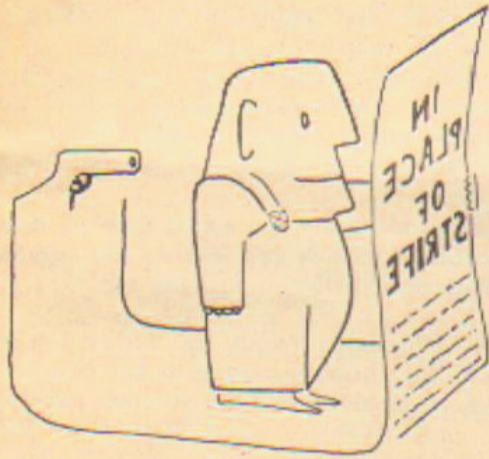


# The Black Dwarf

Established 1817 Vol. 14 No. 19

Fortnightly 1/6

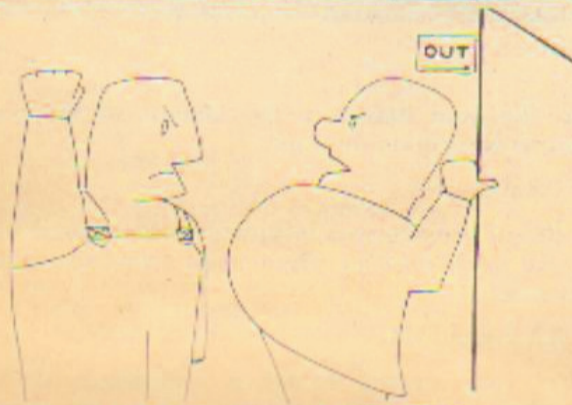
## WHITE PAPER CINTRACT



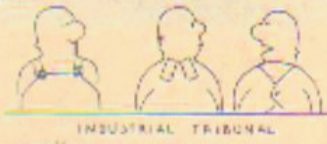
UNOFFICIAL STRIKES BECOME ILLEGAL...



NO CHANGE FOR 28 DAYS... OR PAY FINES FOR EXERCISING THE TRADITIONAL RIGHT TO STRIKE.



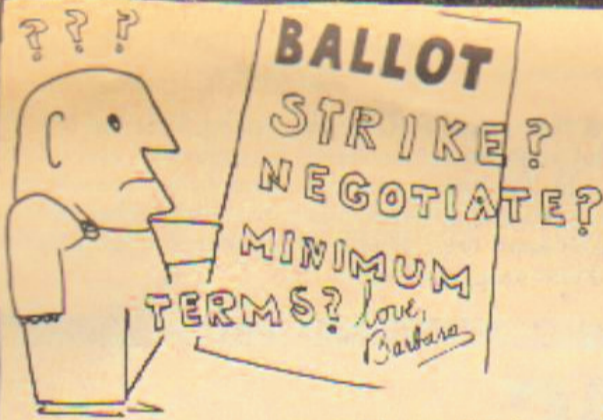
NO MORE WALKOUTS TO STOP SACKINGS



THERE'S ALWAYS THE TRIBUNAL - ONE TRADE UNIONIST, ONE EMPLOYER, ONE SOLICITOR - TWO TO ONE AGAINST.



WHEN UNIONS DECIDE TO STRIKE BY THEIR OWN ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES, THE GOVERNMENT WILL INTERVENE...

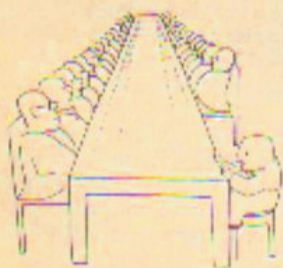


WITH ITS OWN DEVISIVE AND CONFUSING STRIKE BALLOT.

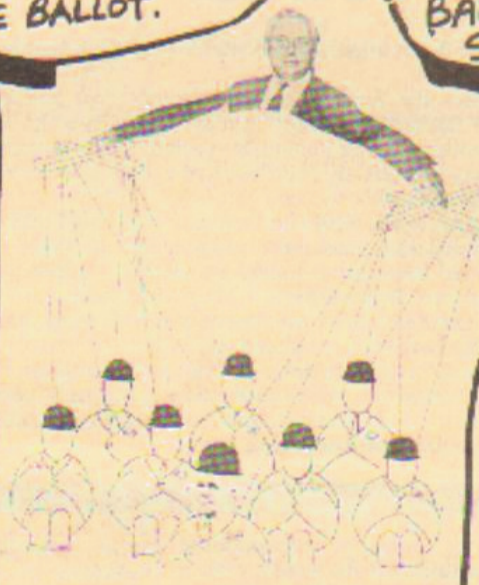


THE WHITE PAPER WOULD COMPEL UNIONS TO RELINQUISH INFORMATION WHICH IS VITAL TO THE BARGAINING POSITION OF SHOP STEWARDS...

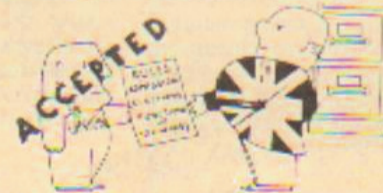
... WHILE ONLY RECOMMENDING THAT THE EMPLOYERS GIVE SELECTIVE ACCESS TO INFORMATION WHICH WILL NOT HURT THEIR 'COMMERCIAL INTEREST.'



THIS IS AS WORTHLESS AS 'WORKERS PARTICIPATION' IN BOARDS OF DIRECTORS.



THE COUNCIL OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS MEANS MORE GOVT. CONTROL



UNION CONSTITUTIONS DICTATED BY GOVERNMENT DECREE

SO....  
IN PLACE OF  
BARBARA CASTLE  
**STRIFE**

Argentinian Events Krivine's Speech Bolivian Spectacular  
Folkestone Explosion Nottingham Agitrag  
Leylands Palestine Nurses

# AGITATE, EDUCATE, ORGANISE

One of the most extraordinary things about the Revolutionary Left is its resistance to change. So we have given over our front page to Cinema Action a London based group engaged in the production and distribution of films as weapons of struggle.

The illustrations are excerpts from what they call a cinetract: that is a three minute film shot without sound or editing and costing about £5 to make. It is shown to provoke discussion. Members of the group always accompany the films and insist that cinetracts are not presented or hired for consumption but used as a catalyst of discussion and action.

At the end of May this first cinetract on the White Paper was taken to Leylands and shown to groups of shop stewards and workers involved in the strike. It was shown several times and stopped at certain points to allow long discussions of the issues involved. Cinema action has now been invited back to Leylands to show films to a mass audience of strikers and is now at work on a cinetract about the Leyland struggle itself.

Although only in embryo as yet this is a magnificent example of the kind of support that can be given to the day to day working class struggle.

The Left has always faced the problem of raising class consciousness, its own as well as workers'. Something which can only be done step by step using all the means at our disposal. Nor is it simply a question of linking local and national issues, economic, and political demands, factory and socialist organisation. What Cinema

Action is doing is trying to help workers express for themselves their immediate experience of striking against their bosses and is challenging them to relate their fight to the real forces of repression that are being mounted from the boardroom and from Whitehall. To make this link between the immediate struggle and the class war is bloody difficult and is not going to be achieved by chanting Marxist truisms. To the roneed leaflet, the conversation in a pub and the all important mass meeting we must now add the cinetract and the photo-offset newspaper.

The opportunity for this revolutionary politicisation comes during strikes or student conflicts. At Leylands, Cinema Action is learning how to develop one such instrument of this struggle. So let's have many more cinetracts, and let's have some of our famous 'left-wing' directors go without lunch one day a week and give Cinema Action the money to make them.

Capitalism's monopoly of communications is its first line of defence. To breach it we will need to use all possible forms of explanation and argument. And this means not only how to combat capitalistic propaganda but how to project socialist.

Finally, our revolution will be achieved not only by reading but by action. This summer, as last summer, we will only be appearing with one issue in July and one in August. Let's all get round as much as we can this summer: so travel, learn and talk-agitate, educate, organise.

Why are we called The Black Dwarf? So many readers seem not to know or have forgotten that it must be time to remind everyone.

The Black Dwarf is not a new paper, it is a revival of an old one. The original was founded in 1817 by a Sheffield man, Thomas Wooler. We like to think that the two papers have much in common.

Wooler supported revolutionaries at home as well as abroad, in Spain, Latin America and among the slaves in the West Indies. He believed in unlimited immigration and hated the authority, the judges and the businessmen of his time. His constant struggle for working class power eventually landed him in gaol. The Black Dwarf existed for seven tumultuous years. It was very influential and there were many imitators.

Since then we have had 150 years of struggle to learn from. We are now in a different tradition with a new history but still with some links with our great grandfathers who gave us the name.

## QUOTES FROM THE BLACK DWARF 1817 - 1874

Black Dwarf intends to expose every species of vice and folly. To political delinquency he will give no quarter. Neither the throne nor altar, will be a

sanctuary against his intrusion. Secure from his invisibility, and dangerous from his power of division (for like the polypus, he can divide and redivide himself and each division remains a perfect animal), he will be . . . listening in the gallery of the lower house; comparing the disinterested independence of our journalists; besides the stranger occupation of seeking for honesty in the mazes of the law.

## ECONOMICS

Could the rich exist without the poor? It is the labour of the poor that gives currency to wealth - that originally created what we call treasure, and still continue to increase it. The poor are indebted to the rich for nothing but the miseries they endure.

## GOVERNMENT

Our junta of rough riders and political jockeys.

## LIBERTY

The great folks make a merit of bestowing liberty on the little ones. I would ask them how they became possessed of it to give? Do they make the air we breathe, do they make the water we drink, do they

make the land that with the labours of the poor produces everything we want.

## REFORM

The people are too well informed to be amused with a patch-work reform. They must have something substantial.

## EXTRA PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION

It has long ceased to be a question with the opposition without the walls, as to what party should govern the country, under the present system.

## OPPRESSION

The right of the people to resist oppression always exists and the requisite power to do this always resides in the general will of the people.

When the fortunes of the rich spring from the labour of the poor, when the latter are oppressed and called upon by the higher orders to comply with exactions, they have a right to demand that the higher orders should share their wealth with them, for the general good and support of all.

# NOTTINGHAM AGITRAG

Tactics used by students on 16 May turned a Nottingham Monday Club meeting into high farce.

The Monday Club - composed of the right wing Tories and several National Front members - had invited the South African Ambassador, Hendrik Luttrig, to speak at the Albert Hotel on Apartheid: The Reasoned Approach.

Several hours before the meeting a Rhodesian member of the University Socialist Society had phoned the Ambassador, introducing himself as 'De Peers', and claiming to have met him in Vienna some years ago. "Ah yes," said Mr. Luttrig, "I think I remember you. Tell me, do you think you could find me somewhere pleasant to stay for the night?"

"De Peers" gave him the address of a coloured family in the St. Anne's slum. Other phone calls were made to both the Monday Club and the Embassy altering and cancelling arrangements at random. Adding to the gaiety of the occasion were vast quantities of flowers and cases of champagne which overflowed the lobby. Nobody quite knows who ordered them but it certainly wasn't the Monday Club although they have subsequently received the bills. At 8 p.m. the time the Ambassador was due, the hotel was besieged by mysteriously summoned taxis. The arrival of the fire brigade didn't help traffic congestion much either.

The socialist society turned up in strength: fifty were equipped with fake admission tickets. They were spotted after only two had got in and the doors were locked against them. While twenty

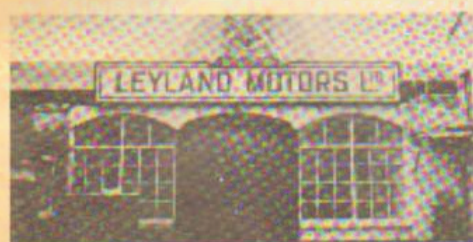
socialists stood at the doors arguing with two Monday Club guards, other members of the Club called the police.

For ten minutes the fuzz did nothing. Then three pounced on, not surprisingly, the only coloured student in the group, Johnny Subitroso, punched him and arrested him. As he was dragged towards a police car other comrades pulled him away and slipped him through a side door of the hotel. But Johnny had already been arrested once at a demonstration: his name and address were known, so he gave himself up.

Immediately afterwards Paul Harrison was arrested. Finally Brian Davey, after being pushed out onto the pavement, was arrested for using obscene language. By the time he reached the police station the charge had been miraculously changed to 'violent behaviour in licensed premises and assaulting a police officer'. Police sergeant 124 Charles Underwood is alleged to have been assaulted by Davey, and to have arrested him. A number of witnesses agree that he was actually arrested by Police constable 95. All three have been remanded on £50 bail for trial on 26th June.

Money is urgently needed for defence. Contact Nottingham University Socialist Society.

In all the confusion the Ambassador was completely confused. He never made it and the meeting was cancelled and Nottingham's businessmen didn't hear the reasoned approach to Apartheid. Let's hope they never do.



Up at Leyland's in Lancashire the workers have been having magnificent relations with the management, so good in fact that they haven't had a strike there for 40 years. The management rewarded them for this commendable concern for our export trade (All those orders fulfilled on time for all those years, Lord Stokes) by paying them much less than their more militant fellows in the West Midlands and Scotland. Since the amalgamation

inequalities both within Leylands itself and between Leylands and the West Midlands and Scotland. Forty years of industrial peace is now at an end. Worst affected have been some 1000 of the men on piece rates. The rates have stayed the same while the cost of living has rapidly increased. Further, Leyland have put a ceiling of double the basic wage on piece rate earnings and these workers were only getting a £15 basic. Worse still there are many difficult jobs in the factory where the chances of making any bonus at all are slight and week after week passed when the workers took home only this £15 less deductions. They're asking for £18.10.0 basic for semi skilled workers, £24 for skilled and equal pay for women doing the same work. As well as the piece rate workers all 8500 men in Leyland's five factories came out in solidarity. Convoys from the West Midlands and Scotland came to Leyland to express the

recent strike meeting, only one man opposed continuing strike action and he wasn't even a union member. At the time of writing, the men have been out for three weeks. The strike is still unofficial so they have not received a penny from their Union - the AEF. The men are asking themselves if this is what they have paid their Union dues for - some of them for 40 years. The union's excuse is the men's failure to conform to the bureaucratic and time consuming procedure laid down by the unions for the recognition of a strike.

Whatever the outcome of this particular struggle in purely economic terms, affluent capitalism is shown up for the sham it is. The British Capitalist is no longer able to buy off his workers with a few more consumer goodies. The pressure on his profit margins is so great that not only can he not afford to sling any more soma their way, he actually needs some of

capital intensive industries are such that continuity of production is all. Every strike wreaks progressively more havoc with the finely gauged calculations of our 'Captains of Industry'.

If you are a British Capitalist with your back against the wall, and half the world lost to American capital, your concern with your shrinking markets is going to be that much stronger.

Boringly, Lord Stokes churns out the current bourgeois line about loss of export orders and ultimately loss of jobs for the men. But the multiplying contradictions of British Capital will teach the workers that the only real security for them lies in struggle. For as a result of increasing amalgamations the real lack of concern of the Capitalist for the workers' welfare must become obvious. The men will see with what lack of conscience their services are

# DWARF LETTERS

Dear Sir,

Recently in the press, there has been a lot of talk about Republicanism, especially with reference to the Civil Rights Movement here. I am writing to your paper to explain just what Republicanism is since I consider that Black Dwarf is one of the few papers which will print the truth about our movement.

The Republican Movement (also known as Sinn Fein) is based broadly speaking on the writings of James Connolly; its aim is to set up an all-Ireland Democratic Socialist Republic. We assert that our freedom has not yet been won, that the 26 County Republic (Eire) declared in 1949 is a sham. Ireland cannot be free until her whole wealth is under the control of the organised working people of the whole country. To achieve this, we must sweep aside the present administrators of money-grabbing politicians and their foreign monopolist bosses.

The principle on which we base our demands for the reunification of Ireland is simply that no minority group has the right to opt out of the nation even though it may have a claim to some special concessions within the nation. For this reason, we refuse to recognise (de jure) the constitutions of either Northern or Southern Ireland.

Consequently, we are hated by the Unionist Government which has banned our clubs throughout the North. Our newspaper, The United Irishman, is also banned and anyone found, or suspected of possessing a copy is punishable by a three month jail sentence.

Despite this, Republicans continue to organise themselves and have taken a full part in the Civil Rights Campaign. And it is only natural that they should since, in addition to being denied Civil Rights, they are refused the right of political existence.

We intend to learn from the struggles of other oppressed peoples and give them whatever moral support we can. But we will not be dictated to or be dominated by a philosophy designed for another country. No nation has a right to dictate to another nation as to what type of economic structure it adopts and we condemn equally U.S. interference in Vietnam and Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia and we would expect that they would condemn British intervention in Ireland.

We in the North, though hampered by illegality and other disabilities, are building a movement that, when the time comes, will be able to draw on the support of all working people, whether Protestant, Catholic or Dissenter. We call on all freedom loving people in Britain, especially those victims of the Capitalist system, the Irish in Britain, to help us in our struggle by voicing your support for our cause.

I would like to end with a quote from the President of Sinn Fein which sums up our cause:

"It must be made clear, however, that Republicans do not ask the people of the Six Counties to come into the existing 26 County State. We would not wish that fate on anyone. We ask the people of the Six Counties to join with the people of the 26 Counties in abolishing both states which serve only British Imperialism, and in establishing a Democratic Socialist Republic for the whole island in which the workers who create the wealth will decide how and where it is used."

Wishing you every success with your newspaper,  
Patrick O'Cleary  
Ballycastle  
N. Ireland.

Comrades,

As a paper of some political influence BD should try to talk political sense—not always easy but with a little thought Dwarf Diarist might have done better on the Convention of the Left. "Not one course of action was agreed", says Dwarf Diary—except to agree a Continuing Commission. But that is plenty plus acceptance—for all the differences—of a wide range of common issues. Already organisations are acting, struggling in the long battle against imperialism; the Continuing Commission provides a means of communication and co-ordination of action, of campaigns—a small grain from which a lot could grow. If Dwarf Diarist has got some magic to move some million or so into effective struggle, please let him not keep it to himself, but just to 'ideologise' about action is also 'talking shop' talk + communication + theory is also a

Dear Comrade,

Your helpful hints to revolutionaries are a constant inspiration to all, and I especially liked your advice on 16th May, "Hire the best lawyer you can find and then don't pay him." I am sure you will not take it as a criticism of your leading role if I mention that this attractive method of struggle had already been evolved spontaneously by some elements.

You will I think be pleased to learn of a complementary tactic that some lawyers are working on. Guided of course exclusively by the long term interests of the movement, we plan to extract huge fees in advance and then to fail to turn up at court or else so to handle the case that the client gets at least five years. You will see that in this way young people can be thoroughly cured of their illusions about justice and the state machine, an excellent cadre of martyrs can be assembled, and the lawyers will be able to afford to buy the Black Dwarf.

Trusting all this has your approval, as they say.  
Yours fraternally,  
Anthony Young.

Dear Black Dwarf,

I have just lit up a large joint, and am thinking about your statement that the "politically correct answer" to the question "Is pot helping the revolution?" is "No. Pot is essentially a middle-class activity and serves simply as a diversion away from the main task of building the revolution".

What do you mean, "politically correct"? Pot was introduced into this country by West Indian immigrants who are not noticeably middle-class. It is also used by thousands of working-class kids for whom it represents one of the first breaks with the values of our society. Every time the joint is passed round (a very social act, by the way), the type of society we live in is implicitly rejected. Not because of anything inherent in the nature of pot (though this may have something to do with it), but because of a number of cultural and social factors that Marxists ignore at their peril.

Does "politically correct" include the concept of a new type of consciousness? If not it should. The new consciousness to do with pot is the idea of a non-aggressive, non-paranoid, non-policed kind of world. Rather anarchistic, I know. But definitely not capitalist. And possibly the ground for identification with a real, positive, revolutionary movement, because it does represent a break. Stepping outside the confines of the prevailing ideology is surely the first step towards the creation of revolutionary consciousness?

As for pot being a diversion - nonsense. It's no more a diversion than strawberries, or country air, or sex - or anything else that's nice. We don't think that pleasure is inevitably counter-revolutionary, do we? Comrades! In any case, plenty of heads manage to be hard-working and effective revolutionaries as well as heads: you'd be surprised how many.

Don't let's be too facile about what's politically correct and what isn't. Not all human affairs can be entirely wrapped up (and dismissed) simply by pinning the appropriate -ism onto them. Surely the supreme lesson of the French May events is that a revolutionary consciousness can emerge in unexpected ways.

So long live Black Dwarf, long live the revolution, and long live pot.  
Red Head.

Dear Black Dwarf,

Having been in almost continual possession of dangerous drugs for a period of years now it was on the cards that the fat arm of the law would one day reachout for me.

So I recently spent seven days in Brixton jail before being tried and found guilty of failing to ditch ten bob's worth of hashish when accosted by two plain clothes filth. It certainly taught me a lesson.

I was remanded in custody (i.e. presumed guilty until proved innocent) because the police opposed bail. I was high, confused, contemptuous and frightened and before I knew it I was wearing a brown uniform and I was in prison.

The degree of suffering was puny really. All over the world people starve and during my detention I was fed three times a day (on bidge admittedly). In fact they were so keen on feeding me that they would wake me before dawn for breakfast. Fortunately I went into the hospital wing, having convinced them of my instability. So I was spared the treatment handed out in the other wings of the prison where suicides are occasional.

The majority of men in the hospital wing are on murder charges, and others inside for mental and medical reports, including hard drug addiction (illness) and hashish (religious persecution). Prisoners with money can have food, cigarettes etc. sent in as they like until conviction, when visits and even letters are

night I collected a mattress and slept on the floor. At one count the overcrowding was such that in addition to prisoners in beds there were 11 lying on the floor. This was true of each ward.

Once inside you are allowed a free letter so I wrote one at once. Late that night it was returned to me as unsuitable for despatch - so news of my whereabouts could well have been delayed from Thursday morning until Monday morning.

I am addicted to tobacco and had none when arrested, yet the other prisoners were continually supplying me with snokes. My visitors, having waited two hours and more for the depressing privilege of shouting at me through a glass screen for about ten minutes, were broke and could not send in tobacco.

And even the reading material brought me was refused by the screws. It was, incidentally, Tom Jones, The Good Soldier Schweik, some poetry and a copy of Black Dwarf. Another inmate told me in the exercise yard that the same happened to him with International Times.

Hospital prisoners are probably the best treated, yet I grieved for every second they stole from me. I shall never forget it, and the tortured and destroyed people I met.

When I re-appear at court, my details were read to the magistrate - I was a former undergraduate in sociology, a former journalist earning good money, but now living 'how and when he can'. I was given a conditional discharge. I am certain that if they had told the court I had been a builder's labourer and 'uneducated' the punishment would have been stiffer. They thought me a sad case, which is not my own judgment.

So a workshy layabout went inside for a week to learn a lesson. Yes, but the lesson was taught by men inside slipping me a dog-end and by my dumb knowledge that many of them will be there ten or twelve years after I have clean forgotten that lousy jail.  
Bill West

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

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

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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. Douglas, 16 Abbeyfield Rd., Dunstcroft, Doncaster, Yorkshire. 1/0 per copy.

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.

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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 Calodosian Road, London N1.

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Mozambique, 20 minute film shot in liberated areas for 16m. 1/6 or 35mm. £2.10.0 o.n.o. Photographs available, 1/4. Write to Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, 531 Caledonian Road, N.7. Telephone: 01-607 2170.

What's Black and White and Red All Over? Poster 2s including postage from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St., London W1A 4PZ.

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

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

N.L.F. badges 3/- each, 10 for 15/- Red, black flags 7/6. Other badges, flags - see for details, McGee, 42, Pendarves St., Beacon, Camborne, Cornwall.

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BROADCASTING HOUSE,  
LONDON, W.1.

In A/c with \_\_\_\_\_ Date of issue  
20th May, 1969

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| Service and probable date of broadcast (if known)  | Name of Programme, Title of Work and author  | Fees    |
|--|--|---------|
| T.V.<br>6.3.67.  | <b>MOGUL: 4th SERIES</b><br>"WE'RE NONE OF US PERFECT"<br>By Thomas Clarke<br><br>Television Enterprises Code No. 45840<br>4% of gross receipts of £40<br>For sale to Rhodesia | £1.12.0 |
| <i>Dear Dwarf, I really didn't know the BBC were selling programmes to Rhodesia. I enclose a cheque please send the money to the guerrillas fighting SMITH. Yours Tom Clarke</i> |  |         |

Please send me the BLACK DWARF for the next 6/12 months.  
I enclose p.o./cheque for £1/£2.

Name .....

Address .....

The BLACK DWARF, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ  
Telephone: 01-734 4827.

The French C.P. were busy congratulating themselves over the radio on their 21% vote in the first presidential ballot. Krivine pertinently remarked that this figure did not represent a great increase on the '65 first ballot. At this, Georges Marchais, who last May proclaimed the Communist Party to be "The Party of Law and Order", and whose internationalism amounted to labelling Cohn-Bendit as "That German Jew", put on his most scornful voice:

"You who have polled a mere 1%, do you think you have anything to say to us?"  
The Ligue Communiste polled 235,000 votes which is roughly what Krivine predicted in his brilliantly timed visits to London and Brussels the day before the election. Now while it is indisputable that the C.P. membership has expanded, it is equally certain that this membership has been diluted. Many disgusted militants have left its ranks and joined, or at least voted for, the Ligue Communiste. For instance, the Ligue Communiste's paper "Rouge", sells nearly 30,000 a week, and many of these go to cadres who are too young to vote or to foreigners who cannot. So an extra 200,000 French men and women have crossed the line, and the majority of these will be from the working class.

Moreover, the Krivine vote most emphatically has not been drawn from those disillusioned with the C.P. and who are to the left of it in a Gauchist sort of way. Many of the latter (who come not from the working class but from the lower paid professions, especially teachers) would have been attracted to Rocard's P.S.U., which polled 800,000 votes. This party, though outwardly Marxist in its jargon, has not freed itself from Parliamentary illusions. Its attacks on the C.P. are completely genuine, but its exploitation of that party in the Events of May, and its lack of any perspective for action show it up to be what it is - Opportunist.

Consequently, the people who voted for Krivine can stand up and be counted for what they really are: men and women who have made a complete break with all the parliamentary parties, with their illusions of creeping socialism or bourgeois concepts of law and order. To vote for Krivine signifies an awareness of the necessity for

revolution in France and a willingness to work for it.

There are in Metropolitan France 235,000 revolutionaries who voted for a Trotskyist candidate, and double that number if the disenfranchised foreigners, younger students, workers and school children are included.

Moreover, they are not concentrated in Paris which polled 15% for the Ligue. Instead, the militants are spread throughout every town in France. The implications of this are tremendous when we fully realise the nature of revolutionary activism.

Marchais, in his scornful diatribe against Krivine's 1% has shown himself and his party to be completely out of touch with the nature of a revolutionary campaign and the tactics that a revolutionary party must use. Krivine and the Ligue Communiste have refused utterly to be implicated in the parliamentary game; every speech has been prefaced by an attack on the elections for mystifying the people by pretending that they could be a prelude to change. Their aim has been different and utterly consistent: to build a revolutionary organisation.

The C.P. has tried to be all things to all men and on these terms has had remarkable success. But what revolutionary potential is there in a party which has campaigned quite openly under the bourgeois Tricolore? The Ligue Communiste has been unequivocal in placing the campaign in the perspective of the class struggle and has consequently fought under the red banner of the international proletariat.

More to the point, the Ligue's campaign has been entirely tactical, unlike those of the parliamentarians which finish in a shower of superfluous votes. The point has been made: the Ligue Communiste has taken advantage of the propaganda opportunities made available to them by the fragmentation of the bourgeoisie. But they have never lost sight of the fact that the real struggle concerns the mobilisation of the masses and that power lies in the streets and not in any bourgeois parliament.

Alain Krivine at the Conway Hall, May 31 '69

# 235,000



# SAY REVOLUTION NOW

This meeting today is a direct response to the scandalous action of the French bourgeois police and the French government in expelling Comrade Tariq Ali from France. We made the decision to return his visit in front of 12,000 workers and students at the Sports Palace in Paris. In fact, we also wanted to provoke the French bourgeois police, to see if they would allow me to leave for England. At the moment I am not allowed to leave France for two reasons: first, because I am a soldier, and second, because I have a suspended sentence. And if the police have not been able to prevent my departure, I think it is a result of the important impact of our revolutionary campaign throughout the country.

First of all, in order to explain the meaning of our candidature, I must say something about the situation in France after the revolutionary days of May and June 1968. As you all know, the workers' movement during May and June was not a simple reformist, trade unionist movement, but was a very real revolutionary movement that mobilised over ten million workers and students, and at that time could have overturned the power of the bourgeoisie for good. And if the working class was not able to take power in May and June last year, the responsibilities are well known: the fault lies only and essentially in the total capitulation of the French Communist Party and in the direction of their trade unions, who made great efforts to put a stop to the movement, and to limit it to one of simple economic demands and to prevent the working class from taking power from the bourgeoisie, who at that time were holding on to their power only by a thread.

And if we consider it necessary to speak of these events today, we believe that Western European capitalism has entered into a period of extreme crisis. And that what took place in France can perfectly well recur tomorrow, not only in France, but in Italy, Germany and in Great Britain. Moreover - and for revolutionary militants this is extremely important - the situation of the workers is the same in Great Britain as in Belgium, in Germany as in Italy. Presiding over the working class are Social-democratic organisations, whether they be called Labour Party or Communist Party. What we learned from the events last year, was that each time a revolutionary movement develops in the faculties and in the factories, the CP does its best to turn that movement towards electoral ends. And in June we saw what that led to: an electoral victory for the bourgeoisie, while it could have been the victory of the working class in their factories. In May and June last year the bourgeoisie was forced to retreat. Its most notable concession was wage increases of up to 15% but, at the same time, and this is what is fundamental, it succeeded in retaining its political power. Eight months since the elections, once the bourgeoisie succeeded in stabilising its system once again, all the working-class gains of May and June have been lost: wage rises now amount to only 3 to 4%, given the fact of rising prices and speed-ups in the factories.

#### SOCIALISM FOR NOW

Having lived through this period, we decided on the necessity of spreading our revolutionary campaign by using these elections. We decided that the battle must be fought today on two essential fronts: on the one hand, the denunciation of electoralism, the denunciation of parliamentary conceptions of power (as preached by the CP); and on the other hand, the demystification of the tactic known in France as "Union of the Left", a tactic recognised by the CP, and which implies an alliance between the parties which claim to speak for the working class, and the organisations which represent the bourgeoisie - whose leader in France was Francois Mitterand.

Through the struggles in May-June we have shown the workers that socialism is not a Utopia, but that socialism is for now, and that they could take power through the base groups set up by themselves during that period: that is to say, strike committees, action committees, which were organised in the factories, a regroupment of the unionised workers and the non-unionised workers. We have shown that it was possible to co-ordinate these committees on the regional scale and on the national scale, to stop the general strike

moment could have been the sole power from the moment when the power of the bourgeoisie was overturned. But, this alternative didn't exist in May and June, which explains the stoppage of the general strike.

In fact, and this will be the last point on this theme, if we decided to lead this campaign, it is because of the vast revolutionary currents which exist in France today, rejecting the politics of the socialist party as much as the policy of capitulation of the Communist Party. These currents are bringing together tens of thousands of workers and students throughout the country. But up till now, they were not organised, they had no political perspectives, they were scattered and confused. The aim of our campaign, therefore, is to crystallise these currents, to organise, to educate, and to present, for the first time in France, a political and organisational alternative on the left of the Communist Party.

#### STICKS AND FASCISTS

Now I would like to say a few words on the concrete results of this campaign, because I think that all revolutionary militants might be able to draw from them perspectives for the struggles to come. In the first place, and for the first time, millions and millions of workers have been affected by revolutionary propaganda. Before, there were only thousands, or a few tens of thousands, who came into contact with what are known as the groupuscules. We have succeeded in organising, during this campaign, meetings in all the big cities in France, including those towns where we had no militants. In fact, we have organised several hundred meetings, and meetings with very large attendance, particularly working class attendance. A few examples: we have held three meetings in Paris, two of four to five thousand people, and the meeting of 12,000 at the Sports Palace - that's to say, almost as many as for Duclos, except that the hall was decorated with red flags and not with the tricolor. In cities like Toulouse, five thousand workers and students were present. And in all the middle-size and small French towns, we had attendances of between 500 and 1000 people. The second point, which is perhaps one of the most important, is that for the first time in France, - and I think the situation is different in England - a revolutionary organisation has been able to hold meetings in front of factories. You must understand, that before the May events any revolutionary group which appeared in front of a factory was met with sticks and cries of Fascists from the Communist Party militants. That was the normal situation before the May-June events. We held the very first meeting of our campaign in front of the largest factory in France, the very stronghold of the Communist Party - the Renault factories. And we were able to hold this meeting despite the cries of the CP militants who for the first time didn't dare to jump on our revolutionary militants.

I think that the example of our first and last factory meetings best symbolises the evolution which has taken place in our campaign. Throughout the first factory meeting, at Renault, the CP militants shouted "Jacques Duclos to power, Jacques Duclos to power" - something they never said in May-June 68, a time when that would have been possible! But even so, they did manage to shout us down. The last meeting, yesterday, was held at the Renault-Cleon plant in Normandy. The CP militants arrived shouting "Jacques Duclos to power, Jacques Duclos to power". After 15 minutes it was the militants from this factory who threw the CP militants out, to stay with us for two hours. For the first time we have seen what workers' democracy really means, and this is one of the most important things we have learned.

Tomorrow we will be able to see the deformed election results. They are deformed for several reasons. Firstly, hundreds of thousands of young people, the most militant on the barricades in May-June 68, do not have the right to vote. Because the immigrant workers who certainly have the right to be exploited by French capitalist society and who also were on the front line of the barricades, do not have the right to vote. And because we have called on the workers in the so-called French colonies to boycott the elections - and we were

the 'anti-colonialism' of the French CP.

#### INTERNATIONALISTS UNITE

I don't know exactly how many votes we're going to get. It's evident that it will be several hundred thousand, perhaps 200,000, perhaps 300,000. But the fact which is of extreme importance for the revolutionary vanguard, is that hundreds of thousands of workers and students will vote for the first time for a Trotskyist candidate, despite the position of the CP, thus creating a new balance of forces which can only intensify, and I believe that this is a positive encouragement on the French level just as it is on the world level.

To conclude, I think there are two other things which should be pointed out. We have seen, through the May events, and through this campaign, that without a revolutionary organisation, united on its political perspectives - though that is not to say without internal differences, for we're no Stalinists - but that without such an organisation, it would have been impossible for us to capitalise on the results of the struggles in May and June, it would have been impossible for us to fight this campaign on the national scale as we have been doing it here in France. For 15 days now, night and day, almost 2000 militants have covered the whole country, even to the smallest peasant villages, have set up peasants' cells, have even set up workers' cells, something which is new for us, but is absolutely essential. And that without this thoroughness and devotion, day and night, it would have been impossible for individuals, however politicised they might be, to create such a political force in France. And that this again points to the absolute necessity of an organisation for all revolutionary militants.

And today there exists in France a Trotskyist organisation whose membership, although it changes every day, numbers over 2000 militants, and above that, several thousand sympathisers organised around the CERCLES ROUGES, ie. groups of sympathisers, and which publishes a weekly paper "Rouge" which sells more than 50,000 copies of each issue throughout the country. I think that this is an extremely important gain for the revolutionary vanguard in France. The last point is that for the first time as well in France, an organisation has grown up with a real understanding of proletarian internationalism: that is to say, we strongly oppose the stalinist and sentimental conceptions of proletarian internationalism, which consist of asking all Communist Parties to put pressure on their respective bourgeoisies to maintain diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. No - on the contrary, we have taken up the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky, and their ideas as represented today by Che Guevara: to show the workers that any revolutionary struggle which weakens the national bourgeoisie, weakens also the international bourgeoisie, and therefore helps each revolutionary struggle to a considerable extent.

One of the points we emphasize, and this has been the aim of the international meetings we are holding, is that if tomorrow the revolution triumphs in France, victory will only be assured, will only be guaranteed against economic suicide, and against isolation if other revolutionary movements develop in Western Europe. We all know that there is a clause in NATO which stipulates the possibility of armed intervention in the event of a revolutionary movement developing in one of the member states. And we think that the only way to really prevent an armed intervention by NATO is for revolutionary movement to develop in all European countries, so that this international capitalist army can be smashed from within, and to come to the aid of developing revolutionary movements or to a revolution taking place in any one country.

Today we believe that the bureaucrats of all nations, whether they are Labour party or stalinists, are perfectly right to tremble, are perfectly right, from their point of view, to crush us, because there exists now a new revolutionary force - not only in Latin America, in Africa, or in Asia, or in the workers states, but that this revolutionary force is gaining ground in Western Europe and the United States, revolutionary forces which



## The struggle in Palestine must lead to Arab revolution

A new force has appeared on the Middle Eastern political stage: the Palestinians. True, they had taken action into their own hands a few years before the June war, but the real impetus came only afterwards. But now Palestinian action has transformed a struggle formerly between governments into a mass struggle. For nearly twenty years the Palestinians had been an object of history, passively awaiting salvation by the Arab states in general, or by the 'progressive' Arab states, in particular Nasser's Egypt.

The 1948 war exposed the bankruptcy of the old middle-class and landowners leadership of the Arab national movement. As a result, a new leadership — petit bourgeois in class — came to the forefront; it overthrew the old regime in several Arab countries and scored considerable successes in the anti-imperialist struggle.

But the June 1967 war revealed the limitations of this leadership: limitations resulting from its class nature and its nationalist ideology. Among other things it proved its total

Some sections of the movement have adopted the view that the Palestinian masses can and should 'go it alone' and solve their problem by themselves, in separation from the all-Arab revolutionary struggle. They present the problem solely as a Palestinian one, which can be solved in a purely Palestinian framework. The old passivity risks being replaced by a narrow localist attitude. The only help which is demanded from the rest of the Arab world is aid to the Palestinian front itself. This attitude disregards the connection between the Palestinian struggle and the struggle in the Arab world as a whole, and it therefore advocates 'non intervention in the internal affairs of the Arab states'.

The Arab governments encourage this attitude. The very mobilisation of the masses in the Arab countries — even if only for the Palestinian cause — threatens the existing regimes. These regimes therefore wish to isolate the Palestinian struggle and to leave it entirely to the Palestinians. The Arab governments — both reactionary and 'progressive' are trying to buy stability for their regimes with a ransom to the Palestinian organisations. Moreover, the governments want to use this financial aid to direct the Palestinian struggle along their own politically convenient lines, to manipulate it and to utilise it merely as a means of bargaining for a political solution acceptable to them. The Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian governments are mainly interested in regaining the territories they lost in the June war (thereby regaining their lost prestige and consolidating their authority) while the Palestinian cause is, from their point of view, only secondary, a means rather than an aim. This is what the Arab governments mean when they call for 'liquidating the results of aggression'.

The four great powers are now meeting to reach an agreed solution which will then be imposed on the region. If the Arab governments achieve their aim, through this solution, they will be prepared to desert the Palestinians, and even take an active part in a political and physical liquidation of the Palestinian movement. The four powers will probably insist on this as a condition for a political settlement.

As the consequences of the 1948 war provided the background for the downfall of the old national leadership in the Arab world and for the emergence of the petit bourgeois leadership — so the consequences of the 1967 war have set the stage for replacing this leadership, by a new one, representing a new class. Since the propertied classes proved unable to solve the social, political and national problems of the Arab world, it has become apparent that only the exploited masses themselves, under a working-class leadership, are capable of solving their historic problems. But the existence of suitable *objective* conditions does not mean that this new leadership will automatically emerge. For this further requires a subjective factor — a political

They advocate the *confinement* of the struggle to the Palestinian front alone and its *limitation* to armed operations without a political programme.

But the balance of forces, as well as the *theoretical considerations*, show the impossibility of confining the struggle to one country.

What is the balance of forces? The Palestinian people are waging a battle where they confront Zionism which is supported by imperialism; from the rear they are managed by the Arab regimes and by Arab reaction which is also supported by imperialism. As long as imperialism has a real stake in the Middle East, it is unlikely to withdraw its support for Zionism, its natural ally, and to permit its overthrow; it will defend it to the last drop of Arab oil. On the other hand, imperialist interests and domination in the region cannot be shattered without overthrowing those junior partners of imperialist exploitation, the ruling-classes in the Arab world. The conclusion that must be drawn is *not* that the Palestinian people should wait quietly until imperialist domination is overthrown throughout the region, but that it must rally to itself a wider struggle for the political and social liberation of the Middle East as a whole.

Just as it is impossible *in practice* to defeat Zionism without overthrowing imperialist domination throughout the region, so it is *theoretically* absurd to present formulas for solving the problem within the territory of Palestine alone. If one speaks about the situation existing before the overthrow of imperialism in the entire region — then the de-Zionisation of Israel and the establishment of a Palestine without Zionism is quite impossible. And if one thinks of the situation after the overthrow of imperialism — then what is the sense of a formula which refers to Palestine alone, without taking into account the necessary changes which would take place in the whole region?

The formula that restricts itself to Palestine alone, despite its revolutionary appearance, derives from a *reformist* attitude which seeks partial solutions, within the framework of conditions now existing in the region. In fact, partial solutions can only be implemented through a compromise with imperialism and Zionism.

In addition the solutions which are limited to Palestine cannot grapple successfully with the national problem. The formulas which speak of 'an independent democratic Palestine all of whose citizens, irrespective of religion, will enjoy equal rights' have two defects. On the one hand, they imply the creation of a new separate 'Palestinian' nation whose members do not differ from one another nationally but only religiously. The authors of these formulas are themselves aware of the absurdity of separating the Palestinians from the general Arab nation; they therefore hasten to add that 'Palestine is

general and of Israeli reality in particular. It is true that the Jews living in Israel came to settle there under the influence and leadership of Zionism, and that they — as a community — have oppressed and are still oppressing the Palestinians.

But it is impossible to ignore the patent fact that today this community constitutes a national entity (which differs from world Jewry on the one hand, and from the Palestinian Arabs on the other) having its own language, and economic and cultural life.

In order to solve the Palestinian problem this community (or at least a substantial part of it) must be severed from the influence of Zionism and attracted to a joint struggle with the revolutionary forces in the Arab world for the national and social liberation of the entire region. But clearly this cannot be achieved by ignoring the existence of that community as a national entity.

This problem cannot be solved within the narrow framework of Palestine. If one is thinking of a democratic state pure and simple — 'one man, one vote' — then in fact it will be a state with a Jewish majority, and there is nothing to prevent it from being like the present State of Israel, but having a larger territory and bigger Arab minority. If one is thinking of a bi-national state, then it will be an artificial creation separating the Palestinian Arabs from the rest of the Arab world and from the revolutionary process taking place in it. Besides, in a bi-national structure there are no inherent guarantees that one of the two national groups would not dominate the other. All this refers to proposed solutions which can be considered as feasible within the present condition of the Middle East, i.e., which do not pre-suppose a comprehensive social revolution.

On the other hand, if one considers the situation which will exist after a victorious social revolution, after imperialism and Zionism are defeated, then there will not exist a separate Palestinian problem, but rather the problem of the various national groups living within the Arab world (Kurds, Israeli Jews, South-Sudanese). This problem can only be solved by granting these nationalities the right to self-determination. Of course, recognition of the right to self-determination does not mean encouragement to separation; on the contrary, it provides the correct basis for integration without compulsion or repression. Moreover, self self-determination in the Middle East is impossible so long as that region is under direct or indirect imperialist domination, but only after it is liberated, only after a victorious socialist revolution. In particular, this situation pre-supposes the overthrow of Zionism.

To sum up: the existing objective conditions enable and require the creation of a revolutionary mass movement, led by the working-class, guided by a revolutionary Marxist theory and acting according to an all-Arab strategy which will recognise the

# BOLIVIA

## THE DEATH OF A PRESIDENT; THE CIA AND A SUPPORTING CAST



Force School, San Antonio, Texas where (incredibly) Barrientos went to school.

### ARGUEDAS TAKES A TRIP

But this was by no means all Bolivia had to offer in the way of 'gloria' - much more was to follow. A year and a half ago, Barrientos' Minister of the Interior, Antonio Arguedas, announced to the world with all the calmness of a hero of the Absurd, that, not only had he been a CIA agent for the past three years, but that it was he who sent Guevara's diaries to Cuba. In the hysterical hush that followed this, he went on to say that he was a Marxist and amplified it by saying that he was an ardent admirer of the dreaded Castro, AND, AND that he was ready, at the correct moment, to take up the revolutionary struggle where Che had left off.

Having said all this, Arguedas took off for Chile and political asylum but found the CIA instead. They offered him a blank cheque to buy his silence and when he refused they locked him up incommunicado for eight days. He was released and allowed to give a press conference after he had agreed not to expose CIA activities in Bolivia. The CIA had started twisting arms: "They threatened there would be a coup d'etat in Bolivia and threatened the lives of my family if I exposed CIA involvement." He didn't, but was only allowed to answer questions that had been okayed by the CIA 'interpreter'.

From there he flew to London, where nobody asked him anything except CIA agents with Home Office approval, and then back to Lima. Barrientos promised him a fair trial so he returned to La Paz and was promptly imprisoned; but not before he had deposited statements with 'Ramparts', 'Punto Final' of Chile, and 'The New York Times', to be published 'if and when I am silenced through physical elimination'.

In Lima, where he ignored CIA threats and held a free press conference, Arguedas told of his first contact with the CIA. It was just after the Barrientos coup, when he was Under Secretary of the Interior. The agent who approached him, Col. Edward Fox blackmailed him, alleging he was a member of the Bolivian C.P. (Fox now works in the U.S. Embassy, Madrid and claims some sort of mental block for the period). Arguedas was forced to resign his post because Fox warned him, using the old lever, that if he didn't, the U.S. would 'suspend economic aid to Bolivia and take measures against the government'. Arguedas agreed to work for the CIA and not only was he reinstated but was very soon a fully fledged Minister of the Interior. So are great men made - CIA style.

We saw what happened in Guatemala and Dominica when the government was felt to be

less than agreeable to the U.S. If Arguedas hadn't capitulated to the CIA it's likely that Bolivia would have awakened to a dawn sky full of C-124s and C-130 transport planes, a la Dominica a year later. Arguedas was a nationalist and so naturally put the welfare - as he saw it - of Bolivia first, and the satisfaction of the CIA second. The CIA were, of course, interested in defending U.S. investments in the country, be it against Communism or Nationalism, and cared little or nothing about Bolivia or its government, at least, not so long as it behaved itself. This lack of responsibility led to Arguedas' initial break with the CIA. As an example of this total disinterestedness Arguedas cited the case of the 'gusanos' (Cuban refugees) who were imported by the CIA to track down Communists. He found out that they had set up their own 'detention camp' quite out of the control of his Ministry, and they were torturing and killing suspects there. But his hands were tied by the CIA.

He gave another example of when the Bolivian authorities uncovered an elaborate urban organisation complete with photographic equipment and transmitters, that they believed to be the 'foco' for a projected Chinese influenced guerilla movement in the Santa Cruz area. But just as he was about to announce this quite important coup to the press, the CIA came around and told him to belt up.

As an example of his own complicity with the CIA he tells of the time they gave him a story to plant in the local press describing Tania as a traitor to the guerillas. It was also handed round to papers not so local: 'Welt am Sonntag', 'The New York Times', and our very own 'Observer'. Arguedas had it printed knowing it had been invented by the CIA. He also confirmed that it was not the Bolivian authorities who first gave him a copy of Che's Diaries, but a CIA agent called 'Hugo Murray', a month after Guevara's murder, and only after it had been examined in Washington.

Barrientos was not unaware of the difference in objectives either; he was later to confess that he didn't know the CIA were hunting Che in Bolivia. "All these things which are now becoming known are a surprise to me. A President cannot always be informed of every detail." We can elaborate on that as much as we like.

### COLLISION DRAWS NEAR

However, not only was there a split between the Bolivian government and the CIA, but also between the military and civil arms of the government itself. And again Arguedas was at the centre of it. In August last year, we find Ovando ordering the Military Supreme Court - of Debray fame - to indict Arguedas. Simultaneously, we find Salinas, at the civil

level, convening Congress to discuss a list of charges presented by two Congressmen (nameless) against Arguedas and against Barrientos! The military side won.

This not only means a split amounting to a chasm between the military and civil, but also that they were lined up for a head-on collision. We never learned what happened when they collided any more than we learned what happened when Barrientos appealed to Congress to reinstate the death penalty for

### COUP THAT FLOPPED

Debray's benefit, except that it didn't work; he was tried by the military. The same struggle is now going on over Arguedas - still not tried after two years - or at least it was until Barrientos was killed.

Barrientos was obviously trying to carry out a face lifting job on his regime by shifting the emphasis from 'military' to 'civilian', but instead of this resulting in a coalition and superficially civilian rule, it ended in an open split between both sides leaving Barrientos dangling in the middle, trying to keep a foot in both camps.

On the one hand his continued efforts for civil justice can be seen as plain mistrust of the Army. Yet his timid agricultural 'reforms' to keep the peasants quiet and to counter the guerilla threat, looked, to the nationalists to be plain hypocritical and to Washington to be a break with the Right, confirming exactly their initial opinion of him. So he succeeded very well in pleasing neither side.

A hint of this violent nationalist discontent came to the surface last December when we suddenly find Barrientos denying that there'd been an attempt at a coup, although "There would be arrests, and there have been some, but of adventurers". For fun, no doubt. But if this wasn't plausible it grew even less so when the former Chief of the Army Staff H.Q., Col. Joaquin Malpartida, sought refuge in the Brazilian Embassy and confided that he and General Bidegain had attempted an unsuccessful coup.

So things rested until Barrientos' sudden death put Ovando, thinly disguised as Salinas, directly in power. This man is a classic example of the U.S. indoctrinated Latin American Army chief who genuinely believes that any concession to the people is not only un-American and hence anti-Bolivian, but also a slap in the face for the Virgin Mary and an open siding with the Red Menace. Now we may expect a speedy trial for Arguedas, a tightening of security, more direct 'intervention' by Green Berets and CIA, and a more concentrated opposition to Infi Peredo's guerillas.

As Eduardo Galeano, a Uruguayan newspaperman said: "It is obvious that the U.S. is not willing to risk another Cuba in South America." But it will come whether they like it or not.

Nicholas Gaffney.

4th-28th JUNE '69

# THE LIVING THEATRE

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# ARGENTINA IN MAY

On the second of July 1966, General Onganía seized power with a military coup d'état. His regime has been particularly repressive although it has maintained a facade of stability now completely shattered. Apart from official sources, information has been hard to come by and it is still too early to assess precisely the revolutionary significance of the situation. But certain points must be made.

1. The most widespread general strike in Argentinian history although for only one day.
2. Students and workers fighting together and fighting desperately.
3. The depth of feeling and solidarity evidenced by the occupations of town centres in Rosario and Córdoba. Planes were called in to dislodge the rebels.
4. We have seen worker-student solidarity before (France, Pakistan, Ireland) but never on such an extensive level against an organised military dictatorship.

What follows is a diary of events put together with the help of many Argentinian comrades.

**MAY 15** In Corrientes, a city in the North-East of Argentina, the police violently disperse a demonstration of students protesting the concession of University catering facilities to a private company, a change which doubled students food prices. The police fire tear-gas bombs into a crowd of 1,500 students moving toward the office of the University President to voice their demands. One student is killed and 25 wounded when the police open fire on the students.

**MAY 17** Solidarity demonstrations are organised by students in the provincial cities of Córdoba, Tucumán, and Rosario. In Rosario another student is killed and two seriously wounded when police attempt to break up a demonstration in the centre of the city. Work stoppage and a student strike are called for in the interior cities of La Plata, Mendoza and Resistencia. In Córdoba, members of the powerful Metallurgical Workers Union, where the plants of Renault and Fiat are located, are met by police forces, when they attempt to gain access to a meeting of the GCT (General Confederation of Labour). The confrontation lasts several hours. Several workers are seriously wounded.



**MAY 19** Students in Tucumán and Córdoba demonstrate in solidarity with students of Rosario and Corrientes. The University of La Plata is paralysed by a strike called to mourn the death of students.

**MAY 20** The wave of student protest continues to spread. In Buenos Aires 20 are arrested, and the cafes in the student neighbourhoods are raided by the police, after tear-gas is used to disperse groups of demonstrators. The situation continues to deteriorate in all the major cities of the country. The FUA (Argentine University Federation) calls for a strike on May 21. The death of young people causes widespread indignation against the conduct of the police and authorities, among all sectors of the population. The Government decides to close the four Universities to be affected by the strike. Courses are suspended "sine die" at the University of Corrientes, for a week at Rosario and for a day in La Plata.

**MAY 21** Rosario is completely paralysed by a work stoppage. Students, workers and small business join the strike. Police attack a peaceful demonstration, stones and tear gas are exchanged. Police lose control of the situation while the rebels gain an upper hand. The mounted police regroup and attack once again. One student is killed and another seriously wounded. In Salta, another city in the North West, students disrupt a banquet attended by the Governor and other members of the local establishment. Tables and chairs are destroyed. The banquet guests answer with gunshots. In Buenos Aires, police violently disperse a meeting of law students, and they decide to go on strike. At the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters the police disperse 300 students. Many students are arrested. In Córdoba police use tear-gas against 1000 students attending a religious service in honour of the students killed.

**MAY 22** Hundreds of students are arrested in many cities. Demonstrations in homage to the memory of the students killed by the police continue and many wounded reported in the cities of Tucumán and Buenos Aires.

**MAY 23** Rosario: After an exchange of fire between Police and students, the military junta declares a State of Emergency.

**MAY 24** The two principal wings of the CGT - the "rebel" and "collaborationist" factions headed respectively by Ongaro and Vandor, - call for a national general strike of 24 hours. Students at Córdoba, Mendoza, Tucumán, Salta, Bahía Blanca and La Plata come out on to the streets provoking "grave incidents". In most of these places students are supported by the local population. Many of them shout: "ONGANIA ASESINO" (Onganía Assassin).

**MAY 25** The minister of the interior declares that disturbances are due to "professional agitators that want to use students to further their own non-academic designs". Rumours of a probable coup d'état or of a revolution begin to circulate.

**MAY 27** Ongaro, the leader of the "rebel" faction of the CGT, is arrested in Córdoba, while on his way to a general meeting of the Confederation which was to decide the date for a national strike. In Rosario a local strike paralyses totally the city. The death penalty, abolished in 1916, is reinstated. Numerous incidents continue occurring in 12 cities. The gravest in Buenos Aires where students confront the police. Barricades are set up in the University areas. The police respond to stoning with tear-gas. 71 persons are arrested including newspapermen and photographers.

patrolled. The armed forces take charge of internal security over the police. President Onganía warns the Trade Unions to stay out of the events that are not their business. The call for a general strike is understood to represent the consolidation of a workers-students alliance against the Military regime. The student-police confrontations increase in intensity.

**MAY 29** The most intense street battles to date break out between rioters and police forces in the city of Córdoba and the Government braces itself for nationwide strikes and violence.

There is wide agreement that the gathering confrontation between workers and students on the one hand and the armed forces and police on the other was presenting President Onganía with his severest test since he seized power in a military coup three years back. At least three persons - two workers and a student - are killed and scores are wounded by small-arms fire. The rioters are reported to have set fire to the local officers' club as well as vehicles and other buildings. They control the city centre for four hours. At nightfall, the authorities in Córdoba send a plane to Buenos Aires to replenish supplies of tear-gas and ammunition. The country is placed under virtual martial law and the military command is given sweeping powers including the power to sentence civilians to death for a wide range of offences.

The disturbances began when workers of the Kaiser-Renault plants march on the city 3000 strong. They are joined by many more. The initial confrontations begin with the mounted police, who lose control of the situation.

The secretary of the CGT condemns the governor of Córdoba, and the Chief of Police for the numerous dead. The Army then moves in to control the situation. Several public buildings are bombed.

**MAY 30** A General Strike of 24 hours is called by the different factions of the CGT and completely paralyses Argentina. It is the most successful strike held in 14 years and considered to be 90% effective. In Córdoba fighting continues between workers and parachute units of the army. It lasts over 12 hours. The confrontations extend to other cities such as Tucumán, Rosario and Mendoza. Onganía consults with the "collaborationist" faction of the CGT which was obliged to wholeheartedly support the General Strike due to pressure from their bases. The Minister of the Interior declares that "the situation has no precedents in the history of Argentina". Several newspapers speak of "perfectly organised subversive action". The Ministers reject any possibility of mass resignation of the Cabinet in the Government.

**MAY 31** By this morning the protest of workers and students has cost at least 20 lives, 16 in the city of Córdoba itself. Sniper fire continues in spite of total military occupation.

**JUNE 2** More than 30 dead, hundreds of wounded and damages amounting to over 14 million dollars is the official estimate of the "workers insurrection" of Córdoba severely repressed by the Armed Forces. In spite of Army control of the city where a curfew is in force, sporadic fighting continues. More than 500 persons have been arrested. Trade unionists have been sentenced to many years in prison. The possibility of unity amidst the Trade Union movement against the Government emerges as a real possibility.

**JUNE 3** Relative calm in Córdoba: the Army controls the situation. Isolated shooting is heard. The curfew is lifted. Low flying aircraft spot snipers. Nevertheless, the situation remains tense. Trade unionists are preparing to...

# NURSES GET ORGANISED



An enrolled nurse after two years' training gets less than £14 per week. If she lives in, she loses a sizeable chunk of this to pay for her board and lodging. This disparity between this sum and the amount she could earn, for example as a secretary, shows society's relative priorities between industry and the NHS.

The whole trouble is symptomatic of the attempt to undermine the Health Service started by the Labour Government's first introduction of prescription charges in 1949. Because of the low pay there is, not surprisingly, a staff shortage in most hospitals. This means that relationships between patients and staff deteriorate through no fault of the nurses. Sometimes there simply are not enough trained staff on the wards, especially on night shifts, to ensure that doctors' treatment instructions are carried out. Nurses are expected to work shifts as directed, and frequently do not know until two or three days before exactly when they will be working. Thus any regular social life becomes almost impossible. There is no reason why nurses should not control for themselves who worked when; but this would undermine the hierarchy of "the profession".

Student nurses are supposed to study in their own free time, after putting in a full day's work. Although the idea of training on the ward was first put up just after the last war, very few hospitals have the staff or the inclination to provide such training. Any nurse who speaks out for better conditions is likely to have the full pressure of the set-up brought against her. Most just cave in under constant harassment from Matrons and Sisters. There is no organisation they can turn to for support, and solidarity is non-existent as yet.

Nearly every nurse you talk to will grumble and complain about her conditions. But they are all afraid of victimisation. They are trapped by a professional ethos which denies them the right to organise for basic rights because "militancy

damages the good name of nursing", according to official spokesmen from the RCN. Militant workers and students will be familiar enough with such condemnations from official spokesmen whose inaction has been revealed.

In fact, organisations like the RCN are instrumental in holding back the discontent among nurses, and preventing the discontent from being channelled to press the nurses' case. Those concerned in running the organisations are older nurses and sisters, who have done relatively well out of their jobs, and are not about to undermine a hierarchy based on pay differentials just so that those at the bottom have enough to live on. The voice of student and rank-and-file nurses goes totally unrepresented. Since the militant agitation started, the RCN has issued a "News Bulletin" for hospital notice boards, telling nurses what they were doing about the pay as you eat scheme. This is the first minor victory. What was actually achieved was not the £1 per week increase in training allowance asked for, but free tea and cocoa.

Despite all the circulation-boosting sympathy for their cause in the bourgeois press, nurses still have to make a concrete gain as a result of recent agitation. They remain one of the worst-paid groups in capitalist society, and their conditions of work border on the feudal. The last pay increase nurses received was five months ago, paid under an agreement reached two years ago. The Royal College of Nursing, the principle "representative" organisation for nurses, are not intending to submit a pay claim until March 1970. By that time, many nurses will either have starved to death or survived by leaving nursing. Even if the voice and opinions of the ordinary nurse were heard on the national negotiating body, the Nurses' and Midwives' National Whitley Council, there would be little use. The Council is designed to stifle any grass-roots pressure which the Nursing Organisation cannot contain.

On the staff side of this body, there are 55 representatives of eleven organisations. It is consequently incapable of doing anything, let alone pushing nurses' needs. Gains can only be made in the present situation by by-passing the present machinery through militant action, and ultimately organising a militant nurses' trade union on a democratic basis to replace the present oligarchies. But nurses are very afraid of authority. So far, self-styled militant 'leaders', like Sister Pat Veal, are isolated from the rank and file. While admiring her courage in speaking out one has to admit that her 'United Nurses Association' exists on paper only. Sister Veal has also made dubious statements about the alleged responsibility of foreign nurses in keeping wages down.

The Nurses Action Group recently formed by students and nurses from hospitals in North London, could form a nucleus of a democratic Nurses' Union. The difficulty at the moment is in making contact with nurses and persuading them that their grievances can only be met by united action. NAG has called a demonstration for Wednesday June 18th. The demands they are making include a 40-hour week, payments for being on call, duty rotas to be planned well ahead, fair sharing of unpopular hours, longer time for essential study and no victimisation.

The demonstration will start at 10.30 a.m. at Tower Hill, and will go to Parliament by way of Fleet Street. Everyone who can is urged to support the demonstration.

Dwarf readers should try and contact nurses in their nearest hospital, tell them about the demo, and talk to them about conditions and pay. Frequently, any offers of help in organising, from trade unionists or students, will be greatly appreciated by them.

Further details of the demonstration, and leaflets for distribution, can be obtained from the Nurses' Action Group, at 23c Bromfield Street, N.1. Phil Kelly.

# FOLKESTONE INSURRECTION

The Folkestone explosion like all 'spontaneous' eruptions has a long history. The powers that be are an unsophisticated lot. The link up between police, magistrates, teachers, and local worthies is instinctive and uncomplicated as either imagination or liberalism. Consequently they come down equally hard on anyone who breaks out of line in any way. This means rockers, 14 year old girls who read Victor Serge, young seamen who get pissed, grammar school boys who go to political meetings, pot-heads, visiting Kent University students, pub owners who aren't in with the police, as well as the small group of revolutionaries who are all regarded as equally subversive. This means almost everyone who is young, everyone who isn't 'respectable', get treated the same. Naturally this creates a feeling of being in together and breaks down to some extent the suspicion the different groups might feel for the others. This is increased by the physical layout of the town. The only lively pub and coffee bar with a juke box are opposite each other which means that everyone is concentrated in the same area every night, so again they tend to get mixed up together rather than keeping themselves to themselves. The High Street is very steep and narrow. Nearly every night the police stand outside watching everyone. They come in repeatedly, frequently searching people. Everyone young becomes outside the law.

This is reinforced at school and at home. Grammar school boys were warned after going to hear Tariq Ali outside school hours: Tony Cliff and Tom Fawthrop were prevented from speaking at the school: only approved representatives from the prefects are allowed to join the NUS: no schools groups allowed. Dwarf carried a report (No. 17) of the hysterical reaction by a headmistress and parents when some girls sold Vanguard. This is similar to the response in Dover when the YCL organised a schools group there. There has been too a growing political consciousness which can focus the general resentment of being generally hustled about and kept down by the various layers of the Folkestonian authority structure.

From a large Vietnam Solidarity group has emerged a general left action group, free of any sectarian conflict, although Folkestone contains in microcosm nearly every 'tendency'. Besides the specifically political members this has a large periphery of the disaffiliated and

they "want results".

Friday May 16: Bobbies come down High Street, after closing time. Find usual congregation talking in the road (a virtual precinct banned to all but commercial vehicles and fuzz cars). Among them was a fairly large contingent of well seasoned merchant seamen who probably disliked being punched around by fuzz several years younger than they. Bobbies aggressively tell people to move on - nobody takes much notice - they can approach Harry Brunt, tell Mr. Brunt to move on. Mr. Brunt a man whom previous experience had taught not to love the local constab., refuses as he has done nothing against the law. Mr. Brunt then unceremoniously bundled into police van. Everyone angrily responded to this attack by banging on the police van and demanding his release. When the fuzz tried to drive off, they surrounded the van and stopped it dead. The fuzz radioed for reinforcements who eventually dispersed the local inhabitants sufficiently to free the policeman and the now imprisoned Mr. Brunt. In the intervening period the police van was nearly overturned and several scuffles between crowd and fuzz occurred. The number of people resisting the police brutality was at least 100.

Saturday May 17: In line with his "nip it in the bud" mentality, Inspector Clarke responded to the previous night's upset by sending more of his fuzz into the High Street. Police vans parked at top and bottom of High Street. A large number of fuzz converge on local comrades from both ends. Not wishing to be ensnared and very aggrieved by this escalated persecution, about 100 people leave High Street for the town centre. Scuffles with fuzz ensue and several people are arrested. In retaliation local comrades who were not at all oblivious to the political pressures at the root of the persecution smashed windows of shops belonging to Tory councillors, bank windows, and stoned the front of the newly opened, very expensive Tory Party H.Q., causing considerable damage.

Sunday May 18: By this time the conflict had polarized both sides and had assumed a very explicit political nature. Posters linking police violence with the capitalists' need to defend their sordid property interests had been drawn up. For their side the local fuzz saw their



invented crimes. One of those arrested was Ted Parker, a veteran undesirable from LSE. Ted merely walked out of the coffee bar into the road with some posters and was charged with breaching the peace. At the police station, fuzz push people around. "Fascist!", exclaims one comrade - he is punched in the stomach. "I still think you're a fascist," the response too is repeated.

Friday May 23: Demonstration of about 150 people outside magistrates court. Among the demonstrators are some middle-aged, working class women - mothers of some of the accused, carrying banners against the Tory MP and Inspector Clarke. To the amusement of some visiting journalists - but not to the local residents - everyone is found guilty on the most laughable of evidences, and given very stiff sentences (3 months imprisonment and fines of

Costain are being instigated by five comrades. Sunday May 25 - 'Whit Sunday': A general assembly is advertised and held near Folkestone harbour. A megaphone is used and everyone, especially the many spectators (about 200) is encouraged to speak. Discussion ranged from the events in Folkestone to the broader issues of capitalism versus socialism, and particularly the mechanics of workers' control in factories. The general reaction of the initially hostile audience is very favourable.

## AFTERTHOUGHTS

One of the results of the events in Folkestone was the formation of the Folkestone Committee for Civil Liberties with the following demands:

- 1 Dropping of charges against all involved in the rebellion.
- 2 End to council meetings closed to the press - as some have been of late,
- 3 End to the undemocratic powers of the Folkestone Watch Committee and to the censorship of books in libraries and films.
- 4 Folkestone police to be responsible to a committee of citizens.

One of the things to impress visitors to Folkestone about the local comrades was their spontaneous instinct of democracy. All decisions were discussed by anyone who was interested and everyone encouraged to participate. Comrades agreed among themselves on such issues as whether or not to talk to the press - and although hotly contested at the time, the decision was obeyed by everyone. As one enthusiastic London comrade told this Dwarf: "I can just imagine them setting up a soviet down here to run Folkestone". There are various elements in the situation which are of more than immediate significance. The way in which different groups who usually have neither say nor recognition in the world of the polite and the official, and who generally hate each other's guts have allied, is important. Fragmentation and isolation are more common. This is not being stary-eyed, some of the rockers said: "We're against the police too, even if you lot do dress funny". But some others smashed up the coffee bar later. People who are fucked up and fighting a lot of things can be dubious allies. But if the politics of revolutionary transformation is anything but a water idea it has to be able to explain itself and





Abbie Hoffman is one of the leaders of the American Yippie movement that was at the centre of last summer's Chicago confrontation. His political autobiography "Revolution for the Hell of it" is a brilliant, funny, racy kaleidoscope of ideas in the best American "Fuck you" tradition. Unfortunately it hasn't been published here yet. When it is, look out for a totally unMarxist but very stimulating piece of writing.

Hoffman believes in communicating images rather than words. He believes in the "creation of myths that people can relate to". He thinks that people will want to be involved in a movement that offers them total political experiences rather than one that offers them logical argument and rhetoric. Here, in a slightly abridged version, is Hoffman's guide to political meetings.

MEETINGS ARE

- INFORMATION
- MEDITATION
- EXPERIENCE
- FUN
- TRUST
- REHEARSALS
- DRAMA
- HORSESHIT

MEETINGS ARE NOT

- PUTTING PEOPLE DOWN
- LISTEN AT MEETINGS

Shhhhhhh!

- LISTEN TO eye movements
- LISTEN TO scratching
- LISTEN TO your head
- LISTEN TO smells
- LISTEN TO singing
- LISTEN TO touches
- LISTEN TO silence
- LISTEN TO gestalt vibrations
- LISTEN TO a baby born in the sea
- LISTEN TO the writing on the wall

meetings are life

surrender to the meeting... the meeting is the message

- MEETINGS ARE CONFRONTATION -
- MEETINGS ARE RELAXATION -

All meetings are the same same same same same same same same same same same same same same same - DIFFERENT

- don't build dams
- BEWARE OF STRUCTURE FREAKS
- BEWARE OF RULES
- BEWARE OF "AT THE LAST MEETING WE DECIDED..."

- DON'T GO BACK - THERE WAS NO LAST MEETING
- DON'T GO FORWARD - THERE IS NOTHING

meetings are Now you are the meeting we are Now

WITHOUT MEETINGS THERE IS NO COMMUNITY

- COMMUNITY IS UNITY
- RAPE IDEAS NOT PEOPLE
- MAKE LOVE AT ALL MEETINGS

Go naked to meetings

# ICA WOMAN

On April 25 the ICA held a panel discussion with Juliet Mitchell and Francis Huxley in conjunction with its ongoing exhibit of photographs on Women. The audience of about 100 wandered through the exhibit before the talk and took note of a number of pictures which were picked out by Juliet Mitchell. During this time the Women's Liberation Group in London handed out leaflets which attacked the premise of a photographic exhibit on women as isolated creatures in society. The leaflet asked for an end to the mystification of women and set forth a series of demands for the self-determination of women.

Juliet Mitchell started the panel discussion by saying that art was never an index of the true social position of women because art is never a full interpreter of social reality. Putting a group of photographs together did not answer the question 'what is woman?', although the pictures did correctly reflect the present mystification of them. Women are and always have been subject to specific social conditioning in different countries, classes and ages. Mitchell then quickly went through the contents of the exhibition. She was critical of the absence of women in industrial work situations and also of the lack of working class women. She pointed out that working class women are not considered beautiful by western middle class standards. There were also no pictures depicting sexuality as such for women.

Francis Huxley began by speaking of women as the locus for the symbolic function in man. Men are interested in seeing the world through a woman's body, and, anthropologically speaking, the primal chaos has always been thought of as woman. Reality is frightening to man, and he has always attempted to remove it from himself by seeing it through women. Women are 'stuck in men's heads'. Men are fetishists and women are their fetishes.

A number of people in the audience grow angry and resentful at Huxley's charming, theoretical, ultimately mystifying bullshit and some pointed and loud interjections were made. The discussion, it seemed, was going to

be on a level divorced from reality and also on one which satisfy only those men (and women) who prefer to view women from a mainly psychological, magical premise. Three women and one man made an angry exit from the auditorium, claiming that the speakers were unwilling to get to grips with the subject in any serious or honest way. The rest of the audience stayed and a general discussion began. A short time later the remaining women's liberation group were quietly informed that one of their members had defaced a number of the pictures in the exhibit with anti 'feminine mystique', anti capitalist stickers and the police had been called. A few women left to see what was happening and what should be done. Michael Kustow, the moderator, was informed and asked to announce what had happened to the audience, who, it was hoped, would come to the foyer. Defacing the photographs by Hilary Rawlings had come out of a strong disgust and frustration at the level of talk in the auditorium and as a specific attack on the ongoing exhibit. However, only a few people left the discussion. The rest were embarrassed or perhaps even threatened by such anti-social and un-understandable behaviour. Some of the audience did not sympathise with the Women's Liberation Group's position that women must define their own roles, and a few women did not recognize that any basic change was necessary or even right.

The police gathered in the foyer and were about to take Hilary Rawlings to the station, but Michael Kustow, playing out his role as hip director of a progressive establishment, did what he had to do and sent them away. The confrontation resulting from an aggressive act against the exhibit was averted, and the people in the foyer re-entered the auditorium where the discussion continued. It was not until the end of the evening that Rawling's act was discussed and then only superficially. However one man ended the evening with a militant and strongly worded support of women's liberation by saying that many people did not understand how revolutionary the very act of women freeing their minds and bodies would be. He explained that only in the process of women liberating themselves could men be truly liberated and that the ensuing revolutionary possibilities would be staggering.

Women's Liberation Workshop

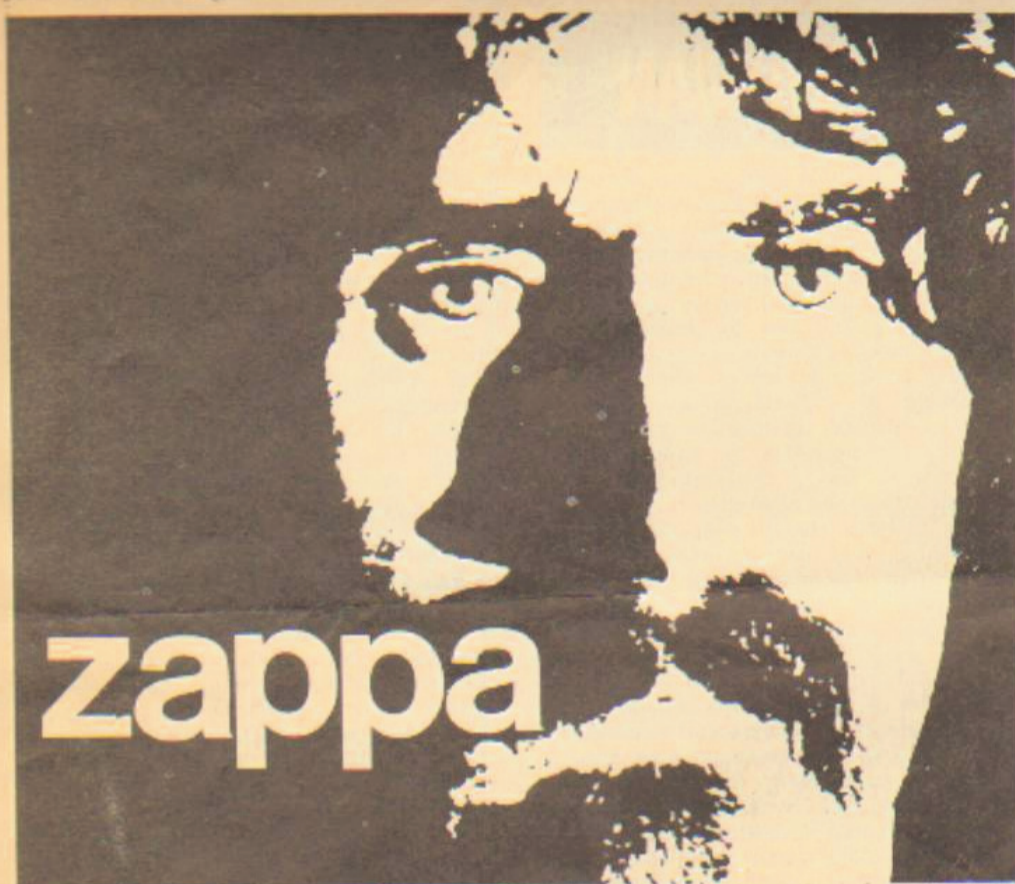
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4. Give 25" x 20" Pnk, bk & wht, 7/6
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Audience: Approx. 500.  
 Setting: LSE  
 Day: 27th May, 1969.  
 Time: 1.00pm

A film was shown. Mothers of Invention playing in the background. Blinking lights. Speeded up. Colours.

Film ends. Brief silence. Zappa and entourage enter stage entrance. Zappa sits on the single chair on the stage, the entourage on steps leading to the stage, the floor and amongst audience. One of the entourage resembles Julie Felix. About 5 cameramen using flash guns click away throughout the meeting. Zappa takes his time, moves slowly and takes his seat. He speaks slowly. The audience sits in suspense, obviously impressed by the film, many having watched his TV appearances expected God. The personality cult by the mass media works devastatingly. A long silence. Nervous laughter.

Zappa begins to talk. He starts by saying that he prefers discussion to speeches. Questions from the floor would start it off. Silence again. Artificial nervous questions begin. Inane questions like 'What was the point the film was trying to make? Did Zappa have something he wanted to communicate? Why did he make the film?' Answer: 'I like making movies'.

Short cryptic unfriendly answers are the response to a host of idiot questions about technical aspects. He shot the film slow and speeded it up. The film borrowed from material he named. No, he did not go to see underground movies and he had seen nothing of Andy Warhol. He did not believe in scenes. To be fair to him, the questions were insane, but this was so because of the high expectations entertained by the audience. In a way, Zappa must have seen the gap in the audience's mind between what the personality cult had created and reality. But the way in which he dealt with this was not one of communicating but antagonising by rude quips.

The natural reaction followed. The politicians, who had started by giving Zappa the benefit of their doubts, now reacted by seeking a reason for this lack of communication with the audience. Suddenly serious questions started to flow. Martin Tomkinson asked Zappa what he thought of the events at Berkeley. One must remember that the audience linked Zappa to the West Coast Movement in America, a movement which has recently become increasingly politicised. Zappa continued his flippant answers - he wasn't there. The audience pushed him to reply. Zappa said demonstrations were not his scene. He did not approve of demonstrations. He

Q: What are you going to do about America shitting all over the world.

A: What do you expect me to, stick my finger up its arse.

A comrade from India asked what Zappa expected a peasant in India to do, join the British bourgeoisie and fight to reform it from within? There were some rather more hostile heckles by now, accusing him of wanting to get as rich as Rockefeller before reforming the world. These gave way to a more volatile debate.

Martin pointed out to Zappa that although it may be possible for both of them to infiltrate, it was not credible advice to the negro sitting in Harlem. Unless he acted, no one was going to do it for him. It may well be more meaningful to talk in terms of taking up arms in certain circumstances than talking of infiltration. In reply Zappa treated this criticism with an affectionate appeal to 'Martin' (recognition of another famous person) and attacked demonstrations as this year's fad. 'We have tried everything else, why not inviltrate'.

Someone questioned how it was possible for the Vietnamese peasant to infiltrate an army without killing?

A: Plenty of jobs that do not involve killing

Heckle: Like loading the gun

Q: What would you do if people came and burnt your house down.

A: I would just go and build another one.

Heckle: You have the money.

Q: If you had something stolen would you call the police?

A: Yes, if it was big enough. Aside: That's what we pay taxes for. We might as well screw them for as much as we can get.

And so the discussion went on. What annoyed certain students was not that Zappa did not care about humanity in a particular way but his capitalisation of the trendy progressive image and the hypocrisy this involves. But he is a brilliant musical talent and he made his position on music in the following exchange.

Q: What is music.

A: Just music.

Q: Do you think music should exist for itself.

A: Yes it should.

This is O.K. but it is when Zappa has the nerve to advance political views (infiltration and love) that he becomes unacceptable.

I don't care whether Zappa gets his Cadillac or not. I hope for his sake that he does. Many less worthy men have. But when he comes to LSE and attacks the methods of the oppressed whether in Vietnam, Berkeley or Harlem then he is clarifying which side of the barricades he's on.

The question that summed it all up was:

Q: What distinguished you from Bob

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We regret season tickets are not available. Sound by W.E.M.S. Special lighting by IAN KNIGHT. Performances by the artists - people show by the audience! (There is no difference in the quality or length of the 5.30pm shows. The tickets are cheaper for people with less money or who have to travel distances to get home!)

ALL TICKETS ARE NOW ON SALE!

# MATCHBOX GIRLS

The women who work at Lesney Products and Co. Ltd., Hackney, make toys. The women packers there earn a basic hourly rate of 4s 6d. It's just gone up from 4s 3d. This means they get £9 a week basic wage. If they are on piece work a team of 3 women earn 4d per gross toys packed. In this way they can take home £12 - £13

Don't get the impression that they are complaining. They're not. If you think about it, it's not a bad wage for a 'woman'. And the conditions at Lesneys aren't anything to complain about. The hours are flexible. You can get off at 4 to get the tea ready or you can work in the evenings when your husband's at home. There's no union at Lesneys. There was a time when the women wanted a union but the men set up works committees instead. Now the women don't want to have anything to do with a union because they can get what they want when the management can afford to pay up.

The women who work at Lesneys Products and Co. Hackney are being exploited. Not because their wage isn't bad for a woman, not because of the conditions, not even because they haven't got a union.

Exploitation is a word that carries feeling with it and gets everyone huffing and puffing on one side or the other, so it's a good idea to make clear what is meant by it. If you exploit something or someone, you use them, you extract value from them.

The women who work at Lesney Products and Co. Hackney are being used and value is being extracted from them.

If you look at one woman, or a group of women, or a group of workers, you can always slither out of this. You can say someone else doesn't get so much or she could go and work at another place, or she's only doing it so she can show off and she doesn't really need the money as her husband's earning a good wage. But if you think of all the used people, if you see them as a class and you think of the others trapped in between eating off them - all the industrial relations people and the advertisers who get more money and whose whole

existence is based on toys which are packed - you construct a system - a structure in which the people are wedged with little chance to move or breathe.

If you look rather more closely at Lesneys and Co. Ltd., you will notice something else. There are several factories. The profits of the whole firm have risen 16 times over between April 1960 and April 1968.

In 1967 profits after tax were £1,271,214.

In 1968 profits after tax were £2,036,106.

In other words, profits between 1967 and 1968 were up by over £1 million.

The salaries of the company directors averaged before tax £6000 a year.

This comes to £120 a week. Each director has made over £4 million during the last ten years from shares.

Several directors are OBE's. Now OBE has various interpretations. It is sometimes said to stand for Other Buggers' Efforts. This would be a reasonable interpretation. It should not be a question of what the directors of Lesneys can "afford", but what the workers of Lesneys decide they can afford to pay them for unuseful work.

When you look at the thing in this general way it becomes clear that the women of Lesneys, along with a few million other people, are being exploited. Exploitation can be partly measured and accounts drawn up. It can be figured out.

But the deepest part of it evades such measurement. You cannot add up what the days and months and years of work going on and on and always the same do inside your head. There is the numbness and the bitterness and your soul sagging. This is the real cost of exploited labour.

Not that the directors of Lesneys are necessarily nasty men. They are no more nasty than the workers are stupid, because they hand over their surplus, or the ad-men parasites by nature because they do a job which would have no function if capital wasn't privately owned and the society based on trampling one another. No one is nasty or stupid or a parasite simply because they survive in a system with a distorted structure, they are merely stuck. Socialism is about unsticking it. Which takes us back to the women who work at Lesney Products and Co. Ltd., Hackney, who make toys and are exploited.

Dwarf Reporter

Based on information from East London International Socialists.

# CRIME NEWS

Our Pully dossier in the last Dwarf referred to the strange case of a black mechanic Sidney Broderick a citizen of Notting Hill Gate. He was brought up, quite falsely on an immoral earnings charge, and duly acquitted. During the proceedings he claims to have heard Pulley remark that 'If the immoral earnings charge doesn't stick we'll get him for driving while disqualified'. Last week after the jury had been out for an hour, he received a sentence of *nine months* for driving whilst disqualified.

The defence case was that the charge was a frame-up. The judge, Mr. Layton (formerly recorder at Smethwick) could not believe this. As he said in the trial 'Why should three honest policemen (Pully, Pryce and Chief Inspector Sullivan) fabricate a case against a little coloured man'.

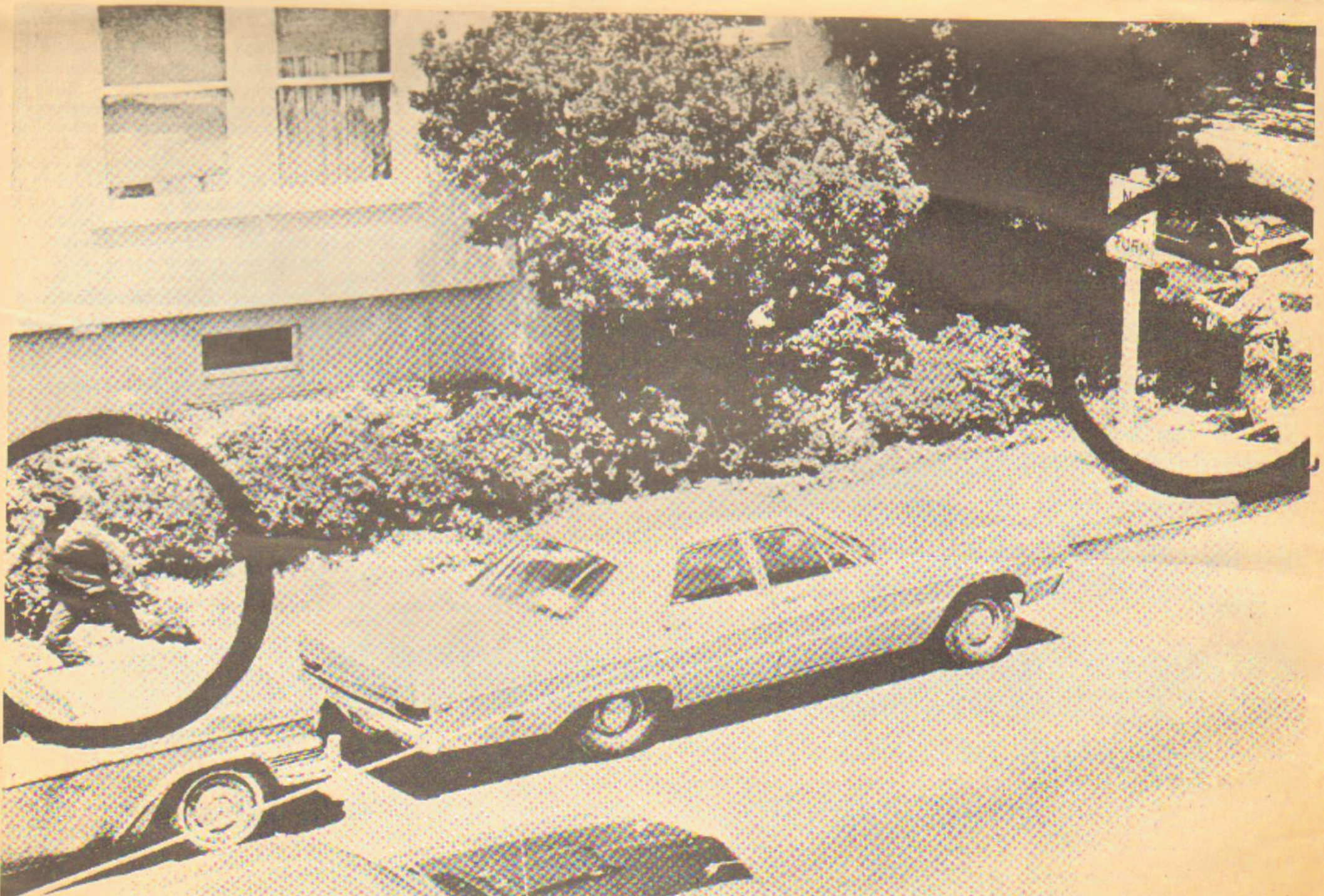
The court was attended by seven Notting Hill comrades. As they sat quietly in the public gallery waiting for the trial to begin a policeman came up and said he did not know why but could they all

leave the court please. Dutifully (the fools) they all filed down to the corridor below where they were immediately surrounded by *twenty* policemen and searched. Apart from pullouts of the Pulley dossier reprinted from the Black Dwarf nothing was found and all but one were allowed back into the court. The one being the comrade carrying the Dwarfs who was manhandled and kept out.

Another interesting thing about this case is the way the Unfree press is nibbling around the edges of the story. Wierd items have appeared in both The Times and the Guardian about the Broderick case which must have struck non-Dwarf readers as most peculiar and inconsequential. The Times has dreamt up a 'Black Dwarf Movement' and the Guardian carried the Judges assurance that no prejudice was involved in the sentencing. As usual the Unfree papers know a scandal when they see one. But none of them dare risk their contacts with Scotland Yard - just think of all these valuable circulation building crime stories and background reports - by being the first to blow it. So the Dwarf is blowing hard, and improving its contacts with Scotland Yard every day. Whilst The Times and the Guardian keep their fingers in the racist mess of Notting Hill so that when it spills over into Parliament and other receptacles they can claim that they did their bit of stirring.

# BERKELEY: STUDENT VIOLENCE

Emitt Wallace a Berkeley student took this picture out of his window on May 15th. As reported by the San Francisco Chronicle he said: 'I was looking out of the window on Thursday afternoon and I saw some fifty people standing on the corner. They all started to run. The cop came round the corner and stood there like he was going to shoot. I never dreamt that he would but I picked up my camera. The policeman fired, the guy fell down in the street howling. The cop took off and someone dragged the guy into a house'. Repression in the States is escalating fast. Berkeley - where police are using buckshot, C.S. gas, torture, bayonets and high calibre bullets - is far worse than Chicago. The bad press the police and state officials have received has had no effect on Cowboy Regan, the Governor of California. So how would you stop the policeman in this photograph given that there is no appeal to higher authority? In self defense American comrades are taking up arms instead of cameras.



# DWARF DIARY

The harassment goes on: the police finally completed their round of the Underground press with visits on 3rd June to various members of the staff of the Notting Hill Gate local paper *The Hustler*. Cressy and Moody (see Dwarf 17) spent nearly an hour asking polite questions and reassuring *The Hustler's* editor that it wasn't them they were after but *The Black Dwarf*. Which is bloody funny because we were assured by the same comedy team that it was not *The Black Dwarf* they wanted but *Black Dimensions*. Their questions to *The Hustler* were all about P.C. Pulley and the description of him by George Clark as in danger of becoming "the black man's Challenger". They also asked if *The Hustler* had any notes taken at the meeting ten months ago when the statement was made. Notes. What a classic bit of policemanese. The only person taking notes at that meeting was Superintendent Patterson, Head of the Notting Hill Gate police. Why don't Cressy and Moody ask him what was said and stop bothering all of us. We'll take this opportunity to remind everyone what a good paper *The Hustler* can be and that it needs help. Three weeks ago its offices were broken into and files and letters taken. If this kind of thing goes on the Free Press will have to organise its own anti-police force. Around last October our office was broken into three times. Only once was anything of any value taken. The other times we can only conclude it was the police themselves. What would we do if we caught a policeman in the act? Arrest him and try him at a People's Court in Powis Square. In fact there is so much evidence flying around now on the Pulley case, why don't the Notting Hill Gate comrades put him on public trial themselves. He doesn't have to be there. If he were found guilty the sentence could be carried out after the revolution. Don't wait for the authorities to grant a public inquiry. They are never going to do it. Have your own inquiry now. As we go to press evidence is reaching us which seems to indicate that when it comes to black baiting down the Gate, Pulley is very much third division stuff. There are coppers way ahead of him. We must ask our readers to be patient as obviously when you start accusing policemen of crimes (even though about 60 are convicted every year) you have to be very sure of your facts and a lot of checking has to go on. But we are slowly collecting the evidence and we will soon be ready to publish.

Free papers are starting up everywhere. The newest to come our way is HOD produced by a group of schools comrades in Leeds aged between 14 and 19. The older ones who are now out at work subsidise the small loss out of their wages. Already repression has begun with

the banning of the magazine by outraged Headmasters and mistresses. The story was followed up first by the disgusting Yorkshire Post and then other un-free papers. This is the editorial from the current issue of HOD.

*A copy happened to be bought by a reporter from the Yorkshire Post called Fisher. Nearly a week after he bought it, he decided to follow up the story of the bans and accordingly called HOD for an interview. As many of those involved in HOD's as could be gathered went to see him. From the line of his questioning, we gathered that he did not think much of the idea of an open press and that he was very interested in any political connections we might have. The next day, Thursday 3rd April, - it was a bad day for news - the lead item on the Home News page was 'Heads ban "pupil power" magazine' and - yes - it was about HOD, despite the fact that we had told reporter Fisher that the magazine has no policy. There were over 8 column inches of words from Miss Longworth of Laneswood and Mr. Whitehead of Allerton Grange on why they had banned HOD and why their schools were marvellous, then there were 2 column inches from us (he spent half-an-hour with us getting that). The reporter brought attention to the features 'Is HOD obscene?' 'Sex and Fascism' and 'Hendrix Blows a Mind' - he chose to ignore features on art, Czechoslovakia and Rianghill. Then there were the heads talking of 'implied support given to publications which I would not care to have my girls read' (IT and OZ perhaps), 'four-letter words' (presumably 'shit', 'crap' and 'piss', though possibly 'left' and 'head') and 'invitations to meetings in what appeared to be rather sordid surroundings' (what on earth did he mean by that?); all this coupled with the remark from the Chief Education Officer which ended the report - 'I would warn you that some of its contents are not suitable for publication' - made the article add up to a masterpiece of insinuation.*

*On Saturday, the Sun and the Daily Mail decided to fill up a bit of column space with the story - the Sun being particularly interested in the fact that we were 'obscene' and carried 'articles on sex and Fascism' (the mind boggles).*

*Fascinating that on the day the Post reported on HOD, its lead story was 'Czechs bow to Soviet pressure and gag Press'.*

*Since this appeared a number of sinister things have been going on in Leeds. A boys home has been searched by the police as a result of a very innocuous leaflet. A temporary teacher, Dave Gibson, has been sacked from his job for his involvement with Hod. Leeds comrades should rally round these incidents and this magazine.*

**YOUNG MOLE TOO** "In the signs that bewilder the middle class, the aristocracy and the poor prophets of regression, we do recognise our brave friend, Robin Goodfellow, the old mole that can work in the earth so fast, that worthy pioneer - the Revolution." *Karl Marx speech at the anniversary of the "People's Paper".*

After Harvard's Old Mole and Cambridge's 1/- Paper THE MOLE now has its claws out in Brighton.

|                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <b>EDITORIAL BOARD</b>             | Clive Goodwin, John Hoyland, Sheila Rowbotham, Adrian Mitchell, Fred Halliday, Anthony Barnett, Vinay Chand, Tariq Ali. |
| <b>DESIGNER</b>                    | Mike Newton Ruth Prentice, Agitprop Publicity Group.  |
| <b>CIRCULATION AND ADVERTISING</b> | David Kendall   |
| <b>DISTRIBUTION</b>                | John West   |
| <b>SECRETARY</b>                   | Ann Scott.  |

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Distributed by Moore-Harves Ltd, 11 Levee Street, EC1.

The University of Sussex swings trendily five miles out of town, utterly remote from anything. Meanwhile in balmy South Coast Brighton wages are low, housing lousy, the land speculators and the local fat cats have the town sewn up.

MOLE challenges that MOLE is a revolutionary socialist paper open to all socialists. The aim is to build up a solid readership in all Brighton colleges (especially the Tech) and then move out to the local working class. They aim to do this by being tied to no group, by being a newspaper, concentrating on local issues, stirring up the plentiful shit in Brighton. Watch out... Contact 83 St. Aubyns, Hove BN32IL Sussex.

Manchester now has its own revolutionary paper. Entitled Grass Eye it has recently made the difficult transformation from duplicated news-sheet to printed newspaper. The first printed copy came out a few weeks ago, and sold very well, although many people felt that there was too much emphasis on pop and not nearly enough on revolutionary politics.

In future they hope that the paper will come out regularly every fortnight, and will give the revolutionary movement among Mancunian youth its own voice.

Of course at this stage there are enormous difficulties - not just those of content of the paper, but layout, sales, and naturally finance. New printers have been approached and during the summer period they will be experimenting with the paper to try and get a workable balance of politics, local news, and underground sub-culture. They hope by the autumn to have evolved a form of paper which will not only be readable and popular, but will also maintain a revolutionary integrity.

Out of the contact between the LSE Socialist Society and the Schools Action Union at the Left Convention has grown a scheme for a 'Living School' to be held at the LSE on July 28, 29, and 30. The school will last three days and the facilities are being provided by LSE Soc-Soc.

Several preliminary meetings have been held and the basic outline has been agreed on. Five programmes will be running in a very flexible framework, so that people can decide for themselves which to attend. The principle programme will be a series of discussions on education: - the content of what is taught in schools, the way this is taught, and its relationship in society. Alternative ideas on how specific subjects can be approached will be encouraged; support from radical teachers and

militant school students should produce lively discussion groups. LSE Socialist Society is preparing a programme on both school militants and the student movement in general in this country and the experience of such struggles elsewhere - in France and Italy, for example.

Another programme at the Living School will be discussions on the industrial and political situation in this country and abroad with active participation from industrial militants and apprentices hoped for. As well as this, various liberation movements will be discussed in detail. For example, a film of FRELIMO cadres will be shown and the Frelimo Solidarity Committee will be represented in the discussions.

AGITPROP will play a major part in the discussions on agitation, propaganda and culture; this aspect of the Living School programme will include discussions on communications and the mass media. POSTERWORKSHOP is expected to have a unit screen printing so that people can join in. And there will be practical advice from comrades involved in the production of leaflets, news sheets, and papers.

And apart from these discussion groups, there will be entertainment: films, street theatre, music. The grand finale to the Living School will be a dance - efforts are being made to make this a really big event.

So that 'Living School' is an experiment which may well contribute not only to the development of the schools movement but could lead to further experiments on these lines - perhaps even a counter-institution. And in any case, it will be one of the major events of the year.

## ROGER SMALLEY

Pulses for 5 x 4 Players (new work)

London Sinfonietta conductor **ATHERTON**  
Queen Elizabeth Hall Fri. June 20th at 7.45.

## London Co-operative Society's open summer school

26th July - 2nd August 1969  
At Easthampstead Park College, Wokingham, Berks.

## THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION TODAY & TOMORROW

Assistant Education Secretary  
LCS Education Dept.  
116 Notting Hill Gate, London W11  
(01-727 0649)

# EVENTS

**JUNE 13 to 19: WORLD PREMIERE OF JEAN-LUC GODARD'S LATEST FILM: 'LE GAI SAVOIR',** at the Electric Cinema Club, 191 Portobello Road, W.11, (tel: 727-4922), 11 p.m. (1.15 a.m. also Friday and Saturday). Admission 5s; membership 2s 6d. (members of ICA, Arts Lab, New Cinema Club accepted). All profits to the Dwarf.

**JUNE 14 to 17: LEICESTER:** National Seminar on Student Struggle. Speakers include Pete Gowan (*Birmingham*), David Triesman (*Essex*), Nick Bateson (*LSE*), on the problems of mass struggle; Paul Hurst (*Sussex*), on contradictions among students. Paul Keleman (*Sheffield*) and Robin Blackburn (*LSE*) on ideological combat; Ben Brewster (*SOAS*) on 'Violence and Freedom'; Ray Burnett (*Aberdeen*) on Revolutionary organisation on campus; John Birtwhistle (*Oxford Left*) and Neil Lindon (*Cambridge Shilling Paper*) on the role and tasks of magazines and newspapers; Murray Smith (*Glasgow*) and Ted Parker (*LSE*) on working off campus. There will be full discussion of the LSE struggle, with Cinema Action's new film on the struggle there; Dave Slaney, Jim Kuplan, Martin Tomkinson, Nick Bateson, Robin Blackburn,

**JUNE 16:** Comrades are asked to note Oswald Moseley's Union Movement rally which will take place at Laurie Hall, Romford Market, Romford on June 16, 7.30 p.m. Moseley's fascists have started a campaign with rallies throughout Britain - Moseley himself and other leading fascists will be speaking at Romford. Many national and local organisations have pledged their support for a counter-demonstration on the same evening, if the Black Shirts go ahead, the counter-demonstrators will try to break it up. For further details of the demonstration, contact Hornchurch 48032; or Terry Ward (Havering IS), Hornchurch 44115.

**JUNE 16 to 17: ANGRY ARTS FILM SOCIETY IS SHOWING "BEFORE THE REVOLUTION".** Bertolucci's subtle observation of the tensions of Italian society towards the concept of revolution. Unity Theatre, 1 Goldington Street, N.W.1, 7.30 p.m. both evenings. Tickets 5/- or membership from Angry Arts, 6 Bramhill Gdns., London N.W.5, tel: 263-0616.

**JUNE 17: Public Meeting: "THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS NINTH CONGRESS".** speaker: Roland Berger, who has just returned from China. Chairman: Professor Joan Robinson. Holborn Central Library, Theobalds Road, W.C.1. 7.30 p.m. Organised by Society for Anglo Chinese Understanding, 24 Warren Street, London W.1. tel: 387 0074.

**JUNE 18: THE NUBSERS' CONGRESS**

**JUNE 18: OPEN CONFERENCE IN RUSKIN COLLEGE, OXFORD,** starting 9.30am to criticise the form and content of teaching in the social sciences and philosophy. The morning session will be a series of discussions on themes like *exploitation - in industrial relations, race, imperialism*, and also to show up the general inadequacy of social science courses. The afternoon session will be devoted to the *role of the university in society*, with comrades involved in the anti-exam campaign at Cambridge; the *role of students in the revolutionary movement*, with students from Franco, SDS, Hornsey LSE. The discussion will then relate back to the situation in Oxford. Oxford comrades would like active participation, papers, etc., from people interested. - contact Hilary Wainwright at 0092-34792.

**JUNE 22: IRISH SOLIDARITY DEMONSTRATION,** Contact Pat Denny, 36 Gilden Rd., NW5, tel: GUL 9476.

**'STRIKE!'** Current Unity Theatre production ending 29 June is a play by Arnold Hinchcliffe about the 1926 General Strike and the struggle of the miners and working class against the ruling aristocracy. Friday, Saturday and Sunday each week, at Unity Theatre, 1 Goldington Street, London NW1, tel: EUS 8647. Tickets 10s to 5s.

**JUNE 27: Manchester I.S. poetry and music social,** with Alex Fraser among others. At the Wellington, High Street, Manchester, 7.30 p.m., admission 2/6.

fascism", "Solidarity with the South Africa Freedom Fighters". More details from Southern Africa Solidarity Committee, c/o Free Assembly, 41 Cecil Park, London N.8.

**JUNE 29: SPAIN - PROTEST AGAINST POLITICAL PRISONERS AND REPRESSION BY FRANCO.** March from Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park - rally 3 p.m. to the Spanish Embassy. Organised by the Spanish Liberation Council.

**JUNE 29: GRASS EYE BENEFIT:** Manchester's new revolutionary-pop-underground paper is having a benefit at The Magic Village. Arrangements are only tentative; contact Grass Eye, c/o Delta (art shop), 52 Corporation St., Manchester 4.

**JULY 5: TIM DALY'S 21ST BIRTHDAY.** Tim is in Wormwood Scrubs for 4 years for setting fire to the Imperial War Museum dome. Comrades who support Tim's action could write to him on his birthday to show solidarity. Letters to: 604105, Daly, H.M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs, Du Cane Road, London, W.12.

**JULY 6: Conference at the Roundhouse Chalk Farm: LIBERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND GUERRILLA WARFARE.** Speakers: Representatives of ANC (South Africa), SWAPO (Namibia - South West Africa), ZAPU (Zimbabwe), FRELIMO (Mozambique), MPLA (Angola); also Basil Davidson, Ruth First, Paul