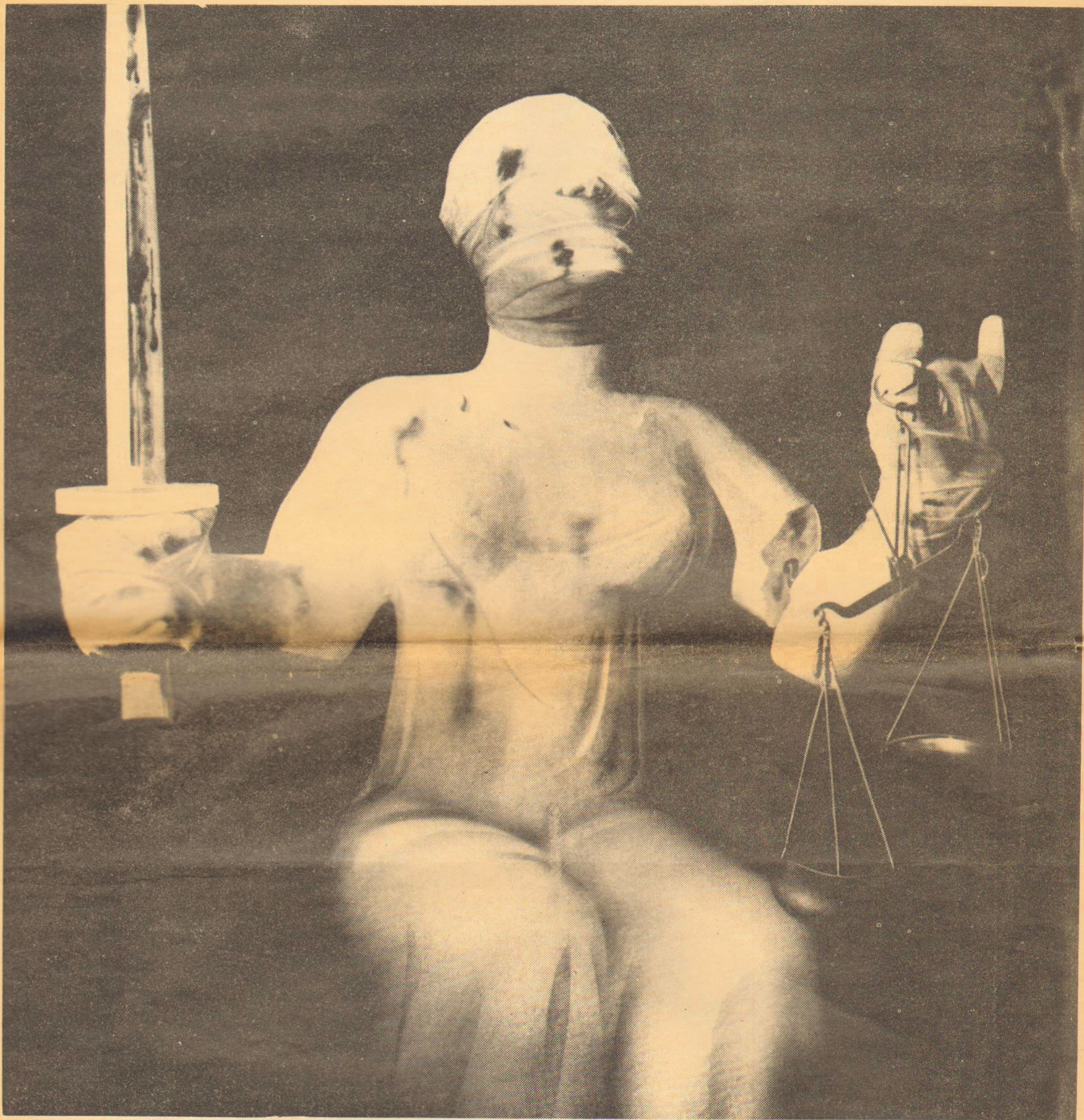


The Black Dwarf

Established 1817 Vol 14 No. 24

26th October – 15th November 1969

Price 1/



Special Sixteen Page Issue

Labour Party/AEF-GEC/City News/Television

Black Panthers/Laos/Bolivia

Interview with a

Black Dwarf Editorial



The Dwarf has been publishing for 17 months now and they have been seventeen months of all sorts of difficulties. Printers have refused to handle us by the score. We have received very few adverts, which has meant our price has had to stay high. We have been boycotted by the big newspaper distributors and so have to rely very heavily on our readers to distribute the paper. Unlike the other political newspapers we have had no organization of people behind us to organize sales. The very fact that the Dwarf has survived in the face of all these problems has demonstrated what a need there was for a paper like the Dwarf, for a political paper that was militant, that avoided the excesses of sectarianism, that was internationalist and that did not fall prey to reflecting the economist fallacies of the British Left. A revolutionary newspaper is different from every other publication. It cannot rely on existing institutions, or systems - it must create its own links between people to combat the system's links between things.

So far so good. In terms of readership, perhaps 50,000 people read each copy of the Dwarf. Our circulation expands with each issue, our distribution network gets bigger.

Until now, however, we have always faced financial difficulties of one sort or another, because we have had to face printers' bills etc. and, however, promising the outlook was politically, the price structure of modern capitalism isn't organized to make life easy for small newspapers. We have already received help from some of our readers, and, like every other political newspaper, we need continuing help (see the financial appeal elsewhere in this issue). We are now in a position, however, to solve at least some of our problems. We are going to acquire a printing press at 182 Pentonville Road, N1, where our offices will also be eventually situated. This will be a big step forward for us. We have much more control over our means of production. We will be able to respond more quickly to changes in the political situation, when struggles are in process. Eventually, we hope to appear weekly, which will make us that much more of a real political newspaper rather than a journal. We will be able to help other political groups and movements by printing for them. If we can do some commercial printing too, we may be able to considerably strengthen our resources. We do of course need money but, not only money, we need office equipment,

paper, furniture, floor materials, etc. If you have any of these things to spare, please let us have them or tell us where we can get them. Most of all though we need you. A political paper cannot have passive readers. It's essential that our readers sell the paper for us, on the streets, in schools, factories, Universities - anywhere they can in fact. Many parts of the country it is difficult to get the Dwarf - our readers can make it easier by ordering a bundle from us, any number of papers from half a dozen upwards. It all helps. Ask your local newsagents to stock us, ask your friends to subscribe, talk about the paper to your friends, use it to promote active political discussion. We now have the press - we can expand production of the paper very easily. The rest is up to you.

Cover

From the exhibition of montages by John Heartfield, at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, until November 8.

The Labour Party Conference

To attend the Labour Party Conference is like entering into an unreal world. The thousand odd delegates discuss, with tremendous intensity, a great variety of political issues, yet everyone knows that if the Government is defeated it will continue on its course irrespective of Party opinion. Trades Union leaders vote on behalf of hundreds of members, the majority of whom take no part whatsoever in determining policy. I myself wielded 1000 votes on behalf of a Constituency Party which has less than 100 members.

This year's conference was unreal in another sense too. The platform appeared to be totally unaware of what was happening outside the narrow confines of the Conference hall. A careful and systematic attempt was made to create an aura of optimism, which rapidly turned into euphoria. A marginal swing towards Labour in the opinion polls plus a single month's favourable trade and reserves figures were seized upon by Wilson & Co. The speeches from the platform were one long public relations stunt designed to ensure that the average delegate completely forgot that if a General Election were to be held tomorrow the Party would lose over 200 seats. It quickly became clear that Wilson is hoping for a rapid recovery of his political fortunes, and that he will stage a snap election as soon as he sees the chance of being returned for another five years. The quite deliberate calling to the rostrum of huge numbers of prospective parliamentary candidates added weight to this view.

The vast T.V. and press coverage given to the Conference of course makes it an ideal opportunity for the leadership to project itself on a national scale. The amount of time devoted to speeches by major figures in the Government indicates that the Party bureaucrats see this aspect as more important than allowing participation by the rank and file. Thus, on top of two knock about turns from Wilson, we had to tolerate lengthy interventions from Castle, Greenwood, Brown, Stewart, Jenkins and Callaghan. Wilson's contempt for Conference was crystal clear on Tuesday morning. Billed to give the report of the Parliamentary Labour Party, he devoted most of his time to a lengthy joke about Edward Heath and the Tories, which succeeded in getting most of the delegates rolicking in their seats. The ritual standing ovation followed.

The big story of the week was of course the confrontation between the Government and the leaderships of the Amalgamated Engineering and Foundry Workers' Union and the Transport and General Workers' Union. It would be difficult to imagine more of a non-event. The main resolution on Trade Union legislation came from the T & G.W.U., and began by congratulating the Government and the Trades Union Congress on the agreement made earlier in the year whereby Vic Feather would do the dirty work for Wilson by acting as policeman of industrial disputes. The fact that Jack Jones' union professed its resolution in this way speaks

resolution on behalf of the National Executive Committee, Barbara Castle chanced to mention that the Government intended to go on with the re-implementation of Part 2 of the Prices and Incomes legislation providing for a statutory delay on the paying of wages increases the Government considers excessive.

Scanlon and Jones reacted violently. Midnight meetings with Wilson added to the drama. The argument began to revolve around the section of the N.E.C.'s general policy statement "Agenda for a Generation", which dealt with the desirability of a prices and incomes policy. The two union leaders demanded an assurance that this would be revised in the light of the previous resolution. When that assurance was not given they voted against the policy statement, which nonetheless was passed by 3½ million to 3¼ million votes.

The real point about all this manoeuvring, however, was that it took place on a bureaucratic, almost personal, level. It should be self-evident to socialists that it is not logically possible to question the Government's incomes policy without making a thorough-going analysis of its whole commitment to the maintenance of capitalist economic policies. But Scanlon and Jones were prepared to swing behind the N.E.C. statement, which is fundamentally a recipe for the continued modernisation of British capitalism, if just a few words in it were changed. There is no doubt that when the Trades Union leaderships begin to declare opposition in this way, it indicates that they are feeling the pressure of increased rank and file militancy, but it would be the utmost folly to stimulate any illusions that these "left" bureaucrats will lead a real fight against the Wilson leadership of the Party.

This point was well substantiated in the debate on "the Labour Government". Moving the resolution pledging "all possible assistance to the Government in their efforts to overcome the balance of payments deficit and create a strong economy", was Hugh Scanlon. It was of course inevitable that in his closing speech on the last day, Wilson seized on Scanlon's words about family arguments etc., to support his own pleas for unity and endeavour in the run-up to the General Election.

This failure to provide any effective challenge to the Government, even on the level of debate, characterised the whole week's proceedings. On Ireland, only one speaker raised the question of British troops, while the sole resolution calling for their withdrawal was dropped from the agenda. Callaghan's speech in reply to the debate, with its demands that the Catholics must now "make a gesture", was an absolute insult to the people who had fought for their lives on the barricades. At least he made it absolutely crystal clear that the British Government is determined to maintain the sectarian Stormont regime at all costs.

One morning was devoted to foreign policy. The low political level within the Party was

supplied to the Federal Nigerian Government (it did the same last year to no effect) and to the Smith regime in Rhodesia. (Again the strongest resolution, calling for support for the armed freedom fighters was dropped.)

The National Executive suffered its only defeat of the week on Wednesday when a resolution calling for an economic policy based on the T.U.C.'s 1969 Economic Review with its target growth rate of 6% was passed. The same debate saw an abortive attempt to get the question of the G.E.C. - E.E./A.E.I. merger and the 17,000 resultant redundancies discussed, and a narrow victory for the N.E.C. which opposed a resolution from the Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association calling for public ownership of the big monopolies.

Housing was the subject of a larger number of resolutions than any other single subject. Yet so limited was the time allotted to it that only two speakers were allowed from the floor while Tony Greenwood was given half an hour to try and explain away this year's fall off in housing construction. Social security and education were the other two items attracting large numbers of motions. In both debates fairly innocuous composites were passed and any attempt to link the Crisis in the social services to that of the capitalist economy itself was carefully avoided.

The debate on the Common Market, with George Brown speaking on behalf of the Executive, was predictably pointless. The amendment from D.A.T.A. which called for a withdrawal from the negotiations for entry was inexplicably withdrawn at the last moment, leaving a mild composite moved by the T & G.W.U. calling for "adequate safeguards" for the balance of payments, standard of living, etc. This was gladly accepted by the N.E.C.

I said at the beginning of this article that there was a great deal of unreality about the Labour Party Conference. In another sense, however, the low level of debate, the failure to raise the fundamental political issues, does reflect a reality which poses revolutionary socialists in Britain with their most acute dilemma. For the Conference reflects the abysmal level of politics current in the British working class movement. This is reflected, too, in the fact that affiliated and individual membership of the Party is down this year to its lowest level for nearly 20 years. Only 320 out of 630 Constituency Parties were represented at Conference.

It is clear that the low level of activity in the Party is a combination of disillusionment with the Government and a failure to find any real alternative within the Party. For the latter situation the main blame must fall upon the traditional left wing, especially those around the weekly 'Tribune'. This group, whose meagre ideological heritage goes back to Aneurin Bevan, have completely failed to put up a principled opposition to the rightward drift of Government policy. They still go in for the same old rhetoric of left-reformism, completely failing to see that present developments in the world economy pose a stark alternative. Either reactionary capitalist policies or the Wilsonian variety or thorough-going socialist measures which would involve the mobilisation of the working class.

The Socialist Charter group which is closely associated with 'Tribune' issued a daily con-

tributions came from John Forrester of D.A.T.A. who alone insisted that the main lesson to be learnt from such issues as Ireland and the Equal Pay struggle was that militancy paid off.

Other attempted left-wing interventions were equally ineffectual. The Socialist Labour League assembled a demonstration of approximately 1000 youth on the Sunday afternoon. This included, in view of their appalling position on black power, a surprisingly large number of black people. But it made absolutely no impact on the Conference itself and only confirmed their total isolation from the Labour movement. "International Socialism's" demonstration which at least passed the Conference Hall when the delegates were emerging, was so small as to be laughable. Reports of the debate held between their tendency and the Tribunites indicate that the immature sectarianism of the three bus-loads of imported IS supporters totally alienated any potential support outside of their own ranks. Supporters of the marxist monthly 'Militant' were by far the best organized of the left-groupings present, yet in view of their total commitment to Labour Party work, they had surprisingly few delegates and even less influence on the conference floor.

The future for political struggle by socialists within the Labour Party is, in the short-term, extremely bleak. The inadequacies of the present left leadership and their complete inability to affect events in the slightest, have been cruelly exposed. The token nature of their opposition to Wilson becomes clearer and clearer.

But the paradox remains. That while strikes, tenants' struggles, squatters' campaigns, anti-imperialist demonstrations and a host of other class struggle activities are on the increase, this is not reflected in any significant form inside the Labour Party itself. Indeed it would appear that only a really dramatic event, such an unlikely variant as a disastrous defeat in the next General Election for instance, could really shake the party up and produce any significant opposition to the leadership.

Yet socialists who gloat over this decline of the Labour Party should beware. It is good that more and more young people, trade unionists, etc. are coming to reject the rotten politics of reformism, left and right and to participate in militant struggles and revolutionary organizations. But the left has yet to build a viable alternative to the Labour Party.

Experience in France where the counter revolutionary role of the Communist Party was clearly exposed during the May events, shows that the working class will not easily be persuaded to abandon its traditional organizations. In Britain not a single trade union of any significance has severed its links with the Labour Party. As long as this organic relationship remains the potential for Labour leadership to pose as the custodians of the working class interest remains. As the election nears I am convinced we shall see a resurgence of working class support for the Party which does not even exclude the possibility of a Labour victory.

It is no use socialists turning their backs on the Labour Party and hoping it will slowly wither away. Sooner or later we have to confront the problem of how to destroy it in its present form and win the vast potential of the British Labour movement for revolutionary

Liverpool- the Non- Occupation.

So the Liverpool factory occupations are not, for the present at any rate, going to take place. Of course, there is widespread disappointment about the news.

The shop stewards of the GEC action committee, with their staunch allies on the District Committee and in the local offices of the unions concerned, have, in this courageous struggle, won deep admiration all over the country. From the terrific mail which has come to the offices of the Institute for Workers' Control, we can say without doubt that sympathy for the proposed action extended throughout the whole country, and into every major industry and trade union.

A body like the Institute, which exists to co-ordinate research and information services, cannot, of course, offer any sensible advice about how particular actions should be undertaken. That is a job for organizations, above all for trade unions, which are directly implicated. Indeed, in this case, we feel that this battle is a perfect example of the wisdom of Rosa Luxemburg's famous dictum, that "the mistakes of the working class are more valuable than the wisdom of the most perfect central committee". Of course, there were mistakes in the Merseyside struggle, and it is important that they should be carefully evaluated by both the workers concerned and their colleagues in other industries and enterprises: because the fight against redundancies is an inevitable outcome of the development of mergers and rationalisation, on a national and international scale. The main work of discussion and analysis will begin among the GEC stewards themselves, and very soon, because it is quite clear that they do not intend to take 3,000 dismissals lying down, and that the last word has not yet been spoken in the Weinstock empire. Mr. Bewley, the "loyalist" shop steward who saved the day for the management, has proved to be a short lived asset, since he declared himself as a militant supporter of Mr. Powell. Both Mr. Weinstock himself, and the ministerial spokesmen who have been involved, have revealed in their different ways, their apprehension about the takeovers. The ghost is not yet laid. It does seem clear, however, that the problem of communication between the action committee leaders and the rank-and-file workers turned on two basic needs: first the need to satisfy the workers about the exact position which would obtain concerning wages, insurance cover, and redundancy payments

during the period of the occupation; and second, the need to "break the ice" before the occupation itself by a series of actions which effectively challenged the management's authority *inside* the workplace. Delicate legal problems existed, of course: but there is no doubt, and there was no doubt in the Action Committee's minds, that the key problems of finance and protection would depend, directly, on outside solidarity. There can be no doubt at all that this would have been forthcoming. Money would have poured into the Merseyside: and the popular support they called up would have been very adequate guarantees that lawyers would have taken a cautious view of the rights and wrongs of the case. But if this is true, the problem of how it could be explained to the workpeople remained an intractable one. The Action Committee was bound to play some of its cards close to its chest. What was needed was a succession of briefing discussions, in the shops, preferably in working time, during which the basic difficulties could be discussed. Also very much needed was some form of Action Committee broadsheet, appearing daily, and answering queries as well as publishing letters from workpeople. One issue of such a news sheet did in fact appear, but obviously it was not enough to carry the day.

The fact remains, that the "non-occupation" far from being a setback to the Workers' Control movement, or to the immediate struggle against redundancy, has been a major event. It has aroused and stimulated the imagination of workers all over the country. It has opened up a nation-wide discussion. And it is only a beginning, even on the Merseyside itself. If this great gain in understanding of the question of Workers' Control has come out of the first Phase of the Merseyside struggle, it is vital that Phase 2 should swing into operation immediately. This requires action at every level of the Labour Movement, and by many agencies.

The shop stewards will surely pursue the whole question of establishing a standing democratic trade union machinery for the whole GEC Combine, and a bargaining policy directed at the Combine, particularly on manpower planning, industrial development and investment, plant utilisation, etc. To make such a policy effective, two advances in Workers' Control are essential. First, that the books of GEC be open to inspection by the workers and their unions; second, that the workers' side have permanent new powers to veto unilateral management decisions on redundancy. These powers could be similar to those possessed by the dockers, in whose industry the employers literally do not have the power to hire and fire.

The trade unions should respond to the Merseyside lead by taking steps similar to those which followed the Fords strike earlier this year; namely to construct a bargaining machine which refers all negotiations back to the shop floor for final approval.



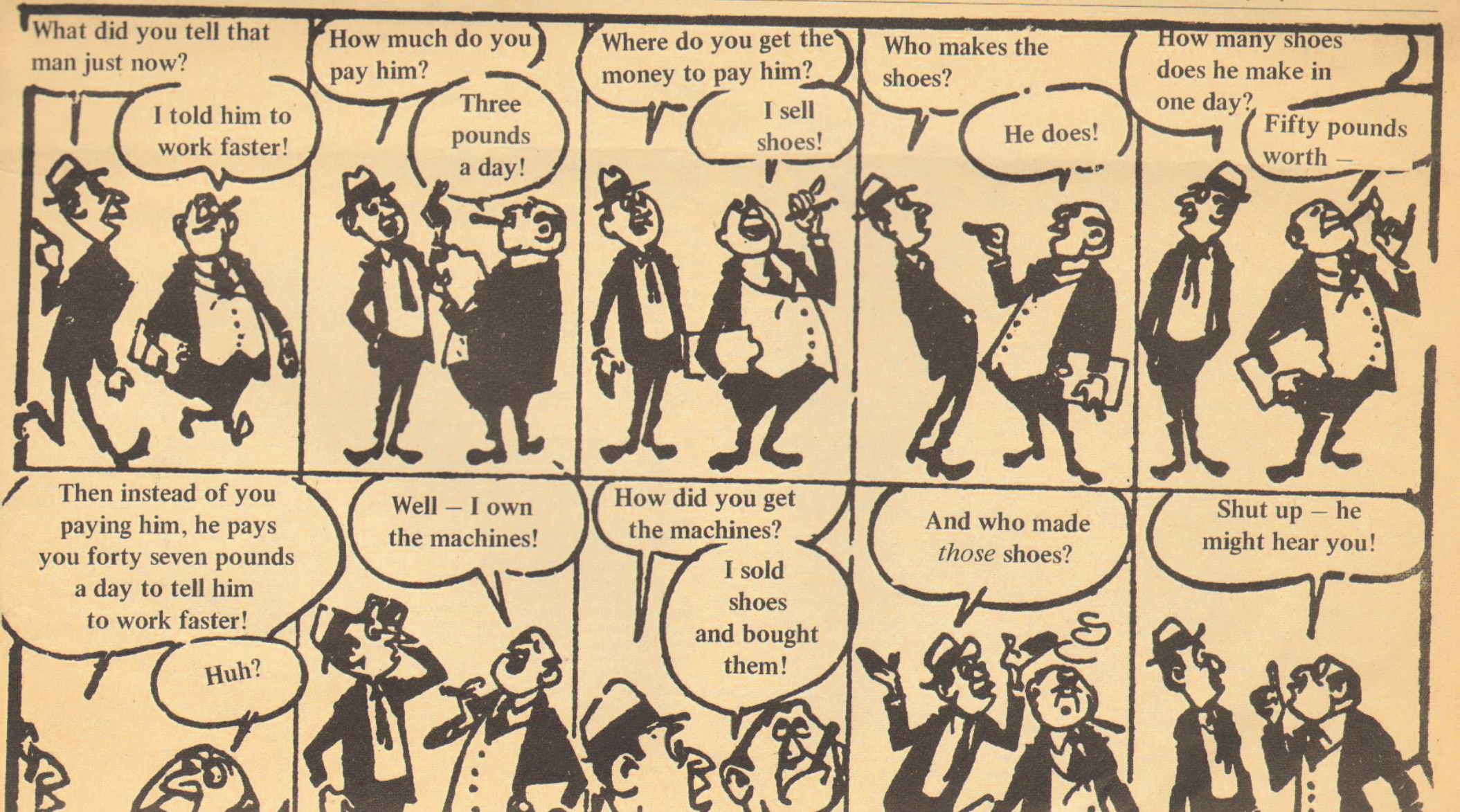
Hysterical propaganda wins round one at GEC. Here its dupes are seen kissing Powell's arse.

The militants in the Labour Party, and the union movement generally, should raise the demand for the immediate accountability of the GEC Combine (and indeed all large companies) to its workers, so that the whole issue of workers' rights in relation to mergers, rationalisation, and redundancy, is placed high on the agenda of the Labour Party Conference, and in all subsequent policy-making.

The I.W.C. and indeed all agencies within the labour movement with a research or publicity function should pursue the enquiry, already begun, into (a) the Weinstock arguments for rationalisation, and the socialist workers' - controlled alternatives, (b) the techniques of occupation, sit-ins, etc., and (c) the forms of

permanent workers' authority which need to be established over and against employers' arbitrary powers of dismissal. The need for a thorough social cost-benefit analysis of the Merseyside redundancies, sponsored by the unions, is manifest.

We must not throw away the opportunity, created by the brave pioneers on Merseyside, to pursue these issues through the heart of the Labour Movement. Our plain duty is to equip ourselves to take forward the great wave of understanding and solidarity which has developed around the GEC issue, so that the environment in which the workers' next action takes place is overwhelmingly favourable. Ken Coates and Tony Topham



"During a revolution millions and tens of millions of people learn in a week, more than they do in a year of ordinary, somnolent life". - V.I. Lenin.

During the summer vacation, every student member of Bingley College and every parent of those students under twenty one, received a letter which said: "the Governors instructed us to inform all students of their resolve that fruitless disruption of college life must be avoided in the future. They hope it is clear that they are anxious to involve students in college government and will pursue all sensible courses in order to bring this about. Though they intend to offer full opportunities to students through the normal methods of discussion and consultation to advance their views, they have no intention of letting a situation arise in which some students in an unconstitutional attempt to secure what they believe to be rights or privileges may endanger the education and training of all."

Why have the Education Authorities in Wakefield taken the unusual step of threatening the students of Bingley College? Why? Because last term they saw their college of Education students strike. Because they witnessed the unusual event of hundreds of their students actively and openly disobeying their strictures.

A full analysis of what happened begins by giving some indication of the type of community that exists here at Bingley.

The nature of the relationships that exist between the various groups (students, lecturers, workers, etc.), and how various institutional factors impinge upon the individual personality. In this case, the events focus round the activities of two students in their early twenties. (The two students involved have still not got jobs. In order to prevent further victimisation based upon the publication of this article all reference to their names have been removed. I use the phrase "the two students.") I would like to rescue their personalities from the inevitable mythology that is building up around them. They were not long-haired yobs terrorising every young lady, on the contrary they were quiet, unassuming and not particularly well known in the college. They were involved in the sort of scrapes that all students are involved in at some time. They were students of sociology, and being capable students taking their study seriously, they voiced criticism of the college, and even further, they made criticism of the society of which this college is part. This inevitably brings you to the attention of tutors. For tutors in this college, much like any other, create situations in which to ask questions, to be critical, is to be construed as treason. But this is only part of the complicated series of reasons that led to their suspicion. They were unlucky enough to be caught violating those sacred rules of resident life. And I do wish to emphasise the luck aspect. In order for us to live in those prisons, euphemistically called Halls of Residence, you have to break those rules. To always abide by them would make life intolerable. For a start they legislate against all sexual relationships.

They were suspended by the principle Ernest Butcher. In an interview Butcher said about discipline that "Discipline is achieved when people are given the opportunity to misbehave and they don't." A typical utterance from a man who has spent ten years as a Headmaster and many years behind an administrative desk. He sees education as completely bound up in schools, examinations and questions of authority and discipline. We don't need to know more, because the particular personality of a college Principal is unimportant. We could have the most benign, the most liberal, the most far sighted of men as a college Principal and it would make no difference in the operation of the institution. The mode of operation of the institution is directly related to its purpose. Mr. Butcher has told us of the purposes of a College of Education. Its purpose is to train teachers. And he has told us of the purpose of the teacher. The teacher is the person who equips the child so that he, or she, can play a useful role in society. We can forget all the intellectual mystifications elaborated by other more articulate college teachers to explain away Bingley College, for we have in this statement the essential truth. What is our society and what is a useful role? Our society, in a word, is a capitalist society. That is, in its most elemental form, a society in which a group owns the means of material production, and another, necessarily larger group, operates the means of production. A 'useful role,' within this society is one that ensures that this state of affairs remains as it is, or one which will improve this situation. Crudely, our purpose, the primary purpose of education if you like, is to ensure that *profits get higher*. Its secondary purpose, is to mystify, to erect ideological barriers to hide this simple truth. Since it is through the exploitation of the labours of working men that a capitalist system remains viable, it becomes our duty in college to assist in the continued oppression of the working classes.

Two Bingley College students break college rules and are punished. But who decides who shall come to Bingley College in the first place; who decides the rules; who decides when they have been broken and who decides the punishment? The automatic answer to all these questions is 'the college authorities.' But who are the authorities? Are they not the very same people who decide what goes into the academic programme; are they not the same people who decide what makes a good teacher; are they not, in fact, our teachers? Our teachers, in the role of our liberators, act as our oppressors. The people who govern our academic institutions (Principals, Deans, etc.) and the people who police them (lecturers are ideological 'police') are protecting the institution and its norms and traditional values for the minority whose interests are served by our present society (that is the ruling class, capitalists and industrialists) from those in whose interest it should be changed (that is the majority of the population, the working class).

So, these two students, or any student who shows disregard for rules and contempt for this society's institutions is challenging, even if in a quite small way, established authority. Such challenges, when they begin to erode the position of established authority must be met, and crushed. In Bogside, rebels are crushed with machine guns and C.S. gas. In Bingley, rebels are crushed with more subtle means, verbal



FURTHER EDUCATION

The Bingley Strike

embroider them into your own particular bureaucracy. If the Principal can get a group of students to approve his actions, then obviously he doesn't have a united student body to oppose him. Mr. Butcher states that students should be invited to help judge their comrades. We jump at the chance, for we see it as an opportunity to help our comrades. But at the same time, we are legitimising the actions of the authorities. They only allow students to approve their actions, never to condemn them.

The Unions demanded that the two students should only expect to be treated like any other citizen. But they accepted Butcher's offer of participation on a Joint Committee to recommend any punishment it thought necessary. The Joint Staff/Student committee approved of suspending the two students allowing them to take their exams and they also obtained an agreement that the punishment would not be mentioned in the two students' 'confidential testimonials'. Butcher was not satisfied. The two students did not grovel and humiliate themselves sufficiently. He seized on two absurd pretexts: a trip to Blackpool and an accident with a box of matches, and on the 9th of June withdrew his undertaking not to mention his clash with the two students on their confidential testimonials, extended their suspension. His new judgement read as follows:

"5) Finally I must say to you, and this is with considerable regret, that if you disregard my decisions or treat them with contempt, then I shall find it difficult to avoid the conclusion that as persons you are unsuitable at this stage to be members of the teaching profession and I shall not hesitate to say this..."

"I am deeply sorry to feel obliged to write to you in this way but after giving the fullest consideration to this unfortunate matter and taking fully into account that you have been under some emotional stress during the last three weeks, nevertheless I am forced to the conclusion that you have given me no alternative.

Yours sincerely"

STRIKE

The 'spirit of suspension' had been violated. When this letter was first read to us, we didn't know whether to laugh or cry. We learn so much from this letter about the methods used by the authorities. Again it reveals their treachery and hypocrisy. The last paragraph is unspeakable considering it comes from people who have the gall to lecture on psychology. We also see what participation means - you participate

conservatism, militant action was being planned, and that there were hundreds of us willing to actively disobey the college authorities in order to see our comrades returned to college, and the Students Union establish itself as a powerful negotiating body. The meeting was exciting, the speaking passionate. People stood up who had never spoken at a meeting before, students from other colleges gave us support, we laughed, we cheered and... we got down to work. For many of us, it was difficult. We were not just disobeying the parochial college authorities, but were fighting to overcome years of stupefying conditioning we suffered at school.

We worked through the night on organisation, writing, duplicating, talking and talking and talking. We had a seemingly endless series of meetings, discussions and harangues. We had endless series of original suggestions for activities during the strike period, but above all, that evening we felt united; we were going to fight together, for the common interest, and we were going to win. The next day, 12th June, we handed the motion that we had passed at the previous evening's meeting to the Principal.

It demanded full reinstatement of the two from 12 noon the 12th June. That evening Butcher called a meeting. Mr. Butcher and Mr. Birks sat behind the table in the main hall as about 480 students trooped in. They must have been aware from the very beginning of this meeting that they were facing a largely hostile audience, who were going to listen very carefully to every word spoken. Mr. Birks is Head of the Science Department at the College, and is a very intelligent and articulate speaker. He opened the meeting by giving a very long, and mostly unintelligible speech about the irrevocability and justice of the student suspensions. After about an hour of verbal juggling, Mr. Butcher was asked directly if the two students would be reinstated. Mr. Birks answered this question for him by reading out a statement which said no, they would not. As there was nothing more to say, about half the meeting, about 200 out of 480, walked out. We decided to strike. "All power to the general assembly," the familiar cry of the revolutionaries was being realised. Released from the suffocation of Bingley's academic course we began to plan and implement our own lectures and seminars. We had much support from graduate and under-graduate students in the local Universities. These students came to speak on their own areas of work in seminars that were given hitherto unforeseen relevance. Life at Bingley came to have some meaning. We were working, and learning together for our mutual interest, smashing out traditional concepts of

This meeting was another tremendous experience 450 students packed the dining room (so all the conservative students did turn up) and when the strike motion was put, it was passed. This seemed unbelievable to us at the time. The debate at this meeting was extraordinary, speaker after speaker for the motion, the same dozen speaking against the motion. There were speeches made by students at this meeting which will always be remembered for their intellectual clarity, brilliance and strength.

As soon as the strike became constitutional the Union President and the Executive took full control of the strike. They assumed the roles that the College administration had created for them. A potentially revolutionary situation had been transformed into a nice safe constitutional one. We were all again inside the straight-jacket of bureaucratic administration. All the tools that serve to stifle democracy were paraded: secret files, confidential information, constitutional and unconstitutional meetings, etc., etc. Our meeting now became waiting sessions. We were waiting for the Executive Report, or waiting for the President to report, or waiting for the next round of negotiations. Half the time we didn't know who was talking to Mr. Butcher although we knew that some of our fellow Union members were reporting to Uncle Ernest regularly, keeping him informed of student activity. But this is the way that bureaucratic organization work, and we should not be surprised. The Union Constitution is vetted and approved by the authorities. They would soon scream if it began to subvert their power. During the period of the strike, it was then who were deciding the terms of the discussion. The students were summoned to the Academic Board when it suited the Academic Board. When the Executive did report they told us that there was nothing to say. Exactly, there was nothing to say because there was nothing to discuss. We had made very clear demands. Until they were met there was nothing to discuss. We should have told the Board of Academics what to go and do with their negotiation and treat their pathetic meetings with the contempt that they deserve.

Worse, as soon as the strike became constitutional Mr. Butcher told us that the matter was out of his hands, and in the hands of the Board of Governors. This was their trump card. The Board of Governors are held to be the font from which all justice flows, rather than a bunch of local reactionary politicians. We should have seen that it was impossible for the Board of Governors to condemn Mr. Butcher's action and reinstate the two students. To have done this would have meant, in effect, asking Mr. Butcher to resign probably with some members of the Academic Board. Before the strike ended though, we were to experience another one of those incredible meetings with Mr. Butcher and his Academic henchmen. This meeting must have united all the strikers in permanent opposition to academic authority. "The consequences," Mr. Butcher told us, "if the strike goes on are dire indeed... dire indeed... work is being interrupted you know... the normal functioning of the college is being interrupted..." "Now be sensible and make your own judgements..." He told us once again that our action was futile and that it was impossible to reinstate the two students because the matter was in the hands of the Board of Governors. The Board of Governors, we were told, were to inquire into the procedures of the case, and the strike and how it arose. Logically, of course, the Board of Governors should have been investigating Mr. Butcher and the Academic Board, for it was their handling of the case that was in question. Instead, the Board of Governors were just going to re-try the two students. But at this afternoon's meeting, there seemed to be no end to the patronising calp-trap that we were fed. One lecturer, obviously wanting to impress everyone with the fact that he was liberal and - Oh joy of joys - that he had actually spoken with some student - capped the lot by proclaiming: "You are entitled to disagree. We are entitled to disagree, but you must understand that we can't change our minds. We couldn't change our minds even if we wanted to - and we don't want to." The parting shot came from the Principal, who told us that we had made our protest and that it was now time to go back. He then reminded all of us that he was a liberal man, and that it was right to protest, but it was a terrible thing that the normal working of the college had been upset.

We did go back. We went back for many reasons. Some felt that the Union Executive had betrayed us, others - well others were frightened. It was near the end of term, always an anxious time for students who the prospects for a future career are summarised in the arbitrary award of an alphabetic code. This is just one of the sanctions that educational authorities can use against us.

The PRESENT SITUATION.

The strikers suspended strike action. The student Union is still bound to support any strike action that takes place. The two students are banned even ex-members of the college from the college campus. At the same time of going to press they have not got jobs yet, and Mr. Butcher has given them very ambiguous testimonials. In the future, we must not forget the important lessons we learnt during the strike. We must overcome the fragmenting tendency of the college course, and organize our own education programme a programme that exists in critical opposition to the college course. We must ensure that the contacts we established with Margaret McMillan and Bradford and Leeds Universities are strengthened. They gave us tremendous moral and material support during the strike period. Our problems are similar, our interest the same, we share a common adversary, and we must fight together. Our mutual education is important, for we must watch words like "participation", "confidences", and culture, freedom etc... for these latter concepts are inevitably linked with the ideology of the authoritarian capitalist state.

The students Union must be democratised:
 a) Secret negotiations by student officials anti-pathetic to any democratic organization. Officials must report negotiations to general meeting.
 b) All consultations between students and authorities must be rationalised - only mandated officials should



Endell Street-photograph by Robin Laurance, The Guardian.

SQUATTERS

Events at Endell Street by Denise Halloran.

Monday, 22nd September.

The incidents at Piccadilly had hardened the attitude to the police; we made a few quick, hard and fast rules, the most important being that no police or press were to be allowed into the building; this was a basic lesson we had learnt. A strong barricade was erected at the front door and a few "heavies" were stationed at the door, this was now the only entrance to the school.

Early on in the morning, the media were hammering on the door, and generally making their unwanted presence felt. It was necessary to give out some sort of statement, and the reader of this statement was seized by the press and built into a "leader", and so totally distorting the views of the commune simply because the newspapers distorted all that was said.

Inside the building, we were preparing for a long stay, and made plans for three conferences, involving social workers, schools groups, and a week-end devoted to the discussion of the political position of the commune. The purpose of these meetings would have been to broaden the general social and political nature of the commune.

The atmosphere was more serious than at Piccadilly, to the extent that our "service d'ordre" was no longer composed of thugs and left-wing heavies, but of actual commune members unlikely to cause trouble with spectators. The press naturally reported this as "a committee of 24 strong-arm boys who imposed a reign of terror on the inhabitants of the school".

The afternoon was spent organizing various essential services such as eating facilities, space for office work and arrangements for various comrades.

For example, Ron Bailey was helping on the legal position, and the most worthwhile literature to date was produced.

The evening press was naturally hysterical, reports of Molotov cocktails, grenades, guns and the usual trappings of any self-respectful terrorist group were detailed and gave the impression that we were prepared to do battle not only with the police but any group of dissenting opinion.

At the daily General Assembly, we discussed the incredible amount of publicity we had been given, and decided that we would not admit photographers to the school because it would do us no good, and as far as the press were concerned we were living in filth/squalor/general unsanitary conditions, and could they hardly be expected to surrender such good copy in exchange for mild reports about clean living. There seemed little point in doing anything but giving out a statement and allowing the public to absorb the hysterical burlings of the press, there being no way we could reply ourselves. As a result of this, a large and mostly hostile crowd gathered outside the school and never left until we ourselves had to leave.

We settled down for a night of comparative peace and quiet, with the 24-hour guard stationed at the door.

Tuesday, 23rd September.

The daily newsheet was written and duplicated

had happened when we most wanted to avoid it. Not unnaturally, we resented the presence of these amused spectators, who watched events and then went home to read the papers and see what really happened. The people inside the commune were irritated by these events and this became a topic for discussion... making people realise that the media were killing us, but, having no means of mass communication, we were in the position of watching public opposition grow against us and being unable to do anything about it. We found our internal organization seemed to be running of its own accord, consulting no-one in particular on various points, so that the action committee had in fact become what it should have been; the spontaneous decisions were made and no-one, despite the press reports, was doing much leading.

One problem was the talks between the "Skinheads" and the commune... relying on the press about "war talks" and "summit meetings between rival gangs" (which had never occurred) we prepared to meet the street gangs. Fortunately they arrived, and after initial suspicion (on both sides) talking became easier. The concept of the "hippies" and "skinheads" actually getting together seemed to worry the authorities, although the alliance they had in mind would have been very much in the future, so the concern was all unnecessary. At the General Assembly we discussed the legalities of our situation, and also the practical aspect of defence, and the tactics we could employ to keep ourselves in the building.

CAST then entertained the commune, and set up plans to start a guerilla theatre group, using commune members and so broaden our cultural aspect.

Wednesday, 24th September.

The morning was spent in the High Court: the commune waited to see what British Justice would offer them by way of a compromise. It was obvious from the start of the proceedings that we were not going to get any extension on our occupation, and the court made itself ludicrous by offering us one hour to prepare a legal case. The result of that was the granting of an order which entitled the Sheriff of London to enter the building to reclaim it for the Diocesan Council.

Rumours quickly spread that the police were having a tactics meeting (in fact they were) but this seemed unlikely and so the barricades which started to spring up on the ground floor were more bravado than anything else. In spite of phrases like "meeting violence with violence" it wasn't taken seriously, and no-one anticipated spending long nights on the barricades fighting off the police Commandos. The actual eviction would probably be several days ahead, and so the hysterical feeling of a "seige" was really "communards" playing at what they really felt to be a revolutionary situation... or just playing. The general frivolity was quickly replaced by worry when the police set up a curfew. There were some people inside, and some out; all were trying to predict the next police move. Perhaps it was at this point that comrades realised that they were

extremists" had taken over) but that at last they would have to take their situation seriously.

By 2 a.m. the situation inside was now one of indecision... but resistance was not on the programme of action, to the disturbance of a few but the relief of many.

Finally, the police swooped, through the roof and any badly defended points they could... like the CRS they were dark, wearing goggles, armed with shields, and the scene might have been Paris last year except for the performance of comrades... who might have given the whole event a more militant nature, and redeemed themselves in the eyes of those who believed that the police should have been resisted. As it was, the police led us away, with the only punches being aimed landing on ourselves rather than the other way round. Like so many tired children, we were charged, and put into cells for the night.

Thursday, 25th September.

The courts were most decided that we should be given the most incredible conditions of bail... in effect it was impossible for people to get bail unless their parents came to court and agreed to have their children live at home with them. Two sureties of £100 each had to be found, and although 12 sureties were found on the Thursday, the police dismissed them on the

flimsiest excuses, e.g. that there had been no time to check details of sureties, when in fact they had had several hours. This meant that everyone had to spend at least one night in a Remand centre or a prison. It seems ridiculous that these fantastic conditions were imposed, but it is obvious that, having decided to smash the commune, they were prepared to bend the regulations as far as possible in order to make it as difficult as possible for us to get together again.

The lesson that must be learnt from this is that we must learn to protect ourselves from the manipulation of the laws, in fact the newly formed 'Action for People's Justice' is attempting to do just this. We have to form some kind of umbrella group to enable us to be aware of our exact rights, how to get them, and how, in mass arrests like this, we can best protect ourselves.

Politically, we must give ourselves time to analyse the events, and in order to avoid the chaotic political justification that is so easily made soon after an incident of such a difficult social and legal nature, we prefer to wait until we can see things in their real perspective.

The address of the London Street Commune (courtesy Freedom Press) is now c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, LONDON E.1. 24 hour 'phone service: 247/3614.

How much does it cost to leave a man alone?

IT COST £54,000 to evict squatters from Piccadilly. (900 policemen, £60 each)

IT COST £12,000 to evict squatters from Bloomsbury. (200 policemen, £60 each)

IT COST £18,000 to evict squatters from Holborn. (300 policemen, £60 each)

IT COST Mr. Lyon £1,000 to show his gratitude to the police for looking after his property rights.

IT COSTS ratepayers £85,884 17s. a year in unpaid rates to have Centre Point empty.

IT COSTS £100 to take a man to Court.

IT COSTS £15 a week to keep a man in jail.

IT COSTS £33 billion to go to the moon.

IT COSTS £16 13s. a week to keep a man, wife and 2 kids on Social Security.

IT COSTS Kensington and Chelsea Council £3 million to build a luxurious new Town Hall, although they already have three with all the gold fittings.

IT WOULD COST VERY LITTLE to house all the homeless in Britain.

IT COSTS NOTHING TO LEAVE A MAN ALONE

perfectly good Council house, so that people should not live in it.
HOW MUCH DID IT COST Redbridge Council to employ Quartermain and his fellow thugs to try to evict squatters at Ilford when the Council had no need to do so?
HOW MUCH DOES IT COST The G.L.C. to evict 5,000 tenants, employing bailiffs, police and the ensuing court charges?
 It would be cheaper and more realistic if every working man and woman with or without children were to demand NOW that every empty house and office block be filled and/or converted for the thousands of families living in slums, cramped conditions or half way houses. In this way all these would be put to good use rather than left empty and neglected. The councils would not be in debt to the professional moneylenders, but provide their own interest from their own investments, and the country as a whole would have a more humane rather than inhumane housing plan. Profiteering would be stopped, the poor would be better off with a decent roof over their heads. We say use all the empty houses of which there are hundreds of thousands.
USE EMPTY HOUSES NOW. TAKE OVER EMPTY OFFICES FOR

DWARF LETTERS

Dear Comrades,

With reference to David Kessel's letter in the August 30th issue, we are surprised that there has been no response to this challenge either from readers or by official Dwarfs - unusual since Dwarf's stance is extra-parliamentary.

The ideological confrontation raised is that of Pluralism versus Revolutionary Socialism. The topic for debate is therefore the effect of Parliamentarianism on the 'revolutionary' C.P.G.B. We feel that three points need to be clarified by Comrade Kessel if he is going to seriously advocate his proposition:

a) Is not a party geared to electioneering in a bourgeois framework rather than fighting on the shop floor and wherever else the working class is directly attacked, in danger of becoming organisationally deranged?

b) What is the relationship between a mass-appeal party and a progressive, but not necessarily popular, activist group?

c) How does the 'revolutionary' C.P.G.B. transfer the power basis into the hands of the working class, build and maintain Socialism whilst retaining the parliamentary form?

Is not Parliament the committee created by the bourgeoisie for the administration of its affairs. That is to say - it is a part of the bourgeois system and control of it is not equivalent to control of that system. Parliament ceases to have any real meaning once its class basis has been smashed, yet the C.P.G.B. insists that these structures will continue to function after an electoral victory. We find this conception riddled with an inconsistency which is only consistent with opportunism.

Yours fraternally, Gary Britain, Tony Soames.
High Elms, Compton, Nr. Newbury.

Dear readers,

Whatever your feelings as members of the public, I, as a dustman feel that you should know the facts behind the recent strike. People generally were under the impression the dustman was earning high rate of pay and enjoyed a high standard of living, but on learning the true facts, the public in general were genuinely shocked that a dustman was only earning fifteen pounds nine shillings per week less deductions. These men who were expected to feed and clothe their families on such a low income for many years, forced the London Dustman to go on strike making a united stand against their employers demanding five pounds per week increase which was considered as justified. We have every sympathy with the public inasmuch as they have not had their rubbish cleared by us for some time, as this withdrawal of labour by the dustmen was and is their only weapon against antiquated working conditions and very low rates of pay.

Tony Sweeney Kensington, London W.11

Dear Dwarf,

Having been at the memorial meeting for Ho Chi Minh in the Conway Hall last Saturday, I feel obliged to express my disgust at the development of that meeting.

Like many other comrades there, I strongly disagreed with the views expressed by the I.S. speaker, above all expressed on such a platform. However, much as I feel he should have chosen a different platform to express his views, the subsequent developments were in a way far more deplorable.

Complete agreement between all factions of the British left would be surprising and even disturbing in the present situation. Profound differences exist, and it would be stupid to simply try to ignore them. But if we cannot control ourselves even to the extent of avoiding a shouting match and complete chaos at a meeting to mourn the death of a major revolutionary figure, it is difficult to see how we can claim to be true revolutionaries. As a later speaker rightly pointed out, whatever our differences with the policies and practices of the D.R.V. Party and government may be, the facts of the Vietnamese revolution and their heroic defeat of imperialism are incontrovertible - meanwhile where are we?

Obviously we can't ignore the differences within the British left, and some are probably irreconcilable. But if in the emotional fury of our factional disputes we persist in losing sight of our fundamental aim, namely the overthrow of capitalism and the final defeat of world imperialism, then we will never, repeat never, get anywhere. I don't pretend to know the answer to this problem, but let's at least try to learn something from the quiet courage and firm unity in action of the Vietnamese people - a minimum of self-control. Each of us must do what he or she thinks best - whether it be in Ulster, in Merseyside electronics factories, at L.S.E. or wherever - but let us not forget the common enemy.

Perhaps as a start we could all work for a

Dear Comrade,

I must confess I found Black Dwarf's editorial on the death of Ho Chi Minh nauseating nonsense. It seems as if you are having a bad attack of Stalinists. To indulge so freely as you do in the cult of the individual, portraying Ho Chi Minh in a way that will appeal to youthful revolutionary romantics, nevertheless at a more profound level is deeply insulting to the person you want to praise.

For the greatest service that can be done for a great man who has died is to consider him critically, attempting to assess not only his contribution to the struggle but also his errors. By learning from his mistakes, we enhance the value of his legacy.

Obviously Ho Chi Minh was a leader of the highest calibre. He personified the courageous stand of the Vietnamese people against foreign aggressors - Japanese, French, and then, finally, American. Fighting against tremendous odds, Ho and his comrades have set an example which has inspired millions of oppressed people throughout the world.

But Ho Chi Minh was a nationalist, not a socialist. He struggled to make Vietnam free from imperialism, not from wage-slavery. He strived to unify all classes into a coalition, a political unity that permits fruitful collaboration with a feudal prince in neighbouring Laos while it prevents workers from owning and controlling the means of production at home in North Vietnam.

In the Nineteen-twenties and thirties, Ho Chi Minh accepted Stalin's policies on Far Eastern matters. Like the ill-fated Chinese communists of 1927, who supported Chang Kai Shek right up to the moment he slaughtered them in their thousands, Ho Chi Minh also believed that it was necessary to have unity with the local bourgeoisie. Revolutionary socialists who thought the fight against imperialism ought to be inextricably linked to the fight for socialism were, according to Ho Chi Minh, "pro-fascist thugs".

The Black Dwarf appears to imply that Ho Chi Minh subsequently changed his position. But that is not true. In September 1945, workers and peasants seized Saigon and, when they attempted to take the first steps towards socialism, were ruthlessly suppressed by Ho Chi Minh's supporters. A terror was unleashed against Trotskyists and trade unionists alike.

Throughout his life, Ho Chi Minh remained consistent in his opposition to the efforts of workers to control their own destiny. When the Czech proletariat crushed under the weight of Russian tanks, Ho was among the first to send his congratulations to the Kremlin.

The Black Dwarf can carry a portrait of Ho Chi Minh on its front cover and a quotation from one of his speeches - "The best way to help Vietnam is to make the revolution in your own country." Yet, surely, this was precisely what workers in the spring of 1968 were trying to do in Prague - making a revolution.

Instead of eulogising him, The Black Dwarf should have portrayed Ho Chi Minh warts and all. Alongside his magnificent struggle against imperialism, it should have shown him to be, in many respects, like Joseph Stalin - capable of leading a nationalist struggle, incapable of leading a socialist one.

It is important to remember that "only the truth is revolutionary"; idolatry tends to be reactionary.

Yours fraternally,
Raymond Challinor, International Socialism, Wigan.

Dear Dwarf,

At about 11.30 p.m. (Saturday 23.8.69) Ashu Miah was coming home from work. In Gower Street North, not far from No. 219 where he lives in a tenement house with fellow-Pakistanis, he was assaulted by three young, white racists. He ran to his door, knocked and was let in, one of his pursuers getting in just behind him. The door was then closed against the other two, who continued to knock and tried to burst the door (there is still a large hole in the panelling). Someone outside rang for the police, who on arrival took the three attackers away, but have so far made no charge.

The next day (Sunday) the Pakistanis in No. 219 became anxious at seeing people walking up and down outside the house and informed the police at Albany Street Station. No policemen arrived.

About 10.0 p.m. a petrol bomb was thrown at the house from a passing car. It fortunately hit the brickwork at the side of a window (the large black burn is still there). Fire brigade, police and an ambulance arrived very quickly. (There was, fortunately, no serious effects from the fire.) Following this second attack, the Chairman of the Pakistani Workers' Union saw the Chief Superintendent at Albany Street Station, together with the Police Liaison Officer for Race Relations for the district, on the evening of Friday, 29.8.69. He was informed by the police officers that they had secured the car from which the petrol bomb had been thrown and that they were considering possible charges against the Englishmen with regard to the

hard". Mr. Ashu Miah, who is accused of this molestation but not so far charged, denies it absolutely. The threat of charges against Pakistanis living in this house have since increased to include four persons.

Attacks against this house (219 Gower Street North) have been made at least four times in the past three years - including window smashing and on one occasion the landlord, who is a Pakistani, was seriously beaten up outside his own front door.

The following week on Bank Holiday 1.9.69, Mr. Khurshid Alom was on his way from Caledonian Road to see a friend living at Levita House, Chalton Street, N.W.1. As he entered Chalton Street a group of a dozen youths asked him for cigarettes and then money and then attacked him. He managed to reach his friend's flat. They then both went out and asked bystanders outside the betting shop in Chalton Street if any of them had witnessed the assault. As a result they were attacked by three men, knocked down and Mr. Alom had his arm broken. He is at present still in University College Hospital. No arrest has been made to date.

About a year ago it was decided to organise street patrols of both natives ("whites") and immigrants ("blacks") to try to prevent what the police had for three years found themselves unable to check. Within a week or two an attack was made by two thugs on a Pakistani who was robbed of £10 and his rent book. The assaulted man instead of then running away followed his attackers, saw our street patrol ahead and called out to them. They chased the robbers and caught one of them (the one with the money and the rent book, unfortunately, escaped). The captured robber was then handed over to the police. The latter were quite unable to find the other robber, in spite of being in possession of his colleague and when this man was brought to trial he was acquitted for lack of evidence!

The case taught us all a lesson about police "impartiality" or "efficiency" (why should we assume that the Metropolitan Police are different from the R.U.C.?) Where black or brown immigrants are concerned, the techniques seem to be the same as the R.U.C.'s to Catholics).

However, this was very shortly followed by another case that drew more attention.

In the same area a crowd of youths taunted a black school teacher passing by, leading to a minor street fight as a result of which the police arrested three of the white youths who had caused the disturbance and simultaneously two Pakistanis who had come out to see what was happening. This led to a trial at the Old Bailey. Defence of the two accused Pakistanis had been carefully prepared and the case well publicised. The police having no evidence whatever against the accused Pakistanis, the judge deemed it prudent to arrange a deal out of Court with the two counsel as a result of which all five accused men pleaded guilty to possessing offensive weapons (in the case of one of the Pakistanis this was a spoon with which he had been eating his dinner), and a charge of causing an affray was withdrawn against all five, who were then discharged to be of good behaviour. (The five then shook hands on it!)

In the period immediately following these two cases in 1968, police street patrols suddenly increased remarkably in Euston, and for several months there were no attacks.

The throwing of a petrol bomb if it had been by a demonstrator on behalf of Vietnam or the Catholics of Northern Ireland, would have been front page headline news and would have led to a heavy prison sentence. The throwing of a petrol bomb at a house full of Pakistanis did not rate a single line in any paper, and no arrest has yet been made.

On the other hand a Pakistani worker is attacked in the street and this is followed by Pakistanis living in the same house being threatened with charges which no one in his senses will believe would have been made at all (we will not say invented) except as a consequence of the street assault.

We feel it is necessary to call for an investigation, not by the Metropolitan Police or anyone responsible for them over the past three years, into the situation of the Pakistanis living in Camden and the conduct of the Metropolitan Police in not merely failing in their duty to protect citizens but quite clearly showing that robbery with violence is not considered an offence by police within the Borough of Camden so long as it is committed on Pakistanis.

Finally, we appeal to our fellow workers in Camden. We are confident that the overwhelming majority must feel shame that

fellow workers because their skin is brown and they often speak little English live in our Borough in a state of fear, not daring to go home alone at night.

These men are mostly doing the worst paid and heaviest jobs including much work in hospitals (where it is not only doctors who are often Pakistanis).

Workers of Camden, we appeal to you for help and protection! Help us to fight racist thuggery, together with its cause - imperialism.

Copies of this statement are being sent to the press, to the Race Relations Board, to the Home Office, to the National Committee for Civil Liberties, to the Movement for Colonial Freedom and to a number of M.P.'s.

Ishaque, Chairman, Pakistani Workers' Union, Alex Hart, Chairman, Working People's Party of England
Paul Noone, Secretary, Working People's Party of England.

Dear Friend,

As you already know, the M.C.C. is at the moment continuing with its pig-headed attitude and is allowing the invitation to the South African cricket team, to tour here in 1970, to stand. Pressure, representations, etc., have been tried on the M.C.C., but so far all seem to have failed. But we are sure that they are worried. The Wilfred Isaac's XI played their last two matches against the M.C.C. at the Bank of England's private grounds, which were guarded to try to prevent the games being disturbed. But the last game was stopped, in spite of this, for over half an hour by ten demonstrators.

We really feel that to try to get the M.C.C. to cancel the tour, we must try to exert pressure NOW! Therefore a committee has been formed whose job is solely to attempt to prevent the tour coming and, if the tour comes, to co-ordinate any further activity necessary.

To do this, publicity to the public and within organisations must be increased. People have not realised the importance of sport to the South African culture and the effect that isolation in international sport would have upon the white racist South Africans - both the public and the sportsmen. Also, it must be stressed that apartheid is as savage in the sporting field as in every aspect of life in that country. Enclosed is a copy of a document by SAN-ROC which considers the case of cricket in detail.

How can we increase the pressure on the M.C.C.? This can be done in a number of ways, all of which should be tried if possible.

1) Each organisation must come out with a declaration condemning the attitude of the M.C.C. and demanding the withdrawal of the invitation to the South African cricket team to tour here in 1970.

If such a declaration can be sent to us by Monday, September 8th, it would be very helpful, as a press conference is planned at about this time to launch a printed broadsheet on sport and apartheid.

2) That each organisation must try to collect names from the public in a prominent spot, e.g. The High Street, etc., for a petition demanding the withdrawal of the invitation to the South African team.

This will provide publicity, and it will provide names for a national petition.

Petition forms will be sent on request.

3) A pledge is also being prepared which says:

"We, the undersigned, promise to take part in any action necessary to prevent any of the South African cricket matches being played if their team tours England in 1970."

This could have a great effect and it is suggested that the pledge forms be pushed within the organisation and to friends.

4) A demonstration is being planned for the Rugby International between South Africa and England at Twickenham, on December 20th. More information will be sent later.

5) A printed broadsheet is being prepared on Sport and Apartheid which will cost 5s for 25, 10s for 50, including postage. They are printed to be sold at sixpence each. Do buy these for they give a good basic coverage.

6) Posters and stickers will be available at a later date.

7) Any other ideas will be gratefully received. All types of individual action to further the cause must be encouraged.

We desperately need help, both voluntary and financial.

All enquiries and donations should be sent to the address printed below.

Hugh Geach (Secretary)
STOP THE SEVENTY TOUR. 21a, Gwendolen Avenue, London, S.W.15. Tel: 789 5370

CHALLENGE
magazine

COMMERCIAL TELEVISION PROFITS BEFORE PROGRAMMES

On Thursday, 25th September an astonishing event took place in Knightsbridge just opposite Harrods. Some forty television employees staged a demonstration outside the offices of the Independent Television Authority. The slogans and banners read - ITA: WATCHDOG OR LAPDOG? PROGRAMMES BEFORE PROFITS: WHERE HAS ONE MILLION POUNDS PROFIT GONE? The grand lady shoppers looked amazed: as well they might. Until now any such demonstration would have been unthinkable.

The demonstration was in support of a petition handed in that morning containing the names of nearly one thousand television workers of all grades of employment from cleaner to cameraman to programme executive. It read...

We, the undersigned, workers in Independent Television, believe that our industry is in a state of severe crisis. The fight to secure profits against falling income is being waged at the expense of good programmes. Television is not a commodity but a public service and a vital part of a democratic society. The I.T.A. have the power to protect the programme makers against the profit makers. It must use these powers immediately. The time has come for the I.T.A. to exert its statutory authority. It must act *now* or its members must resign.

The signatures had been collected in the three working days that had elapsed since the LWT resignations. They came from all over the country collected by Union shop stewards and other militants. It was handed into the ITA by Stuart Hood who had himself been fired from Rediffusion four years ago in circumstances strangely similar to Michael Peacock. It is not a particularly inflammatory document but nothing like it has ever happened before in television and things can never be quite the same again.

Why this wave of militancy? It can't all be put down to the split between the Michael Peacock group and the London Weekend Television board. What is the crisis about?

Anyone who doubts that there is one should be sat down in front of a set for two weeks and made to watch it. Standards have slid miserably in the last eighteen months and not only in commercial television. An awful fungoid blandness is creeping over the BBC.

The basic reason is money, although another and a bit metaphysical and hard-to-prove reason is - fear: the good old middle-class fear of any interference with a nice orderly life. Television was beginning to get too exciting, too controversial. Careerist Department Heads would applaud the successes but secretly they wondered: things could be getting out of hand. There was a dynamic breathlessness which has now gone. There are still some virtues around in television but they are of a worthier, weightier kind.

But back to money. For years the commercial companies made millions. A motley gang of showbiz agents, journalists, admen, and energetic hustlers swaggered in for the biggest killing of the mid-twentieth century. After a hesitant start the money showered over them like an exploding sewer. God knows where it all went, it certainly wasn't into the programmes, but it is a fact although it may not be a relevant fact, that over half the boats in Cannes are owned by Englishmen. Most of it went into the few shareholders' pockets. A lot of it was simply stolen from television and put to work in other quite unrelated industries. One modest estimate of the amount diversified like this is 110 million pounds. A feeling of outrage over this insatiable profiteering from a public service began to make itself felt even to the Government. The public feeling was of course supported by the Unfree Press jealous of the success of a rival medium. And it is a typical example of the Unfree Press that it should attack TV so often and yet remain totally uncritical of other equally shocking areas of bonanza business dealings such as property. Centrepoint is as significant and certainly a more permanent feature of London life than LWT. Anyway, the government felt that it had to do something, or at least seem to do something, so it fell back on the good old temporizing device of the Royal Commission. The Pilkington Committee sat for two years

But there were some changes. The 1964 Television Act increased the powers of the ITA giving it more control over content: powers it has hardly ever used. Pilkington also gave the green light to the Government that was dying to grab its share of the profits. It instituted a levy on advertising taking a heavy slice out of the companies income. And, as always, when one set of hoods robs another, the public haven't benefited at all.

The Pilkington influence had one last backlash. In 1967 all the companies contracts came up for renewal. Two of them, TWW (whose chairman Peter Cadbury had once burned an effigy of Pilkington on his lawn) and Rediffusion were refused. London Weekend Television was one of the new companies created. It went on the air at a time when things had never been worse for telly businessmen. Advertising revenue was falling fast; costs rising; colour installation expensive; the levy takes nearly £30m from a total revenue of £100m. That still leaves £70m revenue which doesn't sound too bad although the companies now claim that they are working on only about 10 per cent return on investment.

At the end of the first year's operations the LWT board, like the boards of every other TV company especially the new ones with no reserves, were worried. They had gone to sleep for twelve months but when they woke up there was no crock of gold under the pillow. Then suddenly, out of the blue, the Free Communications Group published the now famous LWT submission to the ITA in its magazine *Open Secret*. The gap between LWT's superb promises and its actual grotty practice was seized upon by a delighted press. It was the great journalistic scoop of the year. The LWT board went mad. Not making big money is one thing but to become a ridiculous laughing stock to boot: after all they were in it for a bit of prestige as well as the money. Peacock had to go and with him went most of the talent he had recruited. He fought back, and it seems might have won had it not been for David Frost who went round rallying the board's courage and generally sticking the poison in. Frost owns a company called David Paradine Ltd. which has been making a lot of money out of LWT. This led to friction between Peacock and Frost. A Dwarf agent went to the Paradine files in the LWT offices but they were not available. The entire cabinet had been cleared out the day before. Peacock is hinting darkly at further revelations about Frost but to date the most complete account has been in *Private Eye*.

Michael Peacock could tell us all a great deal more. It is his duty as a television worker who cares about the medium to do so. Let's hope he is just biding his time but the longer he waits the less effective can he be.

Because effectiveness is what's wanted. Television is in a mess and it is going to get a lot worse before it gets better. The tighter money gets the lower the programme budgets. Out go all the interesting and adventurous ideas, in come the tired old series and crappy films. All channels now fight for customers like competing supermarkets: in fact, Barkers, Dery and Toms and Pontings is a handy reference for the differences between them.

One of the most disgraceful, and therefore perhaps one of the most vulnerable parts of the structure is the ITA itself. A chairman with guts, instead of the retired political hack we do have, could change the face of ITV almost overnight. Apart from a brief period when Lord Hill was in charge, this governing body with immense powers never attempts to improve programmes. Such pressure as they do exert on content is entirely to depress standards. It is not generally realised outside television that the ITA takes its duties as censor very seriously. All companies have an executive responsible for censorship who maintains constant contact with the ITA. He has access to every script and he can and often does make changes. The producer can argue but there is no appeal. The changes are often on political grounds.

But the main function of the ITA is to make life as easy as possible for the businessmen who own the companies. The possibility of change is now with us because lately it has even been failing them.

Immediate changes are needed to cope with the present crisis but we also desperately need some long term objectives. We can't leave everything until after the revolution and even then we still have to face the problems of what kind of a television service do we want, how is it going to be run, and who is going to run it? Debate is necessary to answer these questions; debate and organization. For having worked out the answers it is no good unless there is a strong well organized group of professionals of all grades within television all sharing the same beliefs who can start to put the ideas into practice.

And today it now seems possible. One achievement of the LWT group resignation was the thrill of identification that went throughout the entire industry. At last somebody was saying "No! Stuff your dividends. We refuse to run a television company on a moonlight dash for quick profits. It has to mean more than that".

belief that they *are* only a magazine.

There is an opportunity for FCG or some other group to create inside television an active radicalising organization which would support the Union (the ACTT) in its fight for wages and conditions and expect the Union in turn to support its fight for the revolutionising of the structure and content of television. Television is too important and too beautiful to be left in the hands of either paternalist bureaucrats or profit crazy businessmen. In one week Arnold

Weinstock (a Director of LWT) put down the threatened takeover of his Liverpool factories by workers with one hand and swatted the outburst of a tiny band of television intellectuals with the other. But until we organize and fight from a position of power which can only come from the strength of our ideas and numbers the Weinstocks will go on winning. Television must be liberated: the struggle must begin today. Clive Goodwin

REVIEWS

Two new records out this month demonstrate strikingly the difficulties that pop music seems to be in at the moment. *Abbey Road*, by the Beatles, has marvellous moments of music. Several of the songs are very beautiful ("Because" must be one of the loveliest they've done). Others are funny, clever, dramatic, showing the Beatles to be in complete control of their art. Yet, taken as a whole, the record seems strangely rootless and confused.

At first I thought it was as self-indulgent and empty as their previous double LP. Apart from one or two songs like "Dear Prudence", the music of the double LP had the feeling of being churned out by a well-oiled machine which was operating with great efficiency without really caring about the effect it might be having on people, or where it was actually going. In *Abbey Road*, now that I've heard it a few times, I think there is more seriousness and feeling. But it is significant that the most effective side of the record consists largely of a medley of unfinished old songs. These are worked together into a musical kaleidoscope that comes off well - partly because no further coherent statement seems necessary in it.

But musical gymnastics aren't enough. As if acknowledging this, the medley ends with an attempt at a synthesis:

*"And at the end the love you take
Is equal to the love you make."*

It's a nice idea, except that as is usual with the Beatles it contains the reactionary supposition that the internal world (the amount of love you can drum up) is what shapes the external world (the amount you receive). So that looked at the other way round, if you're being ruthlessly exploited and alienated, or if your family is being burnt alive by napalm, it's your own fault for not loving people enough. Or, alternatively, if you do love them enough you won't mind these things happening to you - and therefore won't do anything to change them.

But even granting the more positive side of this sentiment, the idea seems tacked onto the record, rather than growing out of it naturally. The record seems to lack coherence - musically as much as anything else. It is just that the Beatles, as individuals, are now taking such different musical paths? And that Paul's camp contributions, in particular, detract from the work of the others? Or is something more serious wrong? As with the previous double LP, the constant references to the music of the past seem arbitrary, and suggest a loss of direction and commitment. "When I'm Sixty Four" was a great song because the nostalgic style of the music fitted the words so perfectly and appropriately. Whereas the use of a similar style in Honey Pie and "Maxwell's Silver Hammer" is merely quaint.

There are many moments (like George's "Here Comes the Sun") when the music warms into sincerity and wistfulness. There are other times (most of them in John's songs, especially "Come Together") where the old urgency and tension is felt. But the ironic sensitivity towards the lives of ordinary people, the uneasy yearnings and visions, the excitement and rebelliousness that have marked earlier Beatles recordings - these are largely missing, in spite of the originality and effectiveness of many of the sounds.

I really hope the Beatles won't allow themselves to get so embroiled in the ethics of Big Business and Showbiz that the mere production of a musical commodity (any musical commodity) will seem enough to them so long as the result is professional. I really hope they won't get so isolated by their wealth and fame that they won't know who they're singing for any more (or care about the lives people lead and the effect the songs might have on them). None of this need matter if "Pure Entertainment" (the Capitalist Spectacle) is all pop-music is about. But the Beatles themselves have led me to think pop means more than this.

In fact this is a really remarkable record - the first *political* pop record to come out of this country.

Not that the politics is overstated (though the social realism is sometimes a little facile). Nor does the record suffer from the pretentiousness and egocentricity that have marred many previous attempts at revolutionary statements in pop. These statements in the past have tended to restrict themselves to the "golden anarchists" of the younger generation demanding freedom to fuck and turn on without the interference of their elders. When the Doors, for example, shout "we want the world and we want it now" they express a generalised discontent well enough - in fact it's good rousing stuff, the kind of thing pop can do supremely well and ought to do more often. But there is no discussion about who the world belongs to at the moment and how it got there.

The Kinks, on the other hand, are the first pop group (to my knowledge) to pin the blame clearly and unambiguously on *Class Society*. They do so by looking at the problem through the eyes, not of a discontented youngster, but of a member of the older generation. Arthur, the subject of the record, has been a model citizen. He has chased dutifully after all the carrots (a semi-detached and a car, etc.) that society has held out to him, and he has accepted all the Churchillian myths of patriotism, discipline and authority. But now he has got some of the comfort he has worked for (and at the same time the Empire has collapsed). Far from the happiness he has expected, Arthur finds that his life is empty and pointless. Without ever admitting it to himself, he dimly perceives that he has been the victim of a monstrous confidence trick.

This theme is explored with subtlety and originality, and every word is absolutely rooted in the experience of ordinary people. Some of the songs - "Yes Sir, no Sir", "Shangrila", "Brainwashed" - ought to be heard again and again. In fact the LP should have been a pop-record of major impact and importance. Yet sad to say, the Kinks have failed to find a musical idiom that does full justice to their theme. There are some good, chunky rock passages ("Nothing to Say"), and the powerful instrumental ending to "Australia", and some good tunes (like "Shangrila"). The whole thing would be great live, and I hope we'll all get the chance to hear the Kinks performing it. But basically the music is too conventional (nearly all of it is traditional 4/4 pop) to score very deeply on a record. If the Beatles have neglected content in favour of form, then the Kinks have neglected form in favour of content. In both cases, the final result is unsatisfactory.

Nevertheless, the Kinks record is a breakthrough. I only hope other groups (and the Kinks themselves) will have the guts to follow Ray Davis's courageous lead. Let's hear a few more pop-singers speaking out like Ray Davis in "Brainwashed":

*The aristocrats and bureaucrats
Are dirty rats
For making you what you are,
They're up there and you're down here
You're on the ground and
they're up with the stars
All your life they've kicked you around
And pushed you around
Till you can't take any more
To them you're just a speck of dirt
But you don't want to get up off the floor
Mister you're just brainwashed
They give you social security
Tax-saving benefits that grow at maturity
Yeah, you're conditioned to be
What they want you to be
And to do what they want you to do
Yes you are, yes you are,
Get down on your knees.*

Songs like this raise a crucially important question for the futures of pop-music. Is pop going to remain popular merely because it provides people with easily assimilated, tuneful and lively music - a latter-day opium of the people laced (in the case of groups like the Beatles) with a dash of uplift? Or is pop going

GREECE UNDER SWAS

Pericles is an actor by profession. He was involved with the People's Theatre which used to perform in the various working class suburbs of Athens and Pireaus. He was seized by the fascist dictatorship and was held for six months without trial. He subsequently escaped in order to avoid re-arrest and was a crucial witness in Strasbourg last June before the Human Rights Commission. The dictator Papadopoulos described him as "a psychopath, certified as a psychopath by the mental asylum." He has just completed a book which is being published in French by Seuil which exposes the Junta's methods of interrogation. Pericles was interviewed by The Black Dwarf somewhere in Europe where he lives in exile.

BD: What in your opinion were the reasons for the coup, and how was the United States involved?

The coup of 21st April 1967 was simply the closing phase in a whole period of disturbances which began upon the death of Aris Velouhiotis, who was indisputably the leader of the People's movement in Greece. Velouhiotis had reckoned that what had been won by force of arms (and by the thousands of dead) against the German invaders, should be preserved by force of arms. This was the only way of guaranteeing a steady political development. The legendary Aris declared that to surrender our weapons to the bourgeoisie and the British imperialists was to sign our own death-warrant. History justified him. From the liberation (of Greece from the Nazis) until the coup, Greek society has been disturbed by deep contradictions which hold absolutely no hope of a solution within the structures of a class society. The natural road for Greece after the liberation was socialism. Only popular authority could presuppose a definite solution to the problem. Any solution which took place within the framework of the structures of a class society was damned from the start, and created a new, worse impasse.

In the intervening years between the liberation and the coup we have had an armed uprising, a civil war, eight years of parliamentary dictatorship under Karamanlis, and two and a half coups. (The coup of May 31st by IDEA, which in Greek stands for "Sacred Union of Greek Officers", a fascist organisation within the army founded in 1945 - it fell immediately; King Constantine's coup on 15th July 1965; and the famous colonels' coup of 21st April 1967). These unstable conditions, put in human terms, meant unprecedented slaughter and persecution such as no other European people has known in the last twenty years. Tens of thousands of people were executed during the civil war. During the parliamentary dictatorship of Karamanlis we had the political assassination of left-wing leaders such as Veldermeris and Kerpeniotis, and of the left MP Lambrakis, whose assassination has recently become well-known in Europe through the film "Z". From 1944 onwards there were always political prisoners. When I was imprisoned on Aegina there was a group of political prisoners who in 1967 had already done 23 years in prison. Most of the political prisoners in Greece at the moment had been freed for one or two years, then when the coup came they were re-interned. The fatal mistake which progressive forces in Greece have always made has been their chronic underestimation of imperialism and their illusions about the so-called National

Tribune of 6.4.1947. "We have chosen Greece and Turkey not because they need aid, but because they constitute the strategic gateway to the Black Sea and the heart of the Soviet Union." Out of three billion dollars' worth of American aid, 90% went towards the expenses for the slaughter of the Greek Resistance fighters who had survived against the Germans. After the defeat of the guerrilla army, Greece passed to absolute dependence on American imperialism.

The more unreasonable claims made by imperialism on the Greek people were converted by the bourgeoisie into a sort of national epic. A typical example was the (opportunist) escapade of the Greek army in Korea which was turned into a military marching-song and sung incessantly in the army to the following words:

"Our boys went to Korea
Fighting for ideals;
They dyed the chinks with blood
To show them what Freedom means".

Apart from the bourgeoisie's identification of its interests with foreign monopoly capital (which expressed itself in the bourgeois political parties), there was an organic link between foreign Intelligence Service and the army and especially the Greek Intelligence Service. IDEA (see above) was created in 1945 by the British Intelligence service, and the KUP by the CIA. The secret services were (beyond the law), and all-powerful force regulating the system from the sidelines. Conscripts to the army learned that their ideal was to protect the country from the external enemy and the enemy from within, i.e. from external and internal communism. The men who prepared the coup were from the secret services. Patakos had stated in public that he was working for the Intelligence Service. Papadopoulos was the head of the KUP and Karamanlis' right-hand man in the violent, rigged elections of 1961.

Thus we see that imperialism had two sound links with Greece: the bourgeoisie, which was socially and economically dependent on imperialism, and the army, which was linked to imperialism by military-political agreements and obligations.

The military and political interests of imperialism were entrusted to the KUP. On 10th May 1966, Papadopoulos took over the dictatorship of the 7th Staff office of the General Staff of the Army with the task of preparing the army and the people psychologically for the coup. Under order No. 9. III/4/4781 of the General Staff, the army now had its own political commissar. A year before the coup, fascist propaganda reached a climax. The colonels held a dress rehearsal, sometimes with so-called communist sabotage, sometimes with arrests. Parliament discussed these things, but took no measures against them.

The unnatural course which Greek society took after the withdrawal of the Germans created an instability, which was not in the Americans' interests. (In accordance with their intolerable pressure on the revolutionary masses, the bourgeois political parties were obliged to hold on to their voters by offering concessions and making some limited trial changes, always of course within the framework of dependence upon imperialism. But Greece's problem was a very delicate one, and even the slightest change could have upset the balance. Thus the solution of the coup came about, whereby imperialism put power directly in the hands of its agents, instead of going through the bureaucratic rigmarole of political parties. Thus by means of the Junta imperialism's hands are free for any aggressive measures in the Middle East, and furthermore they can more comfortably extend their economic

There exists in Greece a resistance which you must look for in the thousands of daily manifestations by the people, and not in the statements put out by the leaders of the old political world. This time the Greek people are determined to take up the sword where it fell on the death of Velouhiotis and not to let it go until the final victory has been won. It is certain that when a revolutionary vanguard is created in Greece and is working in original ways and using the people's interests as a criterion, then the people will follow. For the moment they follow a "private" resistance which consists of disobeying martial law and refusing to co-operate with the regime. If you take into account you can be arrested and imprisoned for five years for listening to a foreign radio station, then you will understand what it meant when 500,000 Athenians attended the old Papandreou's funeral and it turned into a demonstration. There is, therefore, an overall resistance by the people which has created hysteria in the Junta, which behaves like an army of occupation, and is completely isolated. Thousands of prisoners, hundreds of tortured, scores of assassinations - these are simply their spasmodic hysterical reactions, showing their difficult position and incapacities. But the Junta is a long way from falling; and an organized resistance movement, capable of creating new relations of power by means of its struggle, is even further away. In place of a Resistance there are the grouping of the traditional left and of the Centre, and after two years of dictatorship the groupings of the right have appeared as well. The extreme left has entered into resistance with small but active groups of Trotskyists and Maoists.

This wide variety of groupings shows more of a disposition to resistance than the power to do it. But the great positive gain in Greece now is that there is a furnace into which everything has melted, and out of this furnace will spring a revolutionary vanguard, which will lead the way to struggle, not to conciliation. The younger generation especially is determined to fight. No matter what the political origin of the young, the truth of the anti-imperialist struggle inflames their passions day after day. And this struggle, disregarding the defeat-complexes and petty-minded sermons of the compromisers, will have extreme consequences, i.e. a violent, anti-imperialist collision. The only way we can defend ourselves against naked fascist violence is with our own counter-violence. Two and a half years of fascism have convinced us that the more peaceful we are, the more mercilessly they beat us. The bombs have already opened a new period of resistance; they show that from here on our struggle will take violent forms. It is certain that in the coming stages the struggle will be an armed one of some kind, but what kind will depend only on our objective assessment of the resistance. Whatever violence we use will still be peaceful compared with the unhesitating brutality of our opponents and their up-to-date methods of extermination. Our weapons are justice and truth. That is, our political task is to create faith in ultimate victory, and to prepare the people for hard, persistent and long-term struggles. Arms will be our political expression, but at a later stage of resistance. Consequently, it is inconceivable to talk about a resistance which will change the whole system without anti-imperialist collision, which in its own time will take on class dimensions. Any other policy is wishful thinking, and turns resistance into an election campaign.

BD: Can you tell us something about the role of the KKE (Greek C.P.), its politics and its leadership? Are there revolutionary groupings on the left wing of the party, how do they operate?



"IN GREECE
FURNACE INTO
HAS MELTED,
FURNACE
REVOLUTIONAR

UNDER THE STRIKA



Drawing by Humburg

people's army, probably at the instigation of the Soviet Union, as we can gather from the ensuing Yalta agreement. The result of this "loyal act" was the savage persecution of all the disarmed Resistance fighters. Two years afterwards, and two years too late (at that time two years was a long period of time), the KKE remembered it had to resort to arms, and made the left-wing mistake of embroiling itself in civil war. We are still paying for these mistakes. KKE was made illegal, and after that (fell more or less into obscurity). In 1951 EDA was founded around which all the communists, who quickly became its backbone; it became in many ways a KKE operating within the framework of bourgeois legality. From 1951 onward, the communist movement within Greece was expressed through EDA and various illegal KKE organizations. The KKE leadership was in exile in the eastern bloc. The result of this peculiarity was to create a legalistic alienation in EDA and cut off the KKE leadership from reality. In 1956 the KKE adopted the line of a peaceful transition to socialism and dissolved all its illegal organizations. All the communists still working inside EDA agreed with the line, that they could take power by peaceful means, with parliaments and mass struggles and socialism would be the natural consequence. The coup proved how utopian this line was. The day after the coup thousands of Greek proletarian cadres were seized, executed, tortured or imprisoned without the slightest resistance. All their political training during the period of peaceful transition ended in this. You would think that after the coup the KKE would have abandoned their disastrous line of peaceful transition. No such thing. It insists more than ever on the correctness of the 20th Congress line. The leaders of the KKE have learnt absolutely nothing from the coup, nor from its own fragmentation, nor from the loss of prestige of the left-wing leaders, nor from the lack of faith which their own cadres have in them. The left as officially represented in Greece is nowhere... But all this didn't teach the KKE leaders anything. They make metaphysical explanations of the reasons for the coup, for example that responsibility for the coup rests on American imperialism, the Centre Union party and reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie. As if American imperialism or the Centre Union were something other than what they and their interests actually are.

After the split in the KKE the anti-Koliyannis faction gathered around itself all those who disagreed with the official party line and created some hope for a rebirth of the left. However, in all the business that followed, it became increasingly clear that the anti-Koliyannis faction was simply a more ideal expression of the line of peaceful transition: for them the trouble with Koliyannis was that he wasn't interpreting the 20th Congress line well enough. Koliyannis in turn claims that his own interpretation was correct, and that the one who's really to blame is Partsalidis for not understanding properly, etc. etc. . . .

The KKE in both its forms has its ears strictly closed to left-wing opinions, but absolutely amenable to right-wing ones. However, among the cadres and especially amongst the youth there are strong left movements which operate within the fragmented machinery. The climate isn't favourable for left-wing views. But the fact that there is not agreement on what should be done, the lack of a revolutionary formation, and the hesitation, all these things are forcing the leftward tendencies to side for the moment with the existing left organizations.

BD: Do you think the Soviet Union can possibly be justified in recognizing the regime? What repercussions has this recognition had?

The Soviet Union's attitude towards fascism in

strengthened the regime's hand in its work of exterminating the Greek communists. The basic argument of courts martial against communists condemned for refusing to declare their recognition of - the regime is this: Moscow has recognized us - do you think you're bigger than they are?

And as if it was not enough to open trade relations with the Junta, they supplied the Junta with a generator to get them out of a spot when there was a popular reaction against limitations on the electricity supply, which had been imposed in Autumn 1967. Tito also supplied electricity which he had borrowed from Hungary. Bulgaria declared that the Junta was an internal matter concerning only the Greeks. The Soviet Union has stated that its athletes would withdraw from the European Games if the Junta was going to exploit the Games politically. The Junta did exploit the Games politically, but the Soviet athletes stayed.

After this, the Greek people wonder what connection there is between the mean, conservative Moscow regime of today and the heroic Bolsheviks of 1917. Day by day they are reaching the sad conclusion that one cannot expect very much from Soviet policy today.

BD: You were arrested by the dictatorship. Can you tell us why, and what they did to you in prison?

I was arrested for three reasons. Firstly, I came from the generation which had grown up, politically speaking, after the civil war. Secondly, I was a leftist. Thirdly, I belonged to the Resistance. These things, which are considered rather natural - almost characteristic - of the younger generation constitute the greatest danger to the regime, which has not hesitated to take all measures possible against us. Most of us are more or less unknown, our political views are "original", and apart from our friends and our mothers, no-one is moved by the fact that someone named Halkidis was killed like a dog at Thessaloniki or someone named Monolakos had his ribs bust in at Dionysos or if Loysios went insane from the tortures. These facts only come to light in a minimum of cases. If some general is seized and shut up in a hotel, all the Western newspapers and Eastern radio-stations protest and the general is safeguarded. Thus the Junta is free to do what it likes to the younger generation. No-one is going to protest. Thus they fixed up a special military camp at Dionysos, where Papadopoulos' special bodyguard is stationed (Marine Battalion 505) and which is the chief centre for tortures. Hundreds of students and young workers have spent nights of torment there. The affidavits reaching foreign countries have no precedent even in Hitler's Hell-camps. At this moment there are more than twenty torture-centres in Greece. When Papadopoulos insisted that the Greeks hadn't yet been trained in Helleno-Christian ideals he meant that not all Greeks had yet passed through the torture centres to understand what exactly is Helleno-Christianity.

My case was a relatively mild one amongst thousands of similar ones.

BD: Can you tell us something about the Patriotic Front and what role Papandreou is playing at the moment?

The Patriotic Front was founded a week after the coup on the initiative of left militants. One of the founders was the leader of the Lambrakis Youth Movement, Mikis Theodorakis. The founders were clearly oriented towards violent resistance to dissociate themselves from the old leadership and to develop the Front into a force capable of overthrowing the Junta and going forward to the seizure of power. They correctly understood that the problem of the left was one of unity above all, and had made progress

country had joined the Front from its inception and were working in harmony with other forces with the same target. The exiled leadership of the KKE made contact with the Front six months later: this can be explained, though, given that they took it for granted that a coup was impossible in Greece, and right up to the eve of the coup their main activity was to collect the signatures of various personalities for the legislation of the KKE. In the autumn of 1967 the founders of the Front were arrested and the line changed, turning back into the same old condemned forms, and its role was limited to what was "anti-dictatorship", counter-feiting the line of its founders and distorting the meaning of the Junta, whom it reduced simply to a gang which had seized power. Its line, such as it is, remains vague and generalized, and it says and doesn't say everything and nothing. For the Greek people these are matters of small hope. The role of Papandreou at the moment is to carry favour with the Americans and to justify their using him as a chosen successor to the Junta. His activity is directed towards trying to convince the various powers that the Junta is harmful to their interests and to NATO. He uses the threat of armed struggle not as an argument for the masses to claim power, but as a likely danger if the colonels remain in power. This danger would be fatal for the interests of imperialism. He's a kind of prophet. But this mustn't under any circumstances lead us to under-estimate the ideological sector he represents. The organization "Democratic Defence" sprang from this sector, and many intellectuals gathered round it, quickly orientating themselves towards violent resistance. Without the co-operation of the forces supporting Papandreou, all long-term resistance is futile. Socially, he represents the middle, petty-bourgeoisie and peasant farmer classes, regardless of whether he actually represents their interests or not.

BD: What is the best way for revolutionary socialists in Britain to help the Greek struggle?

The first thing, I think, would be a change in the order of priority of the problems which concern British revolutionaries, and this I think holds for all European revolutionaries. Greece is a "home affair". And as such the first thing is to concern all European revolutionaries. Whether we like it or not, Europe has its own European superstructures, which decisively regulate the internal affairs of each country. In Greece the coup took place by means of the NAIO plan, Prometheus. In France there is a similar plan called operation Z. Evidently every NATO country has a similar plan waiting to be enforced the moment no other solution can be found to confront the problems of the working class. The moment the workers' struggle causes the masses to become politicized and there is difficulty in controlling the workers, then a coup is the sole and final answer left to the regime. This is a real danger, not only in Italy but in the rest of Europe wherever we find an escalation of the class struggle and the very existence of the class society is called in question. Greece is the first test in a European country. Whatever form it takes, even a parliamentary one, the possibility of fascism will then turn into a certainty.

International class solidarity must confront extreme reaction: that solidarity will turn into a series of struggles on two levels. First, in struggles which are connected with the struggles of the Greek Resistance, including technical and financial support.

At the second level, any junta action in Europe must be faced as a provocative enemy action against the workers of the country concerned, and must be destroyed as soon as it appears. In the same way, the Junta's supporters abroad must be confronted in as much as the meanings of their actions is simply

NOW THERE IS A
WHICH EVERYTHING
D OUT OF THIS
LL SPRING A
ANGUARD, WHICH

INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MAFIA

The Capitalist International Industrial Conference held its 4th meeting in San Francisco last month. This is how it defined its purpose: "It is appropriate that business and industrial leaders meet from time to time to take stock of the present and to discuss common problems, opportunities and goals for the future... They also have an important and favourable influence on international, economic and industrial co-operation, on mutual understanding among world leaders, and on concepts of industrial management and business policy..." And so it was, truly, a conference of those world leaders who actually tell governments what to do and how to do it, because they OWN it.

Without going through the entire list of those who attended, here are a few samples: R. M. Blough, director of US Steel Corporation; David Rockefeller, chairman of the board, Chase Manhattan Bank; J. H. Loudun, chairman Royal Dutch Petroleum Company; D. I. Stikker, former Secretary General of NATO; Sir Leslie O'Brien, Governor of the Bank of England; R. Solomon, Federal Reserve System; J. G. Maisonrouge, president of IBM; Lord Cole, chairman of Unilever Ltd; E. G. Arbuckle, chairman of the Wells Fargo Bank; S. N. Chau, chairman of the Hong Kong Bank; H. I. Romnes, chairman of American Telephone and Telegraph; F. H. Ulrich, manager of Deutsche Bank; Third World capitalists were represented by people such as M. Sadli, chairman of the Board of Investments of Indonesia; R. Villanueva, President of Trans-Philippines Investment; A. E. Edwards, chairman of Empresa El Mercurio (Chile); A. Kafka, director of Brazil International Monetary Fund; S. Navapan, president of Thai Military Bank; P. A. Filho, president of Instituto Pinteiros (Brazil); European corporate giants and politicians were there too: Jacques Rueff, de Gaulle's special financial advisor; R. E. Marjolin from the International Development Commission; G. Agnelli; chairman of FIAT (Italy), Europe's largest automobile trust, and, of course, the ideologues of Capitalism, the University deans and professors, were very well represented by such luminaries as W. Sterling, president of the Stanford Research Institute; W. J. Busschaur, chancellor of Rhodes University; F. Machlup, director of the International Finance Section of Princeton; Lord Franks, provost of Worcester College, Oxford; the U.S. Government was quite appropriately present, by, among others, H. Stans, the Secretary of Commerce, etc... Indeed the rulers and the owners of the capitalist world.

It is important to understand what this International Industrial Conference was about since the governments of the West will be obeying the plans, concepts and policies laid out at this conference for the next four years. Since these "world leaders" control most of the "free world's" economic power - therefore most of its political power - it is important that we become aware of what they are exactly up to and what their strategy is.

First of all they want to abolish the national barriers and frontiers which prevent their industries from expanding and their capital from flowing and therefore growing, freely. That is to say they are not the old style chauvinists. They demand the right to make MORE profits than the narrow isolationist policies of the old nationalist right wing will allow. These Wall Street Emperors who are already the actual rulers of their national markets want and need to expand beyond all national limits - such is the basic law of capitalism that it can only develop through economic (and military) imperialism.

In his keynote address to the I.I.C. David Rockefeller (whose brother returned not long ago from his famous trip to Latin America which sparked anger and explosions

everywhere), actually came out AGAINST the war in Vietnam stating that its continuation hurt the American economy. Regardless of the enormous profits the war industry is making for some Capitalists, Rockefeller says profits are greater for the ruling class in general, in peace than in war. But even though he disagrees with the Nixon administration on the particular issue of the Vietnam war, Rockefeller cannot help but profit from it through such corporations as Standard Oil which his family controls. Also on September 25th Nixon announced the members of a "presidential task force to study foreign aid and its relationship to the U.S. foreign policy". He named Rudolf Peterson, president of the Bank of America as chairman. Other members include Cardinal Cooke, Archbishop of New York, and, of course, David Rockefeller.

It is easy to understand why the people of so many underdeveloped countries consider Washington's foreign aid program as just another program of colonial conquest, complete with missionaries and the military. The Latin American students who stoned Nixon, spat at Rusk and set fire to Rockefeller's supermarket in Venezuela, the liberation forces who are waging guerilla warfare against the Pentagon are fighting precisely against this program. They are well aware that the military power exerted by the Green Berets and other CIA troops in Latin America only complete what the Church and its evangelization programs started: the *enslaving of the people* according to the old alliance between the flag and the Bible. All this to "assume equitable repatriation of the profits" made by people such as Rockefeller and Peterson.

Rockefeller set the pace at the I.I.C. by assuring that the rich and developed nations should help the poor and backward ones. He meant that it is the duty of the rich to help the poor... by exploiting them more and better. As Paul Sweezy pointed out (at the Dialectics of Liberation encounter in London, 1967): "Capitalist development inevitably produces development at one pole and underdevelopment at the other. The advanced Capitalist countries and the underdeveloped countries are not two separate worlds. They are top and bottom sides of one and the same world." The affluent areas are affluent because the depressed areas are depressed or rather oppressed. The ghetto only exists because of Park Avenue. Slums only exist because of Wall Street. Without the profits made in the depressed areas, the affluent ones would not be that affluent. Thus there is only one way the Rockefellers and their fellow-emperors can help the people in underdeveloped countries: by ceasing to exploit them. By ceasing to be capitalists. Anything else will multiply their gains.

Whoever thinks the Rockefellers of the world - of which 700 were present at the I.I.C. in San Francisco - will willingly give up their profits, their privileges, their political and military power - without being forced to do so by the people they are exploiting - is crazy. Whoever thinks they will just turn over the means of production and distribution to the people, without a struggle, is crazy. Whoever thinks the slaves should not revolt but just plead with their masters to change, is crazy.

To complete this quick over-view of the I.I.C. one should mention the Movement demonstrations against it. They were ridiculous. On the first day the demonstrators attended a rally and then marched on the Fairmont Hotel, stopping at red lights and always contained by the Tac Squad who kept them on the sidewalks. One delegate to the Conference said they all thought the demonstrators were amusing. While in Brazil the American ambassador was being kidnapped, the true rulers of the "free world" walked the streets of San Francisco not in the slightest bit bothered by the flag-waving and slogan-shouting revolutionaries. Only the last day during the final banquet, some windows were broken and about 20 demonstrators were arrested. When will the movement focus on reality? Not that it is useless to struggle against heads of state or the immediate forces of repression such as the police, but it is time to realize what and who the ruling class actually is and how to destroy it instead of merely amusing it.

Jean Jaques Lebel.

CITY DWARF

A NEW REGULAR COLUMN



City Mayors Past Present and Future

Waley-Cohen was Lord Mayor of London in 1960-61. Having grown fat and rich on City life as an Alderman and an arch-reactionary, election to "High Office" was the pinnacle of his capitalist career. As Chairman of the Aldermen's Magistracy Committee, he has subsequently devoted much of his life to the perpetuation of absolute rights, granted by charter in the middle-ages, which allowed City Aldermen to be not only "ex officio" J.P.'s but to sit in judgement alone on their fellow men. No one else in England had this privilege, so when Parliament tried to strip them of it, Aldermen in London's mindless financial centre began to fight viciously.

City Aldermen have several things in common. With very few exceptions they are noticeably fat, extravagantly rich, are deeply seeped in the absurd institutions and traditions of the City, and are (or at least, were) engaged in one of the more notorious materialist pursuits which have made the City famous.

Even the Labour Government was forced to object to these anachronisms in the nation's legal system.

In 1968 a Justices of the Peace Bill was introduced to Parliament outlining the abolition of all ex officio magistrates, including those in the City.

The backlash came pretty smartly; the City was not pleased. Its most significant public move was to try to bring pressure to bear on Parliament by the publication of brazenly reactionary (piece of) propaganda, in the form of a nauseating little pamphlet entitled "The City and the Justices of the Peace Bill".

It used the most irritating and absurd arguments, combined with a mixed bag of jumbled quotations, taken out of context, "to prove its case".

"The unique position of the City of London in national life has been recognised since Norman times. Today, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen (who have been, or would normally become Lord Mayor) are important, not only as City Fathers but as national representatives both at home and abroad... therefore they alone should sit as J.P.s:

"No one has denied that the present system in the City is efficient" (Auschwitz was

been using for years.

Anyway, the Bill went ahead, but not until it had been mutilated by an amendment forced upon Parliament by City pressure. The City's Aldermen remain as justices today, but since last month they have had to put up with some changes which they do not like.

One was the appointment of a Commission. The Aldermen's Monopoly on justice was broken. Humiliated, they had to make suggestions to the Lord Chancellor for other J.P.s, not inside their sacred circle. Moreover, it is known that the Lord Chancellor wants J.P.s to come from all political parties. Alderman Sir Robert Bellinger's recommendations committee was virtually obliged to include Labour names in the list which was submitted for the normal process of selection.

Of course, Waley Cohen and his Aldermen friends made a great show of their political independence: "we are not concerned with politics at all", he is quoted as saying.

But they were, they had to be, or the Lord Chancellor would not like it. City Aldermen are in effect the staunchest bunch of bloody Conservatives that one is ever likely to meet.

(At the moment, there is only one exception: Lord Mais. Peer of the realm, Alderman livery man, successful business man, Chairman of a giant construction firm, Token Construction Co., he outwardly appeared to have all the qualifications to play in the City's pageant pantomime, but before his election as "Sheriff" this year, vital appointment on the route to the mayoralty, he expressed to a confident fear that he might not make it because of his "socialist inclinations". You've got it. Even that kind of "socialist" is suspect.)

In any event, 9 Labour J.P.s out of a total of over seventy, were appointed in the City and have been sworn in, along with about thirty others who are not Aldermen.

The Commission will be implemented in November. Meanwhile, the Aldermen must make the most of their last few weeks of authoritarianism. Mercifully, the Act included the clause that they should not sit alone again. That is something to be grateful for; that anything can be changed in the City is a miracle.

However, the battle is not yet won. The City's Aldermen still retain rights and privileges in the practice of law which would not be tolerated in any other Borough.

The Lord Mayor remains as Chairman of the magistrates. Every other Chairman is elected. The 8 Aldermen who most recently served as Lord Mayors automatically become Deputy Chairman. Other Deputy Chairmen are elected. Nobody should rest smug and satisfied until all "ex officio" magistrates have been abolished, and the City's are the only ones left. Because you have made a lot of money, bought your way into the Livery Companies, and pushed up the City hierarchy would in itself be a good reason to be considered ineligible for magistracy.

When the new J.P.s were sworn in at the Old Bailey in September, Waley-Cohen spoke of "the ending of a system which has given every satisfaction over the centuries." Later, when the list of J.P.s was handed over to the Lord Mayor, Sir Charles Trinder, by the Lord Chancellor, Trinder said that he was glad to be "present at an historic occasion", but every one knew what they were really feeling, and the Lord Chancellor observed pertinently "the new blood may take a little time to settle." But settle it will.

(Brief notes on ex Lord Mayor, Alderman Sir Bernard Waley-Cohen, Bt., LL.D., M.A., and arch reactionary who did his level best to maintain the feudal status quo: Impeccable City career. Property Boy as Chairman of Simc Properties Ltd., member of Lloyds, the international insurance racket, financier, dabbler in education, on senate of London University, meddler in politics, formerly of the Ministry of Fuel and Power. Like all City men, is a liveryman: i.e., member of one of the ancient merchant guilds - important for anyone who wants to push their way to the top on the Squire Mile. Waley-Cohen, believe it or not is a Clothmaker and a Farmer (of course, he has nothing to do with either trade). You can ring him for fun at CIT 2288, but be warned, he is a sharp man on the telephone. He is fat; his income is inestimable.)

The new Lord Mayor, Sir Ian Bowater, was elected at the end of September. Here are rigged elections if ever you saw them, fully in keeping with the City's "high standard of democracy". We shall investigate this farce, and the way men get power in the City through staged elections in which the results are printed before the charade is held, in a later issue.

But for anyone who's interested, the following will be "elected" Lord Mayor of London in successive years, in the order printed, barring death or imprisonment.

It really angers the Corporation when they are told that their little "pieces de theatre" are not for real, but it will happen this way as you will see. 1970/71 STUDD. 71/72 HOWARD. 72/74 INCLEDON-WEBBER. 74/75 GREENAWAY 75/76 RING.

The City is often alleged by its supporters to be the very heart of open, honest,

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

Foreign subs: Asia/Africa/N. & S. America/Australia: £5 per year (airmail); £3 per year (ordinary)

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION

Eldridge Cleaver writes an Open Letter to Stokely Carmichael



Your letter of resignation as the Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party came, I think, about one year too late. As a matter of fact, since the day of your appointment to that position - February 17, 1968 - events have proven that you were not cut out for the job in the first place. Even then it was clear that your position on coalition with revolutionary white organizations was in conflict with that of the Black Panther Party. But we thought that, in time, even you would be able to shake the SNCC paranoia about white control and get on with the business of building the type of revolutionary machinery that we need in the United States in order to unite all the revolutionary forces in the country to overthrow the system of Capitalism, Imperialism and Racism.

I know these terms are kicked around like lifeless bodies and that it is easy to allow the grisly realities behind them to become obscured by too frequent repetition. But when you see the squalor in which people live as a result of the policies of the exploiters, when you see the effects of exploitation on the emaciated bodies of little children, when you see the hunger and desperation, then these terms come alive in a new way. Since you've made this trip yourself and seen it all with your own eyes, you should know that suffering is colour-blind, that the victims of Imperialism, Racism, Colonialism and Neo-colonialism come in all colours, and that they need a unity based on revolutionary principles rather than skin colour.

The other charges which you make in your letter - about our new-found ideology, our dogmatism, our arm-twisting, etc. - seem to me to be of secondary importance, because, with the exception, perhaps, of the honourable Elijah Muhammad, you are the most dogmatic cat on the scene today, and I've never known you to be opposed to twisting arms or, for that matter, necks. In many ways your letter struck me as being an echo and rehash of the charges brought against the party by the bootlickers before the McClellan Committee. And since you chose this moment to denounce the party, we - and I am sure many other people outside the party - must look upon your letter in this light. The only point in your letter that I think is really yours is the one about coalition with whites, because it has been this point on which our differences have turned from the very beginning.

You have never been able to distinguish the history of the Black Panther Party from the history of the organization of which you were once the chairman - the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee. It is understandable that you can have such fears of black organizations being controlled, or partly controlled, by whites, because most of your years in SNCC were spent under precisely those conditions. But the Black Panther Party has never been in that situation. Because we have never had to wrest control of our organization out of the hands of whites, we have not been shackled with the type of paranoid fear that was developed by you cats in SNCC. Therefore we are able to sit down with whites and hammer out solutions to our common problems without trembling in our boots about whether or not we might get taken over in the process. It has always seemed to me that you belittle the intelligence of your black brothers and sisters when you constantly warn them that they had better beware of white folks. After all, you are not the only black person out of Babylon who has been victimized by white racism. But you sound as though you are scared of white people, as though you are still running away from slave-catchers who will lay hands on your body and dump you in a bag.

As a matter of fact, it has been precisely your nebulous enunciation of Black Power that has provided the power structure with its new weapon against our people. The Black Panther Party tried to give you a chance to

slogan now have to our people's struggle for liberation? Is denouncing the Black Panther Party the best you can do to combat this evil? I would think that your responsibility goes a little further than that. Even though you were right when you said that LBJ would never stand up and call for Black Power, Nixon has done so and he's bank-rolling in with millions of dollars. So now your old Black Power buddies are cashing in on your slogan. In effect, your cry for Black Power has become the grease to ease the black bourgeoisie into the power structure. By giving you the position of Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party, we were trying to rescue you from the black bourgeoisie that had latched on to your coat tails and was riding you like a mule. Now they have stolen your football and run away for a touchdown: six points for Richard Milhouse Nixon.

In February 1968, at the Free Huey Birthday Rally in Oakland, California, where you made your first public speech after returning to the United States from your triumphant tour of the revolutionary countries of the Third World, you took the occasion to denounce the coalition that the Black Panther Party had made with the white Peace and Freedom Party. What you called for instead was a Black United Front that would unite all the forces in the black community from left to right, close ranks against the whites, and all go skipping off to freedom. Within the ranks of your Black United Front you wanted to include the Cultural Nationalists, the Black Capitalists, and the Professional Uncle Toms, even though it was precisely these three groups who were working to murder your shit even before it broke wind. (Remember what Ron Karenga did to your meeting in Los Angeles?)

You had great dreams in those days, Stokely, and your visions, on the top side, were heroic. On the bottom side, when it came to the details of reality, your vision was blind. You were unable to distinguish your friends from your enemies because all you could see was the colour of the cat's skin. It was this blindness that led you to the defence of Adam Clayton Powell, that Jackal from Harlem, when he came under attack by his brother jackals in Congress. And it was this blindness that led you to the defence of that black cop in Washington, D.C., who was being fucked over by the whites above him in the Police Department for whom he carried his gun as he patrolled the black community. In short, your habit of looking at

would end up in the same bag with Papa Doc Duvalier, Joseph Mobutu, and Haile Selassie. Yes, we opposed that shit then and we oppose it now even more strongly, especially since the Nixon Administration has stolen your programme from you and, I think, included you out.

And now you are going to liberate Africa! Where are you going to start, Ghana? The Congo? Biafra? Angola? Mozambique? South Africa? If you are not aware of it, I think that you should know that the brothers in Africa who are involved in armed struggle against the Colonialists would like nothing better than for you to pack up your suitcase full of African souvenirs and split back to Babylon. They have never forgiven the fat-mouthing you did in Dar-es-Salaam when you presumed to tell them how to conduct their business. It seems to me that you are now trapped between the extremes of your own rhetoric. On the one hand, you have cut yourself off from the struggle in Babylon, and on the other hand, you are not about to become the Redeemer of Mother Africa.

The enemies of black people have learned something from history even if you haven't, and they are discovering new ways to divide us faster than we are discovering new ways to unite. One thing they know, and we know, that seems to escape you, is that there is not going to be any revolution or black liberation in the United States as long as revolutionary blacks, whites, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Chinese and Eskimos are unwilling or unable to unite into some functional machinery that can cope with the situation. Your talk and fears about premature coalition are absurd, because no coalition against oppression by forces possessing revolutionary integrity can ever be premature. If anything, it is too late, because the forces of counter-revolution are sweeping the world, and this is happening precisely because in the past people have been united on a basis that perpetuates disunity among races and ignores basic revolutionary principles and analyses.

You are peeved because the Black Panther Party informs itself with the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, but if you look around the world you will see that the only countries which have liberated themselves and managed to withstand the tide of the counter-revolution are precisely those countries that have strong Marxist-Leninist parties. All those countries that have fought for their liberation solely on the basis of nationalism have fallen victims to capitalism and neo-colonialism, and in many cases now find themselves under tyrannies equally as oppressive as the former colonial regimes.

That you know nothing about the revolutionary process is clear; that you know even less about the United States and its people is clearer; and that you know still less about humanity than you do about the rest is even clearer. You speak about an "undying love for black people." An undying love for black people that denies the humanity of other people is doomed. It was an undying love of white people for each other which led them to deny the humanity of coloured people and which has stripped white people of humanity itself. It would seem to me that an undying love for our people would, at the very least, lead you to a strategy that would aid our struggle for liberation instead of leading you into a coalition of purpose with the McClellan Committee in its attempt to destroy the Black Panther Party.

Well, so long, Stokely, and take care. And beware of some white-folks and of some black folks, because I assure you that some of both of them have teeth that will bite. Remember what Brother Malcolm said in his Autobiography: "We had the best organization that the black man has ever had in the United States - and niggers ruined it!" **POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of

DWARF ADS

An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory - 9/6d ppd.
The Revolutionary Student Movement - Theory and Practice - 6/- ppd. both by Ernest Mandel.
Labour in Irish History by James Connolly - 4/6 ppd from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee Street, London, E.1. (free catalogue on request).

2nd Edition: DIRECTORY OF ORGANIZATIONS over 500 groups for left activists. 3/- pp. 18a New End Square, London, N.W.3.

VIETNAM - monthly magazine of the VSC, available from J. Suddaby, Room 1, 13 White Row, London, E.1. Price 1/6d.

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

THE IWW "Little Red Song Book" - All the left songs and Joe Hills' master-pieces. 2/10d. post free IWW, 3 Osborne Street, London, E.1.

Shola: a new revolutionary Pakistani monthly journal, 2/- per copy. Write Shola, c/o Pakistani Marxist Group, 8 Toynbee Street, London, E.1.

Back copies of The Black Dwarf available from the Dwarf office. Early copies 2/- Issue 7 onwards 1/6d.

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

The Mineworker for workers' control of the mining industry on the Anti-Capitalist programme. From D. Douglass, 16 Abbeyfield Road, Dunscoft, Doncaster, Yorkshire.

Rank-and-File: militant teacher's journal. Available quarterly from 87 Brooke Road, London, N.16. Single copy 1/2d. 9/- per dozen. Annual subscription.

Rouge, French Revolutionary Weekly, Write: Rouge, B.P. 201, Paris 19e, France.

Grass Eye, Manchester local paper. 52 Corporation Street, Manchester 4. Annual subscription 15/-. Single copies 1/-.

About Anarchism - new pamphlet by Nicholas Walter. 2/4d post free. Freedom Press 84b Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1.

A group of Mexican political prisoners wish to correspond with English socialists. Those interested should write in the first instance to Mexican Political Prisoners, c/o The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ.

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

New translation of KROPOTKIN'S "The state - Its historic role". 4/5d post paid and ANARCHY 102 is on squatting. 2/4d post paid. Both from Freedom Bookshop, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1.

Malcolm X Poster. 4/6d including postage from Peter Martin, 19 Fairmount Road, London, S.W.2.

LONDON STREET COMMUNE NEEDS MATTRESSES, BLANKETS AND BREAD. TEL: BIS 3614.

Mixed Community starting in beautiful house by river seeks people - 5 mins Putney Tube. £4.10.0. MAC 4988.

LEEDS SQUATTERS: Douglas Jordan, 28 Grantham Road, Bradford 7 is willing to start a squatters' group in the Leeds-Bradford area, or co-ordinate with existing groups there. Leeds comrades please contact him.

Wanted: musicians to join a band which will amongst other things, work with Agit Prop theatre group. For details, phone Pete Taunton 789 5604.

"The Bread is rising. To keep it high we need cash. Campaign to clear Hostels and slums-squatting and other forms of direct action in housing, 3 Osborn Street, London, E.1."

If there is anyone interested in helping with a Communications/Information Service for all Australian Comrades on a non-sectarian basis, could they please write to Garrie Hutchinson, 64 Fellows Road, N.W.3. Especially needed are French, German and Italian readers.

THE OTHER PAPER. New lively left-wing weekly newspaper in Leeds and around. First issue out Thursday 9 October. On sale in colleges, shops and on the street. News and articles on the local scene. We need contacts, news, help. THE OTHER PAPER, 15 Kingston Road, Leeds 2. Phone 28413. Try a bit of the Other.

SCREW - Support Communications for a Revolutionary Europe and World. 46 Paek Crescent, Brighton, Sussex.

Industrial Workers of the World is forming a British sector. For details and IWW literature. Write IWW, 3 Osborne Street, London, E.1.

THE OTHER PAPER
New socialist local paper in Leeds. Fortnightly 9d. Leeds comrades should send news, help etc to 15 Kingston Road, Leeds 2, Phone 28413. Next issue out Friday October 24th.

NLF badges and flags. Also others SAE (for details from McGee, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne, Cornwall.

Anyone interested in starting a BLACK DWARF ACTION GROUP in Edinburgh to create interest and promote sales contact Ian Millar, 35 Castle Terrace,

new left review

When you've got Black Dwarf, who needs New Left Review?
If BD can keep you up-to-the-minute with news from the world revolutionary front, NLR can provide...

- * depth analyses of particular countries, movements, struggles
 - * contemporary texts of Marxist theory
 - * debate on the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement
- And so, in some of our recent issues...

NLR 53

Krahl Tomalek Red Base Jenner
Class Struggle in Czechoslovakia
The Czech Student Strike
Debate on Student Movement Tactics
The New Chinese Revolution

NLR 54

Mao Tse-tung Mandel Nicolaus Plamenic
Talk on Strategy
Where is America Going?
The Struggle at San Francisco State
The Belgrade Student Insurrection

NLR 55

Gibbon Ulster Althusser Avakian
Religion and Class in Ulster
Peoples' Democracy Discussion on Strategy
Freud and Lacan
The People versus Standard Oil

NLR 56

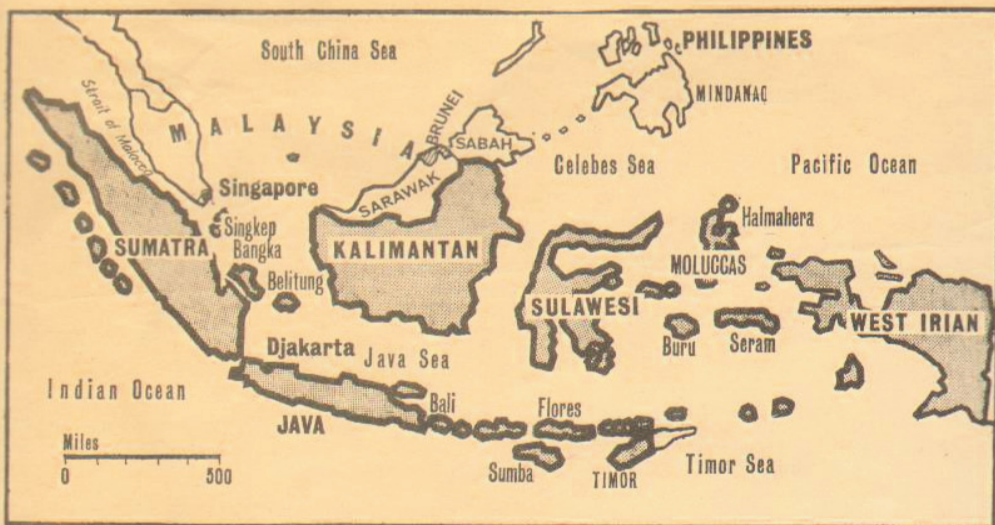
Tsoucalas Marcuse Colletti Glucksmann
Class Struggle and Dictatorship in Greece
The Concept of Revolution
The Leninist State
Lucien Goldmann—Humanist or Marxist?

NLR 57

Trabulsi Hynnen Chomsky Cohen
Palestine: Zionism and Imperialism
Popular Front in Finland
Linguistics and Politics
The Philosophy of Marcuse

NLR appears bimonthly. A yearly subscription saves money and time, and costs 27/- from NLR, 7 Carlisle St, London W1.

Indonesia/ The Fruits of Counter-Revolution.



CONTRACTS FOR MINERAL DEVELOPMENT

COMPLETED CONTRACTS

Company	Nationality	Location	Value (\$M.)	Mineral
Freeport Sulphur	U.S.	West Irian	120	Copper
NV Billiton	Dutch	Offshore Kalimantan, Bangka Belitung	7	Tin
International Nickel	Canadian	E and SE Sulawesi	75	Nickel
Alcoa	U.S.	E Sumatra coast and offshore islands, S Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Seram, Buru, Sumba, Moluccas	100	Aluminium
Indonesia Nickel	Japanese	Halmahera	75	Nickel
Pacific Nickel	U.S.	West Irian and offshore islands	76.5	Nickel
U.S. Steel	U.S.			
Newmont Mining	Dutch			
Oost Borneo	Canadian			
Muller				
Sherritt-Gordon				

NEARING FINAL

NEGOTIATIONS	Nationality	Location	Value (\$M.)	Mineral
Kennecott Copper	U.S.	West Irian, Sumatra, Central Java	—	General exploration
Overseas Mineral Resources Development	Japanese	Sumatra	—	General exploration

UNDER DISCUSSION

Location	Nationality	Location	Value (\$M.)	Mineral
Natural Lead	Australian	West Sumatra, Flores	—	General exploration
Occidental Minerals	U.S.	North Sumatra	—	General exploration
General Mineral				

IMPERIALISM ROUTED IN LAOS

Since the French left Laos in 1954, the US has played a growing interventionist role. Arming reactionary forces and staging coups, she has made every effort to hinder the liberation of the Laotian peoples. The reason is clear: Laos borders on South Vietnam and Thailand and has served as a source of aid to revolutionaries in those countries; moreover she has her own highly developed revolutionary forces who are now able to liberate the whole of the country. Recently, as a result of contradictions within the US ruling class, so-called "dove" Congressmen are now attacking the US role in Laos and calling for withdrawal. But they cannot overcome the fact that here, as in Vietnam, years in intervention have resulted in a resounding defeat for the US.

LAO SOCIETY

Laos has 2/3 of the area of the two Vietnams, but only 10% of her population - 3 million. Most of the population are farmers living in village communities headed by chiefs, *tassengs*. Neither imperialist exploitation through plantations nor a local ruling class were anything like as developed as in Vietnam. Moreover, there was no dominant ethnic group: the major group, the Lao Lum of Thai origin lived in the plains; in the mountains were many more or less structured tribes, most noticeably the Meo of Chinese origin in the north, and the Thenh or *kha* (slaves) in the south. Village chiefs did have power over the peasants, but no developed system of land ownership existed; indeed, land was measured not by area, but by the amount of rice needed to sow it.

The area now known as Laos was once united in a single kingdom in the fourteenth century, with the name *Pathet Lao* (roughly Lao State), but it disintegrated and by the eighteenth century was split up into areas controlled by neighbouring Thailand, Cambodia or Vietnam. Had the French not invaded in the nineteenth century the zone would have been gradually incorporated into the advancing state of central Vietnam. The French invaded in the 1890s, and tried to build up a local client ruling class by using the *tassengs*, increasing taxes and exacerbating inter-ethnic rivalries.

A number of risings punctuated their rule, but they were confined to single ethnic groups. The Lao Lum rose in 1901; the Lao Xung rose 1918-1922; and the Lao Thenh were in constant rebellion in the south from 1910 to 1937. When Ho founded the Indochinese Communist Party in 1931 it included Laotian militants, and one of the Thenh leaders, Kham Seng, sat on the Central Committee.

RISE OF PATHET LAO

During the war the Japanese ruled Laos using the French administration. When they left in 1945 a group of ruling class nationalists tried to declare independence but they were ousted by British and French troops. (It is worth emphasising that throughout South-East Asia it was *British imperialism* - the Labour Government - which put back into power the enfeebled colonialists of France and Holland who by themselves could never have done it.) These nationalists fled to Thailand: some like Katay became allies of the French while others like Prince Souphanovong formed a new, more radical group. Souphanovong was a royal prince who had studied in France and had worked in the French docks during the popular front period (1936-38); he radicalised gradually, and in 1949 met Ho Chi Minh who told him to fight the imperialists.

In 1950 an independent State of Laos, *Pathet Lao*, was proclaimed and a patriotic front, *Neo Lao Issara* (Free Laos Front) established. It included many political positions and representatives of all the ethnic groups; it was the first political formation in Laos to do so. Its programme called for equality for all ethnic groups, united fight against the French and abolition of unjust taxes. In 1951 a tripartite agreement between the Issara, the Vietminh and the Cambodian *Khmer Issarak* group was signed, which led to joint military operations in 1953. It was the heroic actions of the Laotian comrades which prevented the French from saving Dien Bien Phu, since the *Pathet Lao* forces cut the land route and shelled the airfields in Laos from which Dien Bien Phu was being supplied.

The imperialists prevented *Pathet Lao* from attending the 1954 Geneva Conference but the PL retained control of two northern provinces, Sam Neua and Phong Saly, until elections were held. Instead, however, the US got the rightist

and a provisional agreement was signed in 1957. However, the PL did so well in elections that the US reverted to its previous tactics: a Committee for the Defense of National Interests was set up, and its leader Sanani-kone became PM. PL representatives in the Capital, Vietiane, were interned and another attack launched on the left; the reactionary government denounced the 1954 agreement on neutrality and the US was then openly able to throw in masses of arms and advisers.

U.S.AID

However, in the period 1959-62 the situation worsened for the US. The strongmen behind the Sananikone clique were a general, Phoumi Nousavan, and a Prince Boun Oum, who ruled in the south and had worked with the French to put down the Lao Thenh rising in the 1930s. They staged a coup early in 1960, but were ousted by a so-called "neutralist" coup led by Kong Le in August; Kong Le was a dynamic captain who had fought with the French against *Pathet Lao* and had been given a "Ranger" course by the US in 1957. The CIA did not then trust him and the southern reactionaries staged a counter-offensive; the only men in the southern forces who could use the artillery accurately were two CIA men, and when they finally got near Vientiane they shelled the US Embassy - to get their revenge on the State Department men who were backing the neutralists. Kong Le then allied with *Pathet Lao* who had been holding back; but the US puppets were in a weak position.

Kennedy got an agreement with the Russians; a tripartite government was set up in 1962 after another conference and official "neutralism" was proclaimed. But the Soviet attempt to muzzle the liberation struggle failed; the Chinese refused to ship Soviet arms to the neutralist government and gave them to *Pathet Lao* instead. Since then PL strength has consolidated in the north and mountainous east of Laos. In the liberated areas, occupied by more than half the population they have carried out tax reforms, set up schools and established a people's militia. The famous Ho Chi Minh trail also runs through these liberated areas.

In 1964 the US launched another counter-offensive and started to bomb the PL zones. PL claims to have shot down 1,100 US planes since that time; the US admits to losing 97 pilots. The US operation in Laos uses a number of mechanisms. There is nominally 60,000 strong Royal Laotian Army which is corrupt and inefficient. In addition there is a 12,500 "Special Forces" army, trained by Green Berets and recruited from Meos. The Meos were not politically united and some of them, with pro-French tribal chiefs, have been recruited by the US. Other clans fight with the PL. In addition the US uses Thai soldiers and Thai airforcemen to back up the Laotians. The US itself has over a thousand military advisers and "aid officials" there who organise military operations and drop food and arms to pro-government forces. Air operations by the US fall into two categories: first, there are the straightforward military bombing raids by US jets operating out of Vietnam, Thailand and carriers in the ocean; secondly, there are two CIA airlines, Air America and Air Continental, who operate out of Thailand and Laos itself and ferry arms and supplies. The pay of a mercenary pilot in one of these lines is \$30,000 per year, and that of the "fixer", the man who pushes out the bags of rice at the right time, is \$12,000. These two lines have over 300 employees. Quite apart from these US advisers there is a 113-strong French military advisory group who date from 1954: they are working with the US and show the real nature of French "neutralism" in the area.

REVOLUTIONARY PROSPECTS

In spite of recent claims about a government offensive, the *Pathet Lao* are in a very strong position. Either the US will step up its presence there and create for itself another Vietnamese defeat, or else it will realise the futility of this and abandon its puppets. PL has both given relentless aid to the Vietnamese revolution and built up a powerful revolutionary position for itself; with the liberation of Laos the regime in Thailand will also quickly topple and the Laotian minority in the north-east of Thailand are already waging a guerrilla war.

The old leaders of the right are all in exile, or dead, and Kong Le has retired to Indonesia. What remains are the US-backed armed forces, led by Souvanna Phouma, whom the Russians and Americans jointly tried to impose in 1962. The left controls the highlands of Laos and the strategic Plain of Jars (so called because it is marked by massive jars in which the peasants put the ashes of their dead). The old Issara front has now become the *Neo Lao Hak Xat*, or Laotian Patriotic Front, within which there is a small Marxist-Leninist cadre, the Laotian Labour Party. Poised for victory against imperialism and its puppets in Laos, the revolutionary forces have defeated all the plots against them. Although this was supposed to be

IRELAND- PARTITION AND THE BOURGEOISIE

Ireland is a classic example of the impossibility of a bourgeois-led national liberation struggle being fought to a successful conclusion. To win this struggle a mass movement is necessary, which must be led by the proletariat and not the bourgeoisie. There will always come a point where the interests of the national bourgeoisie and of the parent bourgeoisie coalesce - the suppression of the power of the workers in the colony. By 1922 in Ireland many of the workers were armed. The bourgeoisie was split. The big bourgeoisie in the north had to keep open its access to the imperial markets, on which their shipbuilding and textile industries depended. Unfortunately, for the future of the Irish working class, the Protestant workers were welded into the Orange bloc. As far as their immediate interests were concerned they chose correctly. Their position as proletarians was dependent on the continued existence of the imperial link. No strong revolutionary party existed, which could give the lie to this economist perspective. The workers had already suffered a defeat in 1913, when the employers broke the General strike (see Black Dwarf No. 22), aided by the imperialist attitude of the British Unions. The small bourgeoisie in the South needed a sheltered market, where they could build up their capital without facing competition from more efficient British industry. The small farmers had no interest in the continuation of British rule. Their choice for over a hundred years had been extreme poverty or emigration. There was no industry to speak of in Ireland to absorb the surplus agricultural population in the South. The workers in the Catholic south had no political organisation which could give them the leadership they needed to practise independent politics. Syndicalist ideas were strong but bourgeois republicans were in the van of the national struggle. When the Irish treaty came into force in 1922, dividing Ireland into two, the republican movement led by De Valera still had an army or at least half the army on their side. In June 1922 the Free State Government were loaned artillery by the British to shell the headquarters of the "irregular" army in Dublin - so much for national independence.

Once the treaty government of Griffith and later Cosgrave was firmly established and the workers disarmed, the serious offensive against working class living standards began. The Unions suffered from internal splits, especially the Transport Union between Larkin and O'Brien, between the militants and the bureaucracy and between British and Irish based Unions. In the docks, the mines and the grain trade among others the employers forced wage reductions of 1s per hour. By October 1930 Sean Lemass, a lieutenant of De Valera's was predicting the complete demise of the small Labour Party. In 1932 De Valera's Fianna Fail Party came to power. The threat of a mass based anti-imperialist struggle was no longer so immediate and the small bourgeoisie could act a little more confidently. Protection was established in the South and legislation enacted, which would insist that 51% of all new industry was Irish owned. One obstacle existed to these exponents of capitalism in one country, however, and that was the small size of the Irish market - too small to provide an adequate base for modern large-scale industry.

DeValera's government succeeded in removing Britain's naval bases in 1938 and keeping out of Britain's war. Their economic achievements were very limited, however. In the absence of an industrial base, rural poverty and unemployment continued, forcing many Irish to emigrate. Initially there was some success from De Valera's policies. Manufacturing output increased by 30% between 1932 and 1936 but this increase could not continue within the confines of the Irish market. Between 1926 and 1961, the agricultural petty bourgeoisie actually increased from 73 to 78% of the population, while the workers fell from 21 to 17%. (Between 1951 and 1962 the number of industrial workers dropped from 644,861 to 637,759. There was only one answer in bourgeois terms to the stagnant state of the Irish economy. To open it up to the wider imperialist markets. In the 1950s protection was gradually dismantled and foreign capital was allowed free entry from 1958 onwards. The result was a general influx of European capital (mainly West German). In the general post war Imperialist boom Ireland's

have been considerably raised by the years of relative prosperity. Somehow the economic gains made by the workers in seven years of boom must be pushed back. All the usual weapons in the arsenal of modern capitalism are to hand. Naively the Trade Union bureaucrats sign away the workers' rights by productivity agreements, which undermine the solidarity of the working class and even the right to strike in some cases. The rise of the urban vote of the Labour Party in the last election reflects the increase of class consciousness on the part of the workers. A vicious anti-strike bill is passing through the Irish Dail giving the Government widespread powers to ban strikes and imprison strikers. From the present economic situation it looks like they need the bill.

It is to be expected that more empty phrases will be uttered by the Southern Government about the border. The economic rationale for it no longer exists for the Southern Irish bourgeoisie - at least the division from the British economy no longer has any justification in its eyes. The Northern economy's traditional industries - shipbuilding and textiles - are stagnating and it's heavily dependent on British aid. Social services in the North are better than those in the South (The south's unemployment pay is only two-thirds that of the north). The Southern capitalists will struggle for the disappearance of partition in a capitalist Common Market of Western Europe. The Irish working class must struggle for genuine independence, for the final expulsion of Britain from Ireland, whose history has so long been distorted by the greed of British capital. As far as Ireland's problems can be solved in isolation from the general struggle, they will be solved by a people's struggle against imperialism, by fighting for a Workers' republic, which will impose a state monopoly of foreign trade and expropriate the foreign investors. When threats begin to be posed to the safety of British (and other) investments in Ireland, then the role of the British troops will be revealed for what it is, the protection of capital, and they will line up with the forces of the big bourgeoisie in the South to attempt to put down the Irish people North and South. The Irish can only free themselves once and for all from the power of foreign capital by building a revolutionary party led by the proletariat to continue the Irish revolution, from where it was left off in 1923. The immediate demand is for arms against the North, the ultimate demand is to turn the arms against the bourgeoisie.

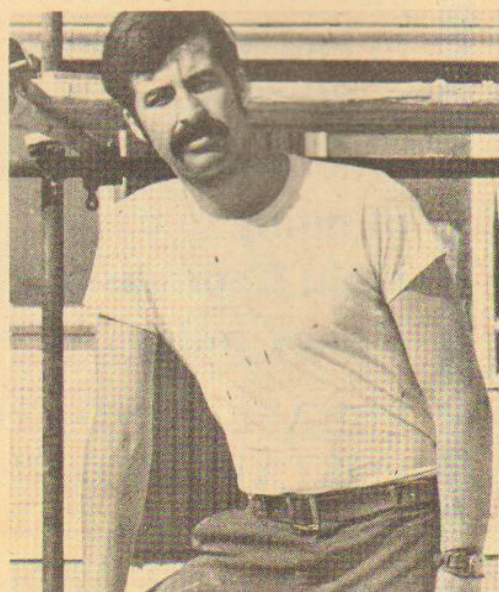
Dave Kendall

Sources: Workers' Republic No. 24 (League for a Workers' Republic), 15 Hume St., DUBLIN 2. "The Economics of Partition" Irish Communist Organization, c/o D. Golden, 28 Mercers Road, N19. New Left Review No. 55, New Left Review, 7 Carlisle St., London W1. International (September issue), 8 Toynbee Street, London E1. James Larkin, a biography by Emmet Larkin, 3s. 6d. from Housman's Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, N1.

A SECOND FRONT IN ISLINGTON

The explosion of the civil rights struggle in Northern Ireland has, more than any other struggle against British Imperialism in recent years, opened up the imperative necessity of solidarity action in this country. For this reason the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign has experienced a rapid growth; now the Campaign is extending the fight to a new field, the North Islington by-election.

The by-election is being fought, in this heavily Irish populated area, to get publicity for the facts about the civil rights struggle in



Northern Ireland, and for the work of the I.C.R.S.C., quite apart from its value in scaring the shits out of the establishment parties. The candidate is a 26 year-old housepainter, Brian McCabe, born in Dublin and a member of the Painters and Decorators Union.

Brian is standing as an Irish Civil Rights candidate, appealing to Irish and British workers to vote for a basic programme of demands for Northern Ireland, but also on demands which underline the lack of civil rights in Islington. Brian's demands are:- To end Westminster complicity with the Unionists:

Stop using British embassies abroad as propaganda agencies for the Unionist regime. Stop training and arming 'B' Specials, R.U.C. and all Orange terrorist organizations. Disarm and disband 'B' Specials.

Disarm R.U.C.

One person one vote at 18.

One family one house.

One person one job.

Abolition of Stormont.

The setting up of a constitutional conference between Westminster, Dublin and all tendencies within the civil rights movement, the trade unions and all Northern Irish political parties; leading to self-determination for Ireland.

Brian's demands for Islington are:-

An end to all discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex, colour or class.

An end to the prices and incomes policy and all repressive anti-trade union legislation.

Equal rights and pay for women now.

An end to an immigration policy based on colour.

Basic civil rights for Islington; one person one job, one family one house.

Brian is contemptuous of his Conservative opponent, and speaks bitterly of the role of the Labour Government.

"We did not expect anything from the Tory/Unionist candidate," he says, after all he is tied to Chichester-Clarke. But it makes us sad to know that the guns that were used to kill 10 of our countrymen, including a 66 year-old man and a nine year-old boy, to wound over 200 others and to terrorise the population were supplied by a Labour Government. Either they knew what the guns would be used for, which is unpardonable, or they didn't know which is just as irresponsible."

"One of the most forceful accusations against the Conservative/Unionist and the Labour Parties is the fact that this situation in Northern Ireland has not just arisen in the last few months, oppression has been going on there for fifty years, but it is only the marches and the civil rights struggles which have forced any attention on the problem. For fifty years the workers of Northern Ireland have been suffering under the most crippling oppression, during that time we have had Labour Governments, Tory/Unionist Governments and permutations of the two, and still nothing has been done for the people of Northern Ireland. Their attitude has been; 'We don't mind if you rot, so long as you rot quietly'. Now the rot has been stirred and the struggles in Northern Ireland are threatening the very fabric of the society in the U.K. Now the Labour Government, and ironically the Tory/Unionist Party, have decided that they also are for civil rights. But it is too little and too late, with no real feelings for the aspirations of the people."

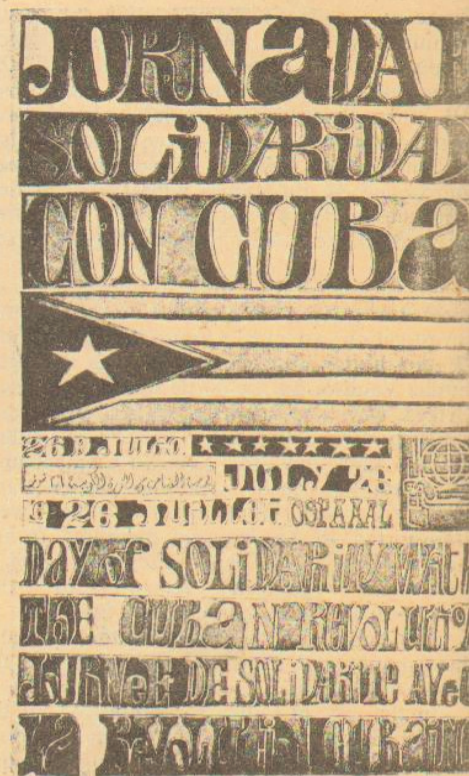
He also points out the role of the major parties so far as Islington is concerned "The Labour Party and the Tory/Unionists have nothing to be proud of in Islington. Islington has the worst housing record in England, we have had Labour Governments and Labour councils, and Tory Governments and Tory councils, and Islington still has the worst housing record in England."

Even at this early stage the I.C.R.S.C. campaign has had some success, there have been headlines in the local press about Brian's candidature, and the Labour majority in Islington is so delicately balanced, that the prospect of a rival for the Irish vote in the constituency has sent the local Labour Party into a panic, they hurriedly picked an Irishman as their candidate, almost splitting the Party in the process, and produced a chain reaction amongst the other parties. Now the Conservative/Unionists have chosen an Irishman, and the Liberals also intend to jump on the civil rights bandwagon. So, whatever Brian's vote, or even if the I.C.R.S.C. do not in the end put down the deposit, the die is cast, civil rights in Northern Ireland will be the issue in the North Islington by-election, affording tremendous opportunities for propaganda for the Campaign.

Although fighting the by-election on a broad civil rights programme, Brian makes no bones about being a revolutionary socialist. Like many good Irish socialists he comes from a background of the Republican movement, and describes himself as having been in the fight for the Irish revolution since the age of 12. He says:

"I am a Connolly socialist, and believe that

DWARF POSTERS



Cuban OSPAAAL Posters 12 1/2" x 21". Printed several colours (4, 5).
Cuban Day of Solidarity Poster.
Puerto Rico Solidarity Poster.
Disappearance of Ben Barka Commemoration Post All 4/- including postage and packing from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London, W1A 4PZ.

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

Viva Che Badges 2/6d including post and packing from the Dwarf office.

Smash Capital Posters are now completely sold out although it's possible a re-run will be made. Mc Christ with Gun posters are expected soon.



Rosa Luxemburg Poster. 15/- from The Black Dwarf Office (SDS poster).

By the time you read this, we will have our own IBM Composer. Any job handled. For rates apply Black Dwarf 437 5369.

ERNEST MANDEL IS COMING TO BRITAIN

He will be speaking in the following places:

- Birmingham - Tuesday Oct. 28
contact T. V. Gelderen, 62 Church Rd., B'ham
- Manchester - Wednesday Oct. 29
contact B. Allen, 21 Finney Drive, Chorlton, M
- Glasgow - Thursday Oct. 30
contact T. Southall, 97 Otago St., Glasgow W
- Edinburgh - Friday Oct 31
contact I. Miller, 35 Castle Terr., Edinburgh.
- Aberdeen - Friday Oct 31
contact T. Southall as above.
- York - Monday Nov. 3
contact P. Hearse, 5 Precentors Ct., York.
- Hull - Tuesday Nov 4
contact J. Bearpark, 88 Park St., Springpark, Hull.
- Nottingham - Wednesday Nov 5
contact J. Atkinson, 105 Castleboulevard, Not'm.
- Oxford - Thursday Nov 6
contact R. Thomson, Ruskin College.

BOLIVIAN REPRESSION

Starting in mid-July a new wave of repression has swept Bolivia.

Bolivia has been under a military regime for five years, a regime which has instituted a ferocious dictatorship. All political organizations except the puppet groups which support the regime are illegal and the organization of trade unions is also prohibited. All attempts at setting up legal unions have been crushed by violence - even trade unionists of moderate political views have been imprisoned. In the mines, military occupation continues under a veritable terror. The living quarters of the miners resemble concentration camps.

On the morning of July 15 detachments of the secret police (DIC - Direction of Criminal Investigation) attacked a house in Cochabamba. In this house were Enrique Ortega and Rita Emilia Valdivia. In the battle which took place, Ortega was arrested after having been very seriously wounded and Rita Valdivia was killed. On the same day, the 15th, in Cochabamba, after another battle, Antonio Moreno and Victor Cordova were arrested. They were transported to La Paz and presented to the press. (The daily paper *Presencia* gave a particularly detailed account of this extraordinary press conference.) Still again in Cochabamba the university students Mario Bustamante and Beatriz Guardia fell into the hands of the police.

In the city of Oruro the repression hit the two brothers Felipe and Elio Vasquez Condori. A little later Berta Porcel and King Palenque were also captured. The professor Felipe Iniguez was also charged, as well as the university leader Ojeda. Ojeda, however, succeeded in escaping.

In La Paz the police launched a massive repression, resulting in numerous arrests and brutal investigations. Among the arrested were the Aymara peasant Tomas Chambi, the youth leader Anselmo Herrera Lopez, the railwayman Gabriel Guzman Illanes, the students Cecilio and Victor Alcon. A little later the students Alberto Romano and Jose Unzategui were also imprisoned. The painter Luis Zilveti, considered by the police a key man, was arrested but managed to escape and has taken refuge in the Ecuadorian embassy thanks to the aid of the director of the daily *El Diario*.

The morning of September 9 police attacked a house where Inti Peredo was staying with other comrades. According to the international

press reports, Inti Peredo died in combat. Five others were arrested. The police didn't communicate anything concerning their identity, but according to the declarations of the Minister of the Interior they were five Cubans.

According to the families of the imprisoned, those arrested have undergone severe violence on the part of the police and were tortured frequently. For example, Beatriz Guardia was tortured. Felipe Vasquez, before being shut in prison, was brought outside the city of Oruro and unclothed and whipped in the presence of his wife and three children. The tortures utilized by the police against the prisoners are now "classic" ones (electric currents, blows to the testicles, suffocation, etc.).

The investigations have been conducted under completely illegal conditions. The house of Hugo Gonzalez Moscoso, a lawyer by profession and a leading Trotskyist, has been completely ransacked: the police left absolutely nothing there, carrying away even clothes and glasses. The members of the family have been treated brutally and the police have told them that if they found Gonzalez himself they would send him to "talk with Saint Peter."

Protests have been made against the repression by the student federations of La Paz, of Oruro and of Cochabamba, which have condemned the torture and have demanded the liberation of the imprisoned people. These federations have also demanded a regular trial before ordinary tribunals. The same position

was taken by the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights, the president of which, the priest Prats, has also protested against the "investigation" of the house of Gonzalez.

No one knows yet what will be the precise accusations against the imprisoned. From the declarations of the representatives of the government and of the police, it is probable that the main accusation will be that of being in the act of preparing an armed revolt against the military dictatorship, in the form of a guerrilla struggle.

Following is a list of the victims of the repression whose names are known so far:

Enrique Ortega (Victor Guerra), geological engineer who until recently worked in the Bolivian Institute of Geology, which is under the Ministry of Mines and Petroleum. Ortega has declared that he belongs to the ELN (Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional - National Liberation Army) and that he is a partisan of guerrilla warfare.

Rita Emilia Valdivia (Maya), age 23, painter who had studied in Europe.

Jose Antonio Moreno (Braulio), ex-railroad worker, student of philosophy, accused of being an instructor of the guerrillas, who, before the press, declared that he was a member of the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario - Revolutionary Workers Party, Bolivian Section of the Fourth International), that he accepted the ideas of Guevara, that he recognizes as his leader Hugo Gonzalez Moscoso, leader of the POR, and that he supported the ELN and Inti Peredo.

Victor Cordova (Huascar), a peasant leader, also with connections in the mining area, who made the same declarations as Moreno and is also a member of the POR.

Beatriz Guardia, 18 years old, student at the school of economics and finance, who declared herself a member of the ELN and refused to speak under torture.

Mario Bustamante, university student, accused, as Beatriz Guardia, of having contact with Moreno.

Mario Ocampo Escalante and his brother Rene, both students of law.

Felipe Vasquez Condori, miner, long-time trade union leader of Huanuni, a founder of the clandestine trade unions after the military occupation, member of the POR.

Elio Vasquez Condori, miner, long-time leader of the trade union of Catavi and one of the leaders of the miners in the struggle which ended in the overthrow of Paz Estenssoro, member of the POR.

Bertha Porcel, professor at the University of Oruro, member of the POR.

King Palenque, an employee at the University of Oruro.

Tomas Chambi, leading Aymara peasant of the province of Camacho, member of the POR.

Anselmo Herrera Lopez, leader of the youth of Huanuni, member of the POR.

Gabriel Guzman Illanes, leader of the railwaymen, member of the POR, imprisoned despite his being in very poor health.

Cecilio Alcon and her brother Victor, students, members of the POR.

Alberto Romano, university student.

Jose Unzategui, university student.

Gonzalez Oroza Bellido, functionary of the Comibol.

Jurgens Schutt, dean of the school for industrial engineers of the University of La Paz.

Tertu Tuulikki, wife of Oroza Bellido, of Finnish nationality.

Trucco, Argentinian.

Two French citizens.

F. Melgar, Bolivian who declares himself a member of the ELN after having been a member of the PRIN (Partido Revolucionario de Izquierda Nacionalista - Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left.)

Felix Rocha, 16 years old.

The necessary and urgent campaign of solidarity can be begun on the basis of the demands of the Federation of Students and of the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights. Resolutions, letters and telegrams should be sent to the President of the Republic, La Paz, and to the Bolivian embassies in the different countries. Please send copies to *The Black Dwarf*, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ.

LENIN 1917- BREAD, LAND, PEACE.

BLACK DWARF 1969- BREAD.

Capitalism has not only got the most vicious arsenal of dreadful weapons on its side. It also has working for it the most gigantic publicity machine the world has ever seen. Every day the press, television and radio pour out a flood of lies called information. Ranged against it are a handful of publications. "Hopeless", you'll say. "How can you stand up to that monstrous apparatus and hope to win? But it can be done. Vietnam has shown that giants can be toppled by the determined action of a few.

But Capitalism has also got *you*. It is kept going on your money and however much you may grumble about it so it will go on until you *do* something. What? We will tell you. Give us your money. If everybody gave us their money Capitalism would collapse. You can forget about stocks and shares. They are soon going to be worthless. Give us your money: we are the best investment in the future of Britain you could make. Forget about Shelter and all those other placebos. The Black Dwarf is the charity to end all charities.

We desperately need your money in order to expand. We have no other way of doing so except to ask you for it. Fight Capitalism by giving us your money today. All of it.

PLEASE SEND CHEQUES AND
POSTAL ORDERS TO
BLACK DWARF
7 CARSLISLE STREET
LONDON W1A 4PZ.

I'm all white Jack



When I see a rich man...



...I give thanks to God!

DWARF DIARY

THE TROUBLEMAKERS AT THE WEDDING

It all started with a wedding - Saturday 27th September - a wedding that was broken up by some uninvited guests and thugs in blue uniform.

There was no trouble, no damage, and no problems in High Street UNTIL THE POLICE ARRIVED. Then the arrests began. If the police had allowed the wedding celebrations to go on unmolested then 11 young citizens would not be in court today.

CRIME IN FOLKESTONE - AGAINST THE PEOPLE

What was their crime? They were enjoying themselves in a public place, and, on seeing that the groom had been strangely picked on by the police, they went to his aid. Several people have made complaints against the police. Others have been assaulted by the police.

CITIZENS TAKE OUT SUMMONS AGAINST POLICE

Six people have been assaulted by the police, including two people who suffered serious injuries, and were taken to hospital. Their wounds tell the truth of what really happened. We are the victims of police brutality.

THE PUBLIC AND THE POLICE

No doubt you believe the police are there to protect you. But their powers are vast and they can be used against YOU the public. But if you are rich you have nothing to fear. Are you rich? Do you own property? Is your name Mr. Costain?

If not then you should take an interest in your civil liberties. You should take an interest in securing the liberty of the young people inside the court. Today.

O.K. So we've got long hair and our clothes are different - but we don't ask you to dress like us. And how is it a crime to have long hair? Shades of Hitler!

YOUR FREEDOM AND THEIR POLICE

The "free" society is not run by us the people, but by the top 10% - 10% of the population over 80% of the wealth - this 10% needs the loyalty and obedience of the rest of the country. That is why we have the police to push us around, to keep us in line.

Law and order is the law and order of the rich. To protest against the existing order, i.e., division of wealth in society, is a crime.

PROTEST IS CRIME

The rich, the bankers, the bosses, the politicians, and the fuhrers in our society need the police to protect them from the wrath of the people.

To make money you have to push other people around, and you need the police to help you do it.

If you like being pushed around, then you will support police brutality because they are official thugs.

BUT MORE AND MORE PEOPLE IN FOLKESTONE DON'T.

For details: Action for Justice High Street, Folkestone

Women's liberation Workshop of Tufnell Park have made a film about some aspects of women's position in contemporary society. The film, called, "Woman . . . are you satisfied with your life?" is silent, composed chiefly of still photos taken from women's magazines, newspapers and real life, and lasts eight minutes. It contrasts women's 'ideal' life, as depicted in the mass media, with the real life of housewives, the drudgery, dishes, lavatories and teddies. The script consists of statements about the image we are taught to have of ourselves (of decadence, consuming housewives and mothers) contrasted with the impossibility for women to lead creative fulfilling lives under present circumstances. Statistics about the proportion of women in the work force and in trade unions are all given. The film ends with an optimistic note, showing heroic women of the past and present symbolically cutting their ties with the forces which oppress them.

The film was made for several reasons: 1 to create an educational 'product' which represented some of the ideas we wish to discuss with other women not yet involved in

focal point for our thinking which would help us to raise the issues which Women's Liberation groups should be thinking about.

An eight minute silent film can only begin to touch upon some of the problems we have discussed in our meetings. The broader personal and social contradictions and political concepts which we raise at our weekly meetings are barely suggested in the film. However, the way we hope to use the film is as a starting point in a discussion. The film was intended to raise questions, not answer them, and is provocative enough to elicit audience response. Once people are involved enough to ask questions or raise additional ideas in the discussion, a one or two hour discussion follows naturally. We have had such responses at the few showings we have had so far (in London at the Living School conference, and to left people in Toronto, Boston and New York).

All interested groups contact Women's Liberation Workshop, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, N.W.5.

On October 17 a remarkable debate was to have taken place. A debate at Stanford University on Capitalism between John Galbraith, representing neo-capitalism and Ernest Mandel, speaking in the name of revolutionary marxism. The Dwarf was intending to print extracts from the debate. However it seems that the American ruling class called off the debate at the last moment. Mandel was refused a visa by the State Department. We believe that the debate is of some importance and would ask Professor Galbraith to demonstrate his disapproval (?) of the State Department decision, by agreeing to debate Mandel somewhere in Europe. We can certainly arrange a confrontation in London, but something tells us that in reality Galbraith is not too displeased with the decision to refuse Mandel a visa.

Eight weeks ago Mrs. Shannon, whose sister was then squatting in Cheshire Street, heard of the East London Squatters Campaign and the Campaign to Clear Hostels and Slums. She had had enough of the rats, of the filth and the heartbreak of No. 32 Cheshire Street. She decided to squat and to fight for something she has never had: "Somewhere to bring up my kids - a real home". She got in touch with the squatters and things began to happen. Tower Hamlets council prides itself on being progressive. It isn't. On Saturday, September 26th, Mrs. Shannon and her kids, with other families, aided by the squatters took over four flats owned by Tower Hamlets Council at Arbour Court, Arbour Square, E.1. The flats, many of which have been empty for 18 months, were built in 1935. The council were clearing them for "renovation" i.e. while thousands live in some of the worst slums in Britain in the area the "progressive" Council required these relatively modern dwellings for "renovation".

At first the ten or so tenant families already in residence in Arbour Court were terrified, "They thought we were hippies and drug addicts", according to Mrs. Shannon. However, things are different now and most of the tenants are helpful and pleasant. Not so the Council. Tony Mahoney, Campaign to Clear Hostels and Slums:

"Immediately the squat began, the Town Clerk (Mr. Wolkind) came down and we had a discussion in the nearby Police Station. I told him the alternatives were: 1) that the Council immediately rehouse the families that had the courage to squat and then the East London Squatters and the Labour Council could join forces to bring to public notice the housing chaos which Tower Hamlets Council was subjected to; or 2) we would continue squatting, exposing the Council as totally unconcerned with the real economic issues which prevented a proper housing programme. Mr. Wolkind said there was a third alternative: The Council would get us out with a Court order.

This was the tone that was set by the Council. They don't want their problems known; neither do they want a public outcry about the thousands of working class people in the Borough who are living in some of the most appalling slums in London.

Squatting breaks through the whole of the British ethic that property is more important than people - that's why squatting is a threat

situation I do think that squatting is helping to forge a realisation of the blatant contradictions within capitalism and also encouraging people to act against the established order."

The squatting families in Arbour Court are desperate people. They have had a lot to be desperate about. In the words of Mrs. Shannon, "We will fight until we get a decent home, we'll keep on squatting until we win the right to a real home".

And they mean it!

O.K. so you know Ridley Road stinks; and the smell is spreading to Colvestone Crescent and Dalston Lane and Cecilia Road. Rubbish is piling up all over London and at Buckingham Palace they are going to make 'other arrangements'. But there are a lot of things the unfree press didn't bother to tell you about the dustbinmen and why they're striking.

HOW MUCH DO THEY GET?

A loader gets £15 9s a week.

A driver gets £15 14s a week.

This is before stoppages. One dustbinman on picket duty in Ridley Road told a Dwarf reporter he took home £14 to a wife and two children the week before the strike. There is overtime and there are bonuses but there's no control over how they're allocated from below so 'certain people' tend to get them.

Actually during the strike, while it was unofficial, a married man can only get his rent and money for his family from 'Social Security'. He can't get anything for himself. A single man can't claim at all.

HOW MUCH DO THEY WANT?

The dustbinmen want £20 a week.

HOW LONG HAVE THEY BEEN WAITING?

Negotiations have been going on for over a year.

HOW DID IT START?

The strike started from Mill fields and spread quickly in the Hackney, Stoke Newington and Shoreditch area. People were completely fed up at the length of time negotiations were taking without anything coming out of them. The feeling was general. As the strike spread throughout London, dustmen told the Dwarf, 'Now we're all in it together.'

WHAT ELSE ARE THEY COMPLAINING ABOUT?

There is more and more rubbish to collect everyday. So why can't they claim higher productivity? The council in the Hackney area is actually cutting down on lorries. This means you have to do more rounds. A time and motion man came along and watched how many dustbins each man emptied on each round. He worked out they were handling twenty tons of rubbish a day. This is starting at 7.30 a.m. and giving up part of your dinner hour. The rubbish becoming harder and harder to get out. It's not just markets and private houses. The flats are really the worst problem. In one block in Stamford Hill you have to shovel the rubbish up in a tin bath from the basement. The depots are badly organized so you have to hang around which wastes time. All of them are inefficient, but the one in Defoe Road, Stoke Newington is the worst. The lorries are in bad condition. They've complained again and again, especially in the Stoke Newington depot 'Not a decent dust-motor in the place'. They'd been promised new lorries but they never came. Dustmen are responsible too for them when they're driving them.

Pickets didn't think much of the kind of publicity they've been getting during the strike which emphasises the chaos rather than why they're striking. As one man said: 'It's all to dampen down our case.' Did they think this would make people realise that their job was rather important finally instead of just taking them for granted. They laughed 'we've always been big headed'. But a member of Hackney Council who supports them told them he couldn't use their wages for beer money. What can sympathetic dwarfs do in solidarity? They were pleased people might support them but 'Sympathy doesn't pay wages'. One man suggested with a grin 'You might try dumping your rubbish outside the Town Hall it might wake them up a bite.'

Dwarf reporter IMMEDIATELY thought of ALL KINDS of other institutions which could do with rubbish reminders. What about the Department of Employment and Productivity, or the homes of B. Castle and H. Wilson for some direct dustbin dumping solidarity action?

EVENTS

October 24 - 26: COMMUNIST SCHOOL OF ART AND DESIGN: ART/DESIGN/REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETY. At Marx Memorial Library, Clerkenwell Green, London EC1. Details from Nick Wright, King Street, London WC2.

STARTING OCTOBER 17: Throughout the autumn academic term there will be a series of teaching organized by the Campaign to Clear Hostels and Slums. They will be taking place from October 17 December 2, at Brighton, Southampton, Bristol, Oxford, Coventry, Birmingham, LSE, Essex, Cambridge, Northampton, Leicester, Nottingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Manchester. For details of dates and times, contact 3 Osborn Street, London E1.

SATURDAY OCTOBER 18: 'STUDENTS AGAINST IMPERIALISM', a Movement for Colonial Freedom Conference sponsored by Socialist Society at University of East Anglia. Speakers include S. Newsen MP (National Chairman, MCF), Dr. Malcolm Caldwell, (Lecturer at School of Oriental and African Studies and Chairman of CND), Jack Woddis (International Secretary, British Communist Party), Dan Triesman (RSSF). Sessions will last from 11am-1 and 2.15pm-5pm.

OCTOBER 20: Ernest Mandel speaks on THE RISE OF WORLD REVOLUTION, Trades Union Social Centre, 81 Carlton Place, Glasgow CS. 7.30pm.

OCTOBER 23: Dr. Joshua Horn will give the first of a series of lectures on the 20th Anniversary of the Chinese Revolution. Dr. Horn returned to Britain in the summer of 1969, having spent 14 years in China working as a surgeon in Peking and elsewhere. 7.15pm at Holborn Central Library, Theobalds Road, WC1. Organized by Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding, 24 Warren Street, London W1.

OCTOBER 26: To commemorate the October march of last year, and to tie in with other demonstrations in Vietnam and S. Africa at the same time, the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign are planning a demonstration: march from Charing Cross Embankment to the Ulster Office, Berkeley Street, W1, and on to Hyde Park. Contact Pat Denny, Tel: 01-GUL 0476.

OCTOBER 26: This is the provisional date for a mass Vietnam mobilisation organized by Tricontinental Committee, 15 Lawn Road, London NW3. Slogans include 'Victory for the Provisional Revolutionary Government', 'Recognition of the 10-point peace solution proposed by the NLF', 'US out of Vietnam NOW'. All organizations prepared to take part, get in contact with the Committee at the above address.

Last Dwarf advertised RAINY CITY RAP-IN in Manchester, but it was postponed for a few weeks. The Schools Unions hadn't had enough time over the holidays to contact all their members. Grass Eye are now trying to get permission to use the Students Union at the University at the end of October. The hope it will be an even bigger and better weekend of discussion, revolution, rock and film, and still with speakers on Communications, International Affairs, Social Reform, Direct Action, plus poetry workshops, artists, street theatre, film-makers. For details contact Grass Eye at 63-67 Market Street, Manchester. Tel: 061-834 7798.

SATURDAY NOVEMBER 1: The Wembley Anti-Apartheid Group are holding their annual jumble sale at the Brotherhood Hall, Masons Avenue, Wealdstone (opposite Harrow & Wealdstone Station) buses 114, 18, 158, 141). Open at 2.30pm, admission 6d. If you can give jumble or help, contact Mrs. Northedge at 15 The Ridgeway, Kenton, Harrow Middx. tel: 01-907 2017.

NOVEMBER 16: SOUTHERN AFRICA MOBILISATION. Plans are being made for a mass demonstration on November 16, to show support for the anti-apartheid struggle of the Southern African people against racialist oppression, to show solidarity with political prisoners and prisoners of war in Southern Africa. For details on preparatory meetings, contact Southern Africa Solidarity Committee, 211 Ladbroke Grove, London W.10.

SCHOOLS STUDENTS IN THE BRADFORD AREA should immediately get in contact with Bradford Schools Unions. Their aims are that schools should be controlled by staff-pupil councils, and that corporal punishment should be abolished. "Our most important aim, which is sadly lacking in most schools, is that we should be considered responsible people, respected and treated as such, and as a result participate in the running of the school. Their address is c/o 28 Kingsdale Drive, Bradford 2.

THE UNION OF GREEK JOURNALISTS IN EXILE (UGJE) is addressing an appeal to THE INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL JOURNALISTS' UNIONS AND TO THE JOURNALISTS OF ALL COUNTRIES to stand by the side of their colleagues who are fighting hard in Greece, demanding the annulment of the junta Hitler-style "Press Law". For the London Branch: G. VOTSIS, 268 Kingsland Road, E8. TEL: 254 3353.

November: "With the gathering momentum of the revolutionary movement in Britain, we must expect corresponding hardening of the position from the Establishment, and from its right wing in particular. . . . "British legality is a superb machine for the preservation of the British Ruling Class. It is a superb machine for the suppression and oppression of working people in general and for those who positively reject class society in particular."

ACTION FOR PEOPLE'S JUSTICE, 45 Fairmount Road, London SW2, will be holding a public meeting in early November where they hope that all groups and individuals affected can work out a collective response to the fact of mounting repression. (Details of time and place will be announced shortly.)

EDITOR	Tariq Ali
EDITORIAL BOARD	Anthony Barnett, Vinay Chand, Clive Goodwin, Fred Halliday, John Hoyland, Adrian Mitchell, Sheila Rowbotham, Bob Rowthorne.
DESIGNER	Mike Newton, Ruth Prentice, Agitprop Publicity Group.
CIRCULATION AND ADVERTISING	David Kendall
DISTRIBUTION	John Weal
SECRETARY	Judith Wright

Published by THE BLACK DWARF, 7 CARISSLE STREET, LONDON W1A 4PZ.

THIRTY YEARS AGO THE GREAT POET AIMÉ CÉSAIRE WROTE CAHIER D'UN RETOUR AU PAYS NATAL. THIS LONG POEM, THE POETIC BROTHER OF FANON'S THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH, HAS NOW BEEN BRILLIANTLY TRANSLATED BY JOHN BERGER AND ANNA BOSTOCK AND WILL BE PUBLISHED BY PENGUIN BOOKS ON NOVEMBER 27TH WITH THE TITLE RETURN TO MY NATIVE LAND.

HERE ARE TWO SECTIONS FROM THE POEM, INDICATIONS THAT HERE IS A BOOK WHICH MUST BE READ AND USED.

EXTRACT ONE

I want to rediscover the secret of great speech and of great burning. I want to say storm. I want to say river. I want to say tornado. I want to say leaf, I want to say tree. I want to be soaked by every rainfall, moistened by every dew. As frenetic blood rolls on the slow current of the eye, I want to roll words like maddened horses like new children like clotted milk like curfew like traces of a temple like precious stones fare enough away to daunt all miners. The man who couldn't understand me couldn't understand the roaring of a tiger.

Rise, phantoms, chemical-blue from a forest of hunted beasts of twisted machines of jujube-trees of rotten flesh of a basket of oysters of eyes of a lacework of lashes cut from the lovely sisal of a human skin I would have words huge enough to contain you all and you too stretched earth

drunken earth

earth great sex raised in the sun

earth great delirium of God

earth risen wild from the sea's locker with a bunch of cecrops in your mouth

earth whose surfing face I must compare to the mad and virgin forests

that I would wish to wear as countenance before the undeciphering eyes of men.

One mouthful of your milk-spurt would let me discover always at the distance of a mirage an earth – a thousand times more native, golden with a sun no prism has sampled – a fraternal earth where all is freed, my earth.

To leave. My heart was throbbing with an insistent desire to give. To leave . . . I would arrive sleek and young in that country, my country, and I would say to that country whose clay is part of my flesh: 'I have wandered far and I am coming back to the lonely ugliness of your wounds.'

I would come to that country, my country, and I would say to it: 'Kiss me without fear . . . And if I do not know what to say, it is still for you that I speak.' And I would say to it: 'My mouth shall be the mouth of misfortunes which have no mouth, my voice the freedom of those freedoms which break down in the prison-cell of despair.' And, coming, I would say to myself: 'Beware, my body and my soul, beware above all of crossing your arms and assuming the sterile attitude of the spectator, because life is not a spectacle, because a sea of sorrows is not a proscenium, because a man who cries out is not a dancing bear.'

EXTRACT TWO

On St John the Baptist's Day, as soon as there is some shade, hundreds of horse-dealers congregate in the township of Gros-Morne. And the street they meet in is called De Profundis Street. At least the name gives some warning of what Death will deliver from its lower depths. And it is truly from Death that the astonishing cavalcade comes, from Death in its thousand mean local forms (hunger pains un eased by Para grass, drunken addiction to the distilleries). The impulsive worn-out nags that come from death push their way into Life which opens like a flower. And what galloping! what whinnying! what sincere pisses! what amazing defecations! 'A spirited horse, difficult with fine fetlocks!' 'A plucky foal nobly

And I laugh at my old childish imaginings.

No, we have never been amazons at the court of the King of Dahomey, nor princes of Ghana with eight hundred camels, nor doctors at Timbuctoo when Askia the Great was king, nor architects at Djenne, nor Mahdis, nor warriors. We do not feel in our armpits the itch of those who once carried the lance. And because I have sworn to conceal nothing of our history (I who admire nothing so much as a sheep grazing of an afternoon in its own shadow), I wish to confess that we were always quite undistinguished dishwashers, small-time shoeshiners, at the very most fairly conscientious witch-doctors, and the only record we hold is our staying-power in wrangling over trifles . . .

For centuries this country repeated that we are brute beasts; that the human heart-beat stops at the gates of the black world; that we are walking manure hideously proffering the promise of tender cane and silky cotton, and they branded us with red-hot irons and we slept in out shit and we were sold in public squares and a yard of English cloth and salted Irish meat were cheaper than us and this country was quiet, calm, saying that the spirit of God was in His acts.

We, vomit of the slave-ship.

We, hunted meat of Calabar.

Plug your ears?

We, stuffed to bursting with the swell, with squalls with inhaled fog!

Forgive me, partner whirlwind!

I hear rising from the hold chained curses, gasps of the dying, the sound of one who is thrown into the sea . . . the baying of a woman giving birth . . . the scrape of fingernails advancing on throats . . . the sneer of the whip . . . the prying of vermin among weary bodies . . .

Nothing can rouse us to noble desperate adventure.

Amen. Amen.

I am of no nationality ever contemplated by the chancelleries.

I defy the craniometer. Homo sum, etc.

And may they serve and betray and die.

Amen. Amen. It was written in the shape of their pelvis.

And I, and I,

I who sang with clenched fist

You must be told the length to which I carried cowardice.

In a tram one night, facing me, a Negro.

He was a Negro tall as a pongo who tried to make himself very small on a tram seat. On that filthy tram seat he tried to abandon his gigantic legs and his starved boxer's trembling hands. And everything had left him, was leaving him. His nose was like a peninsula off its moorings; even his negritude was losing its colour through the effects of a perpetual tanner's bleach. And the tanner was Poverty. A great sudden long-eared bat whose claw-marks on that face were scarred, scabby islands. Or perhaps Poverty was a tireless workman fashioning some deformed cartridge. You could see clearly how the industrious malevolent thumb had modelled the lump of the forehead, pierced two tunnels – parallel and disturbing – through the nose, drawn out the disproportion of the upper lip, and by a master-stroke of caricature had planed, polished, varnished the smallest, neatest little ears in all creation.

He was an ungainly Negro without rhythm or measure.

A Negro whose eyes rolled with bloodshot weariness.

A Negro without shame, and his big smelly toes sniggered in the deep gaping lair of his shoes.

Poverty, it has to be said, had taken great pains to finish him off.

She had hollowed the eye socket and painted it with a cosmetic of dust and rheum.

She had stretched the empty space between the solid hinge of the jaws and the bone of an old, worn cheek.

On this she had planted the shiny little bristles of several days' beard. She had maddened the heart and bent the back.

And the whole thing added up perfectly to a hideous Negro, a peevish Negro