. Price 1/3 (post inclusive). Bulk term available.

Mozambique. 20 minute film shot in liberated area for hire. 16 or 35mm. £2.10.0 o.n.o. Pamphlet available, 1/4. Write to Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, 1 Antrim Road, London NW3 or rin 01-722-9030.

What's Black and White and Red All Over? Poster including postage from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St., London W1A 4PZ.

Malcolm X Poster. 4s 6d including postage from Pet Martin, 19 Fairmount Road, London SW2.

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

Viva Che Badge, 2s 6d including postage from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St., London W1A 4PZ.

N.L.F. badges 3/- each, 10 for 15/-. Red, black flag 7/6. Other badges, flags — see for details. McGee, 4 Pendarves St., Beacon, Camborne, Cornwall.

Smash Capital Now Poster. Christopher Logue Post three colours. See photo elsewhere in this Dwarf. post free from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St., London W1A 4PZ.

Societe Marxiste des Etudiants de Guadeloupe Martinique (Smegma). "A brilliant marxist analysis of a rising third world movement" (weekly bulletin English translation edited by Ivy Skin, published by The Prepuce Socialist Publishing House Ltd. Available from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St., London W1A 4PZ.

VIETNAM WILL WIN! by Wilfred Burchett

This is the seventh book by the well-known journalist who has specialised in Asian problems for the past 27 years. He has poured into this book — prepared as background for the Paris talks — an immense wealth of detail gathered in Vietnam since 1954. He lived in the NLF areas for a total of eight months and describes the

Dwarf news in brief

Palestine: Demo

The Palestine Solidarity Campaign held its first demonstration in London on Sunday, May 11th, to protest at the anniversary of the establishment of the state of Israel, May 15th 1948.

The marchers assembled at Hyde Park and then marched down Oxford St. to Trafalgar Sq. for a mass meeting. About 2,000 supporters took part in the march which was led by six Palestinians carrying the Palestinian flag and dressed in the headress of the fedayeen.

The slogans shouted were: "Free, Free Palestine"; "Down with Zionism"; "We are all freedom fighters"; "A Zionist counter-protest in Trafalgar Sq. was drowned in the shouts - and fists - of the PSC militants."

At the meeting representatives from Arab and British revolutionary organisations spoke. They included: a representative of the magazine Free Palestine, Tariq Ali of the IMG, Paul Foot of IS, Adolpho Oleachea of the Committee for Unity of the British Vietnam Solidarity Movement, Fawzi Ibrahim of London RSSF, Dave Volpe of the Association of the Friends of China, Ali Barqawi of the Palestinian Students Union, Dina Hecht of the ISRACA, Fawzi Mantoura of the Friends of Palestine, Nick Bateson and a representative of the French Comites Palestiniennes. The meeting was chaired by Fred Halliday of The Black Dwarf.

The meeting began and ended with readings of Palestinian poetry and the singing of the Internationale. The counter-claque of Zionists and Scottish nationalists who tried to disrupt the meeting had been routed. But the demo had not attracted more militants than the previous one held in February and this was in spite of a longer period to prepare. If the PSC is to get going and to attract larger numbers of British and Arab comrades it has to do more preparation for demonstrations and distribute more information about the Palestinian issue.

The British left is swinging from a sympathy for Israel to solidarity with the Palestinian revolution; the Arab militants are moving from traditional nationalist positions to national-revolutionary ones. These two processes must combine to form a militant and mutually radicalising movement.

THE R.A.F. GREAT COAT AND THE REVOLUTION

An RAF great coat caused a row at Owens School Islington recently. It was worn by an SAU militant in the sixth form. Regulations are "one overcoat of conventional style". A language teacher there evidently decided it wasn't conventional enough. He began to tell the schools action comrade exactly what he thought of his coat himself etc. Inevitably shook the building. Another member of the SAU heard it and decided this wasn't on. He wrote a letter to the noisy teacher suggesting he apologise.

When this was handed in on the Monday morning a special staff meeting was held. It was proposed to EXPEL the SAU comrade who had complained. A large proportion of staff refused to give their support to the head. County Hall was contacted and told the head to cool it. The last thing they wanted was an outbreak in London schools now, over an RAF great coat.

RSSF SEMINAR IN LEICESTER

Comrades who have been a bit pissed off with RSSF conferences because of the prevailing sectarianism and the constant voting and re-voting etc have a golden opportunity to make their views felt in Leicester (June 14-June 17th). RSSF is organising a national seminar open to ALL students on 'STUDENT STRUGGLES'. It is intended to have widening discussions covering problems of organisation, ideological struggle, emancipation, struggle, a counter-strategy to the Bosses (Vice-Chancellors) and of the contradictions among the students. All interested comrades please contact RSSF for further details.

ARTS COUNCIL IN FACOP

The attacks on our ossified institutions goes on. A new group of cultural guerillas known as FACOP (Friends of the Arts Council Operative) have at last launched a probing offensive against the ridiculous Arts Council. The new issue of Circuit magazine details their proposals for the setting up of an Artists council and includes a confidential report prepared by Hugh Willatt the Arts Council's Secretary-General.

Last month FACOP carried out a very important occupation in the Arts Council's offices in Piccadilly. The intense planning and thoroughness of the operation would repay study by anyone considering similar action: the objective was a meeting of the New Activities Committee presided over by Sir Edward Boyle and containing, among other improbable figures, Sir Joseph Lockwood, head of E.M.I.

An inside man gave them the date, time and exact location of the meeting. With some weeks to go the occupation team began training. Rehearsals simulated the situation revealing the likely reactions of the committee and showing up the weaknesses of the confronters. The team was cut from 20 to 6. The larger number was uncontrollable tending to steamroller the arguments rather than present them with the incisive force required.

The six were: Helena Patterson, Jos Tilson, Susan Braden, Peter Sedgely, David Bieda, Dave Robbins. Three girls were deliberately chosen for various obvious reasons; most of the committee were men. Nothing was left to chance. All the arguments likely to be used by the committee were discussed for many days and the counter arguments shaped and given style. The day came and in they marched.

It must be one of the first organised invasions of a government committee. All the initial reactions were exactly as predicted but their training told them how to cope pleasantly and efficiently with every obstacle. For two hours ten worthy administrators of our official culture were forced into a confrontation with the real world. Let's hope they learned something.

FACOP is now calling a meeting of all artists on 8th June at St. Katerines Dock, S.E.1. (480 5496). It wants to elect an Artists Council who would spend that 6 million pound grant a year in some beautiful ways instead of propping up a lot of insanely pompous middleclass institutions like Covent Garden (£1,280,000).

ATTENTION SCOTTISH COMRADES

It is heartening to see that at last revolutionary socialists are beginning to pay some attention to the ideas of John Maclean. Maclean was a Bolshevik pure and simple and was held in great esteem by Comrades Lenin and Trotsky. He was appointed Bolshevik Consul in Glasgow after the Russian Revolution and his opposition to the first World War led to his arrest on charges of sedition in May 1918. His Speech from the Dock has just been issued by the International Marxist Group (Scottish branch) with an excellent introduction by Bob Purdie. Many passages of his speech are as applicable today as they were fifty years ago. "I AM NOT HERE AS THE ACCUSED," declared Maclean. "I AM HERE AS THE ACCUSER OF CAPITALISM, DRIPPING WITH BLOOD FROM HEAD TO FOOT." The pamphlet is available from: Arthur Stuart, 156 Wilton St, GLASGOW NW.

ELECTRIC CINEMA IN LONDON

Suddenly the underground film scene in London has become extraordinarily active. There are now dozens of young film-makers all blasting away from the hip. New organisations such as Cinema Action, London Film-Makers Co-operative, Newsreel, Angry Arts Film Section are all involved in making and distributing agitational political films and showing them wherever they can. In fact getting your film shown is one of the major problems. Several good new cinemas have opened in London recently, the New Cinema Club at Nash House is a good example. But perhaps the most amazing is the Electric Cinema in the Portobello Road. This was launched recently by John MacWilliam on a capital of £35. It runs twice nightly for three days a week and all the profits are given away. So far about £300 has been distributed to various organisations including the LSE students fund, Release and Notting Hill Squatters. On 13th June and for the following week you can see the world premiere of the latest Jean-Luc Godard Film LE GAIE SAVOIR. All profits will be given to this newspaper so we hope you will turn up in your thousands.

Anyone can run a film club after hours in their local cinema although there are some laws you have got to be careful about. If you want any help or advice about how to set this up John MacWilliam will be glad to give it.

SOCIALIST UNITY IN IRELAND?

At last the socialists in the People's Democracy have started to get together to work out what they are doing. 150 of them, young workers outnumbering students, met in private on Saturday May 17 and discussed their relationship with the Civil Rights movement and the Catholic middle class, as well as with the Protestants. Bernadette didn't turn up, which is a pity, as they need her more in Mid-Ulster than they do in London, especially now that they are facing a crucial period of consolidation. They will be meeting again soon to build up their contacts with the South; we look forward to a united Irish socialist movement.

A FEW MORE FRONTS

Dwarf readers ought to know the truth about four National Front organisations now parading under the names of the Campaign for the Relief of Need, National Freedom Movement, Campaign for Direct Housing, and Free Land Publishers. A couple of months ago, National Freedom Movement offered Agit-Prop an office in Sloane Street, Chelsea. They were very persistent about it. When Agit-Prop comrades went to meet NFM - they were told that since their office had been raided several times, a man was on guard there all night, every night. Since the original idea was to have been an Agit-Prop work room in the evenings, the National Front obviously jumped at the chance of a direct confrontation with Agit-Prop. Their activities in the North consist mainly of sending out groups of thugs to bash up landlords whose tenants are up in arms against slum conditions - i.e. Campaign for Direct Housing. Now they are inviting anyone to come and work for them at 15/- or £1 an hour. Anyone prepared to infiltrate this section of the National Front, contact 136 Sloane Street, SW3, tel 730-3984. Otherwise, keep away from them.

Hornsey: a revolutionary manifesto

ON THE 28th OF MAY THIS COLLEGE WILL BE LIBERATED BY PEOPLE WHO ARE EXPLOITED BY CAPITALISTS AND BUREAUCRATS. WE ACT IN SUPPORT OF THE OPPRESSED AND THOSE FIGHTING OPPRESSION.

WE ARE DEFINED BY SOCIETY AS ART STUDENTS. WE WOULD THEREFORE WISH TO CLARIFY WHAT WE RECOGNIZE TO BE THE POSITION AND ROLE OF ART IN SOCIETY.

WE BELIEVE IN THE REALIZATION OF ART FOR THE REVOLUTION. THE REVOLUTION FOR THE COMPLETE REALIZATION OF ART.

IN DEFENDING FREEDOM OF THOUGHT WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF JUSTIFYING POLITICAL INDIFFERENCE.

WE DO NOT SUPPORT SO CALLED PURE ART WHICH GENERALLY SERVES THE EXTREMELY IMPURE ENDS OF REACTION.

OUR CONCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF ART IS TOO HIGH TO REFUSE IT AN INFLUENCE ON THE FATE OF SOCIETY.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE SUPREME TASK OF ART IN OUR EPOCH IS TO TAKE PART ACTIVELY AND CONSCIOUSLY IN THE PREPERATION AND PERPETUATION OF THE REVOLUTION.

ISSUED BY THE ACTIVISTS FOR REVOLUTION, HORNSEY COLLEGE OF ART, MAY 21

TONY CAREY. JOHN CROWLEY. CHRIS CROWLEY. JOANNA DALE. JANE HARRIS. K. HOWELLS. JANE HOWELLS. MARILYN NEWING. JOHN REMMY. PHILIP TAYLOR. VIVI WILLIAMS. CHARLES. ALADDISE. THEO. KIM. JANET URWIN. KATHY HILTON. VARIN

DWARF BIRTHDAY QUESTIONNAIRE

Some comrades who are working on a sociological survey concerning the sex-life of socialists have compiled this questionnaire. Please mark your answers in the following way: Yes No . Results of the survey will be published in subsequent Dwarfs.

He/she is coming over to your apartment, probably to stay for the night. Do you:

1. Frantically change those 6-week-old sheets and buy a new blanket?
2. Pile up red books, Newsletters, captured police helmets, marbles, NLF flags on the bed so it looks more like a barricade?
3. Play it cool and leave the apartment just as it is?

He suddenly brings out a set of old copies of Oz and insists on showing them to you. Do you:

1. Blush, but ask to see them a second time?
2. Treat it all as a bit of nostalgic and scabrous Australiana, making witty comments as to the staging, photographic quality, ambience and technique?
3. Suggest that you both try some of the poses?

2. Ask her/him to pick it up?
3. Observe something to the effect that "Oh yeah, there's been an awful lot of clap around lately."

Realizing that you'll be going to a demo the next day, in regard to your wardrobe, do you:

1. Make sure to pick out suitable clothing that you can wear next day?
2. Rush out and buy a chastity belt to prevent mishaps at the police station?
3. Just to be difficult, wear a steel anti-tear gas protective mask from Japanese embassy?

In the heat of passion, you remember, too late, that she'll notice you're wearing dirty underwear. Do you:

1. Start an evocative bit on the erotic power of acrid male body smell?
2. Blame excessive, bourgeois

As a female, you believe that birth control is your responsibility. Do you:

1. Drench yourself with strong perfume to kill that telltale Ortho-Creme smell?
2. Brazenly insert your diaphragm in full view of your partner?
3. Tell him how much your breasts have grown since you started taking the pill?

She looks at her watch and says, "Oh, is it that late? I had no idea. Look, you can sleep over, but you have to promise that you'll behave." Do you behave by:

1. Starting with the touch-her-cold-toes-with-your-warm-toes ploy?
2. Start reciting loudly extracts from Engels and Reich?
3. Assure her. "I'll only put it in a little way. I'm not a deep entrist."

Your favourite music to make love by is:

1. The International (Chinese version)?
2. Street Fighting Man (Rolling

During intercourse, how do you communicate to him verbally?

1. Call loudly upon the diety with remarks like "Oh, my Mao!"
2. Give full utterance to cherished slogans like "Ho-Ho-Ho-Chi Minh."
3. Keep repeating "No, it's my fault! It's not you! It's an inherent contradiction between the base and the super-structure."

During intercourse, how do you communicate to her verbally?


1. Indulge in a catetetical interrogation, like "What am I doin' to ya, baby, what am I doin', huh?"
2. Say, "That'll teach you to criticize Stalin?"
3. Inquire with cold sarcasm, while continuing to read the NLR: "Well, did you come yet?"

The morning of the demo (Sunday):

1. You pledge never to repeat the experience on demo eve.

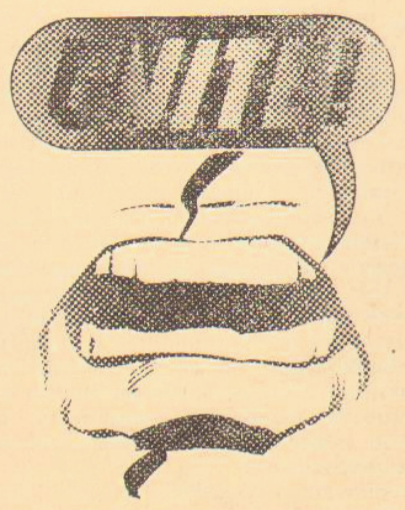
year of the

Black Dwarf
WE SHALL FIGHT
WE WILL WIN
PARIS
LONDON
ROME
BERLIN



The Black Dwarf
 Logue | Steadman | Connolly | Another Vietnam
 McCarthy | Poverty | Capitalism Kills | The Queen
 Paris | Hull | RSSF | Tariq Ali
STUDENTS
THE NEW
REVOLUTION
-ARY
VANGUARD

The Black Dwarf
 U.S. SHERIFF POLICE KILLED 10 STUDENTS
 July 2nd Mexico City, Mexico's Unesco Institute



The Black Dwarf
 "They say that in Mexico we have the most cultured army of all Latin America because it is continually in the universities" Page 5

WORKERS AND STUDENTS
DON'T
DEMAND
OCCUPY
 YOUR SCHOOLS YOUR FACTORIES

reports from: Leicester/Columbia/Hull/Birmingham/Japan/Frankfurt
 Also: London/Paris/Manchester/Moscow/Bombay/Delhi/Calcutta
ALL POWER TO THE CAMPUS SOVIETS!

Ernest Mandel

To start "The Black Dwarf" on a mass distribution basis was something of an adventure. But then, weren't the barricades of May 1968 in Paris something of an adventure too? Well, de Gaulle is out of the picture now, and "The Black Dwarf" is still alive. So we have to become conscious of the fact that we are living in a period in which revolutionary daring, audacious initiative, can achieve much greater results than ever before.

The reasons for this astonishing turn in objective conditions have to be understood. The crisis of capitalism continues, with its ups and downs, — and we are just now witnessing a sharp "up". The conservative bureaucratic apparatus of social democracy and world stalinism, which for four decades controlled and canalized the revolutionary mass movements and instinctively anti-capitalist working class aspirations the world over, is losing its grip on the youth, both student youth and working class youth. There does appear a vacuum, which bold revolutionary initiative can fill.

The first example was offered by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, ten years ago. The revolutionary youth movements — some independent, some inspired by the Fourth International — which organised world-wide militant protest actions against American imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam, and achieved spectacular successes in Japan, West Germany, France, Britain and above all in the USA itself, were a second example. The revolutionary students' bold initiative which triggered off a revolutionary general strike in May 1968 in France was a third example. Its echoes are still resounding in many countries and have been followed up in a spectacular way by the Mexican and the Pakistani students. The courage and militancy with which the revolutionary students and workers of Czechoslovakia have stood up against the occupation armies of the Soviet bureaucracy and their lackeys was another inspiring example of the same type.

This is the spirit of the age. That spirit inspires "The Black Dwarf". It is the spirit of socialist world revolution, to call things by their name. "The Black Dwarf" has tried not without success to throw a bridge between the somewhat insular and traditionalist moods of the British students and radical intellectuals on the one hand, and the temper of "Che", of the Vietnamese, of the French May on the other hand. It did an excellent and necessary job in that field. That's why it merits our heartiest congratulations on this first birthday.

Now another bridge must be laid, a bridge between the rising revolutionary mood of the new youth vanguard in Britain too, and the advanced

workers of that country, which have a tremendous revolutionary potential.

This means that great attention must be paid to those propagandists and agitational points which present direct links with the working class aspirations: educational conditions of working class children; transfer of the revolt to secondary schools and technical colleges; working out of specific demands for the young workers and apprentices, which are among the most exploited sections of the working class; elaboration of a real strategy for workers control.

This also means that an increasing emphasis must be laid upon organisation. Workers, whether young or adult, cannot be attracted to people who just play at politics. For them political activity is a serious business, once they are ready to involve themselves in it. Capitalist production teaches them to take tools seriously. And organizations are tools for the overthrow of capitalism.

Some radical students participate in revolutionary movements today especially, if not exclusively, for purposes of individual self-expression and self-empowerment. They have of course the right to do so, — nobody should try to bring them up on charges for their motives. We have to judge them on their activities, and on their verbal radicalism, they are in reality just another variant of reformists, and not a new one at that! Because in the same way as the reformists they believe that within the framework of the capitalist system, of commodity production, of exploitation, of alienated labour, and of degradation for the overwhelming majority of human beings, a niche of individual emancipation can be somehow conquered. They are the more honourable equivalent of those trade union bureaucrats, "socialist" mayors and labour ministers, eager to achieve socialism immediately for themselves, and for themselves only.

Our ambition is a bit larger. We are out to achieve socialism for the working class as a whole, for the whole of mankind. It is a hard and difficult job. It takes the efforts of a whole life, and of several generations. But for anybody to whom the word "solidarity" remains meaningful, it is worth all the effort. "The Black Dwarf" has shown that this effort can be undertaken in a way which excludes neither irony nor outright fun, neither bitterness nor outright hatred. That's all to the good. For no human emotions should be left out of that most human of all endeavours, the endeavour at total human emancipation, the endeavour to build a socialist society on a worldwide basis.

So without saying that "The Black Dwarf" is the red sun in our heart, we shall persist in wishing it a long, long, long, long life!

Ernest Mandel


Socialist Worker

Dear Comrade,
 Socialist Worker sends warm revolutionary greetings to The Black Dwarf on its first birthday. Socialist papers have a vital role to play in the growing working-class revolt against an ailing capitalism and its frenzied attempts to shackle the power of the workers' organizations. Using the brilliant cutting edge of marxist analysis, our papers

Mineworker

The MINEWORKER, organ of the militant and revolutionary miners group — Mineworkers Internationale — extends the most sincere and warmest revolutionary greetings on the occasion of the Dwarf's 1st anniversary. We fraternally wish very many happy returns and look with confidence to the growing strength of the Dwarf as it develops an even greater revolutionary consciousness and perspective.

The Black Dwarf
The Demonstration
October 27th



What to do if you're arrested
 Britain's 'non-violent' tradition
 When the police went on strike
 Marx/Engels/Mick Jagger/Bob Rowthorn/Maksim Caldwell
 Warsaw/Derry/Peking/Vietnam

International Marxist Group

BLACK DWARF has confounded the pessimists and the opportunists. It has shown that a revolutionary mass popular newspaper is possible in Britain. Those who prophesied its speedy demise have been shown to be wrong. Those who said that one had to "be careful" what one wrote to maintain circulation have been shown to be liars and hypocrites — or at least I hope they have! BLACK DWARF has won its support, without an organised movement and without strong financial backing, because it has boldly supported every left cause to the best of its ability. It has championed the struggle of the Vietnamese, the student militants, trade unionists in revolt against the Labour government, tenants protesting against rent increases . . . the list is a very long one. BLACK DWARF has won its position because people know that it will champion any cause against imperialism, against capitalism, against the bureaucrats, without prejudice and sectarianism. Its courage, its refusal to compromise have so far been the source of its success. It has, however, not confined itself to mere support for activism. BLACK DWARF has in a remarkably fresh manner carried a wide range of theoretical material. It can be proud of the part it has played in presenting the ideas of European marxists to the British scene. Of course issues vary and of course as the advocate of a well-defined political position I have had many points of disagreement with articles in BLACK DWARF. But I can say quite frankly that the British political scene would be a much less interesting and promising arena without it. LONG MAY IT FLOURISH AS THE CHAMPION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS AND ACTION IN ITS OWN INIMITABLE MANNER!

New Left Review

Black Dwarf has succeeded, in spite of widespread scepticism, in creating a large-circulation organ of the revolutionary Left which cuts across traditional sectarian divisions. Its success has come first and foremost because it has incarnated the idea that the revolution is actual; because it has understood that the victorious struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism is a model for revolutionaries in the advanced capitalist countries as much as it is for those of Asia, Latin America and Africa — as the May events in France demonstrated. New Left Review sends fraternal greetings on the occasion of Black Dwarf's first anniversary.

New Left Review 7, Carlisle St, W.I.

Boston's Revolutionary Newspaper The Old Mole

"We recognize, our old friends, our old mole, who knows so well how to work underground, suddenly to appear: the Revolution." Marx

Komrade Karl was very bright. He knew about old moles. His mind would be flown by Black Dwarfs. Our spectre is everywhere. Revolutionary Birthday Greetings.

The Old Mole, Harvard University, Boston, Mass.

The Institute for Workers Control

The Institute for Workers' Control greets all Dwarfs on their anniversary. Giantkillers of the world unite!

Ken Coates, Institute for Workers Control

Black Dwarf

Bernadette Devlin

Charges to pay s. d. RECEIVED POST OFFICE TELEGRAM No. OFFICE STAMP Prefix. Time handed in. Office of Origin and Service Instructions. Words. At _____ m From _____ By _____ TARIQ ALI 7 CARLISLE ST W1 = CONGRATULATIONS AND FRATERNAL GREETINGS TO BLACKDWARF ON FIRST BIRTHDAY ISSUE NORTHERN IRELAND WORKERS GREATFUL FOR YOUR SUPPORT IN THE PAST IN STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE CONFIDENT OF For free repetition of doubtful words telephone "TELEGRAMS ENQUIRY" or call, with this form at office of delivery. Other enquiries should be accompanied by this form, and, if possible, the envelope. B or C	Charges to pay s. d. RECEIVED POST OFFICE TELEGRAM No. OFFICE STAMP Prefix. Time handed in. Office of Origin and Service Instructions. Words. At _____ m From _____ By _____ YOUR SUPPORT AS STRUGGLE DEVELOPES IN THE FUTURE STOP LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST WORKER REPUBLIC = BERNADETTE DEVLIN + 7 W1 + TSO TGMS LN 4-4 For free repetition of doubtful words telephone "TELEGRAMS ENQUIRY" or call, with this form at office of delivery. Other enquiries should be accompanied by this form, and, if possible, the envelope. B or C
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The Militant

Dear Friends,

It's a good token of the rising spirit of revolutionary internationalism that both British and American insularity are being broken down to the point where a growing number of Americans are following the Black Dwarf with great interest.

Heartiest congratulations on your first birthday. May you keep growing.

With revolutionary greetings
Harry Ring Editor The Militant
873 Broadway New York USA.

Ligue Communiste

Dear Comrades,

The Black Dwarf is entering the second year of its political life. For this specific reason we want to address to your our wishes of health and a long life. We know from our own experiences through ROUGE the difficulties which threaten the existence of revolutionary papers and what an achievement The Black Dwarf represents.

It is "the thing" we need to develop even further in order to raise the new fighting generation out of the dust and the mud of the British "left".

Be sure comrades of The Black Dwarf of our political backing in your struggle. For the political bureau of the Communist League (French section of the Fourth International):

D. Bensaid.

OZ

Dear Black Dwarf,

When are you going to drop a little acid into your printer's ink? (Black and White is very Fleet Street). Happy First Birthday anyway. Only 99 more years to wait for the Queen's telegrams... OZ.

Police repression: its effects on our circulation

The Left is forever being accused of exaggeration by those bourgeois paragons of virtue who never put a big toe outside the law and who don't need to because they can get all they want without.

"Look at this great society" they exclaim, "it doesn't stop you printing your paper." Sure great; let's have an incestuous little paper where we are the only readers. For when it comes to selling the thing, when we try to get other people to read it then the holy Powellite forces of Supply and Demand don't enter into it.

For a start every lilly livered prissy fingered chain newsagent naturally refuses this black meance a place on its booby bursting Womens' Own Tampax counter.

But the individual street newsagents, surely they'll sell anything if it pays? you bet your sweet life they don't and no fault of theirs. Police threats, intimidation, "advice" . . . "Oh come on now, this isn't Spain you know; this is England".

Take this for an example and I'm in B.D. circulation so I could repeat it many times. Here's a bloke on one of the best pitches in all London. "Can I have a Black Dwarf mate."

"Sorry lad, I don't take that one." (He's got IT, OZ, PRIVATE EYE on his stand). "Well, wouldn't you like to start?"

"Look mate, I'd like to take it, I'm sure

DWARF UNDER ATTACK

Dear Comrade Editor,

Julian Atkinson and myself feel obliged to make what we sincerely hope will be the last comment on what we feel to be an unpleasant aberration.

Your editing of our first letter where we remonstrated against elements of the revolutionary left for the manner in which they showed their disapproval of the stalinist/police alliance left us looking, in the eyes of those who do not know us, as being apologists and defenders of stalinist methods.

This we accepted as being an aberration - a momentary departure from the fairly high level of revolutionary journalism that B.D. has attained. But once more the very short letter we sent to correct this misrepresentation of our views was cut to an infinitesimally minute "quote" and placed in the margin of BD columns along with the printers' name and address.

This is not good enough. We ask you to print this letter in full. We hope that this brief foray into bourgeois type editorializing ceases.

Yours fraternally,

it'd sell as well as I.T. but I can't. When that paper came out the police came up to me and went round a lot of street sellers especially in the City. They told us it wouldn't be good for us to sell that one. 'We can't order you not to take it' they said like, 'but we just don't advise it.'"

So take note fellow Dwarfs. I've got to sell this paper, I want to see it grow. I hope you do too. We must use unorthodox methods and that's where you come in. Wherever you are, if you pass a newsagent ask him for a Dwarf, if he hasn't got one tell him about it, get him to take three or half a dozen and then send us his address. Flot it yourselves, open up the Techs, working men's club etc.

BABES WE'RE ALL IN THIS TOGETHER.

John Weal

Why Does The Dwarf Print Ads?

(David Kendall, the Dwarf in charge of advertising answers this question.)

You may have noticed that recent weeks have brought a steady increase in the number of ads in the Dwarf. This is a very good sign - it means that more and more people realise the Dwarf is her to stay. It's also very good for our finances. The increase has brought its own problems though. We now have to define our policy towards ads. Which to accept and which to reject? We want this to be a considered policy and if you've got any thoughts on the matter we'd like to hear them.

The lines are fairly definite but there are one or two marginal areas where we're in some doubt. We obviously won't accept ads from the big monopolists - not so much of a problem since the vendors of soap powder, cigarettes and cornflakes haven't shown much interest in us either yet. Left wing publishers we're pleased to carry - we only wish we had the money and space to give them free publicity. Even left wing books brought out by bourgeois publishers are OK - exploit every contradiction you can lay your hands on when the end result might be another revolutionary, especially if the bourgeoisie are greedy enough to help. Left bookshops, posters, badges, banners, safety helmets, NLF flagbags and other left goodies are obvious candidates for inclusion. When we come to events though, we are faced with much more thorny problems. Some organisations which want to advertise or put an event in just aren't revolutionaries. They might even be hindering the revolution, let alone hot helping. So far the Dwarf's been pretty generous though. Rather than risk getting embroiled in sectarian quarrels we've taken ads and events from just about any left or not so left organization, which considers itself socialist. We'll probably going on doing just that - we think our readers are sufficiently critical to know what's going to bore them. (Our diary would in fact be much better if only organizations would write and tell us of their forthcoming programme in good time. The diary is free and we'd like to expand it - out of London events too. Do use it - it's what the Dwarf's for). "Cultural" ads are another problem. Art for a revolutionary comes from struggle and not from wealth. Nevertheless besides being a useful source of income, they're fairly harmless - just another demonstration of how creative is the culture we live in. Most difficult of all is the sexy ad a la IT. We're a left wing paper, you our readers are socialists, hence non conformists, hence interested in whipping, wanking, transvestitism etc. and have a ready fraternal eye for your neighbour's bum. So run the thoughts of the average producer of the erotic and exotic. So we are likely to reject more ads

in this field than any other. Reject because the blatant penetration of yet another area of human activity by capitalist commodity relations has nothing to do with liberation or revolution. We will of course support people doing serious study into the effects of capitalism on people's minds and the twisted sexual relations that are a product of our twisted social relations, but this is a difficult matter from encouraging people whose only response to the alienation and disintegration caused by capitalism is to dream up ways of making a quick buck out of it.

Some readers may be struck by the amount of space used on ads. Is it worthwhile? We think so because we think the paper will ultimately be better for it, and we will be able to bring you a more interesting and readable Dwarf. Every small refinement, every alteration in the size of a photo, a headline, a different type of print, colour type or colour on the front page, all these things cause mounting printer's bills (This is something else our readers could write to us more often about. How do you like your Dwarf? How could it be improved, style, appearance, content or whatever? All information helps).

Extra cash can also help us cover events we might have missed before. Often revolutionaries need help with their expenses (nobody gets paid for writing in the Dwarf) - we can also cover events in a more interesting way if we know we can spend out on photographic materials etc. There's also the price of the paper. Too high for circulation. Not easy especially if the big distributors and chain newsagents like W.H. Smith won't handle you. More money means we can spend time and petrol opening up outlets in more areas. London is getting better but the provinces are still patchy even in some quite large towns. Readers can help us by going into their local newsagent and asking him if he stocks our paper - if not why not. You give us his name and address and we'll send him the papers sale or return. We'll send you some sample copies if you need them to show round your newsagents. Remember a Dwarf reader must be a Dwarf seller. We need your help.

David Kendall

GAY LORD

79-81 MORTIMER STREET,
LONDON, W.1.

(Near Oxford Circus)

For Table Reservations please
telephone 01-580 3615 or 01-636 0808

Open Seven Days a Week
Noon to 3 p.m. - 6 p.m. to Midnight

GAYLORD is the Indian restaurant which does NOT use "so-called" curry powder. Each dish has its own distinctive flavour and aroma which cannot come from any curry powder but from spices which are added to the food at various stages of cooking. The blending-in of these spices is a centuries-old craft and is indispensable to the cuisine of Northern India. The food is prepared by expert chefs who have been specially brought from India; Those who visited the New York World Fair in 1964-5 will be familiar with Gaylord who had the distinction of managing the Indian Restaurant on behalf of the Indian Government and gave a very grand display of Indian gastronomic art in its true perspective.

Most Europeans believe that all Indian food is hot. At GAYLORD you will discover that while many of the dishes are well spiced, others are very gently flavoured. Much of the food is cooked on charcoal in clay ovens and as soon as you have eaten your first dish in this spacious, elegant restaurant (no pungent cooking smells here), you will realise why GAYLORD has become London's top Indian restaurant in such a short period. Gaylord also invites its patrons to see their fabulous kitchen and

Paul Johnson better known as Editor of the *New Statesman*, will go down in the footnotes of history as The Man on Christian Name Terms with more Famous Men and Women than any other of his generation. But we shall never know how much of the reciprocated civility was a gesture of contempt. In the Guinness Book of Records Mr. Johnson will be more simply recorded as one of the last Englishmen to call the children's bedroom "the night nursery".

And if Johnson's expressions (let alone tastes) are Victorian, so too are his principles. His moral point of view is distinguished mainly by the impoverished vocabulary in which it is expressed. But at least he sometimes changes "wicked" to "evil"; when he speaks of women (Liberation Workshop note) there is no variation on the single word "pretty". It is distinguished also by the failure to tell us the source of his principles. Since Paul is a Catholic after a fashion, the Pope might be thought his source of guidance. But since Pope Paul became "that old humbug" for condemning the Israeli reprisal raid on Beirut Airport, Paul may be his own Pope, relying on direct access to divine guidance: though God is surely not so wrathful as to wish, as does Mr. Johnson, Conor Cruise O'Brien "salted, peppered, boiled and eaten". Nor do we think would God have recommended a vendetta against *Private Eye* if the latter, as it often does, had "libelled" HIM.

VULGAR SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT

In addition, his political philosophy amounts to the vulgarest reformism, stood on its head to give us the vulgarest idealism. We have only to look at the ten columns he recently used to amuse himself with his musings on *The Next Hundred Years* (NS, 28.3.68).

The subject of his yapping disquisition was a splendid opportunity; but something like a seizure (or Fabian rigor mortis?) prevented him from seizing it.

Paul is a social-democrat, and therefore assumes that capitalism will still be with us in AD 2070: he writes of "private detectives" and "commercial spies", though somehow "class differences will have merged" — which is only to say that Paul fervently hopes there will be even more mystification about class than there is at present. He is certainly not rude to Ritz waiters in order to increase their revolutionary consciousness.

The sordid world of economic life scarcely exists for Johnson (who lives in Iver, Bucks, and dines at the Beefsteak Club), and he believes that "attitudes and assumptions matter more than gadgets". That is to say, attitudes and assumptions drop from the skies, and the material life of man ("gadgets") is beneath contempt. This basic fallacy is responsible for the wretched rag bag of prophecies this elegant liberal produces concerning the state of the nation a hundred years hence.

RACE AND CONTRACEPTIVES

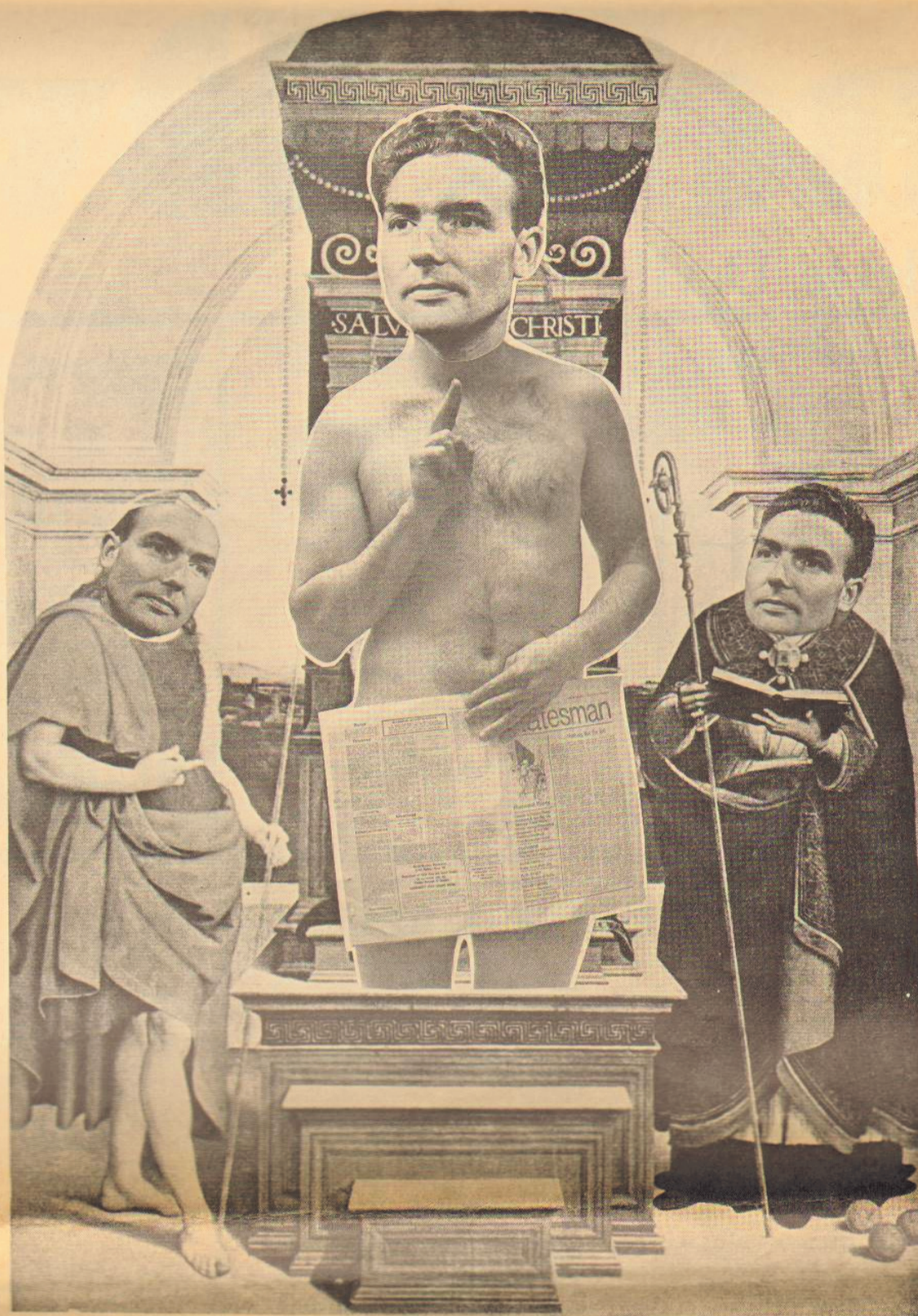
The colour problem will have been solved (unless, of course, it has not) by intermarriage: though it does not occur to him that the "colour problem" includes the prevalence of a prejudice against intermarriage, so that the means which he sees as able to solve the problem in fact presupposes its solution. (One down and several thousand to go). The use of effective contraceptives will be universal; food supplies will be adequate, because this is a mechanical problem, and "mechanical problems can be solved" which is not the same as saying they will be solved. (Keep it up, Gnome). Women will no longer be obliged to produce their children in their bodies; the right to voluntary euthanasia will have been acquired — and no doubt used, since Mr. Johnson looks forward to a participatory hell with electronic desire and need machines installed in every home. Wildernesses will have vanished, and if we wish to escape we will have to go to the bottom of the sea.

This is an exhausting list of prophecies; not least because there is not even an attempt at coherence or argument. The HOW? of all these changes is left unexplored. Perhaps because the existence of the Mind behind the Universe provides a ready made answer; perhaps because on £5000 p.a. (excluding expenses) one loses curiosity.

Most strikingly, the agencies of change do not exist for this bewildered snob — his is a fully determinist world, distinguished only by his failure to tell us what are the determining factors. Deprived of explanations we can see Mr. Johnson's predictions only as the fantasies of his mind. What ought to happen collapses into what comes to pass, which Marcuse calls "one dimensional thought". What comes to pass comes to pass for no obvious reason, certainly not because any class has determined upon it. Could one get any more alienated?

NIXON'S NEW FRIEND

Johnson is blind to the existence of power — for once one sees the world as the repository of one's nightmares, one ceases to see power relationships between men, since all men are in the grip of some unidentified power. Hence, it is not surprising that the Editor of the *New*



Collage: Agitprop

Dwarf profile: Paul Johnson

doesn't give a tuppenny damn about aides-de-camp. He was there because it was guiltily thought appropriate that he should be there. He was a statutory Black Man . . ."

And Mr. Johnson, poor fool, was a statutory Clapped-Out Social Democrat, rolling on his back like a spaniel in Nixon's very successful PR exercise.

This is the measure of consistency of the form of his idealist philosophy. It is certainly not consistent in content. In November 1968, Nixon's election would be "a setback and possibly a disaster"; by February 1969, Mr. Wilson (and therefore Mr. Johnson) is "delighted" with him; by March 1969, we are all having tea together. But then, of course, Nixon is a Famous Man now! And that matters a lot in making estimations of a man if your one weakness is for the taste of famous boot polish. But when a man's on the way out, Squire Johnson is eager to put in the boot: to the description of Ray Gunter at the time of his resignation letter as "that old Welsh windbag", Socialist Paul adds "I suppose it's too late for him to learn manners, but couldn't he have got a chum to correct his grammar?" — after all, Paul always handed the proofs of his London Diary to his wife Marigold so that the more excruciating bits of snobbery might be removed.

TWO CONSISTENCIES

In two things, however, Johnson, despite himself, maintains consistency: pro-Zionism and anti-Trade Unionism. With regard to the latter, he even went to far at the time of the Wage Freeze (the original one), as to whisper in Harold's ear that Part 4 — Statutory Restraint — could replace Clause 4 as the foundation of

are wrong", and called upon them to submit new translations of the *International*, ready for the time when Britain has its own May Events. Of the French ones, Paul le Rouge excelled himself in adulation:

"The power of the bourgeois-communist or bourgeois-capitalist state will not surrender unless it is directly challenged. A wild theory? Yes, but it works!" "The revolution killed Gaullism". Again, Berlin's revolutionary students are "the only healthy element in a formal democracy which has never really come to life".

But, of course, dear chap, BRITAIN is an entirely different matter! "Our country is the most agreeable in which to live". Johnson could equally have added: And the people are so nice. People are of course Johnson's two trendy Tory friends, Nigel Lawson and Hugh Fraser. "As an incurable social-democrat, I state with absolute conviction that anything to the left of social democracy must be to a greater or lesser extent be totalitarian and therefore traffic in violence". The "absolute conviction" was less apparent in May 68 than in March 69: perhaps the real conviction is that one can enjoy foreign revolutions from a safe distance, and even send funds to keep them going. That doesn't rule out clinging to one's own country seat when all around are losing theirs.

COLOUR PREJUDICE

Indeed, it is frequently obvious that for all Mr. Johnson's hyperbolic moral protestations, they serve mainly as justifications for doing bugger all: "It is not

having salved his conscience, can continue to support it. Or he shoulders blame off where we can't be expected to do anything about it: "Colour prejudice in my guess is only an instinctive human revulsion against over-population" a non-argument which provides no ground for picking on blacks rather than red-haired men.

SIR ROBERT PEEL

Consistency is an unfair demand to make of a paid propagandist, but the following cannot be excused. 1967: Mr. Johnson tells us he will go to a fancy dress ball as Sir R. Peel: "True, he founded the modern Conservative party. But true also that by repealing the Corn Laws he smashed it to bits and kept the Tories out of power for thirty years. What more could a socialist ask for." 1968: Mr. Johnson writes: "I see Mr. Wilson's role as similar to that of Sir R. Peel in 1841-6 when he switched the bias of government policy from agriculture to industry." Almost as big a gaff as Mervyn Jones, waking up during a Board meeting and hearing Johnson dropping the name of the Duke of — and remarking "Yes. Yes. Splendid pub".

"I treat the ridiculous seriously when I treat it as ridiculous, and the most serious lack of intellectual restraint is to be restrained about a lack of restraint". (Marx) But we do not expose Mr. Johnson as an individual. What interests us is the poverty of a culture which has editors such as our Paul for its "intellectual" weeklies. Paul Johnson symbolises a dying culture, a decaying capitalism and an outmoded code of conduct. He and others like him will disappear only when the monster

Alain Krivine was one of the leaders of the May-June revolt in 1968. He was the leader of the JCR, which played a vital role in those events. The JCR has now merged with the PCI to become the Ligue Communiste. At the last world congress of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the Ligue Communiste was admitted as an official section. Krivine's campaign represents one of the biggest breakthroughs for Trotskyism in Western Europe since the war. Rouge, the journal of the Ligue Communiste, is now being produced weekly with a run of 50,000. The French government has had to print 30 million leaflets and hundreds and thousands of posters for Krivine. Throughout his campaign Krivine has maintained a completely principled position and has not pandered to any electoralist illusions. He does not expect people to vote for him. He is merely using, in the best Leninist tradition, bourgeois elections to propagate revolutionary ideas. In his television and radio broadcasts, as well as on his posters, he is stressing that these elections are a pathetic masquerade. The only way to change the social structure of France is through the shop floor and on the streets. The campaign is costing the Ligue Communiste approximately £8,000. Contributions would be welcome. Cheques - P/O's should be left blank but sent to: Alain Krivine Campaign, c/o The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ.

KRIVINE FOR PRESIDENT!

"Parliamentary democracy presumably gives the possibility to all political tendencies to express themselves. The candidature of Alain Krivine is the occasion for the new forces, which revealed themselves in May-June 1968, to be heard, through a utilisation of the means offered by bourgeois legality. The great majority still ignores the real significance of the May movement. For that reason, and independently of any possible agreement with the programme and the thesis of the Communist Ligue which has presented Alain Krivine, the undersigned have decided to give him their support".

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE, SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR, CHRISTIANE ROCHEFORT, MICHEL LEIRIS, DIONYS MASCOLO, MAURICE NANAUD, JEAN-LUC GODARD, DANIELE DELORME, RENE BLIN, SINE, HENRI LEFEBVRE.

**DWARF TALKS TO ONLY RED
CANDIDATE IN FRENCH ELECTION
EXCLUSIVE!**



In 1965 they came out publicly against the C.P. over its support for Mitterand who was standing for President at the time. For this they were expelled from the party.

In January of '66 they formed the JCR (Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire.) During '66 and '67 the JCR expanded amongst those youth still at school.

Throughout '67, their main effort centred on Vietnam, viz. the creation of the CVN-Comite Vietnam National.

Because it was very concerned in building up a policy of action, the JCR took part in the Rallies at Liege-'66 and Berlin-'68. Berlin above all, gave us the opportunity of drawing some precious lessons from the German and Italian movements which were far ahead of the French movement.

In May '68 the JCR played a very important role. It was the organisation which most successfully adapted itself to the realities of that month. After May, the JCR and the PCI (The French party affiliated to the Fourth International,) were banned. Last September, the paper "Rouge" was launched. Around it "circles rouge" were created which gathered together militants not only from the former JCR and PCI, but also many who had become politicised in May. The "Circles rouges" made possible a successful infiltration of the working class and this altered the nature of the new organisation in relation to the old groups. The Ligue Communiste has to be a transitional organisation between the "groupuscules" and a revolutionary party, in other words it is a step towards the building of a revolutionary party.

A five month inner debate proceeded about the form the C.L. should have and whether or not it should seek admittance to the Fourth International (The C.L. was admitted last Easter). This debate has proved invaluable in that it increased the political maturity of the militants. And above all it showed that open discussions do not necessarily lead to the traditional splits when a working class democracy is practised.

Now the formation of the C.L. does not mean that we have given up the idea of a youth organisation. In fact the JCR as a youth organisation was forced to play the part of a small party. Therefore it would be illusory to gather the youth into a youth organisation

when there is no party. But certainly in the future we will have to form a youth organisation of the C.L. because our numbers are growing rapidly.

B.D. Do you think Pompidou can play the same role as de Gaulle - ie. as a father figure?

Certainly Pompidou will try to project himself in the Gaullist image. He will strive to play the part of a Bonaparte; the man standing above the classes and pretending to reconcile them. His success will depend on how far the working class is mobilised. As with de Gaulle last year, he might have to become the broker of his class's interests.

B.D. Do you think that May '68 played a part in the resignation of de Gaulle?

Yes it's obvious that May played a part. De Gaulle's image was blemished as a result of May. He was bound to show his real hand and the image of stability faded away. The most blatant example of this instability was the monetary crisis in November. Of course it has international causes, but the great exodus of capital from France showed a lack of confidence on the part of the upper bourgeoisie. We can say that May was one of the causes in that it forced the bourgeois class to face up to the fact that de Gaulle was quite unable to solve the country's economic contradictions.

Besides, after analysing the votes of the referendum

You can add to that the upheavals of the small traders and artisans. It is normal that they should be passing through a difficult period, but the fact that their discontent turned out to be expressed so violently (as in la Tour du Pin (Isere)) is obviously linked with May; they realised that May's battles had been rewarding.

B.D. Why are you standing for President? Surely you don't believe in Parliament. Don't you think that standing for elections panders to the parliamentary illusions of large sections of the French working class?

The only reason I am standing for president is to get the opportunity of using every means - especially the TV - to express our own slogans. Moreover, we want to have the "New voices of May" heard and this hasn't been possible so far.

Now, about the parliamentary illusions; given the influence the C.P. has exercised over the working class, parliamentary illusions are deeply ingrained in their minds. We are aware of this. So it is going to depend on what exactly we are going to say.

B.D. If, as is obvious, Pompidou or Poher wins, what is the strategy of the Ligue Communiste going to be?

The bourgeois class is divided. Pompidou is supported by the upper bourgeoisie but on a different programme from that of de Gaulle. French Capital is going to renounce its policy of grandeur and autonomy vis-a-vis U.S. capital. Pompidou would adapt his policy to the views held by French capital. Changes in policy such as the return to NATO and a vote face in the middle east are obvious.

As for Poher, he represents more the middle and lower sections of the bourgeoisie, and they have always been against de Gaulle's policy of 'prestige'.

In the face of these two possibilities for the presidency the Ligue Communiste's line will be the same. It intends to be an alternative pole on the left wing of the C.P. whatever government gets in. If Pompidou makes it, the regime will very likely be a strong-arm one, with a fair amount of repression. With Poher, the regime would be more unsettled and would probably allow us some opportunities for expressing ourselves - at least in the first period.

B.D. Do you think that there is a chance of a big split in the French C.P.?

As no big split happened in May there seems no reason to expect one to take place at this juncture when working class mobilisation is very low because all their attention has been channelled into the 'holy elections'.

Nevertheless, one can say that the C.P. is faced with many problems - to put it mildly. First and foremost, it sees the complete failure of its policy since 1965. Since then it has made more and more concessions to unify the left. And yet the Socialists and radicals are running away; only Mitterand his CIR (Convention des Institutions Republicaines) which is a weak party, remain.

The other annoying point for the C.P. is that for the first time it will have to number its forces since it is putting forward its own candidate. Duclos has two powerful opponents, plus me who could prove a real problem for him (because for the first time, the C.P. will have to justify its betrayal in front of the whole nation). So you can see they are in a difficult situation.

If they get third place in the ballot - which can't be otherwise - it will be a touch quardary for them if there's a second ballot. The alternative will be either a boycott - difficult to advocate before an electorate which has been trained to take part in any and all elections - or a vote for Poher (sic!). So you see, although there is no split, the C.P. has to face a catastrophic situation.

B.D. Is there a likelihood of another May in the immediate future?

As all eyes are turned towards the electoral battle, social struggles have taken second place. Working Class mobilisation is low because they think that de Gaulle's resignation is a victory and hope that the elections will reinforce this. They are going to be very quickly disillusioned if Pompidou wins. If Poher does, then their disappointment will only appear in the middle of his term of office. Then they will realise that the replacement of the man doesn't change anything.

However the main point is that the working class can be mobilised (see the different struggles in January and February). Although the continuing French economic crisis, will inevitably produce new economic and social demands, this does not mean that another May is on the way. Nevertheless, it is certain that the youth have grasped, and their elders have regressed, what revolutionary struggle is, and their will to continue the fight and develop it is obvious.

B.D. Could you say something about the newly formed Ligue Communiste? Does its birth mean that you think the time for building youth sections is over?

The Ligue Communiste was formed on the 5th, 6th, and 7th. of April. Although some historical continuity can be traced back to '61, the movement's turning point came in '65.

In '61 and '62 a section of the UEC (Union des etudiants communistes) crystallised in opposition to the C.P.'s policy over the Algerian war.

**PLUS CA CHANGE -
PLUS C'EST
LA MEME CHOSE**

Address sent by the Central Committee of the French Communist Party to President Daladier on the eve of the Radical Congress at Biarritz in October 1936:

"Your great party, which has played so important a role in the history of the Third Republic, can rightly pride itself on its close links with the French middle classes... The workers, so proud of their skills and so magnificent in their professional dignity, have every desire to make common cause with the peasants, whose rude labour has done so much to make France the great country she is, and with the middle classes, which embody the magnificent qualities of labour and thrift. Like you, we think that public order is indispensable. Public order demands respect for the law, and that is why we are all agreed in insisting that the laws be respected by all, no less than private property, the fruit of labour

Hugo Blanco



Last month Hugo Blanco marked the beginning of his seventh year in prison. The thirty-four-year-old Trotskyist peasant leader has demonstrated in these difficult years the qualities of revolutionary will and dedication to the struggle of the oppressed that made his name an object of fear to the Peruvian oligarchy when he led the peasant masses of La Convencion in their seizures of land from the *hacendados* [landlords].

Hugo Blanco grew up in Cuzco, where he saw at first hand the desperate poverty of the oppressed Indian masses who constitute the majority of the Peruvian population. From his youth he spoke Quechua, the Indian language, as well as Spanish. In the early nineteen-fifties, Blanco went to Argentina, where he studied agronomy and worked as an active union member in an American-owned meat-packing plant. When he returned to Peru, he helped to organize the giant demonstrations at the time of the visit of then-Vice-President Nixon in 1958. Forced to flee Lima, Hugo Blanco returned to Cuzco, where he and his comrades began to organize peasant unions.

Beginning with literacy campaigns and the establishment of hospitals, the union movement soon confronted the central problem: the tiny group of capitalist rulers who owned the vast bulk of the land. The peasants began peaceful occupations of land that had been taken from them by the landlords. Between 1961 and 1963 more than 300 such recuperations took place. The oligarchy used police, troops and private armed goons against the peasants. The unions in reply created armed self-defense units.

On May 30, 1963, after an extensive manhunt, Hugo Blanco was captured. On July 23, 1963, Che Guevara, while on a visit to Algiers, declared, "Hugo Blanco has set an example, a good example, and he struggled as much as he could."

The government did not dare bring Blanco to trial immediately for fear of the repercussions among the masses. It was not until August 1966 that the Belaunde regime felt secure enough to put him and twenty-eight of his comrades before a military tribunal in the remote village of Tacna. Blanco was sentenced to 25 years in prison. His close associate, Pedro Candela, was given 22 years. The prosecution sought the death penalty on appeal. This was avoided only because of a worldwide campaign on Blanco's behalf that enlisted hundreds of intellectuals, trade-unionists and independent political figures, including such people as Jean-Paul Sartre and Bertrand Russell.

The new threat of the Peruvian junta to permanently silence this outstanding fighter will certainly provoke an outcry from Hugo Blanco's friends and supporters throughout the world.

Comrades interested in more information should write to: IMG, 8, Toynbee St, London E.1.

Palestinian resistance frightens Bourgeoise Lebanese

Until recently, Lebanon was the "quietest" country in the Middle East. After 1958 (when U.S. Marines landed to "restore order"), Lebanon regained its right to the title of the "Switzerland of the Middle East." It was a country of bankers, the treasury of the Arab world. It was one of the few countries in the Third World with an even slightly developed "national bourgeoisie." It was endowed with an extremely complex political system based on mutual neutralization of the various political currents through a delicate game of balancing off the religious tendencies against each other.

The Palestinian resistance has shattered the Lebanese equilibrium. Since the Six-Day War, a current of popular support for the Palestinian resistance has continued to deepen. This support became apparent last year during the funerals of the Al Fatah fedayeen (guerrilla fighters) and after the Israeli raid on the Beirut airport. The current of popular support has been expressed in two principal ways — organization of concrete aid to the Palestinian resistance groups and creation of armed nuclei in south Lebanon to resist a possible Israeli aggression.

During the first part of 1969, this current of support deepened to such an extent that the bourgeois politicians — the leaders of the National Liberal party for example — completely lost control of the situation and found themselves compelled to reject the United Nations resolution of November 22,

masses, that the restrictions the government had placed on the activity of the fedayeen be lifted. On April 21 the leaders of the seven left parties issued a joint manifesto protesting the limitations on the activity of the Palestinian commandos in Lebanon and calling for street demonstrations throughout the country.

The following parties signed the manifesto: the Progressive Socialist party, the Movement of Arab Nationalists, the Communist party, the Lebanese Progressive Front for Struggle Against Zionism, the Independent Progressives, the Ba'ath party, and the Lebanese Socialist party.

It is to be noted that the Progressive Socialist party is a reformist party that had a representative in the government of Rashid Karami (who was forced to resign April 24, the day after the demonstrations).

The manifesto declared, in essence, that the population was duty bound to give its support to the fedayeen, to aid them in achieving the total liberation of Palestine. The declaration protested Lebanese authorities permitting the Israelis to occupy frontier villages (which they have done since 1948), and preventing the fedayeen from liberating them.

The manifesto called for a popular demonstration in support of the fedayeen on Wednesday, April 23, beginning at 4.00p.m. It set the assembly point near the Pine Forest in Beirut.

The Palestinian demonstration had been banned. The authorities had made it known that the Palestinians were to limit themselves to sending a delegation... to the authorities! The police could not control the demonstration and fired on it. Armed Palestinians retaliated. People were killed on both sides.

In the afternoon, after the news came of the bloody clashes in Saida, the atmosphere in Beirut was explosive. The students of the Arab University of Beirut and the demonstrators responding to the call of the left parties fought furiously against the police, who had to retreat after exhausting their reserves of water and tear-gas grenades.

The situation was soon completely out of the control of the traditional political figures. Former premier Yaffi as well as Kemal Joublatt, the leader of the Progressive Socialist party, sought in vain to act as "conciliators." Joublatt even went back on his party's decision to support the demonstration and told the paper *L'Orient*: "I recognize that I made an error. After the demonstration, in which I was said to be implicated, I should have ordered the distribution of a countermanifesto condemning the street demonstrations. I was opposed to the demonstrations because I realized the danger they involved in the present situation."

Neither the state of emergency, the curfew

The terror in Persia

In *Black Dwarf* No. 9 (January 10th) we reported the savage repression of student and peasant leaders in Iran who were then on trial. The trial was visited by two foreign observers, William Wilson MP and an Italian lawyer Luigi Cavalieri both of whom testified later to the illegality of the proceedings and to the fact that torture had been used to get confessions from the 14 defendants.

During the trial the police arrested 21 more intellectuals and other socialists who have now been locked up in the notorious Tehran prison "Ghasr 3". Nothing has been heard of these men and neither relatives nor lawyers have been allowed to visit them. As is usual the only news of them comes from other prisoners who have been released: they have testified to the brutal treatment being received by the imprisoned socialists. No doubt they too will be put on trial later on, after they have been duly brutalised into admitting the crimes they never committed.

The Iranian regime keeps up a steady propaganda campaign in Europe. One of the most vicious police states in the world it managed to get the International Conference on Human Rights to hold its world session in Tehran last year; and although its predominantly rural population is plunged in poverty and disease its ruler, the Shah, spends large sums of money each year on private holidays at St. Moritz.

The Iranian regime is trying to divert the struggle of the Persian people from itself to foreign issues, and is intent on creating a crisis in the "Persian" Gulf area when Britain leaves. Arab rulers on the other side are engaged in a similar manoeuvre to control what they call the "Arabian" Gulf; but as a Persian comrade said on the last Palestinian Demo "it is neither an Arabian Gulf nor a Persian Gulf but an imperialist Gulf and the task is to turn it into a socialist one".

The Persian regime is a pillar of reaction in the Middle East. It is the main supplier of oil to both Israel and South Vietnam and it gave active backing to the Yemeni royalists during the recent civil war. The Kurdish tribes, the students and the socialist forces in exile are leading a struggle against this regime which was created by Anglo-US gunmen in 1953. With the

Background to The Sino-Soviet border dispute

By Pierre Goussier

1. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the late nineteenth century, imperial China, a semi-colonial power, found itself subjected to constant aggressions and humiliations by the big capitalist states, who carved up the outlying regions of its empire. Great Britain seized Hong Kong; France took Vietnam; Japan, Formosa; and czarist Russia, successively, the right bank of the Amur (1845), the regions along the Ussuri and Sung-Cha rivers (1860), parts of Mongolia (1864), the west bank of the Ili (1881), a part of the Chinese Pamirs (1893), and the peninsula of Liaotung, with Port Arthur (which was later lost to Japan). When the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia, Lenin and Trotsky officially disavowed all dictated treaties.

On September 27, 1920, the Soviet government published a note which stated the following: "It [the Soviet government] declares null and void all treaties which the former Russian government concluded with China. It renounces claim to all the territory taken from China and restores to China unconditionally and forever everything that the czarist government and the Russian bourgeoisie rapaciously took from it."

The execution of this promise was postponed until such time as a government enjoying the confidence of the working masses ruled over China. But after the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, Stalin failed to respect the promise made by Lenin and Trotsky. There is where the main responsibility lies for the conflict in the Far East between the two workers states. Of course, nineteenth-century imperial China was an empire oppressing many nationalities in the same way as czarist Russia or the European imperialist powers. The ultimate fate of the territories Lenin and Trotsky promised to return to China was to depend on the application of the right of nationalities to self-determination. It is quite possible that, after a symbolic cession of these territories to China, the populations of some of the areas would have opted in favour of autonomy within the USSR, or of independence.

or of a Sino-Soviet condominium. The same principle would no doubt have applied to not a few national minorities living on the territory of the People's Republic of China.

Why were Lenin and Trotsky correct nonetheless to pose this question the way they did in 1920? Because they recognized that "internationalism on the part of oppressors or great nations, as they are called, must consist not only in the observance of the formal equality of nations but even in an inequality of the oppressor nation, the great nation, that must make up for the inequality which obtains in actual practice. Anybody who does not understand this has not grasped the real proletarian attitude on the national question. . . . What is important to the proletarian? To the proletarian it is not only important, it is essential, that he should be assured that the non-Russians place the greatest possible trust in the proletarian class struggle. What is needed to ensure this? Not merely formal equality. In one way or another, by one's attitude or concessions, it is necessary to compensate the non-Russians for the lack of trust, suspicion, and insults to which the government of the 'dominant' nation has subjected them in the past." ("The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation,'" in *Lenin's Last Letters and Articles*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, undated, p.19.)

2. TWO CULPRITS — A DOCTRINE AND A SOCIAL LAYER

After the success of the revolution the People's Republic of China did not immediately demand a revision of the frontiers with the USSR. Nor did it seek to modify these borders by force. For eight years, both under Stalin and Khrushchev, it practiced "peaceful co-existence" with the Soviet government in return for substantial economic and military aid.

But even during this period, the two governments began, or continued, to put entirely different plans on the drawing board for the industrialization, agricultural improvement, and demographic development (colonization) of the Central Asian and Far Eastern regions. The application of the doctrine of "building socialism in one country" led first to absurdities — that is, considerable waste — and finally to truly perverse results.

This policy was contrary to Marxist and Leninist theory. In *The ABC of Communism*, which was the Bolshevik Party's theoretical manual under Lenin, it says the following: "A second task concerns the mutual economic relationships between Russia and those countries in which the proletariat gains the upper hand. We must aim, not merely at economic exchanges with such countries, but if possible we must collaborate with them in accordance with a common economic plan. . . . The economic proletarian centralisation of production upon an international scale — such is our goal." (N. Bukharin and E. Preobrazhensky, *The ABC of Communism*, University of Michigan Press, 1966, pp.272-273. Emphasis in original.)

3. FROM AN IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT TO A CONFLICT AMONG STATES

After 1957, an ideological conflict broke out between the Soviet and Chinese leaders. On a series of burning questions of the world revolution the Chinese have upheld positions more progressive than those of the Kremlin chiefs. At the same time the Chinese continue to believe in socialism in one country, in the sharpening of the class struggle, under socialism, and in alliance with the so-called national bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist revolution. They refuse to recognise that the anti-imperialist revolution must go over into a socialist revolution in order to be victorious, or to recognize Stalin's role in the process of bureaucratic degeneration in the USSR.

The Peking leadership, however, holds positions superior to those of the Kremlin, especially on the questions of "peaceful co-existence," "peaceful roads to socialism," the defense of the Leninist theory of the state in regard to the Western countries, opposition to the neo-reformism of the mass Communist parties, etc. The Polemic the Chinese have mounted has unquestionably weakened the underpinnings of Khrushchevism and neo-Stalinism in the international

alliance rests with the Soviet bureaucracy. At most it might be said that the language used by the Chinese leaders has made the Kremlin's work easier.

The alliance was broken when the USSR abruptly halted its economic aid to the People's Republic of China at a time when China was experiencing grave economic difficulties. It was broken when the USSR refused to help China build defensive nuclear weapons in the face of the nuclear threat of American imperialism. It was broken when Moscow adopted a policy of diplomatic rapprochement with American imperialism without demanding a halt in the American blockade of China and settlement of the Sino-American conflict (the military occupation of Formosa, the blocking of Chinese membership in the UN, etc.) as a precondition for a detente.

4. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE THEORY OF "LIMITED SOVEREIGNTY OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES"

The Kremlin leaders have set great store lately by the theory of a "socialist commonwealth." Moscow is supposed to have not only the right but the duty to intervene militarily everywhere it claims that the foundations of socialism are being endangered by the "plots" of the imperialists or their agents.

Of course, in theory, the concept that an "unlimited national sovereignty" should exist in an international society that is building socialism through a fraternal alliance of the working masses is indefensible. In such a society, which would be based on internationally planned economic development (and would involve eliminating by stages the differences in development and living standards between poor people and so-called rich peoples), there would be no reasons for nations to jealously protect "their" resources. But such a community would have to be founded on voluntary cooperation by all peoples, on the broadest socialist democracy which would carefully safeguard the rights of minorities, on governments that would clearly and unquestionably emanate from the freely expressed will of the majority of the workers.

None of these principles has been applied in the relations between the USSR and its allies and the other workers states. In regard to all these countries, the Soviet bureaucracy at various stages has practiced policies of economic robbery and national oppression. Thus, the proposition of "limited sovereignty of socialist countries" which the Kremlin applies to the other workers states by no means represents the statement of an internationalist principle. It is merely a cynical affirmation of the Soviet bureaucracy's right to impose its will on the other nations that have abolished capitalism. Can anyone be surprised, under these circumstances, that these nations totally reject this "limited sovereignty"? Can anyone be surprised that they are distrustful and fear that Moscow may act tomorrow against Yugoslavia, Rumania, or China in the same way that it already has against Czechoslovakia?

Is this suspicion unfounded? The Soviet leaders have only themselves to blame for this mistrust. They failed to heed this prophetic warning by Lenin:

"It would be unpardonable opportunism if we, on the eve of the debut of the East, just as it is awakening, undermined our authority with its peoples, even if only by the slightest crudity or injustice toward our own non-Russian nationalities. The necessity to rally against the imperialists of the West who are defending the capitalist world is one thing. There can be no doubt about that and it would be superfluous for me to speak about my unconditional approval of it. It is another thing when we ourselves lapse, even if only in trifles, into imperialist attitudes toward oppressed nationalities, thus undermining all our principled sincerity, all our defense on principle of the struggle against imperialism."

5. THE HISTORICAL RECORD OF THE BORDER CONFLICT

In 1951, during the Sino-Soviet honeymoon, the two governments set up a joint commission to regulate river traffic and fishing in the Amur and Ussuri region, where the islands near the confluence of the two rivers were disputed. In December 1957, a new Sino-Soviet treaty was concluded on this question. In April 1966, when the Sino-Soviet conflict was already in full flower, the Chinese Ministry of Communications limited the rights previously accorded to the Soviets. The fourteenth session of the joint commission met in August 1967. After that, it no longer met.

In 1963, the first border incidents occurred. The Soviet government drew attention to the fact that the Chinese authorities had instructed Chinese fishermen to treat the disputed islands in the Amur and Ussuri rivers as if they were Chinese territory.

It seems certain that dozens of incidents have already occurred in this region in recent years. The question that must be asked, then, is not so much who provoked the last two incidents on March 2 and March 15 as why these incidents have been deliberately inflated by both sides.



raised territorial claims against the USSR. Old atlases, however, seem to confirm the Chinese view.

Moreover, the Soviet communiques have been contradictory. Sometimes they have spoken of "200 Chinese soldiers," other times of "a mob of civilians including militiamen in plain clothes," who are supposed to have opened fire from the Chinese side on March 2. The Chinese press long ago pointed out and protested against concentrations of Soviet troops along the Far Eastern border. The Soviet press itself admitted that tanks and heavy airplanes participated in these incidents on the Soviet side (cf. the *Krasnaya Zvezda* article cited in *Le Monde* March 21). But no such accusation has been made against the Chinese, even by the Soviets.

6. IN WHOSE INTEREST IS IT TO INFLATE THESE INCIDENTS?

But even if all these facts are correct and if they prove that the Kremlin chose to employ inadmissible military pressure to settle a minor difference, it is no less true that the Chinese response also was out of proportion to the importance of the question.

It is understandable when bourgeois or feudal generals thoughtlessly sacrifice soldiers' lives for scraps of land which are supposed to furnish mineral or agricultural wealth for the possessing classes. It is inadmissible for the military commands of workers states and leaderships that claim to speak in the name of the workers and the popular masses to behave in the same manner.

Even if there were a "provocation" by one side or the other, an uninhabited island covered by ice part of the year and by water another part is not worth the lives of hundreds of Chinese or Soviet soldiers. These soldiers do not have to die to show the "firmness" of some leader or to increase the prestige of some bureaucratic group.

The Soviets have invoked the "inviolability" of their territory. But experience has shown that when the Soviet government wants to establish a "peaceful co-existence" or "good neighbour" relationship with any bourgeois or even reactionary or semifascist government (e.g., Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey), it manages perfectly well to settle its border disputes amiably. In these cases, it does not see every mountain top or river bank as a matter of honor justifying an armed conflict.

The same applies to the Chinese leaders. They are making a great issue of defending "every blade of grass of the socialist fatherland" against the USSR, "which has restored capitalism." But the Chinese leaders were perfectly capable of concluding a treaty providing for peaceful settlement of border disputes with Pakistan, where capitalism not only still reigned but did so in the form of a military dictatorship that brutalized and ferociously exploited the people. Point five of this treaty (cf. *Peking Review*, March 5, 1963) stipulates:

"The two Parties have agreed that any dispute concerning the boundary which may arise after the delimitation of the boundary line actually existing between the two countries shall be settled peacefully by the two Parties through friendly consultations."

The artificial inflation of the border incident on the Ussuri — to the great joy of the capitalists and reactionaries throughout the entire world — is therefore contrary to the interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples and contrary to the interests of socialism. It is explained by narrow and sectarian calculation on the part of both bureaucracies. The Moscow bureaucracy hopes to use the "Chinese aggression" to strengthen the "unity" of the pro-Soviet parties in the upcoming international conference of CPs. The Moscow press, on the eve of the

one cannot help but be nauseated at the sight of so much hypocrisy.

American imperialism has repeatedly threatened the People's Republic of China. American military chiefs have openly threatened to use nuclear weapons against the Chinese (to "nuke the Chinks," as the Pentagon brass express themselves.) The Kremlin has not once reaffirmed its nuclear guarantee of China. And the Chinese are supposed to be the ones who have "divided the anti-imperialist forces"?

Imperialism has been able to send its armies to intervene against revolutions at many points around the globe; and the USSR, which is the world's second greatest power, has not raised a finger. The imperialists have intervened from the Congo to the Dominican Republic and from Malaysia to Bolivia with impunity. And the Chinese are supposed to be the ones who have "divided the anti-imperialist forces"?

Imperialism has been able to attack and violate the territory of the People's Republic of Vietnam, although it is a "part of the great family of socialist nations." There has been no response by the Kremlin, either there or at any other spot on the globe. And the Chinese are supposed to have been the ones who have "divided the anti-imperialist forces"?

The only places where Moscow has intervened in force recently have not been fronts of anti-imperialist struggle. It has intervened in Czechoslovakia and on the frontiers of China, where no imperialist force existed and where it dealt blows not against capitalism but against countries which have overthrown capitalism.

The Soviet press talks about "dividing the anti-imperialist forces." But at the same time, Soviet diplomats have approached bourgeois governments, including Washington and Bonn, to "inform" them about the conflict with China — an unheard-of act which not even Stalin committed at the time of his conflict with Yugoslavia.

The Soviet press talks about "dividing the anti-imperialist forces." But it published Yevtushenko's disgusting poem, which used racist language in regard to China. This poem speaks about the peril of an invasion by the "new Mongol khans" (when everyone knows that the Soviets have military superiority), raising visions of the so-called barbaric yellow peril — that favourite bugaboo of reactionaries in all countries.

Blinded by their subjectivism, the Chinese leaders are making the Kremlin chiefs' task easier for them. By talking about "fascism" in power in Moscow, they are solidifying the mass of the Soviet people around a bureaucratic regime which is challenged more than is generally supposed.

In the face of the melancholy orgies of frenzied bureaucrats, real Marxists and real communists must raise their voices with all their strength. Their slogans for the Kremlin must be these: "Hands Off the Chinese Revolution!" "Stop Your Shady Manoeuvring with Taiwan and Washington!" "Withdraw Your Heavy Arms from the Border of the Chinese People's Republic!" "Send Your Tanks and Planes to Vietnam, instead of to Prague and the Ussuri!"

And to Peking, revolutionary Marxists must say: "Stop Your Irresponsible Chatter about a 'Restoration of Fascist Capitalism' in the USSR!" "Stop Your Policy of Adventurism and Prestige-Seeking!" "Settle Your Border Conflict with the USSR Amicably the Way You Did with Pakistan!" The Chinese leaders should propose an anti-imperialist united front to the Soviet leaders, take them at their word and challenge them to carry out a series of urgent measures to reinforce the anti-imperialist

LOOSE LEAF POEM

(This is an unfinished poem which is still being written in a peaceful room. It is for reading aloud but is never the same twice because sections are included or left out according to the feelings of the reader. It jerks from mood to mood, so there are connecting bits in brackets. It is unusual to publish an unfinished poem but it is the best and most urgent thing I can offer).

There was a child danced with a child
The music stopped

I stopped reading The Wretched of the Earth
Because you cannot read it all the time.

My stomach felt like outer space.
The Sunday papers all sounded
Like bidders in a slave market.

I ate rapidly, alone,
Because I couldn't sit and eat with anyone
Or look at anyone.

I glanced into the television's eye.
It was both bright and blind.

I was full of useless tears.
I did not use them.

Who was the hooligan who ripped off all your
skin, madam?
The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

Below my window a stone wall begins,
swerves past a tree, drags its weight
upwards, almost collides with a second tree,
breaks for a gate, resumes
and skitters over the horizon.
I watch the way it rides,
blonde stone in the blonde light of Yorkshire.

Are you bored by pictures of burning people?
You will be bored to death.

Does the word capitalism set your teeth on edge?
Your teeth will pop out of their gums.

Because your imagination tastes like a desert,
Do you believe the tidal wave of blood has
evaporated?
They did the dying.
You did nothing.

Not a gesture, not a word, not a breath,
Not a flicker of one line of your face.

You said: There is nothing I can do.
As you said it you seemed so proud.

In the chapel-cold porridge of fear
Crouched the spirit of Edward Lear
Through the hole in his head
His agony bled
Till he changed to a whale
And spouted a hail —

Cholomondley Champagne and the best
Babylonian Beer.
There was a wretched danced with a wretched
The music began to burn

My brain socialist
My heart anarchist
My eyes pacifist
My blood revolutionary

*(This section is about a friend who shot himself
earlier this year)*

All that pain
double-bulging under your forehead.
I wish you could have taken
a handful of today's Yorkshire snow
and pressed it to that pain.
You rummaged for peace
in the green country, in the eye of the sun,
in visions of Tibet,
brain-shaking drugs, black magic,
police stations, among the stones
beneath the stones.
But the stones, which seemed so calm.
Screamed into life in your hurt hands.

Simpler than you
I simply wish you were alive
walking among this snowfall.
I'm glad that all your pain is dead.

(Commercial break)

Everloving Stickemup the Family Adhesive
Stick to Stickemup and Stickemup
will stick to you. . .

(And turning back to the enemy, chanting to a rock beat)

Your breath is like deodorant, your blood like
Irish lager,
Your idea of paradise an infinite Forsyte Saga,
Your head belongs to Nato and your heart
to the Playboy Club,
You're the square root of minus zero, playing
rub-a-dub-dub
in a Fleet Street pub

Sit tight in your tower of money
Sit tight in your tower of money

You've got a problem of identity, oh what an
intellectual shame,
You've got a million pseudonyms but can't recall
your maiden name.

You cannot tell your face from your arse
or your supper from your sex,
But you always remember who you are when it
comes to signing cheques —
Sit tight in your tower of money
Sit tight in your tower of money

In case the atmosphere catches on fire
The first thing to do will be to burn

I pulled on my solid granite gargoyle suit,
borrowed a hunch from
Sherlock Holmes and swung down from the
turrets of Notre Dame just in
time to rescue the naked Andromeda
who was chained to King Kong
in the middle of Red Square, Milwaukee.
Mark Antony immediately denounced me to a
mob of Transylvanian peasants,
who hurried me to the nearest oasis for a
good guillotining.
Luckily for me the Flying Nun was power-diving
down for a suicide
raid on Moby Dick.
She noticed my plight, shot out a tentacle and
scooped me into an
echo chamber full of Dusty Springfields,
thus foiling the machinations
of Edgar Allen Fu Manchu, the Jackdaw of Zenda.
So you will understand why I am delight to be
here tonight to introduce
the fourth member of fiction's Trolleybus Trinity,
ladies and gentlemen, I give you — Miss Marlene
Bronte.
Grass pours down the hillside.
The stone wall gradually turns green.
A dead tree can keep its balance for years.

Many thin men
saying: No.

But of course we've got to inside-out ourselves
and splash around in our own juice
and the juice can't shine if you don't throw it up
into the light
and of course you're hard to hit
if you keep dancing
and harder to hit if you make up your
own dance as you dance
and of course Tarzan is more exciting
than Cecil Day Lewis
because he can MOVE, swinging through
jungles of club-footed prose,
into your eye and out your navel,
and of course there's no perfect music,
no perfect words,
only the ridiculous beauty of man and woman
silly with each other,
pulling off their skins and swinging them
round their heads. . . .
Many thin men
saying: No.

(Insert by a friend who thinks he is not a poet)

You can't win. Mary Queen of Scots
invented high-heeled shoes

the first thing to do will be to form a committee
to organise a week-end seminar
on Little-Known Conflagrations in Italian History
or The Rise and Fall of the Safety Match in
Literature and Life.

THE ONLY REASON FOR WRITING
IS TO CHANGE THE WORLD.

The icecubes in my bloodstream decided to
melt today.

I'd buy a moustache like everyone else
but I'm too attached to golden syrup.
There are hailstones big as hailstones but
I'm sure
they're not aimed at me.
Yes, Mozambique, I suddenly want to go
to Mozambique.

Suddenly it hits me that it's May Day and I hadn't even
noticed it was April

And was gazing over the floodlit fields at a group of
socially-minded cows

And laughing to myself about the time
Allen Ginsberg bared to arse to the people
in a whizzing train

And marking passages in a book of Fidel Castro's speeches —
Quote — And then you hear a revolutionary say:

They crushed us;
they organised 200 radio programmes,
so many newspapers,
so many magazines,
so many TV shows,
so many of this and so many of that —
And one wants to ask him:
What did you expect?
That they would put TV, radio, the magazines,
the newspapers, the printing shops,
All this at your disposal?
Or are you unaware that those are the instruments of the
ruling class
Designed explicitly for crushing the revolution? Unquote.
And I was also thinking of the pirhana fish
grinning in the depths of my
bank manager's soul

And I was looking through the BBC Folk Club Magazine
and trying to imagine
the BBC Folk

And I was looking forward to a bit of
bed with Celia in the afternoon
And my eyes kept returning to a letter from the poet Tim Daley,
The liquid blue handwriting between strict blue lines,
His words saying — quote —
As a whole, the support I have received has amazed me.
I had anticipated only antagonism.
Love be praised, I was wrong. Unquote.
And I look again at the address
HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs, Du Cane Road, London W.12.
Tim, aged twenty, who took his petrol bombs
to the Imperial War Museum
Because the Museum was teaching children war.
And so when it suddenly hits me that it's been May Day all day
And I should be feeling solidarity
I think yes so I should and yes I do and so yes I write this down
as a demonstration of solidarity
with the cows, who have now moved on,
with Allen Ginsberg, who has now moved on,
with Fidel Castro, as he moves socialism onwards,
with Celia who moves me as we move together
and with Tim Daley the poet
locked away for four years
so that England may be safe for the dead.

Adrian Mitchell

The Black Dwarf

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