

# The Black Dwarf

ESTABLISHED 1817 VOL. 14 No. 20

Fortnightly 1/6



WORLD STRUGGLE • RHODESIA • TUNISIA CONGO VENEZUELA

# Editorial

The Campaign of solidarity with the struggle for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland could advance the revolutionary movement in England almost as much as the Vietnam Campaign has done. In 1968 and the first part of 1969, from the beginning of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign to the spontaneous end of the LSE struggle, we have seen a period of militant action. Although a lot of the strength and energy of the movement were drawn from abroad there was a period of mass struggle here at home, despite the fact that the numbers mobilised have always been a small minority of youth or of students. But the experience of these actions have still left us without a coherent strategy. The fact remains that despite the chronic post-imperial financial crisis, the attacks on the Unions, and Powellite racialism, there is no political contradiction in England which the left has had the maturity to develop. There is now no dominant issue which is acting as a focus for militant struggle and generating militant non-sectarian politics. New forms of struggle have been developed; the last Dwarf reported on Cinema Action and this issue reports Poster Workshop. Old areas of struggle have been brought back to life by the squatters and the rent strikes and industrial militancy is now better organised and more political. But as far as open revolutionary struggle is concerned we are still in the position of having to support and follow events elsewhere.

Northern Ireland is far enough away for there to be open class struggle, but close enough for it to be entwined into the history of the class structure of England. Westminster, a large chunk of English capital, and more important, a significant sector of English workers are all deeply involved. The work of the campaign, among both the Irish and the English, can bring home the fact that it is the English ruling class and their cousins in Ireland who are the enemy; not just as landowners or in Parliament, but as the political representatives of capitalism. So the solidarity campaign that has been launched and been given strong support by two English groups, IS and RSSF, must attempt to shift the character of the campaign away from the traditional dependence on solidarity actions alone and build it into the real structure of English politics. The initial signs are moderately promising and the most important work for laying the basis to such a strategy, the mobilisation of the Irish working class, has already started and is described in our report on the ICRSC.

The solidarity campaign must start with some understanding of the situation in Ireland, in particular by encouraging as much open debate as possible. The most pressing problem is the nature of the civil rights movement itself. For without doubt the Civil Rights movement in Northern Ireland is in part a positive advance for the bourgeoisie both Catholic and Protestant. By rationalising the political structure of the North and ridding it of its extreme archaism it will allow Irish capital, both North and South to co-operate better with each other and more important with British and International Capital. But this modernisation contains two dangers to the bourgeoisie: the possibility of a permanent split within the Unionist ruling group and the possibility of the working class who have been mobilised on the issue of Civil Rights becoming permanently politicised on class lines.

A number of splits did develop within the Unionist bloc, the clearest example of which was the clash between O'Neill, the ex premier of the North and Paisley, the quasi Fascist religious leader. This division was papered over in April by an agreement with Paisley made while in prison with O'Neill's choice for his successor, Chichester-Clark. Paisley supported Chichester Clark for premier in return for an amnesty. Clearly revolutionaries in the North must do everything they can to break open the all-class alliances among the Protestants.

The demands of People's Democracy for houses and jobs, as well as votes, holds out the second danger of the Civil Rights campaign as far as the bourgeoisie in Ireland and Westminster are concerned - the birth of a permanent non-sectarian working class movement. And PD's demands are echoed by the ICRSC in England where the Irish proletariat outnumbers that in Ulster itself. The PD strategy of posing class demands within a militant middle-class movement is about to be tested. After the march in Strabane on Saturday, 28th June, they made clear their differences with the Catholic Nationalists and a debate has opened within the Civil Rights movement. PD are in a strong position as their newspaper has just come out and Bernadette is back in Ulster. Strong enough for Chichester-Clark to attack them openly and to be joined by the Thompson empire's Belfast Telegraph - The Protestant oligarchy has called on the Catholic Liberals and Tories to stop

pandering to the students in PD and to crush them. It will be a difficult task. PD's weakness is numerous confrontations and their election campaign earlier this year has given them a popular base from which to work; a base of support built by their actions and their militancy. So although the comrades in PD are confused, ill read and unprepared, they are now having to implement their main aim, which is to work among the mass of Catholic working class within the framework of Civil Rights campaign fighting for class demands and attempting to develop a well-based revolutionary socialist organisation from this struggle. As a result of their militancy the Civil Rights movement has now polarised in Northern Ireland and may well split. If it does we must be prepared and must support the militant wing and PD. But at the same time we should encourage PD not to walk out of the Unified Civil Rights movement but to attempt to seize its leadership. Should the Tories and Liberals try to expel PD for raising class issues and for being determined to fight instead of allowing Chichester-Clark two peaceful years in which to deal with Paisley then it will be much easier to demonstrate their class role and their political connection with the Unionists. As they have successfully helped to build up a mass movement with revolutionaries PD would be foolish to throw it away. They must fight to win it over to their position without fearing, indeed they should encourage, attacks from the ideologues of green Toryism.

The solidarity movement in England faces more difficult and very important questions which stem in part from the confusion in Northern Ireland. First, as our report discusses, it does not have a revolutionary programme, in other words there is no equivalent with the V.S.C.'s demand for 'Victory to the N.L.F.' This is not in itself a drawback, in fact it is in some ways a positive advantage as it demands explanation and analysis which involve discussing issues that are very close to home. But the very general nature of the demands, for votes, jobs and houses, must not become an excuse for depoliticising the Campaign.

There are two ways in which this could happen.

Firstly these demands could positively retard political discussion, in particular of the role of British and Irish Capitalism. An example of this is the argument that has been put forward both within the Solidarity campaign and in Northern Ireland that the demand for Jobs and Houses are revolutionary because it cannot be granted. This is a very dubious position and should be argued and discussed at length. The Dwarf would welcome a comrade from the campaign who does think this is a valid position to start the discussion rolling. Further the Solidarity campaign has already blocked some political discussion on the grounds that the campaign must be supported first. This runs the danger of preventing the growth of any internal political life within the I.C.R.S.C. Depoliticisation is not a necessary consequence of the type of demands that the Campaign is putting forward. As Martin Shaw argues, "support first, and then criticism" but a critical politics is necessary and it will not come about if the general demands are allowed to dominate the internal political discussion instead of being the result of such discussion.

The second great danger posed by these demands is that they will lower the militancy of the Campaign. Again this is not a criticism of these demands in the present situation, except that it must be made clear that the solidarity campaign is committed to a united workers and Farmers Socialist Republic. But we can see all too easily how with general slogans on its banners the campaign may descend in its national mobilisations, to general head counting in place of striking at political targets. P.D. should be the model in this matter. They have not flinched from battle with the R.U.C. when that sectarian force decided to put them down. Nor has it avoided demonstrations which might bring it into conflict with the Paisleyites. The solidarity campaign will be judged, in England as in Ireland, not by its slogans but by its actions.

The strategy that the CRSC has followed so far, large meetings with Bernadette, followed up with smaller meetings and groundwork organisation is laying the basis for a successful Campaign. Its broadsheet, the critical support it gave to the NICRA rally in Trafalgar Square and the attendance at that rally, the RSSF's special paper and the discussions among the student base groups which has already produced a number of special magazines and £500 for P.D. sent by Manchester and Norwich Student Unions, all show that there is tremendous interest and popular support for the civil rights movement. The Irish in England and the English youth who support them know well the record of bloody English repression in Ireland and the fact that there is a great tradition of insurrectionary opposition in Ireland of which the Civil Rights movement is a part. Thus the Irish issue creates the demand for a thorough theoretical and political understanding of the class nature of power in this country as well as in Ireland itself and does so in a way intimately connected with the desire for militant action and mass struggle. This political militancy, which is of tremendous importance to us in this country at the present moment must not be squandered: either by pandering to it and forgetting the difficult tasks of polemic, or by frittering it away in rallies and marches that go from nowhere to nowhere.

## Ireland: Base For Revolution



In Ireland, 1968 it is the police who have to build the barricades.

At a crowded meeting in an Islington pub on June 30, local Irish workers and English socialists launched an Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign in the area. Apart from an Orangeman who claimed that housing in Northern Ireland was better than in England - not, mind you, that anyone at the meeting thought that housing in England, least of all in Islington, was anything to write home about - the meeting was united in its determination to begin a political campaign of support for the militant civil rights movement. The main discussion centred around what to do next - a campaign of open-air meetings in shopping centres, leafletting and selling broadsheets in bus stops, demonstrations, socials, the mounting of industrial action. Several of the demonstrators volunteered to produce leaflets, organise meetings, and to produce a steering committee.

local organisation and plan local activities. And the Campaign is now being taken to other big cities in England and Scotland, while plans are underway for a massive national demonstration on the anniversary of the first major civil rights clash at Derry, October 5.

The initiative for the Campaign came from the International Socialists, (whose local branches have done most of the work in setting up the Campaign in London), and from Irish socialists in the London branch of the People's Democracy. It is at present run by a steering committee consisting of IS, PD, and Irish militants, with the RSSF, which pledged support for all socialist solidarity action at its Manchester conference in March and has produced a special paper on the struggle there, the IMG and other groups attached to it. The aim is to hold a conference as soon as there are a good number of functioning branches, and to elect a Committee representing the branches. The Campaign is open to all those (regardless of political affiliation) who support the demands of the Irish civil rights movement for housing, jobs, and the dismantling of the Unionist Government, and the demand that the

MP's, the solidarity campaign is based on taking the civil rights cause straight to the Irish working class and the rank-and-file of the Labour movement in this country. These are the only genuine allies in Britain for any Irish workers' movement. Only their action could ever provide the really effective support here which the Irish civil rights movement badly needs.

It is here, of course, that the difference between Bernadette Devlin and the so-called Labour "Lefts" shows itself: Bernadette uses her position to make an extra-parliamentary approach to the working class, while the "Lefts" confine themselves to such antics as are possible within the Westminster gas-house.

The ICRSC does not have an explicitly socialist programme. This, of course, is something that the sectarians have already pounced upon. But the ICRSC programme is not "an opportunist sell-out". British socialists have a duty to support the fight of the Irish workers and students against oppression and discrimination. We do not have the right to say, "We will only support you if your demands are socialist". British imperialism has been dictating to the Irish for long enough, and British socialists should not put themselves in that tradition. Support first, then criticism: that is the right order. The campaign is being built on a basis of support for the civil rights movement, although within the campaign socialists must, and do, advance their own position.

In fact, the Civil Rights movement in Northern Ireland itself is increasingly faced with long-term political choices. It is clear that

Chichester-Clark is no more capable than O'Neill was of granting in full even the "equal votes" demand - let alone the demands for jobs and homes (which could only be met with massive extra UK subsidiaries which, of course, Wilson cannot afford to supply). It has become clear, too, that the right-wing of the civil rights movement will compromise even on such minimal demands rather than face the revolutionary implications of this fact. The left must therefore realise that the only way out, the only way of avoiding continual defeats, is to mobilise the Irish working class, North and South, behind a socialist programme. It must see, too, that to do this, to make the slogan for the workers' republic meaningful, it is necessary to create an all-Irish revolutionary party.

The amnesty has now ended and the civil rights movement is back on the streets, as the march of 5,000 at Strabane (male unemployment rate 24%) has shown. It is preparing for battles which lie ahead against the Unionist Government, with its Special Powers Act, its Royal Ulster Constabulary, its B-Specials, and the extreme Paisleyites. As this crunch approaches, it is essential to be in a position to be able to organise solidarity policies to guide the Irish movement. These need to be expressed through a revolutionary organisation in Ireland, but British socialists can influence their development through the solidarity movement. And at the same time, by building the Solidarity Campaign, we can bring thousands of Irish and British workers in this country towards revolutionary socialism.

Martin Shaw

COVER PICTURE: Viciously armed with a loaded book the student is deliberately demonstrating in Milan in solidarity with the people of Battipaglia. Notice the way he has violently seized one of the policemen by the hands, and the heroic efforts of the other special police - or Martians as they are called - to rescue their colleague.

The Martians, as well as the ordinary police, the Carabinieri, were driven out of Battipaglia when they tried to

important rail junction, the Martians were called in, had to fight their way off the autostrada. They failed to dislodge the demonstrators and tries to smash their way through the town. Finally in a last desperate attempt to gain control they opened fire on some demonstrators. The cry of "Assassins" went up, and the Martians and Carabinieri alike were booted out, fleeing across the fields, or in police vans whose tyres had been slashed. The people of Battipaglia

Lloyd George knew her Father

Back to 1953 and the post coronation blues. The revolutionary left still does not know what is going on in this country and we don't seem to have much idea as to how the ruling class works. The pathetic response to the investiture shows that we must start out on the ABC of political power in Britain.

From the anarchists to the Morning Star everybody capitulated to the dull boring and fundamentally wrong position on the Monarchy. The old porridge of liberalism, utilitarianism, and economism that characterises the British left was served up as usual, and as usual it was last week's leftovers. The liberalism 'a shocking waste'; the utilitarianism, 'better spent on . . .'; and the economism 'its irrelevant'. Those were the comments that we had from Marxists, and however good their reading might be one thing is clear: they don't know how to think about England.

The fact is that the investiture was not irrelevant. It was a part of an extremely powerful weapon of social and political integration. A sharp edged weapon of the counter revolution better than many thousand cannisters of napalm. The real power of capitalism is its control over the relations of production. But that control is exercised out of the factory as well as inside it. It is political as well as economic, and it is social and ideological as well as political. The Monarchy is a fundamental part of the ideological structures which dominate us in this country; dominate revolutionaries as well as middle class nannies and mystified ex-servicemen.

The monarchy, and the periodic celebrations of it, are the keystone to a system of rank and hierarchy which includes the Lords, Judges medals and degrees. This system of imposed social difference exaggerates a form of class consciousness, and at the same time displaces it from the real relations of power. The more this social difference appears arbitrary the more effective its distortion. But of course if it becomes completely arbitrary and anachronistic it will fail to gain any credibility. Thus the royal family (since when was royalty, that great concept of lineage, a family?) is made to appear human so that an investiture can be plausible. False consciousness is not a pain in the head, which is only a symptom, it is systematically created by a propaganda machinery which we have to understand.

An indication that the monarchy is in fact a modern weapon of distortion and not an antiquated relic: the investiture was founded in Wales by Lloyd George in 1911. It is no miracle that the so called royal family can adapt itself to the modern media with such ease. It is a modern institution, clothed in medieval junk.

The irrelevancy of the Monarchy is exactly what is relevant about it, because it is one of its main strengths. After all if it is irrelevant, why get angry about it. The crazy absurdity of it leaves comrades speechless and unable to smash the nauseous petty bourgeois. The adulation exaggerated form of class power that an investiture represents cannot be attacked until its relationship with the ruling class is understood. The Queen is rich, but she doesn't own Fords, and so our critics of capitalism get back to the daily struggle. And in one sense they are right. Opposition to the monarch on the terms of the bourgeoisie, blowing up Charles, attacking the Queen in person, only has a limiting effect in boosting morale. What we must grasp is the effect of the whole system of artificial rank which lays a smokescreen between us and the real relations of power.

Nonsense! All too elaborate! Intellectualism! The response of the bovine left can be heard before the argument has even begun. How can we insist that because false consciousness may be false, that doesn't alter the fact that it exists, that it takes specific forms, and that its counter revolutionary effects are very great? How can we demand that revolutionaries get it into their heads that the ruling class have at their command simple if sophisticated weapons which they use successfully but which cannot be smashed until they are understood. Proletarian fighters must see that the monarchy is an integral part of the political power exercised over workers in the factory.

Fortunately, there is a respected political journal within the poverty stricken world of our home grown economism and that is of course *The Economist*. Like the Dwarf, it too is afraid that its readers will capitulate to economism and measure the success of the investiture by vulgar and petty means such as the increase in the rate of Welsh Tourism - as if anyone cares about Wales in all this. In its editorial on the investiture *The Economist* cautioned its readers:

"Some people say that the pageantry involved the expenditure of too much money on a matter of too little importance. They are quite mistaken . . . behind the emblazoned scenes, these great parades of royalty play an important part in Britain's sane system of government, although without most people realising why."

Adrian Mitchell formerly TV reviewer of The Sunday Times is now writing exclusively for The Black Dwarf on Royal Television. Here he reviews

# THE MOST EXPENSIVE COMMERCIAL EVER MADE

Bony Prince Charlie said on TV: "The thing that makes me suspicious about the anarchists is that when they appear, the Press are always there." Same thing happens when the Royals appear, but it makes the Dwarf suspicious of the Press.

GEEWHIZ facts from The Royal Commercial: Prince "Siddown and shuddup" Phil is associated with 16 different flying associations, 30,000 people will see Queen Corky at garden parties this year and the two of them put together shook hands 5,000 times in Chile in 14 days (not with each other). In the course of making the film the BBC/ITV computer lost count of the number of arses kissed.

Cecil Day "Why do we all/Seeing a Red feel small" Lewis and his Investiture ode published in the Guardian. The Daily Teleeraph Magazine wrote to Dwarf Adrian Mitchell for a bit of his verse thus: "Could you, for instance, let us have some verse on how you see the relationship that exists between the Prince of Wales and the Welsh people? Obviously, it is quite impossible for us to let you have a clear brief, but what we hope to achieve is something that will in some way reflect the Welsh mood as we see it, or even as they see it." Mitchell loyally mailed the following dwarf sonnet to the Mag:

TO CHARLES WINDSOR-MOUNTBATTEN  
Royalty is a neurosis.  
Get well soon.  
Mitchell's masterpiece was rapidly, but politely, declined.

Richard Cawston's well-out movie was full of surrealist and sinister images. Some of the most memorable ones:  
A. Close-up of button on Corky's desk. She presses it. There is no explosion.  
B. Dumbo Dumbo zoom cartwheeling to Princess Anne.  
C. Roaring images of starved dogs barking at nothing.

ROYAL WARRANT



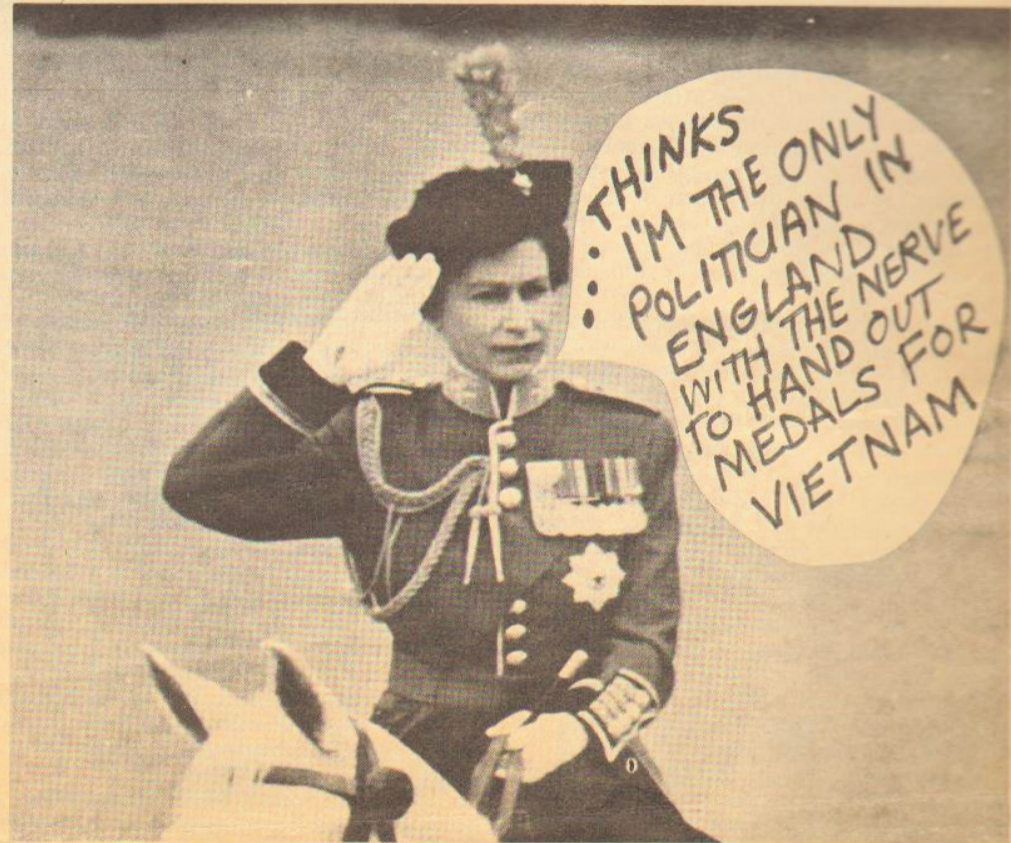
The Vietnam Medal

ELIZABETH R.  
ELIZABETH THE SECOND, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Her other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith. To all to whom these Presents shall come.  
GREETING:  
WHEREAS We have given consideration to the need for recognition of the service of members of the New Zealand Armed Forces and by duly accredited members of approved philanthropic organisations

...serving with these forces in assisting the forces of the Republic of Vietnam to repel aggression;

AND WHEREAS We are desirous of recognising this service to Our Realm of New Zealand:  
We do by these present for Us, Our Heirs and Successors institute and create a new Medal.

1. The Medal shall be designated and styled The Vietnam Medal.
2. The Medal shall be of silver and circular in shape bearing on the obverse Our Royal Effigy Crowned, and, on the reverse, the word 'Vietnam' inscribed above a symbolic representation of the ideological war in Vietnam depicting the figure of man in the centre of the Medal standing between spherical shapes.
3. The Medal shall be worn on the left breast suspended by a yellow ribbon 1 1/2 ins. long.



All this led up to the Hard Sell: "The strength of the monarchy does not lie in the power it gives the sovereign, but in the power it denies to anyone else." ESPECIALLY THE PEOPLE.

Charlie has a large tongue, large hands, a large nose and large feet. Will he have to marry a large Princess? And if he really objects to being called "a political tool" why does the newly-designed fleur-de-lys (tickling stick) resemble nothing so much as three rampant circumcised cocks?

Back to that Royal Commercial again. All over Britain ordinary Britons are still asking, what did it all mean? Why does the BBC keep putting on these plays without a proper ending, like a death or something? Here is a conversation between two ordinary Britons. I will call them Fred and Bill to shield their identities. Their dialogue has been translated back from the Izvestia version:

BILL: I say Fred, what do you think about Her Majesty after watching that play?  
FRED: Well, Bill, I am bound to say that I do not envy her her job!  
BILL: What? But surely her life must be both enjoyable and rewarding. With those dogs and pearls and soldiers and things.  
FRED: Would you say so, Bill? But Her Majestical has many onerous duties to perform. Is not her motto, I Serve?  
BILL: No Fred, I think it is God Save the Queen.  
FRED: Be that as it may, Bill, she is expected to lend her name to charities of every sort, to attend with the horse racing and to shake hands among other things with members of the Family of Commonwealth without regard for race, colour, creed or money.  
BILL: Well, Fred, when you put it like that old comrade, I suppose her average day must be a full and demanding one! But surely she is well-paid for her efforts!  
FRED: Bill, you have fallen into a common fallacy. Her Magenta the Queen is by no means well-paid considering! The income from her own estates provides the wherewithal for her everyday expenses like ice creams, er and bullseyes!!  
BILL: Well, well, that is surprising!

San Francisco, the brilliant West Coast radical magazine is alive and well and living at 495, Beach Street, San Francisco. This article is reprinted from its June issue.

In 1956, when rock and roll was just about a year old, Frankie Lynton, lead singer of Frankie Lynton and the Teenagers, wrote and recorded a song called "Why Do Fools Fall in Love?" It was an immediate million-selling hit and has since become a rock classic, a true golden oldie of the sweet-voiced harmonizing genre. The group followed it up with other hits, starred in a movie, appeared on the Ed Sullivan Show, toured the country with Bill Haley and the Comets, and did a tour of Europe. Frankie, a black kid from Harlem, was then thirteen years old. Last year, at twenty-six, he died of an overdose of heroin.

Despite the massive publicity accorded to rock in the past several years, Frankie's death received little attention. It got a bit more publicity than the death in a federal prison of Little Willie John, the author of "Fever," another classic, but nothing compared to that lavished on the breakup of the Cream or on Janis Joplin's split with Big Brother and the Holding Company or indeed with the death of Brian Jones. Nor did many connect it with the complete musical stagnation of the Doors, a group which in 1967 seemed brilliantly promising, or to the dissolution of dozens of other groups who a year or two ago were not only making beautiful music but seemed to be the vanguard of a promising "youth cultural revolution."

In fact these events are all connected, and their common denominator is hard cash. Since that wildly exciting spring of 1967, the spring of Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, of be-ins and love-ins and flower-power, of the discovery of psychedelia, hippies and "doing your thing" — to all of which "New Rock," as it then began to be called, was inextricably bound — one basic fact has been consistently ignored: rock is a product created, distributed and controlled for the profit of American (and international) business. "The record companies sell rock and roll records like they sell refrigerators," says Paul Kantner of the Jefferson Airplane. "They don't care about the people who make rock or what they're all about as human beings any more than they care about the people who make refrigerators."

It doesn't make money just for the entertainment industry — the record companies, radio stations, TV networks, stereo and musical instrument manufacturers, etc. — but for law firms, clothing manufacturers, the mass media, soft drink companies and car dealers (the new Opel will "light your fire!"). Rock is the surest way to the hearts and wallets of millions of Americans between eight and thirty-five — the richest, most extravagant children in the history of the world.

From the start, rock has been commercial in its very essence. An American creation on the level of the hamburger or the billboard, it was never an art form that just happened to make money, nor a commercial undertaking that sometimes became art. Its art synonymous with its business. The movies are perhaps closest to rock in their aesthetic involvement with the demands of profitability, but even they once had an arty tradition which scorned the pleasing of the masses.

Yet paradoxically it was the unabashed commercialism of rock which gave rise to the hope that it would be a "revolutionary" cultural form of expression. For one thing, the companies that produce it and reap its profits have never understood it. Ford executives drive their company's cars but Sir Joseph Lockwood, chairman of EMI, the record company which, until Apple, released the Beatles' records, has always admitted that he doesn't like their music. The small companies like Sun and Chess Records which first discovered the early stars like Elvis Presley and Chuck Berry were run by middle-class whites who know that kids and blacks liked this weird music, but they didn't know or really care why. As long as the music didn't offend the businessmen's sensibilities too much — they never allowed outright obscenity — and as long as it sold, they didn't care what it said. So within the commercial framework, rock has always had a certain freedom.

Moreover, rock's slavish devotion to commercialism gave it powerful aesthetic advantages. People had to like it for it to sell, so rock had to get to the things that the audience really cared about. Not only did it create a ritualized world of dances, slang, "the charts," fan magazines and "your favorite DJ coming over now" on the car radio, but it defined, reflected and glorified the listener's ordinary world. Rock fans can date their entire lives by rock, hearing a "golden oldie" can automatically evoke the whole flavor and detail of a summer of a romance.

When in 1963-64, the Pop Art movement said there was beauty in what had been thought to be the crass essence of the Eisenhower Age, when the Beatles proved that dramatic mooring

common language of a generation. New Rock musicians could not only make the music, they could even make an aesthetic and social point by the very choice of rock as their medium.

That rock was commercial seemed only a benefit. It ensured wide distribution, the hope of a good and possibly grandiose living style, and the honesty of admitting that, yes, we are the children of affluence: don't deny it, man, dig it. As music, rock had an undeniably liberating effect; driving and sensual, it implicitly and explicitly presented an alternative to bourgeois insipidity. The freedom granted to rock by society seemed sufficient to allow its adherents to express their energies without inhibition. Rock pleasure had no pain attached; the outrageousness of Elvis' gold lame suits and John Lennon's wildly painted Rolls Royce was a gas, a big joke on adult society. Rock was a way to beat the system, to gull grown-ups into paying you while you made faces behind their backs.

Sad but true, however, the grown-ups are having the last laugh. Rock and roll is a lovely playground, and within it kids have more power than they have anywhere else in society, but the playground's walls are carefully maintained and guarded by the corporate elite that set it up in the first place. While the White Panthers talk of "total assault upon the culture by any means necessary, including rock and roll, dope and fucking in the streets," Billboard, the music trade paper, announced with pride that in 1968 the record industry became a billion-dollar business.

Bob Dylan has described with a fiendish accuracy the pain of growing up in America, and millions have responded passionately to his vision. His song, "Maggie's Farm," contains the lines, "He gives me a nickel, he gives me a dime, he asks me with a grin if I'm having a good time, and he fines me every time I slam the door, oh I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more." But along with Walter Cronkite and the New York Yankees, Dylan works for one of Maggie's biggest farms, the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Mick Jagger, another adept and vitriolic social critic, used rock to sneer at "the under assistant west coast promotion man" in his seer-sucker suit; but London Records used this "necessary talent for every rock and roll band" to sell that particular Rolling Stones record and all their other products. For all its liberating potential, rock is doomed to a bitter impotence by its ultimate subservience to those whom it attacks.

In fact, rock, rather than being an example of how freedom can be achieved within the capitalist structure, is an example of how capitalism can, almost without a conscious effort, deceive those whom it oppresses. Rather than being liberated heroes, rock and roll stars are captives on a leash, and their plight is but a metaphor for that of all young people and black people in America. All the talk of "rock revolution," talk that is assiduously cultivated by the rock industry, is an attempt to disguise that plight.

Despite the aura of wealth that has always surrounded the rock and roll star, and which for fans justified the high prices of records and concerts, very few stars really make such money — and for all but the stars and their backup musicians, rock is just another low-paying, insecure and very hard job. Legend says

blues artist is at the mercy of the recording company. It is virtually impossible, he states, for an unknown artist to get an honest contract, but even an "honest" contract is only an inexpensive way for a company to own an artist body and soul.

A star's wealth may be not only non-existent, but actually a fraud, carefully perpetuated by the record company. Blues singer Bobby Bland's "clothes, limousine, valet, and plentiful pocket money," says Keil, "are image bolsters from Duke Records (or perhaps a continual 'advance on royalties' that keeps him tied to the company) rather than real earnings." And even cash exploitation is not enough; Chess Records last year forced Muddy Waters to play his classic blues with a "psychedelic" band and called the humiliating record *Electric Mud*.

Until recently, only a very few stars made any real money from rock; their secret was managers shrewd to the point of unscrupulousness, who kept them under tight control. Colonel Parker molded the sexual country boy Elvis into a smooth ballad singer; Brian Epstein took four scruffy Liverpool rockers and transformed them into neatly touselled boys-next-door. "We were worried that friends might think we had sold out," John Lennon said recently, "which in a way we had."

The musicians of New Rock — most of them white, educated and middle-class — are spared much of what their black and lower-class counterparts have suffered. One of the much touted "revolutions" New Rock has brought, in fact, has been a drastic increase of the power of the artist vis-a-vis the record company. Contract for New Rock bands regularly include almost complete artistic control, royalties as high as ten per cent, huge cash advances, free studio time, guaranteed amounts of company-bought promotion, and in some instances control over advertising design and placement in the media.

But such bargaining is at best a futile reformism which never challenges the essential power relationship that has contaminated rock since its inception. Sales expansion still gives the companies ample profits, and they maintain all the control they really need (even the "revolutionary" group, the MC5, agreed to remove the word "motherfucker" from an album and to record "brothers and sisters" in its place). New Rock musicians lost the battle for real freedom at the very moment they signed their contracts (whatever the clauses) and entered the big-time commercial sphere.

The Doors are a prime example. Like hundreds of New Rock musicians, the four Doors are intelligent people who in the early — and mid-'60s dropped out into the emerging drug and hip underground. In endless rehearsals and on stage in Sunset Strip rock clubs, they developed a distinctively eerie and stringent sound. The band laid down a dynamo drive behind dramatically handsome lead singer Jim Morrison, who, dressed in black leather and writhing with anguish, screamed demonic invitations to sensual madness. "Break on through," was the message, "yeah, break on through to the other side!"

It was great rock and roll, and by June 1967, when their "Light My Fire" was a number-one hit, it had become very successful rock. More hits followed and the Doors became the first New Rock group to garner a huge following among the young teens and pre-teens

by their "hip" company, Elektra Records, the Doors died musically. Later albums were pale imitations of the first; trying desperately to recapture the impact of their early days, they played louder and Morrison lost all subtlety: at a recent Miami concert he had to display his penis to make his point.

But the Doors have made money, enough to be up-tight about it. "When I told them about this interview," said their manager, Bill Siddons, sitting in the office of the full-time accountant who manages the group's investments (mostly land and oil), "they said, 'Don't tell him how much we make.'" But Siddons, a personable young man, did his best to defend them. The Doors, he said, could make a lot more money if they toured more often and took less care in preparing each hall they play in for the best possible lighting and sound; none of the Doors lives lavishly, and the group has plans for a foundation to give money to artists and students ("It'll help our tax picture, too"). But, he said, "You get started in rock and you get locked into the cycle of success. It's funny the group out there on stage preaching a revolutionary message, but to get the message to people, you gotta do it the establishment way. And you know everybody acquires a taste for comfortable living."

Variations on the Doors' story are everywhere. The Cream started out in 1966 as a brilliant and influential blues-rock trio and ended, after two solid years of touring, with lead guitarist Eric Clapton on the edge of a nervous breakdown. After months of bitter fighting, Big Brother and the Holding Company split up, as did Country Joe and the Fish (who have since reorganized, with several replacements from Big Brother). The Steve Miller Band and the Quicksilver Messenger Service were given a total of \$100,000 by Capitol Records; within a year neither one existed in its original form and the money had somehow disappeared.

The Jefferson Airplane have managed to take a middle route. A few early hits, a year of heavy touring (150 dates in 1967), a series of commercials for White Levis, and the hardnosed management of entrepreneur Bill Graham gave them a solid money-making popular base. A year ago they left Graham's management, stopped touring almost entirely, bought a huge mansion in San Francisco and devoted their time to making records (all of them excellent), giving parties, and buying expensive toys like cars and color TV's. They've gone through enormous amounts of money and are now \$30,000 in debt. But they're perfectly willing to go out and play a few jobs if the creditors start to press them. They resolve the commercial question by attempting not to care about it. "What I care about," says Paul Kantner, "is what I'm doing at the time — rolling a joint, balling a chick, writing a song. Start worrying about the ultimate effect of all your actions, and in the end you just have to say fuck it. Everybody in the world is getting fucked one way or another. All you can do is see that you aren't fucking them directly."

But the Airplane also profess political radicalism, and, says Kantner, "The revolution is already happening, man. All those kids dropping out, turning on — they add up." Singer Grace Slick appeared in blackface on the Smothers Brothers show and gave the Black Panther salute; in a front window of their mansion is a sign that read, "Eldridge Cleaver Welcome Here." But Kantner said he hadn't really thought about what the meant: would he really take Cleaver in and protect him against police attack, a very likely necessity should Cleaver accept the welcome? "I don't know, man. I'd have to wait until that happened."

Cleaver would be well-advised not to choose the Airplane's mansion for his refuge. For Kantner's mushy politics — sort of a turned-on liberalism that thinks the Panthers are "groovy" but doesn't like to come to terms with the nasty American reality — are the politics of the much touted "rock revolution." They add up to a hazy belief in the power of art to change the world, presuming that the place for the revolution to begin and end is inside individual heads. The Beatles said it nicely in "Revolution"; "You say that it's the institution, we'll, you know, you better free your mind instead."

Jac Holzman, president of Elektra Records, said it in businessman's prose: "I want to make it clear," he said, "that Elektra is not the tool of anyone's revolution. We feel that the 'revolution' will be won by poetics and not by politics — that poetics will change the structure of the world. It's reached the kids and is getting to them at the best possible level."

There is no secret boardroom conspiracy to divert antisocial youthful energy into rock and thus render it harmless while making a profit for the society it is rebelling against, but the corporate system has acted in that direction with a uniformity which a conspiracy probably could not have provided. And the aware capitalists are worried about their ability to control where kids are going.

So the kids are talking revolution and smoking dope? Well, so are the companies in

# ROCK FOR SALE

that wild spending sprees, drugs and women account for the missing loot; what legend does not say is that most artists are paid very little for their work. The artist may receive a record royalty of one and one-half per cent, but the

who were traditionally the mass rock audience Jim Morrison became rock's number-one sex idol and the teenie-boppers' delight. The group played bigger and bigger halls — the Hollywood Bowl, the garish Forum in Los Angeles and

touch and be together. Then learn. We do.  
 More insidious than the ads themselves is the fact that ad money from the record companies is one of the main supports of the underground press. And the companies don't mind supporting these "revolutionary" sheets; the failure of Hearst's Eye magazine after a year showed that the establishment itself should not create new media to reach the kids, so squeamish is it about advocating revolution, drugs and sexual liberation. But it is glad to support the media the kids create themselves, and thereby, just as it did with rock, ultimately defang it.

The ramifications of control finally came full circle when Rolling Stone, the leading national rock newspaper, which began 18 months ago on a shoestring, had enough money in the bank to afford a \$7000 ad on the back page of the New York Times. Not only was this "hip rock" publication self-consciously taking its place among the communication giants ("NBC was the day before us and look the day after," said the twenty-two-year-old editor), but the ad's copy made clear the paper's exploitive aim: "If you are a corporate executive trying to understand what is happening to youth today, you cannot afford to be without *Rolling Stone*. If you are a student, a professor, a parent, this is your life because you already know that rock and roll is more than just music; it is the energy center of the new culture and youth revolution." Such a neat reversal of the corporate-to-kids lie into a kids-to-corporate lie is only possible when the kids so believe the lie they have been fed that they want to pass it on.

But rock and roll musicians are in the end artists and entertainers, and were it not for all the talk of the "rock revolution," one would not be led to expect a clear political vision from them. The bitterest irony is that the "rock revolution" hype has come close to fatally limiting the revolutionary potential that rock does contain. So effective has the rock industry been in encouraging the spirit of optimistic youth take-over that rock's truly hard political edge, its constant exploration of the varieties of youthful frustration, has been ignored and softened. Rock musicians, like their followers, have always been torn between the obvious pleasures that America held out and the price paid for them. Rock and roll is not revolutionary music because it has never gotten beyond articulation of this paradox. At best it has offered the defiance of withdrawal; its violence never amounted to more than a cry of, "Don't bother me."

"Leave me alone; anyway, I'm almost grown"; "Don't step on my blue suede shoes"; "There ain't no cure for the summertime blues"; "I can't get no satisfaction": the rock refrains that express despair could be strung out forever. But at least rock has offered an honest appraisal of where its makers and listeners are at, and that radical, if bitterly defeatist, honesty is a touchstone, a starting point. If the companies, as representatives of the corporate structure, can convince the rock world that their revolution is won or almost won, that the walls of the playground are crumbling, not only will the constituents of rock seal their fate by that fatal self-deception, but their music, one of the few things they actually do have going for them, will have been successfully corrupted and truly emasculated. Michael Lydon



Jim Morrison of The Doors.

# POSTER WORKSHOP

"A tool for counter-information at the service of the class struggle: solidarity with industrial, student and tenant strikers, and liberation fronts all over the world. You are invited to participate with information, ideas, slogans, archetypes, designs, and the actual printing of the posters in silk screen. The projects will be voted upon by the assembly on the spot."

This "manifesto", which was the first thing to appear on the walls of the Poster Workshop, describes the essence of the activities, or the originally intended activities, of our studio at 61 Camden Road, London, N.W.1.



The workshop was started to combat the propaganda of capitalism and imperialism. We believe that the production of perhaps 100,000 posters, tangible political end-product, contributes to a considerable extent to this end. To whom does the workshop



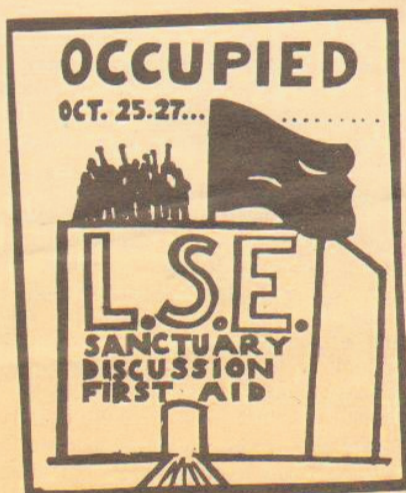
belong? To those who needed these posters; it belongs to all who use it. This is true to the extent that those who spend more time in the workshop naturally feel more possessive about it — mainly because they know more about the actual production of posters.

The workshop is not a group making posters for others, but a place where those who need or want to make posters can find equipment, materials, and help. The intention is to teach as many people as possible how to make their own posters. It is hoped that they will go back to their places of work or colleges and set up their own silk screens. In reality this is very difficult to promote. People are lazy or so bound up with their own campaigns that they do not have the inclination or the time to make posters. We recognise this. Thus some people say that the division of labour is here to stay — at least for the foreseeable future. We are not entirely convinced. We would like people to think and act for themselves and discover they can do things they never dreamt they could do.

In the past when a group came to the workshop to make a poster, a sort of impromptu meeting was held to discuss who and what they were fighting for (and how). All those present then had to decide 1) whether it should be accepted, and 2) on the design. This was continued



would object to if invoked. The people who work regularly in the workshop trust each other politically. This group is in no sense exclusive except that the people who use Camden Road must be 'approximately socialist'. We find this too difficult to define. Generally the designs seem to be improving anyway and we have never made a poster against which the majority would violently object.



Thus the Poster Workshop has a political existence of its own. People become involved in the posters of others, and so learn more about the struggle as a whole. To a certain extent, this cuts across the unnecessary sectarian bickering which generally plagues the Left.

The workshop is financed by donations, as there is no charge for the posters. The question of money is regarded as secondary: the most important thing to decide is a political question — whether or not to print the poster. If the answer is in the affirmative, the poster will be printed; it is then hoped that those who can afford to pay will give the workshop a donation.

This has been criticised as "unrealistic and idealistic": there is some truth in this. We often get money from those who cannot really afford it, and those who should be able to pay us often don't. This problem seems to depend upon which groups have the best organisation. Students and the 'New Left' are hopeless. Workers' groups such as Trade Unions and Tenant Associations are much more reliable. Anyway, the workshop has existed for almost one year and shows no signs of collapsing. We have about the same amount of money in the bank as in the beginning — not enough!



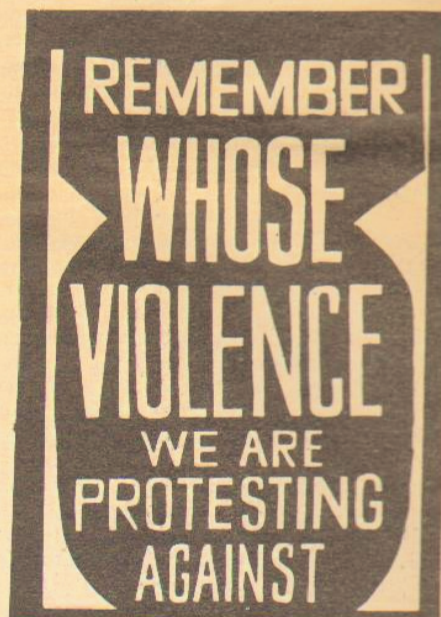
Groups for whom the workshop has made posters include: Doctors of Students' associations, nurses, many women's groups, Angry Arts, 'community action groups', Bernadette Devlin, several strikes such as Fords, Black Arts Group, Anti-Apartheid, many colleges and universities, many Vietnam Veterans, Agitprop, Stop-It, Left Communist, several left periodicals such as Black Dwarf, CP, and YCL, PAC, and A.N.C., U.C.P.A., Baha, various boycotts, firemen, Open Films, Police, Regis Debray (except he doesn't know it), King Mob, Schools Action Union, Anguilla, Royal Groups of Doctors Campaign, Spain Greece etc. We have also helped many demonstrations which would have looked depressingly lame had it not been for the fact that the Poster Workshop produced placards, for example, for October 27th last year.

The workshop also makes general agitational posters, e.g. "We Are All Foreign Scum", "Unite Against Imperialism", and some against the White Paper. We distribute these through as many contacts as we can.

This synopsis of what we have done is so that you can judge to what extent we have fulfilled our "manifesto". But you must also remember that the political health of the workshop can be measured by examining to what extent the workshop actually reflects what is happening politically. This thought creates an air of reality in the workshop and prevents us from becoming too romantic.

In order to stimulate ideas for the design of posters, there is a "slogan room" with paper stuck on the wall, so that people can demonstrate their ideas for all to see. This still sometimes provides useful suggestions and was originally intended to aid the synthesis of ideas it was hoped would emerge from meetings.

In a country saturated with commercial advertising, and where education and



entertainment are controlled by and distorted in favour of the bourgeoisie, we believe that more people should resort to creating their own propaganda. In fact more and more groups are making their own posters. But this is only a beginning. We offer all the help we can give. We hope that our instructions as to how to make posters are useful to those interested. Anybody who needs more help should come and see us or write.

The numbers of posters one workshop can produce is only sufficient to cover limited areas, and is largely related to specific issues and actions which require the most immediate assistance.

What is needed is workshops in different parts of the country, each providing for and covering its own area, supporting specific struggles and putting out agitational demands and questions.

The purpose of this article is to spread the word — to tell others about our experience. Please write to the Dwarf if you think a useful 'open' discussion might ensue.

Poster Workshop.

THE NEXT DWARF WILL HAVE DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW TO

JULY IN ENGLAND 1969 WILL BE REMEMBERED FOR THE INVESTITURE OF A YOUNG PRINCE; AN EXCITING WIMBLEDON; THE GAYEST ASCOT FOR YEARS. BUT EVEN HERE BOMBS WERE EXPLODING; TINY ECHOES OF THE WORLD'S VIOLENCE. FOR EVERYWHERE REVOLUTIONARY MEN AND WOMEN ARE INVOLVED IN THE...

# STRUGGLE

AGAINST REPRESSION.

## ARGENTINA

The events of May this year in Argentina were, in their way, comparable to those of May 1968 in France. Certainly it was the most important happening in Latin America since the upheaval in Mexico at the time of the Olympic Games: a general strike, workers and students out in the streets, a complete change of face in the cabinet, and the international capitalist press calling for the overthrow of General Onganía — the man who for the past three years they have relied upon to keep their investments safe.

But as in France too, the revolution did not produce The Revolution. It is still premature to expect that. What was important was the blow to accepted thinking. Argentina has always seemed the most stable and hopeless country from a revolutionary point of view. Not for nothing was Che, an Argentinian, forced to go to to make the revolution in Cuba, and then in Bolivia, rather than in his native Argentina. Now for the first time the possibility of major change, even eventually revolutionary change, is on the agenda.

The parallel with France should not be carried too far. The workers and students never got together in quite the same way. Workers and students in any case play a different role in Argentina than they do in France. Students come from the elite: from the upper and upper middle class. Organised workers too are an elite: better paid and better off than the immigrant cheap labour from Bolivia and Paraguay who fill the shanty towns of Buenos Aires and Cordoba.

Another important difference from the French situation is that whereas May 1968 drove France, first under de Gaulle and now even more so under Pompidou, back into the arms of the Americans, May 1969 in Argentina is leading that country into a new nationalist anti-American position. Argentina has always had a strong nationalist strain, but after July 1966 when the generals took over, it looked as though the country was to be handed over lock, stock and barrel to foreign interests. European bankers as well as American monopolies had a field day.

Now after the sharp reminder of May that General Onganía does not have the situation wholly under control, the Americans are terrified. The Economics Minister, Krieger Vasena, who for long they had regarded as "their man", has been replaced by Dagnino Pastore, a man with strong views about the desirability of curbing the influence and rapacity of foreign firms.

What has made the Americans so worried is the possibility of a reunification of the labour movement. For some time half the union movement under Auguste Vandor has been supporting Onganía in the belief that he might eventually be forced to take a leftist nationalist position. The other half under Raimundo Ongaro has maintained that there can be no compromise between the workers and the military. But the general strike in June briefly reunited the labour movement and in fact had the effect of pushing General Onganía into a more nationalist position, as Vandor had hoped.

Almost immediately Vandor was assassinated by unknown gunmen. Cui bono? To whose good? Obviously this worked to the advantage of the Americans. Vandor's section of the labour movement began to blame Onganía's section for the killing, and while they hanker there can be no unity. Onganía's attempt

a more nationalist direction, and probably almost half the army would support him if he were to start expropriating foreign concerns, as has already been done by the military in Peru. If this seems likely the Americans may well promote a coup by pro-American officers with a view to re-establishing the favourable climate for foreign investment which prevailed before the events of May.

The new nationalist military in Latin America certainly need to be watched. Much of their anti-Americanism is derived from a professional contempt for the American failure to win the war in Vietnam. The fact that their major ally has just lost a war has had a profound effect on the way Latin American soldiers look at the world. It may not lead to revolutionary change, but reform is in the air, even though it comes from a direction that was least expected.

Venezuelan movement. He offered pardons to the Guerillas, legalised the CP, released political prisoners and allowed many exiles to return home. In this way he hoped to weaken the determination of the comrades who stuck to a revolutionary position, and increase the influence of the "softline" Venezuelan Communist Party.

The Guerillas led by Douglas Bravo refused absolutely to have anything to do with the "dialogue" proposed by Caldera. They said that the armed struggle was a class struggle, and there could be no discussion with a class whose existence depended on the oppression of the Venezuelan people. The M.I.R. guerillas in the East, who are led by Carlos Betancourt (known as Geronimo!), put forward eight conditions and said there could be no acceptance of the Pacification Programme unless they were compiled with.

practical assistance to the comrades in the mountains.

In recent months the students have concentrated on University Reform, their major demand being "Parity Rule" — government of the Universities by an equal number of staff, students and employees. The aim has been to create Popular Universities by combatting courses that are more to do with U.S. reality than Venezuelan reality, and by opening the Universities to the poor.

The struggle for a Popular University unmasked the supposedly peaceful intentions of the government. As the movement gained ground, the repression increased. Universities were raided and occupied by armed police. Student demonstrators were fired on (and killed) in the streets. More sinister still, COPEI civilians were armed by the government, and



## VENEZUELA

The last few weeks has seen an intensification of all three fronts of Venezuela's seven-year-old Guerilla struggle. In the plains, in Apure State, a fierce battle led in which two soldiers were killed. In Falcon State, in the West, another group of Guerillas captured the village of Agualinda. And in the East there have been several encounters, with unknown Government losses. The secrecy surrounding these suggests that they may have been serious.

This increase of Guerilla activity represents

Both Guerilla groups denounced the Pacification programme as a political trick, and added that the COPEI Government represented the exploiting classes, and as such was no different from the hated Accion Democratica Government which had preceded it.

What finally exposed the Government was the situation in the Universities. The Venezuelan student movement has been, for years, one of the most militant and uncompromising in the world. When I was in Caracas, as long ago as 1964, the whole

used to break up (and shoot up) the activities of the left. This has given rise to fears that armed groups of fascists may soon have the kind of free reign in Venezuela that they already have in Guatemala.

The result of these activities by the "pacifist" Government has been seven students shot dead in three months. In Merida, three students were killed — two by the police, and one by COPEI civilian thugs.

But this brutality has rebounded against the government. The movement for University

## PERU

On June 23rd ten thousand peasants seized Huanta, a small mining town in South Central Peru, and held it against heavy attack for most of the day. More than 22 were killed and over 100 wounded. They dynamited roads and bridges and took the deputy mayor as a hostage for an Indian peasant leader imprisoned for suspected revolutionary activity. In nearby Ayacucho, population 18,000, there was a similar insurrection where seven students were killed. This astonishing development in the history of Peruvian revolution must bring mixed feelings to Hector Bejar imprisoned since 1966 for leading guerrillas against the ruling military government. This uprising is a dramatic vindication of his belief in the revolutionary potential of the peasant masses. On the other hand unless the movement gathers strength to a point where it can demand concession from the government the raising of the political temperature makes any possibility of an amnesty for Bejar unlikely.

## RHODESIA

Very shortly that gallant but ludicrous old flag carrier Sir Humphrey Gibbs arrives to take his leave of the Queen. Amidst scenes of tearful farewell he will receive the Royal handshake before returning to his rich farm in Rhodesia where he can start ordering the 'natives' around again. But don't let this Royal con trick or the national mourning deceive you. Rhodesia is the most disgusting sell-out since Czechoslovakia. The failure of the Left to expose the deception of sanctions is just one more failure to add to its long list. We should and we must all feel a deep sense of guilt about Rhodesia. It is *our* problem: they are our kith and kin. Not only the dirty white traitor Smith and his gang but the four million Africans who so naively put their faith in us to do something about it. We did nothing and now all that is left is armed revolution. There is no other way. In this article a young Rhodesian African writes about his country today.

### Another Black Man's Hell

The white Rhodesian population, headed by Ian Smith (a Scotsman), decided by an overwhelming majority on 20th June, 1969, to implement a new, more racist, constitution. With N. Sithole and J. Nkomo, the African leaders, in prison or restriction — together with thousands of their followers — the 220,000 Europeans, mostly of British stock, have decided that the 5 million black people there should never be free to rule themselves.

Smith and his white brothers in Rhodesia believe they are fighting against Communism and the survival of their Christian civilization. They have a duty to protect the factories, companies and other financial institutions which are owned by British people here, the Americans and the white South Africans. To them Christianity and civilization mean the maintenance of the existing political and economic system. Such a system of necessity means the exploitation and oppression of the larger part of the population by all possible methods, and the black people were found to be easy victims.

The Africans were taught, in the name of Christianity, to be content with what they had; to be content with poverty and starvation; that violence against authority was evil. They were taught, according to the scriptures, that the poor and the oppressed were blessed, for they would enter the kingdom of heaven. The black people were told that it was evil for Christians to take part in politics. They were often told 'What shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world and suffers the loss of his own soul.' This was a direct attack against the African nationalists who agitated for the liberation of their people.

Thus Christianity was an important tool which prepared the way for the smooth execution of the system which exploits a part of the population so that a few can make maximal profits. The Church itself is a fantastic property-owning institution whose interests can only be well protected by the present set-up, in which the wealth of the country is so unfairly distributed.

But you cannot exploit or cheat people for ever. The black man is now rising up in arms, and the greater the threat to the system, the more vicious the white authorities became towards their black slaves. Because western governments are controlled by the same people with property and other financial interests in Rhodesia, these governments have not seriously tried to change the trend of events.

Since Rhodesia was a British colony —

most vocal on Rhodesia — those who shout incessantly for a negotiated settlement, those who vehemently insist that the British door to a negotiated settlement should not be closed, even if Smith closed his — one finds they are usually the people with investments and other financial interests in Rhodesia, interests which are best protected by the system now prevailing in that country.

Since the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, the African nationalist leaders and all other people genuinely concerned with the fate of the black majority in Rhodesia clearly saw that no force from outside would ever invade Rhodesia on behalf of the Africans. Such intervention, in any case, would most probably mean a neo-colonialist solution to this black and white crisis.

The only role that outsiders could play is to give material aid to the people fighting for a free Zimbabwe inside the country. Preparations for a people's armed struggle have been going on for several years now. The socialist countries of the world have already made a big contribution to the struggle in Rhodesia. So far they are the only people who have shown practical interest and sympathy in the black people who are being exploited and dehumanized.

The nationalist organizations championing the cause of the people ZANU, the Zimbabwe African National Union and ZAPU, the Zimbabwe African People's Union. They have now decided to prepare full-scale guerilla warfare. Serious guerilla attacks by African militants against the racist power structures in Rhodesia actually started in 1966 at Sinoia, 60 miles north of Salisbury, the capital. This battle (Rhodesia Herald, 29th April, 1966) which shook the Rhodesian white community, was followed by other intermittent clashes between the government forces and the national activists.

Guerilla activities, however, are not given any publicity by Smith's Information Department which can gather information in the territory without much difficulty. This makes many people feel that the politically conscious black man in Rhodesia is not active. But the truth cannot be suppressed forever.

The guerilla movement is now past the stage of establishing itself within the territory. For the first time the Rhodesian authorities have officially accepted the fact that guerillas are now being trained inside the territory. Freedom fighters are being tried in court and they have admitted training inside the country near Salisbury (Rhodesia Herald, 1st May, 1969). This is a healthy development in the guerilla movement which should be applauded and encouraged by all lovers of freedom the world over.

Now that it is clear that the British government can do nothing more, the British Left and all those who still have consciences and who think the black man should be given a chance to determine his own destiny in Rhodesia must take it into their own hands.

The British people should contribute positively and materially to the struggle. Since the British still acknowledge that Rhodesia is their problem, they should help the Africans to free themselves. The British Left should join the Socialist world and the 'Friends of Zimbabwe Movement' and show their solidarity in a practical way.

What the people of Zimbabwe need most at this hour are arms, medical aid, and training. Training camps should be set up in this country to turn out guerillas who will go and train others, or fight in Rhodesia. Committees should be set up to collect funds for medical aid, arms, and the maintenance of the guerilla camps in this country and elsewhere.

Remember, that a friend in need is a friend indeed. Why shouldn't the British Left show its solidarity in a material way to the Zimbabwe comrades? This is the time when the Zimbabwe people most need help from their comrades outside. The defeat of the Zimbabwe revolutionaries would be a defeat for the British Left just as an attack on the Smith regime is an attack on the Bright Right. Imperialism has an international personality and the attack must of necessity assume an international character.

Some sinister or dubious organizations in the West have given aid to liberation movements in the past. For example, in the early '60s some CIA-backed organizations gave material aid to Roberto's Revolutionary Government in Exile based in Congo-Kinshasa, and the movement is now almost defunct. The intention was to destroy it from within. The British Left, therefore, should also help the liberation movements from Southern Africa to guard against such deadly infiltration.

Chenhamo Chimutengwende

## AFGHANISTAN

There is widespread student unrest in Kabul and violent and continuing street demonstrations following the death of a student at the hands of police three weeks ago.

Kabul University, were closed and students were demonstrating on the streets. Even the normally conservative girl students had also turned out in support of student demands. On the main streets of Kabul placard-waving students were shouting anti-imperialist slogans and asking for basic liberties.

It all started about three weeks ago when the students of Ibn-i-Sina School Kabul, went on strike against the high-handedness of school authorities. They refused to attend classes or eat in the university restaurants. On the third day of the strike, the school authorities sent for the police. The police tried to force the students to return to their classes and when they resisted they were lathi-charged and mercilessly beaten. One student was killed in the clash. His body was picked up by wailing students and paraded down the streets of Kabul all day.

The next day all schools and colleges joined in.

According to a French journalist who has just returned from Kabul, the situation shows no signs of improvement. Students are demanding more and more by way of reprisal. The incident seems to have electrified the hitherto suppressed Afghan youth. There are also no signs of the Government giving in to students who threaten to grow more militant everyday.

In March 1968 there was student trouble in Kabul and many arrests were made. It is said that nine of those arrested are still serving prison terms ranging from 10 to 15 years. Students are now demanding their release, removal of political restrictions and an end to police atrocities.

## TUNISIA

Since it gained independence in 1956, Tunisia has often been regarded in the west as a liberal democratic state. It receives substantial aid from the US and its army is advised by a group of US experts'. Its greatest claim to western support is, however, its position on Palestine: alone of the reactionary Arab leaders Bourguiba, Tunisia's president, has come out openly for recognition of a state of Israel. Where others, such as the leaders of Jordan and Lebanon, have tacitly accepted the permanence of Zionism, Bourguiba has revealed his position quite openly.

This internationally pro-imperialist stance is a result of the class nature of the Tunisian state. Bourbuiba's seizure of power was effected after a ruthless war waged against the socialist forces, led by Saleh Ben Yusef, who was shot down in a Frankfurt hotel in 1955. Most of his partisans were eliminated by 1957 and for years the political situation within Tunisia was quiet. As a new bourgeois elite captured the state machine, the unions were taken over and militant unionists purged. Similarly, the student union, UGET, was integrated into the Tunisian state. In 1963 the Communist Party was banned after a Muslim fanatic group tried to shoot the President; they still continue underground work, and sent a delegation to the recent Moscow Conference. In 1963 another group of anti-imperialist students founded a magazine *Perspectives* in France and the radicalisation of the student body began. The first major confrontation came in June 1966 when many students were imprisoned, but the decisive conflict came in June 1967 when students demonstrating against British and American support for Israel were framed and sentenced for anti-government activity. The leader of this was Ben Jennet, a theology student, who came from a peasant family in southern Tunisia and had been active as a socialist militant in the UGET opposition.

In March 1968 a strike at Tunis university was followed by the arrest of hundreds of students, who were then tortured and isolated in prison for some months. Two show trials then took place, in which the defendants were framed and accused of a plot to overthrow the state. One group, tried in September 1968, were charged with belonging to the *Perspectives* group and being in touch with the Chinese embassy — who gave them a type-writer, it was alleged. A second group, tried in February 1969, were charged with belonging to the Tunisian branch of the Ba'th party.

Now, hundreds of progressive intellectuals are in Tunisia's jails, either held without trial or framed on absurd conspiracy charges. Much of the information on them comes through a French agronomist, Jacques Chabert, who was framed with the Tunisians and put in Bizerta jail, but then released following pressure in France.

This repression in Tunisia is a direct result of the country's dictatorial internal system and its forming part of the world imperialist system. All opposition has been systematically eliminated in the interests of Bourguiba's new ruling class and their imperialist masters. But the Arab world as a whole is approaching a decisive revolutionary stage, as the workers fellahin and intellectuals supporting the Palestinian struggle clash with reactionary

## SPAIN

In March, the universities opened after being closed for two months by the state of emergency. Police patrols were on guard inside the faculty buildings. In the Economics Faculty Professor Rogelio Rubio was giving his lecture for the first year philosophy course: he was discussing the transition from nature to culture, and wrote the names of some books up on the board, including "Les enfants sauvages" and other books with foreign titles. Soon a janitor came in: the board was rubbed clean. The Professor went out to get an explanation. The janitor returned with an ultimatum. That was the last time the janitor was used. Now police patrols stand guard over lectures; books with "dangerous" titles have disappeared from the University. The police have disrupted the classes.

The militarisation of the university is the official response to the student agitation which completely overwhelmed the academic authorities over the past few years. It is also the most recent and most dramatic means used by the regime against the two major tendencies that now occupy the political arena in the Spanish universities: the tendency that proposes a *democratic reform* of the university (SDE), and the *revolutionary* tendency with its "socialist platforms".

In Spain student agitation is different from other European countries, as indeed so is the repression. They are both more violent than elsewhere. But if university agitation continues in the rest of Europe we must expect the bourgeoisie to demand the efficient use of police and troops, a parasitic workforce, to smother the revolutionary centres.

In Spain the terror is real. It is *there* in front of you ever since the military used the phrase "there are no non-combatants". The University Faculties have had to put aside lecture halls as barracks for the *Armed Police*. Around 150 police are in permanent occupation inside the Economics Faculty, 100 in the Philosophy Faculty, 100 in the Medicine Faculty etc. etc. . . . Water cannons stand focussed 15 years away from the entrances of the Faculties. The police break up classes, seminars, and specialised meetings: they disrupt the library. This militarisation has led to such a state of terror, that many students are too frightened by the indiscriminate use of official violence to go to class.

The struggle against the police within the building themselves has led to the following being classed as "crimes": Forming groups of more than five, putting notices or posters up, looking at the police, standing near the lecture halls used by the police, all kinds of union or academic meetings. In April a student whistled at some police in the Economics Faculty. The police then launched an indiscriminate attack on all the students and attacked the lecture halls, the bar and the lavatories — particularly the "Ladies". Three days later a student shouted "Get Out" at the police; the exits were reinforced; and all the students in the building were arrested.

The result of this has been the relative paralysis of student agitation within the university buildings, and the intensification of attempts to forge unity with the commissions of young workers, with those who are active in the streets. On March 25th six Molotov cocktails exploded in Madrid banks. There were several big fires — but not one of the 200 commandos who carried out the raids was caught. On the other hand, pacific demonstrations are the best way to make the police's repressive work easy. The failure of the May 1st demonstration was partly due to this.

In 1968 the workers were very active; the University was in the hands of the students. The bourgeoisie were terrified by the French May. They passed a new law on banditry and terrorism; and when student-worker commandos demonstrated after the police killed a student, the state of emergency was declared to "clean up" the situation (January 1969).

This has involved the militarisation of the University, mass arrests of militants, and detentions and assassinations in the Basque country.

In the early 1960's Franco allowed a certain liberalisation and Workers' Commissions were formed as unofficial trade unions. These were soon repressed, however, and many of the union leaders clapped in gaol. But out of them have grown Young Workers' Commissions which have been extremely active in Barcelona and Madrid where they have formed links with revolutionary students. A new unity is growing, Spain is simmering again.

## CONGO

Reports of violent repression in the Congo have just reached us. According to a clandestine

Comrades,

It is right that the *Dwarf's* self-examination on its anniversary should focus on the problems of a divided revolutionary left - especially the gap between organisations of the left and the large numbers of people who feel a vague identification with it as a result of the Vietnam demos, the May events the general disillusionment with established political alternatives.

The sectarianism of the left reflects its disorientation during the thirty or more years in which it has existed in profound isolation from any genuine mass working-class movement. The persistence of sectarianism in the present period - tiny groups parading themselves as the British section of the Fourth International, oblivious of the fact that they are a tiny minority of a revolutionary left which as a whole is still not a meaningful presence in the British working class - is however, much more serious in the present period because opportunities are at last opening themselves up. And although it is unrealistic to believe that they will disappear overnight, because of genuine political differences which will only be resolved in struggle, it is necessary to fight now for a minimal revolutionary unity and against attempts to claim a leading role by formal devices (like the adoption of pretentious descriptions of the kind already mentioned). If the *Dwarf* seriously wants to promote left unity it should not pander to the self-centred illusions of any tendency. It should actively seek to promote a *debate* in its columns between representatives of different tendencies on the forms of unity, and on the politics underlying them. It is clear that the work of united fronts like VSC, PSC, and the new Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign must be extended. Strategy towards the growing struggle within the trade unions should be discussed in common, as should electoral tactics. A greater measure of common action, and possibly some sort of organisational unity short of a full merger, may well be possible between some groups. The dialectical attitude - that the left will develop "through struggle" - should not obscure the need for *initiatives* to ensure that the unity of the left corresponds to the requirements of struggle in the present period.

The present divisions cannot now be afforded, if their result is that the *Dwarf* can offer young revolutionaries "no immediate perspective except to read *The Black Dwarf* and take part in multifarious demonstrations" (T. Ali). Of course, it is not true that there is no other perspective: the fight *even now* to create a network of socialist militants in the factories and the trade unions is both necessary and possible. (Perhaps it is the "work-in-the-Labour-Party" perspective of Tariq's own *IMG* which makes it embarrassing for him to mention this option in the present period?) This work will go ahead anyway in some at least of the "sectarian" organisations, but a greater degree of unity on the revolutionary left would undoubtedly give a boost to this, as to other fields of left activity.

Fred Halliday writes: "our job is to convey a sense of unrelenting, enthusiastic and dynamic revolutionary militancy. But if your audience is largely 'already revolutionary' it is necessary to go beyond this. It is necessary to open up a much more concrete discussion on the problems of the left - the need for unity, etc. It is necessary to give *direction* to militancy: to lead militants towards an understanding of the problems facing the working-class movement and an understanding of the ways in which socialists, given their social composition and organisational deficiencies, can intervene in it. This means the consistent analysis of the present crisis of British capitalism, of the Labour Government, and the trade union bureaucracies, and of the role of the so-called 'lefts' in the trade unions, the Labour Party and the C.P. Until the militancy of the *Dwarf* and its readers is applied in these directions, there is little chance that it will become 'increasingly dangerous'."

Yours fraternally,  
Martin Shaw.

Islington International Socialists,  
154 Downham Road,  
London, N.1.

# N.U.T.

Ted Short was the subject of endless placard puns on the National Union of Teachers demonstration of 6,000 for more pay and smaller classes on July 9.

DON'T SELL US SHORT  
DON'T SHORT CHANGE US

Other placards exhorted teachers to JOIN THE CLASS STRUGGLE, SMALLER CLASSES, MORE PAY FOR TEACHERS. Someone else had been doing some useful sums. The managing director of British Leyland earns the same as 50 teachers. Randal Cremer Infant School teachers from Shoreditch carried AVERAGE TAKE HOME PAY £13 PER WEEK. WE WANT LIVING WAGE NOW. They were accompanied by a mother from Stepney carrying MOTHERS SUPPORT THE TEACHERS' CLAIM. She said she spoke for quite a few others who couldn't be there from Stepney.

The teachers want an interim pay award which would raise the basic scale in proportion to the rising cost of living, which the 14 year deal agreed to by the NUT executive doesn't. They stressed that they were concerned especially about the effect of overcrowding on school children - 40,000 teachers short. The NUT representative from Munster primary school said. "If we don't do anything the children are definitely going to suffer." She added that she had never been on a demonstration before. She must have been fairly typical of the majority of people on the march. The general atmosphere was one of good-humoured determination but there were a

few instances of sheer bloody mindedness from the police. One man was picked up and charged, 15 minutes after he had started a chant of one policeman's number - for obstruction. A police inspector watched a large group of men walk past on the road and then started to hustle three girls onto the pavement in an extremely officious manner. One of them commented: "Well, my opinion of the police goes right down."

As a teacher from a boys' secondary school in West London observed, teachers in the London area have realised the only way they could do something about their conditions was to take action themselves. He felt the demonstration was a small thing but a hopeful one, and thought perhaps many of them would draw further conclusions about the nature of the society they lived in.

RANK AND FILE is a group of left wing teachers in the NUT who want democratisation of the union, better conditions for teachers and a more democratic form of education. They produce a paper called Rank and File and there are several groups throughout the country. Contact 87 Brooke Road, London N.16.

LEFT TEACHERS IN FURTHER EDUCATION AND TECHNICAL COLLEGES.

An action group is just being set up which is concerned with the threat to liberal studies, the chopping of part time further education teachers, and with the general educational situation of day release students especially. Contact Nigel Wade, 5a Palmerston Road, London N.22. Tel 888 4165.

# EVENTS

## THE SHAPE OF LIVING SCHOOL

Place: LSE. Dates: July 28, 29, 30. Times: all day from 10 am onwards. Five themes will run through this anti-authoritarian project, organised by Schools Action Union and LSE Socialist Society with many others participating. They are: Education, Political Ideas, Political Action, Communications, and Fun. Inevitably, the themes will overlap. The School will be organised to allow a maximum amount of choice of activities. There will be plenty to do, see, discuss, and probably Living School will result in on-going groups and actions.

Education will discuss the content and structure of education as at present, the ideologies behind it, and the possibilities of reform, from the abolition of examinations down to criticism of existing syllabuses. Discussion groups will be led by teachers and pupils with experience of the present impossibilities. So far the education group has agreed to start off on the Monday morning with a general discussion of the authority set up in schools, going on in the afternoon to criticise the way syllabuses are defined and to talk about our attitude to exams. In the early evening 5.30 to 7.30 there will be information about industrial safety, junior workers' committees, and a general discussion about the situation of apprentices and young workers.

On Tuesday more general stuff on the way the educational system is bound up with the class nature of the society, e.g. language and class, the 'comprehensive', public schools, the ideas behind education.

In the evening again 5.30 to 7.30 a discussion of various issues in further education. Industrial training boards, the attack on liberal studies. On Wednesday we will be trying to work out what we can do to change it all.

Don't forget there'll be more general political discussions.

Poster-making, layout and design.  
AND music, films, inflatables, acting, poetry, songs, art, and FUN.

There are meetings every Saturday at 1 pm at LSE.

Come and see what shape Living School should be. Or write and say what you/your group

JULY 19: Harrogate: Anti-Nato march from USAF, Menwith Hill 1.30pm to Harrogate Stray. Slogans "US troops out of UK" and "Scrap NATO". Details from The Attic, 16 Oxford Street, Harrogate.

JULY 19, 20: May Day Manifesto Left Conference in Leeds. Trades Hall, Upper Fontaine Street, Leeds 1. Contact: 37b St Michael's Road, Leeds 6.

EISENSTEIN AT THE ROUNDHOUSE  
The Roundhouse club is showing all Eisenstein's films, 10.45pm each night. BATTLESHIP POTEMKIN AND "SERGEI EISENSTEIN - A SURVEY": July 15, 25, August 8.

ALEXANDER NEVSKY: July 17, 22, August 2.

OCTOBER: July 18, August 1, 8.

IVAN THE TERRIBLE (parts I and II): July 19, 28, August 7.

STRIKE: July 26, August 5, 6.

Details of club membership from Roundhouse, Chalk Farm Road, London NW1. Tel: 01-267 0244 or 01-485 8073.

CUBAN FILMS AT THE NATIONAL FILM THEATRE, JULY 14 to 20

Programme includes: Memories of Underdevelopment, La Muerte de un Burocrata, Lucia, Hasta la victoria siempre, etc. Membership details from British Film Institute, 81 Dean Street, London W1. Tickets from NFT Box Office, South Bank, Waterloo, London SE1. Tel: 01-928 3232/33.

PS: Memories of Underdevelopment will be having an extended showing at the Paris Pulman Cinema, Drayton Gardens, London SW10 starting July 17.

JULY 26: London. Anti-racist march from Boutflower Road, Clapham Junction, London SW11 (2.30pm) to Brixton Town Hall. Left wing groups in Wandsworth have joined together to provide a more militant campaign against racism, and in particular the National Front. Participating are: IS, YCL, Black Power Groups, etc. Details from Peter Hain, 21a Gwendolen Avenue, London SW15. Tel: 01-789 5370.

JULY 26 to AUG 2: London Co-operative Society's Open Summer School, at Easthampstead Park College, Wokingham, Berks. THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION TODAY AND TOMORROW. Write for details to: Assistant Education Secretary, LCS Education Department, 116 Notting Hill Gate, London W11. Tel: 01-727 1649.

JULY 28 to 30: LIVING SCHOOL AT THE LSE. See article in this dwarf for what's on. There are meetings each Saturday at LSE, Room S100, 1pm to discuss the shape of the Living School.

## SCOOTER WANTED

Dwarf militant urgently needs a Scooter for sales drive. Must be free or low price. Offers to Mick Shrapnell, c/o The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St., London W1A 4PZ.

Dear Black Dwarf,

Re Squatters Campaign. Congratulations to the individuals concerned, and many more successes in the near future. Why not No.10 some week-end when Harold is down at Chequers.

Here in Glasgow as in many other cities thousands of families live in the most appalling conditions. Most of these families will spend the rest of their lives in such slums, as the rate for rebuilding new houses in Glasgow has fallen again. This is the city where a strong wind is just as likely to blow the roofs of 20,000 homes as it blows waste paper around Trafalgar Square. The corporation has apparently forgotten the horrors of the storm of January 1968.

I appeal to Black Dwarf to provide the leadership to remove all the families from their terrible plight. I suggest as a start to the campaign a march on London from every slum in the country to a rally outside Buckingham Palace, and dare I suggest it occupying the said premises (or at least the spare rooms).

At last the Duke of (WORK) would see for himself that we all listen to his advice and at last have taken our fingers out.

Robert Gibb  
158, Allison St  
Glasgow S.2.

Dear Dwarf,

As one of the young workers I keep hearing about I thought I'd drop you a line. The following may be a bit garbled, but so am I.

The affluent Midlands - I work as a fitter in a factory making magnetic equipment. I also do electric arc and gas welding which are separate skilled trades. Also paint the finished jobs. In fact everything. I earn 8/- per hour. That's £16 per standard 40 hour week. Nearly all the other men work an hour overtime each morning. Start at 7am instead of 8am. Also they work Saturday morning till 12.00. I don't. 40 hours is enough for me. I am one of the higher paid fitters. I'm single so after tax I walk out with the grand sum of £12-15-0 or thereabouts.

I used to be a trifle militant at one time. But no more. I couldn't get any support. I'm the only one in the AEF. I'm at a small factory. There must be many like it. They only stay in business because of piss poor wages. When you work in a factory you start to lose your spirit. You become demoralised, dehumanised, broken. Easy prey for the gaffers. I'm not completely broken yet. But given a few more years I will be.

When you see the statistics giving average wages for manual workers, remember, there are plenty of us who get fuck all like the figures quoted. What we want is a national minimum wage! Something realistic. Say £18 for manual workers. Now. Sure we should be getting a minimum of £19 in 3 years time according to the union agreement. But £19 will be fuck all in 3 years time.

I ain't starving personally. I'm not married and I live with parents. But if I got married or tried to get a place of my own, I would be a poor bastard. For a bloke to be away ill at our factory is almost a catastrophe. No sickness pay. Nothing. And you have to provide medical notes to prove you were really ill and not sunning yourself on the lawn.

Yours in anticipation of the revolution,

Jim Wyse,  
290 Puckington Avenue,  
Shard End,  
Birmingham 34.

Please send me the BLACK DWARF for the next 6/12 months

I enclose po/cheque for £1/£2.

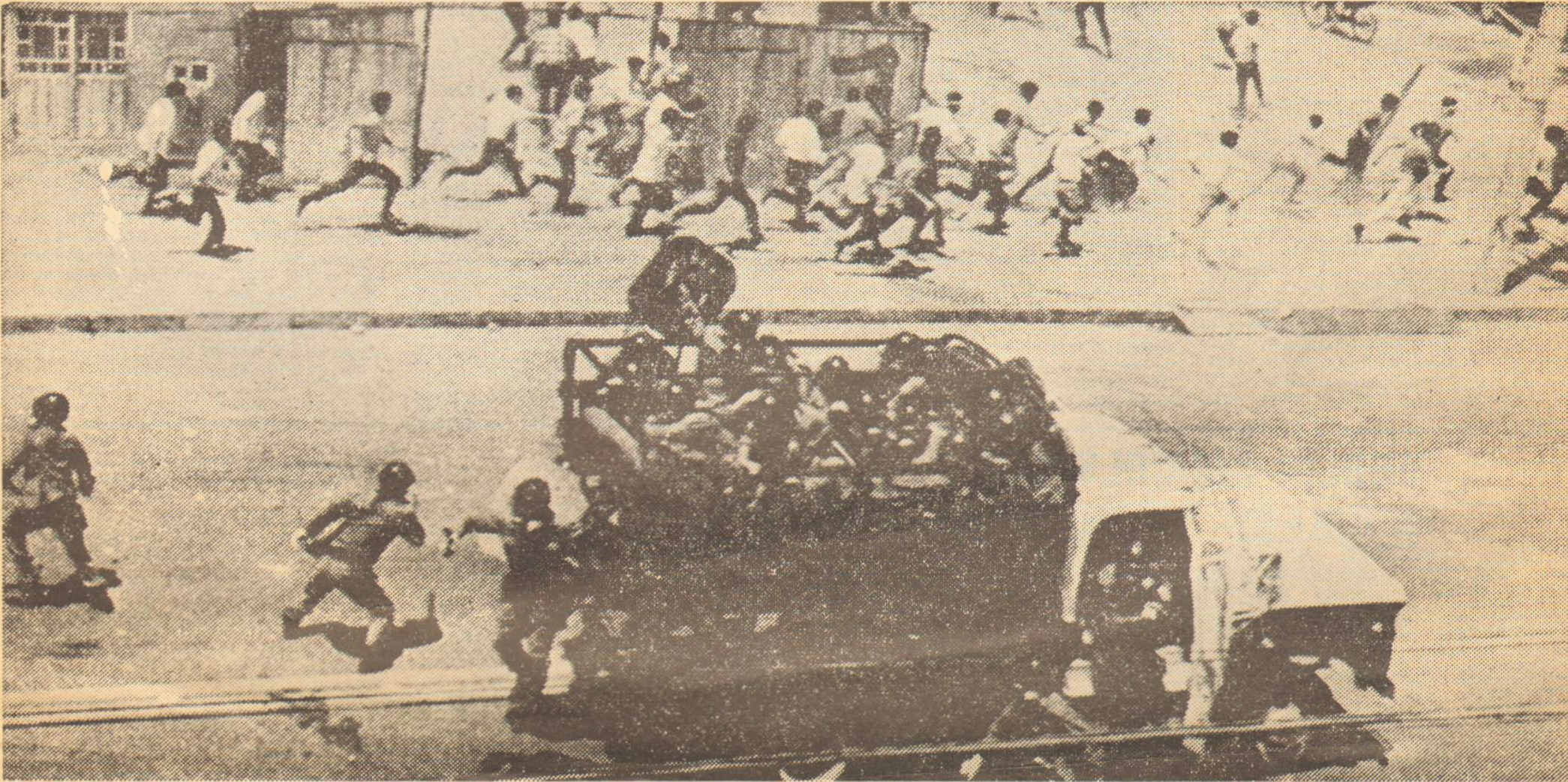
Name .....

Address .....

The BLACK DWARF, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ  
Telephone: 01-734 4827  
Trade terms on application



# KOREA



South Korea was bloodily created by America in 1945 and successfully defended against revolution by America in 1945 and the United Nations in the war of 1950-53. It now has per head the largest army in the world. It is a brutal puppet regime propped up by American capitalism. But cracks are beginning to appear in the facade of stability. Street fighting is escalating as President Pak moves to amend the constitution to give him a third term. The Times chose this moment (June 18th 1969) to produce a supplement on South Korea that was a disgusting insult to both the Korean and British peoples. With only three of the eight pages explicitly marked *advertisement* the Times presented a misleading and comprehensive package of political propaganda on behalf of one of the most vicious military dictatorships in the World.

#### From Park to Park

Limbering up for the supplement ('Korea Turns the Page' Times, June 13), Richard Harris rashly announced that "It is Korea, more than any other part of the East Asian world, that promotes reflection on how this world has been sundered in the last century"; in the supplement itself Harris contributed a piece, 'Legacies of 20-year Cold War', which performs the incredible feat of failing to state *how* Korea was divided in 1945 or *how* the 1950 war was caused. Indeed Harris even states that "Korea had its colonial period until Japan's defeat in 1945, but the alien rule is not a western colonialism and hence it has not left the country with any strong anti-western feeling." Apart from the illiterate tenses, this is just gibberish. Both Britain and the US connived at the Japanese seizure of Korea - Britain actively endorsed it under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, and the US with the Taft-Katsura deal of 1905. The Western powers refused to let Korean independence be raised at Versailles, thus consigning the country to Japanese rule. At the Cairo Conference in 1943 Britain actually opposed the idea of independence for Korea after the end of the war altogether. The division of Korea was a unilateral move by the Americans in August 1945 to sabotage the Korean Revolution: this revolution did take place; a functioning representative regime based on the Preparatory Committee for Korean Independence existed nationwide by the time the first American troops arrived in early September 1945. The Americans kept on the Japanese administration, rearmed Japanese

guerrillas and from late 1948 to June 1950 there was a constant guerrilla war in the South. Just as in Vietnam, the division of the country was an imperialist device to try and wreck a revolution; the division of Korea has no justification whatsoever: it is a pure imperialist con. The 1950 war grew out of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The right of the Koreans north of the artificial dividing line to come to the help of their countrymen in the south cannot be questioned. June 1950 was the escalation of an existing struggle, and its internationalization by the US via a stooge United Nations. In 1948 the US had used the UN to 'verify' a rigged election designed to establish the ROK (South Korea). The appeal back to the UN in 1950 was essentially a response to the defeat imperialism had suffered in Korea itself. Even after the war had escalated, the *New York Times* (August 24, 1950) pointed out that the Americans could hardly let a fair election take place as the Communists would probably win it. MacArthur himself admitted that one-third of his troops were tied down in late 1950 fighting guerrillas behind the front line. The head of the ROK Army early in the war was the ex-head of the special squad of the Japanese Imperial Army who had been detailed to Manchuria in 1937 to destroy the Korean revolutionaries operating there under Kim Il-sung. Thousands of Japanese troops were drafted back to fight alongside the US, British, South African and other imperialists against the Korean people. All this is ignored by the *Times*.

#### World's Largest Army

The opening article of the supplement - 'Crucial Problem of Presidential Succession' by Henry Scott Stokes - claims that South Korea's foremost problem is "the need to secure continued strong leadership"; Pak (who ingratiatingly changed his name to park in 1961) is given a propaganda boost: "In spite of the best efforts of President Park, the corruption of some of his subordinates remain a problem"; Harris (June 13) indulges in some of the same: "Whatever may be said about his government, President Park Chung Hee earns a broadly moral assessment in the south. He... is respected for his patriotism, his dignity, and his incorruptibility." This is just more gibberish. First, Pak started his career in the Japanese army, as a specially selected pupil for training in the Imperial Military Academy in

Riot police in Seoul attack students protesting against President Pak's attempts to fix the constitution and ensure a third term of office.

evidence of this? *Prima facie*, why should an incorruptible president not purge corrupt subordinates? Second, what about the colossal scandals that have erupted under Pak - such as the CIA Stock Exchange Scandal manipulated by Pak's brother-in-law in 1963 or the great fertilizer-saccharine scandal in September 1966 (when an MP dumped a bag of human shit over the government front bench?) what about the succession of rigged elections in 1963 and 1967? The latter were denounced by the extremely cautious New Democratic Party as "the most viciously rigged in the history of our country" - worse than the last Rhee election! After nationwide popular protests (which the *Times* might note have been consistently directed *against Pak in person* as well as his regime), the Public Prosecutor's office announced that there had been "about 1,600" violations of the election law - and yet Pak refused to annul the election! An MP who called Pak "the mastermind of the election rigging" was promptly arrested. All this is contradicted by the *Times*; indeed Scott Stokes goes so far as to pretend that Pak's intention of rigging yet a third election is unknown. On June 18 he could write that "So far there is no indication what the Park regime will do about the succession"; yet on *May 25th* this year the *Sunday Times* already was writing that "In South Korea it is now taken for granted that the national constitution will be amended... to permit the tough President Park Ching Hee (*sic*) to run a third straight term." (note not even "run *for*"). Buried away under the 'In Brief' columns of the *Times* (July 1 and 2, 1969) one can read tiny items under rubrics like "100 students held in S. Korea riot" and "385 hurt in riots" - the second of these even fails to mention that the object of the so-called "riots" was Pak's plan to stay on illegally as President. It is not an exaggeration to say that the reporting in the supplement is plain dishonest. Pak is a corrupt dictator running a corrupt and oppressive regime oppressing the Korean people: Korea's "problem" is not stability, it is democracy.

#### Vast armed camp

*The Military.* The ROK has per head the largest army of any country in the world with the

trained personnel. Second, it is a huge bloated parasite of some 620,000 men feeding off the South Korean people in the first place, an oppressing the Vietnamese people at the same time. The ROK has contributed 49,000 out of the 66,000 of the armed lackeys on the American side in Vietnam - at a cost to the US of \$1.25 per day, as compared with \$45.57 per day for a GI (1968 figs.).

The mass of the troops is completely unreliable - Philip Shabecoff (p.iii) notes that the million-strong militia are issued only with wooden rifles, and that the US maintain "operational control" over ordnance available to the South Korean forces in Korea; "The South Koreans have just about enough munitions and aviation fuel in their possession to operate for 24 hours." In Vietnam, he allows, "The Korean soldiers are reportedly none too popular among the people of South Vietnam. They have a reputation for being ruthless in hunting down communists and are occasionally accused of attacking innocent people in order to kill suspected enemies."

#### Victory to Korea

Shabecoff admits the ROK army functioned badly during the 1950-53 war - which is another way of saying they did not want to fight the war at all; now they have a higher "kill ratio" in Vietnam than the US troops. "Seoul Defence Ministry has found that Vietnam provides invaluable experience and combat training for its troops. It regularly rotates the personnel sent to Vietnam, keeping them there for one year." This is only another way of saying Vietnam is a training ground in oppression. The fact is that South Korea is one vast armed camp: does the *Times* tell its readers there is a curfew in Seoul every night? Yes it does - in an item entitled 'Bright future for newest industry.: "Night-time pleasure is short lived because of the four-hour curfew that begins at midnight, but every minute is spent in a way unmatched anywhere else in the world." The role of the military is clear: in order to rule South Korea against a hostile revolutionary people, the Americans have simply financed a tyrannical military clique which rests solely on a huge entirely militarized apparatus of repression. This feature is continued on page 2.

move up at the rate of about 4 per cent a year" when the production (1925 of agricultural production) in 1968 was over 300,000 tons below that in 1965 (according to the *Times*) and 400,500 tons less than that in 1967? When rice imports have risen from around 1 million tons per annum to 1,340,000 tons in 1968 (January - September only)? What is the *Times* doing publishing an article entitled 'Banks assist balanced growth' when on the same page (ii) another writer, Han Ne Bok, admits that "economic inequalities between the rural and urban sectors and between the upper and lower sectors of society remain as serious as ever"? In fact things are even worse than the *Times* admits: the real income of peasants fell by 25% in 1966 as against 1961 - and that of impoverished peasants fell by 57%. Peasant indebtedness rose 9 times between 1961 and 1968. A correspondent of the Japanese newspaper, the *Sankei Shimbun*, described Seoul and Pusan as "swarming with beggars... eighty per cent of children go begging." The *Times* admits that "wages are still quite low, the average worker in manufacturing industries earning less than \$9 [under £4] a week. Until 1967 wages lagged substantially behind price rises but the trend has now been reversed, reflecting a creeping shortage of skilled labour." How can the *Times* know this? What they are saying is that the real living standards of industrial workers fell during six of the eight years of the Pak clique's rule. Unemployment figures have consistently been falsified. The revision of the Farm Land Act about which the *Times* is so enthusiastic (p.vi) is merely a device to drive more poor peasants off the land: between January and October 1968, 14,000

peasants left their farms in South Cholla Province alone. It would also be interesting to know what the figure "less than \$9 a week" means. The Chase Manhattan Bank, which ought to know what it is talking about, recently lauded American capital Korea-wards with these honeyed words: "Americans comment on the dexterity and aptitude of Korean workers, who are available at cash wage rates averaging 65¢ a day in textiles and 88¢ a day in electronics."



These human characteristics produce industrial results." That was in May 1967: assuming a six-day week, that would still leave a textile worker's wage less than \$4 dollars a week and an electronics worker's just over \$5: if these had doubled in exactly two years the average would come to just about \$9 - surely the

*Times* would hardly miss such a beautiful statistic as that. So one is left with the conclusion that what "less than \$9 a week" really means is maybe about \$6 a week - if a person is employed at all. As for "a creeping shortage of skilled labour", that is like pretending the Indonesian economy is booming because there are a lot of American motor cars in Jakarta.

It is just delirious to claim (John Young, p.vii) that "By the standards of many other countries, Korean students do in fact enjoy considerable academic freedom." How can there be academic freedom where it is a crime even to discuss the possibility of peaceful reunification? Why have the universities staged revolt after revolt? It is standing the world on its head for the *Times* unctuously to endorse the student and worker uprising which overthrew Syngman Rhee (in which "officially", 183 people were killed and 6,259 wounded by rifle and machine-gun fire) and then claim there is academic freedom: student revolts against the Pak regime have been just as great as against the Rhee regime - for the simple reason that there is no freedom at all of any kind, political or 'academic'. For example, this is how Keesings described one of an unending succession of such events (August, 1965): "Troops broke into Seoul university, beat students with rifle butts, hauled away many at gun-point, smashed doors, windows, and laboratory equipment, and threw tear-gas grenades into the library and the women's hall." The universities of South Korea have been closed on and off ever since Pak came into power. The fact is that about the entire student body is

hostile to the Pak clique and US imperialism. The vast majority of Korean intellectuals who have managed to get out of the country have given their support to the North: in most years the Pak regime has been kidnapping the leading South Korean intellectuals in both West Germany and France for show trials; the most recent such affair has involved a Cambridge-trained engineer, Pak Tai In, with one MP among those arrested - all charged simply with working for reunification. One place the *Times* might have looked is Japan, with the largest emigre Korean population in the world, the majority of whom support the North. What has all this got to do with us? Britain played a key role in sabotaging the Korean revolution by opposing Korean independence in 1943, by giving backing to America's division of the country in 1945, and by participation in the imperialist war of 1950-53. Britain is still part of the UN stooge group which survives from the 1950-53 war. Even West Germany protested about the Korean CIA kidnappings - but not Britain, which recently was instrumental in returning an escaped Korean for execution from Hong Kong. It is too much to expect the *Times* to change its spots, but it is not too much to expect people in Britain to know that the last Labour government contributed actively to the suppression of a vast popular revolution, and to the installation of one of the most brutal dictatorships in the world - and that the guerrilla struggle and street battles continue. The heroic capture of the Pueblo shows the way... Down with the *Times* and all running dogs of US imperialism! Victory to the Korean Revolution!

Jon Halliday.

## PUBLIC SCHOOLS OUT - WORKERS SCHOOLS IN.



Dulwich College is one of the oldest and most respected academic institutions in the country. It has spent thousands on science equipment, a language lab, the library, it is surrounded by vast playing fields. It continues to prepare the upper crust for the upper crust role they will be playing in society.

At the same time, Wilson's Government have cut £70m. off the school building programme. 25% of those leaving school are virtually illiterate. In slum areas, 79% of secondary modern schools are seriously inadequate. The attack on liberal studies in CFE's is spreading fast. Only 8% of students are in comprehensive schools. So much for their grandiose schemes of a classless society with classless education.

To protest against the continued existence of places like Dulwich and to demand fully comprehensive education, South London Schools Action Union organised a march to the college's self-styled Open Day on June 21. About 60 to 70 comrades - school students, teachers, supporters - and the usual collection of fuzz marched to the college, chanting "Bourgeois mis-education out, working class education in", waving the red flag and singing the Internationale. Not surprisingly the gates of Dulwich College were barred. SAU had apparently been misinformed: it wasn't OPEN day but Founder's Day. After a scuffle inside the side gates, one SAU member was carried out by the police who then forced the rest onto the pavement. The headmaster and his cretinous ("Never heard of Edward Short and I don't want to either") governors were told that the demonstrators had come to talk to the college students about education - a subject which was surely of some relevance? The headmaster would be only too happy to arrange

communication developed between 40 to 50 Dulwich students and the SAU militants. Subjects ranged over uniform - all these 12-year olds had been forced into black suits, striped tie and a blue carnation for the Founder's Day ritual - the purpose of GCE exams, the nature of authority and repression of the individual, co-education. Did they ever think about the millions in this country who didn't lead their kind of life? (According to one student there, only 15% of the boys come from a working-class background.) There was no hostility but little optimism either. "Well, if a teacher hits you, of course you don't hit back". Neither would a 12-year old get his own back on a 13-year old. Authority simply through age is installed into kids until they equate age-authority-intelligence. One very sympathetic boy just couldn't understand why we - several years older than himself - had approached him as an equal. He was opposed to uniform, he was dissatisfied with exams and the values of the college bureaucracy; but as an individual he saw he was powerless. The isolation of the militants inside the college has enabled the authorities to ban a subversive magazine that was started last year; similarly, SAU members there have been "disciplined". Because of this they see the need for a very cohesive organisation inside the college to combat repression from above.

Obviously other pupils were less dissident. But they welcomed the leaflets on the college and the SAU newsletters. Dwarfs were taken in large quantities to be handed out among the students. At last there had been real living contact between some of them and some of Union's once members of the most privileged section of society were exposed to the real

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

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

Smash Capital Now. Christopher Logue Poster. 5s post free from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St., London W1A 4PZ (Poster in two colours, black and red).

DIRECTORY OF ORGANISATIONS, 300 groups for left activists, 1/6 post paid. From: 18a New End Square, London NW3.

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

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

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.

The Mineworker-for workers' control of the mining industry on the anti-capitalist programme. From D. Douglass, 16 Abbeyfield Road, Dunsroft, Doncaster, Yorks. 1/- per copy.

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

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS - a revolutionary weekly journal that specialises in news from Africa, Europe, the Americas and Asia. Sample copy 2/4d post paid from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee St, London E1.

Mozambique. 20 minute film shot in liberated areas for hire. 1/6 or 35mm. £2.10.0 o.n.o. Pamphlet available, 1/4. Write to Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, 531 Caledonian Road, N7. Telephone 01-607 2170

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, Camborne, Bridgford, Nottingham NG2 5GW.

NLF Badges and Flags. Also others. SAE for details. McGee, 42 Pendarves St., Beacon, Camborne, Cornwall.

ROYAL FESTIVAL HALL. Wednesday, July 16th. 8pm. London Sinfonietta. CLEO LANE in Walton's "Facade". John Tavener "A Celtic Requiem" (First Performance). Conductors William Walton and David Atherton. Tickets from 7/6. From Royal Festival Hall Box Office (928-3191) or usual agencies.

HASLEMERE GROUP campaigning against exploitation of Third World, needs hard working secretary from October. Some Wages available. Write Box No. BD103.

LECTURER (F) and mature student (M) working through University, both militant, revolutionary and poor, wish to share with others large mixed dwelling (and rent too). August onwards. North London. Peace and privacy essential. Anyone with room. Write Box BD 104.

Support GI and other Vietnam War resisters. Demand immediate withdrawal of US Troops from Vietnam. Demonstration Saturday, 19th July, 7.30pm. Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park. March through West End, CND 14 Gray's Inn Road, WC1.

Schools News: Our first entry in the Dwarf competition for the nastiest headmaster in Great Britain is Dr. Allan Badcock [sic]. On June 19th at St. Clement Danes Grammar School, Shenbri's Ruth he marched into an

OLD DUPLICATOR WANTED FOR REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION. Free or cheap. Contact Box BD105.

Scooter, free or cheap, wanted by Dwarf militant to help in sales drive. Contact Mick Shrapnell c/o The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St., London W1A 4PZ.

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

POSTERS 40X30 ins. CHE, CASTRO, MARX LENIN, TROTSKY, MAO, RUDI DUTSCHKE, GINSBURG, MUSHROOM CLOUD. All 10/6. CHE (colour) 12/6. CHE 30 X 20 ins (b&w) 7/6. All post paid. From JOHN HEWITT, 2/B Farnworth Road, Mickleover, Derby.

MONEY PREVENTS COMMUNICATION AND AWARENESS ART CREATES COMMUNICATION AND AWARENESS ART IS THEREFORE REVOLUTIONARY

The purpose of this is to contact a number of people who, being aware of the implications of the above, will work together to realise these implications to their fullest extent and who shall individually and/or collectively embrace all aspects of the contemporary arts (for want of a better word) and in addition include specialists in electronics, finance and law. We are not yet another group of enthusiastic amateurs. We mean business.

Only people of genius and outstanding ability need apply.

That is why we have given you little information. If you don't know already we don't need your services.

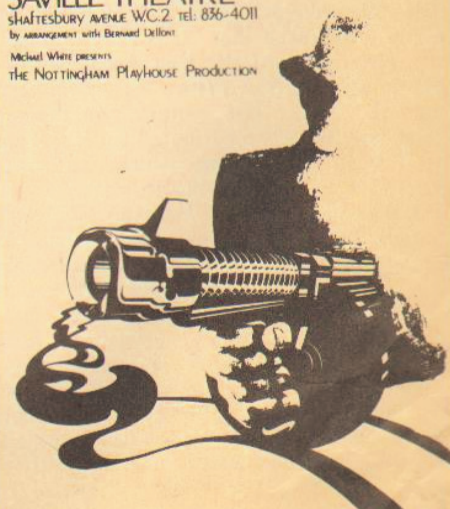
Contact: Malcolm Fox, 70, Redcliffe Gardens, London, S.W.10. Tel: 01-373-0215.

### SAVILLE THEATRE

SHAFTESBURY AVENUE WC2 TEL: 836-4011

by arrangement with Bernard Delfino

Michael Ware presents THE NOTTINGHAM PLAYHOUSE PRODUCTION



### LEONARD ROSSITER

IN THE RESISTIBLE RISE OF

### ARTURO Ui

by BERTRAM BRECHT directed by Michael Blower

After its triumphant success in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Nottingham

90% of seats priced at 5/- to 20/-

Evenings 8.00pm. Matinees Thurs & Sat 2.00pm.

"Heroic acting in gangsterland... one of Brecht's finest comedies" - David Jones, THE OBSERVER

"I am not alone in thinking this the finest English language

# SQUATTERS

On Wednesday June 25th the Redbridge squatters repulsed the mailed fist which is usually so carefully hidden behind the British bureaucracy's armoury of sweet words and vague appeals to reason, calm and economic necessity. Bad mark Redbridge Council! You have not received sufficient training in the all important task of fooling the people with your heart-burning 'concern' for their well-being.

Squatters! Shades of the great campaign in 1946; and in beloved Redbridge too. The calm councillors blew their cool and called in Quartermain instead. The actual fight was covered by the press and readers will know about it. Yet even at that early stage, some Evening Standard hack, scenting popular support for the squatters and the families, tried to head it off with some obnoxious sophistry... is society to allow such goings on? ... a bailiff's job is not a pleasant one and a street battle is not an endearing sight... of course we have every sympathy with homeless families but if we allow squatters to take the law into their own hands supposedly in the families' interests don't we open the door to (you guessed it) Anarchy and public disorder?

The press hedged about which side started the fire in Woodlands Road. This is not surprising as they also failed to mention how the council had ordered that any vacant council house be made virtually uninhabitable by ripping up the floor boards and stair-case and cutting off water, gas and electricity. (The bailiffs merely smashed the windows and started a fire). Many local rate-payers agree with one of them who wrote to the District Auditor "I cannot believe that this deliberate vandalism is in the interests of the ratepayers or that the council is legally empowered to use the rates for such purposes... when they have not yet held the public enquiry." Other local people don't cushion their views in such verbal and legal niceties.

And what of those Anarchists and other subversive politics out to destroy society, those social hyenas feeding off the hard work of the ordinary men and women of this stricken country (etc.)? They were up to their usual destructive tricks again. They unboarded the windows and relaid the floor-boards. They undid all the hard work of the Council workmen by reconnecting water, gas and electricity to neighbours' houses with the latter's consent.

At first, after Quartermain's humiliation, most of the Council were seized with fury. Town Clerk, Mr. Kenneth Nicholls was at least completely candid about the Council's role. "We intend to get rid of these people as soon as we can but the legal processes have been proved to be too slow, so it has been necessary to ignore them. The bailiffs have been very brave and honourable men, and I am proud of them."

Despite Nicholls' statement that "we cannot make ourselves responsible for the squatters" the council must have thought otherwise and laid down Saturday, July 6 as a categorical deadline for them to be out. They threatened water-cannon and gas grenades as the alternative.

The squatters continued with their fortifications especially as it was rumoured the council was engaging a notorious firm of hired thugs from the Midlands. And it is only at this moment, after employing violence and abuse and threatening much more of both, it is only now, two days before their arbitrary deadline that the council hotheads begin their conciliation drive - and expected the squatters and the families to swallow it! They announced that they had authorised the Borough Engineer to take a look at empty council property to see if some of it could be used to house people on the Redbridge waiting list (4,000). But they bonched it up hopelessly because while this was going on, Council workmen were busy severing completely the water supply to these very same houses. They then had the nerve to say they didn't know the water was being cut off!

Their next move was to try to undermine the squatters' raison d'être. At a meeting with Ron Bailey, they said they wanted the squatters out so that they could give the houses temporarily to families on the housing list until redevelopment began. The families - the Flemings and the McNeils would be given first refusal on any house a committee decides can be occupied short term after repairs. In return they wanted the squatters out, never to occupy another house.

## Squatters and the Left

The British Left has almost, without exception, refused any organisational support to the Ilford squatters. The L.S.E. sent money belatedly but not men; some I.S. comrades have



spent nights in Woodlands Road of their own accord while their paper Socialist Worker has only carried one straight news report. The same can be said of the Communist Party which claims Redbridge as its strongest base in the country with some 2,000 members - not a murmur so far. The S.L.L. nothing; Hornsey, no one; Freedom Press, very late on the scene.

Against these, only the non-sectarian organisations Agitprop, Poster Workshop, the Tenants' Action Committee and the Bread and Puppet Theatre came in solidarity and stayed to help. The squatters are pissed off. Not that they want to be taken over by an organisation. Amongst their ranks almost every political group on the left is represented and the odd committed Methodist and anarcho-liberal as well. If they were to raise their theoretical differences to the level of dogma and were to cling to them closer than to the solidarity gained through their collective action as squatters, then the seven occupied houses

difficult, but what we tell each other everyday we are trying to do, is to intensify the struggle here.

It is even more ironic then that some groups who have worked hard on the G.L.C. Tenants Strike (for instance) withhold their support from the squatters. Ron Bailey and his comrades have, through their action and tenacity, produced a situation of objective confrontation. Yet thousands who can mouth Mao's dictum about the spark and the prairie fire fail to realise that the spark has been created. What is needed now is to fan it. Who is to do the fanning to blow the spark into a flame and to set that flame in the right direction? Are we to let another spark die because from our particular point of view the wrong flint sparked it.

John Weal



would have been empty long ago and with no help from Quartermain either.

Instead, there is no flag above the houses, either a red one or a red and black one. Their front is broad but at the moment it's solid too. And they have much sympathy from local people some of whom urge them to put the flag up. But that, as one squatter remarked is not the point, "It's when they fly the flag that things can really start happening."

And how is that situation to be brought about? At Redbridge there is a classical situation in miniature of isolated self-defence. But this self-defence is doomed unless it can be expanded. With 63 empty houses in Redbridge, and none of them scheduled to house a family, ever, there is obvious scope for expansion. But that needs militants, ten to a house the squatters say. That is not all. They need to leaflet the borough ceaselessly and how can they do it when they must remain on the alert for any attack? So again they need people.

It is unbelievable. Most of the Left is prepared, and rightly so, to give full support to the Vietnamese N.L.F., the Palestinian guerillas, Frelimo and other African freedom fighters, to

# SDS

The American SDS national convention held in Chicago two weeks ago ended in chaos and disunity as the result of a split between the Progressive Labor Party and the SDS National Office. Progressive Labor (PL) is a highly organised Maoist group with about 1,100 members. The SDS National Office (NO) represents a loose grouping of people who hold bureaucratic positions on the regional and national level, and whose politics are basically either third-world or black liberation oriented. Ostensibly, the split between these two groups took place over the question of the relationship of the women's and black liberation movements to the class war, and over the question of support for the NLF and Ho Chi Minh. PL argues that the women's and black liberation movements must be viewed as secondary struggles having their basis in the class struggle. Their slogan would be 'black and white (male and female) - unite and fight'. PL also argues that the NLF and Ho Chi Minh have betrayed the Vietnamese revolution and the anti-war movement in the US by agreeing to negotiate with the US (!!!). The SDS NO and their supporters, on the other hand, argue that while the class struggle is ultimately of primary importance, at the present moment, both the women's and the black struggle can take precedence over it, and that in fact, the male white working class in the US at present oppresses both women and blacks. The SDS NO also gives full support to the NLF and Uncle Ho. (There is also an important difference in lifestyles between the two groups. PL, as opposed to SDS, is anti-pot, anti-long hair, and anti-fun.) However, these theoretical differences, important as they are, mainly serve to justify the real issue, a fight for control of SDS. PL, mainly because of its high level of organisation, has been able to take over several important local SDS chapters (San Francisco State, Harvard), and threatened to take over control of SDS nationally at this convention. (They had a majority of the delegates, even though SDS nationally claims 100,000 members. SDS National Conventions are in no way representative of SDS local chapters.) The National Office, on the other hand, was determined to keep control of the national organisation. When they found themselves potentially outvoted at the convention, they walked out and then expelled PL from SDS. The expulsion will serve no good purpose, reinforcing as it does recent anti-democratic tendencies in an organisation one of whose greatest strengths has always been its demand for genuine democracy ("let the people decide"). However, in the long run the split will

# DWARF DIARY

Black Panther leader Huey Newton is still in Los Padres State Prison in California although he is now eligible for parole. His lawyer, Charles Garry, continues fighting the case and intends going all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary. Meanwhile, Huey Newton suffers in gaol: for six months now he has been without privileges as a punishment for refusing to work in the prison kitchens. He is locked in his cell for 21 hours a day and only allowed out for an hour after each meal. He is not officially allowed books.

Folkestone maintained its position as the most interesting town in the South by inviting three groups to create a street and beach happening on Sunday 6th July. Cast, The Agit Prop Players and The Bread and Puppet Theatre drew large enthusiastic crowds as they moved around the town finishing up in a church hall for a four hour feast of political theatre. There was no advance publicity but local holiday-makers and residents were attracted by the noise of the procession. As one of the organisers told the Dwarf "This kind of thing is worth a thousand political speeches".

Women's Liberation Workshop (Tufnell Park Branch) are making a film about the woman question.

Cas Smalley and her husband, two good Nottingham comrades have written pointing out some inaccuracies in our report of the marvellous action by Nottingham socialists against the Rhodesian Ambassador. It seems that the majority of the militants involved were not students but workers! Also, we described Johnny Subirosa as a student, which he certainly is not.

Brighton is bubbling, and that microcosm of capitalist contradiction on the South Coast is providing some interesting clues to a possible national trend over the next few years. Tories dominate the Council, and the Labour Party has just been annihilated in the local elections. For the left, the last year has been one of unprecedented political activity. The University has seen racials ejected, general assemblies, sit-ins, demos and exam boycotts. In the town - Brighton's first-ever May Day march, and an attempted appropriation of exclusive Sussex Square gardens; The Mole has surfaced, and Brighton Rents Project (condemned by Labour MP Hobden) has taken off and continues to expose massive housing exploitation. Seven families are now squatting. The fat cats who run the town are worried...

Consequently... REPRESSION: May 23: 11 housing demonstrators fined £10 each for "obstruction"... one comrade beaten up, then put on two assault charges. June 16: 6 students fined £450 for drug "offences": June 26: Brighton becomes first LEA in country to decide to withdraw (illegally) grants from students guilty of "misconduct outside the academic field". Most councillors rant about University and rents actions. But Councillor Riley produced the most succinct analysis: Not only were recent troubles due to students with "outsized social consciences", the "Communist Cold War is aiming at the instability of this country, seeking to undermine the teaching profession and student thought". And Councillor Cristofoli added, "students should be disciplined because there was a backlash against education from the public".

Pop note: Roy Guest's pop proms at the Albert Hall began magnificently with Adrian Henri leading a packed house in a ritual chanting of "We don't want you Enoch Powell" Plus Led Zeppelin, a new group with the most amazingly dramatic blues singer we've seen in this town since Jans Joplin.

St. Ives Communists of the Streets has issued a statement calling for help in their battle with local authorities. This sunny tourist beauty spot at Cornwall has long had a floating population of hippies. On 2nd July fifty of them occupied a large empty building owned by the council. The next day they were attacked by hired thugs.

The only thing the big Rolling Stones concert in Hyde Park proved was that a concert attended by 250,000 people is not necessarily 250,000 times as exciting as a concert attended by one person. Mick Jagger reading Shelley was nice, and the releasing of 3,000 butterflies was an imaginative gesture (though at 1/6d. a butterfly it prompted some people to think of better things they could do with the money). Apart from that (and, Oh yes, the Stones played some of their songs) we were left wondering what all the fuss was about. I seem to remember some people thinking, once upon a time, that the Stones were a non-conformist, rebellious, even a revolutionary (ho-ho) group. Not any more, folks. Their whole scene on Sunday was unbelievably cosy. Sam Cutler licked the Park Authorities' arses till he hardly had any tongue left, and gave us the latest estimate of the number in the audience like an ITV executive drooling over the TAM ratings.

The fact is, it doesn't matter how many people were there, because nothing happened. Certainly nothing happened that will make any difference to all the people who trooped home that evening to face another week of boring work. But the Underground's 'capacity for self-delusion is apparently endless, and no doubt there are thousands who still think that pop-music (whether free or not) is going to make some sort of significant difference to their lives. See our article on pop inside this issue of the Dwarf to find out how wrong these people can get.

Horrible historical howler in our last issue. The Black Dwarf founded in 1817 finished in 1824 not 1874 as printed. Also we left out of the list of quotes from the old Dwarf this very important slogan:

*Peaceably if we may  
Forcibly if we must.*

The first group of workers to challenge the government's shady deal with the TUC were the ten Lucas lavatory girls, supported by their male counterparts.

The Lucas women walked out not for equal opportunity but for equal pay with the men at Lucas doing the same job; no mucking about, they wanted the £4 which would put them on a par. And the peculiar logic of the effects of their strike vindicated their demand. For if the lavatory attendants were important enough to bring about a total stoppage of the Lucas plant, then they were, and are, damn well important enough to receive equal pay with their male counterparts.

The TUC sledgehammer came down, and the women went back to the lavatory, their case referred to the TGWU conference.

August 16th. marks the 150th Anniversary of the most important occasion in Manchester's working class history - the Massacre of Peterloo. Dragging its feet the Tory Town Hall is printing a soggy pamphlet. But Manchester comrades are to remember the event with a re-enactment in Piccadilly Park with speakers and folk-singers to draw the necessary parallels between 1819 and 1969. Dwarfs of Manchester! Remember the role the original Dwarf played in 1819. Make certain the Massacre is never forgotten! Help in the organisation of this event by attending meetings at Manchester University Union, 8p.m. Thursday.

Workers at Punfield & Barstow Ltd., Westmoreland Road, N.W.9., have been protesting to the management about their conditions and pay since February. Met by complete and cynical indifference, they finally staged a sit-in at their machines on June 11th. The management which had been so slow to consider their demands was suddenly quick on its toes. The police were called in, and the workers were kicked out of the factory. Since then 42 Indian workers have been locked out. Only 8 blacklegs are still working, but production has been maintained by the hiring of scab labour from outside the factory. (Firms like Manpower have been approached to do the dirty work).

Conditions at the factory are almost medieval. The workers get one tea-break in an 11-hour day. There's no sickness benefit scheme, there's no canteen facilities. The workers formed a union 4 months ago, but the management refused to recognise the shop-steward.

Biggest source of bitterness is the bonus-scheme. In theory a worker gets an extra 8d. an hour (on top of a meagre 6/6d. basic) once he has machined a number of parts set by the management (latest figure is 1,770 parts). But workers claim they have been cheated out of their bonuses by fiddling of the figures.

Despite the distractions of beautiful weather, about 300 dedicated demonstrators took, what was in effect a long stroll through London to express their solidarity with ANC on South Africa's Freedom Day. The police showed a great deal of good humour and there were no arrests on the march. Three comrades were later arrested in connection with an assault on the Standard Bank building near Trafalgar Square. Needless, to say, the press largely ignored the whole thing.

The route of the march had been kept a closely guarded secret, many potential demonstrators were reduced to phoning Scotland Yard or politely approaching Black Marias. As it turned out, most enquiries were fairly well treated. Practically all the ingredients necessary to make a really useless demo were present with a vengeance. The route was too long, the organisation too ad-hoc, militants who should have been there must have left for comfortable holidays or unable to leave their glorified seminars, and the degree of coherence of many of the people present sadly in doubt.

The trouble with ad-hoc organisations is that they do not inherit a mobilisation ability. On each occasion they have to reconstruct channels of communication with the Left. On Southern Africa there is no shortage of well meaning sympathisers willing to work on endless solidarity committees organising too many demonstrations, but what they lack is any militant base to provide cadres to mobilise effective demonstrations. The need for permanent channels is patently obvious. Had the RSSF been a more credible organisation it may have been in a position to provide such an agency. This would have eliminated some of the sheer destructive in-fighting which takes place when the task gives the liberation movements a decisive say on the vocabulary of mobilisation without sufficient regard to the situation in this country. A VSC style of mobilisation must be undertaken on rare and highly selected occasions. Perhaps it will grow out of the October mobilisations being planned in universities.

The police are still doing their damndest to put one on us. In our first year they have made four major attempts.

#### 1. September 1968

Office searched and papers seized on the pretext of a smudgy wall drawing of a molotov cocktail. No charge

#### 2. December 1968

A street seller, Joe Farthing, arrested under the indecent advertisement act for selling a paper containing the word 'motherfucker'. Magistrate Edward ("I'm just trying to keep up with the times") Robey. Dismissed the case.

#### 3. May 1969

Several visits made to the office and the home of a member of the board about P.C. Pulley of Notting Hill Gate. Criminal libel threatened. No charge.

4. And now the latest attack. On Tuesday, 8th July, Det. Inspector Batchelor and Detective Collins arrived at the Dwarf office with a long list of roneoed questions (at the end of one of them were printed the words "formal caution" which is when they gave us the caution: at this rate they will soon be sending round computers instead of policemen). The questions concerned this item in our events diary.

Read it and see if you can spot the offence.

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.

Get it? Well the police say that the words "try to break it up" could mean that the Dwarf incited people to go and cause trouble. There certainly was a punch-up and it seems that it was the police who got out of hand. Sixteen

#### COEDUCATING FREE FESTIVAL

The Year Festival at Goldsmiths College lasted a week and closed on Friday, July 4 with a large meeting gathered to hear R. D. Laing. Unfortunately Laing did not appear so the meeting was carried by the other speakers, Michael X and Alex Trocchi. These two talked for some time, mostly (it seemed to the girl dwarf covering the debate) about each other. At which point Women's Liberation Workshop walked up to the stage and attacked the meeting for waffling on about nothing instead of discussing a problem of importance to everyone in the room, namely: Women's Liberation. The audience had been listening reverently as Michael X spoke of the oppression of the blacks, of their search for identity, of their centuries-long submission. But when it came to the subject of women, the meeting was in chaos for an hour and a half. Coherent discussion on the topic seemed impossible. The men reacted with a maddeningly rational superiority... "There is a problem and if we all keep calm about it we (meaning the men) can solve it" (for you)". Or, more commonly, with a barrage of lewd sarcasm.

In view of this, it is not surprising that some women's groups aim solely at the woman - to get her thinking about the family as an economic unit, her sexuality, the abuse of sexuality in advertising. But of course this is not enough. The liberation of women demands the equal liberation of men. It cannot deny men's existence and simply reverse existing social values.

The revolution is apparently nowhere except here and any time except now. Sure, women must fight for equal pay. But when it came down to a discussion on the people in that room there, it was just not on. The individual is not prepared to explore his own consciousness, to look at the person sitting next to him, and discover what his attitude to that person really is, the nature of the man's oppression, the nature of the woman's submission.

arrests were made and several people were hurt. After the meeting the local branch of the Amalgamated Engineering and Foundry Workers' Union issued a statement of censure against the police for their behaviour and against the Havering Council for allowing the hall to be used by Moseley's Fascists.

Once again the police have threatened us and once again we sit waiting to be charged. Let's hope they hurry up. The Black Dwarf would be proud to stand in the dock alongside the working men who fought the battle of Romford Market.



Mr Ben Cohen, Chairman of the Romford and Havering Anti-Fascist Committee gets some rough handling.

#### EDITORIAL BOARD

Clive Goodwin, John Hoyland, Sheila Rowbotham, Adrian Mitchell, Fred Halliday, Anthony Barnett, Vinay Chand, Tariq Ali, Bob Rowthorne

#### DESIGNERS

Mike Newton, Ruth Prentice, Agitprop Publicity Group, Liz Greenham, Mike Lesley.

#### CIRCULATION AND ADVERTISING

David Kendall

#### DISTRIBUTION

John Weal