

..... Sharpville, Bay of Pigs, Congo,
Lumumba assassinated, Lambrakis assassinated, Laos,
India provokes border war with China , Cuba blockade,
Malcolm X assassinated, counter revolution in Indonesia,
US invades Santa Domingo, Aden, Vietnam, Nkrumah overthrown,
Guatemala, Vietnam, Ben Bella overthrown, UDI, Brazilian coup,
Six day war, Che Guevara murdered, fascist takeover in Greece,
Mexican massacre, Chicago, Biafra, military coup in Pakistan,
British in Northern Ireland, Chad, Black Panther repression,
Vietnam.....

1970:
Where will
democracy
strike next?

Black Dwarf Editorial

The unfree Press has decided to ignore the political significance of the years which brought the last decade to a close. This does not surprise us. The ideology which sustains the bourgeois press is in the throes of a serious crisis and one can understand the reluctance of the journals and newspapers of the ruling class to remind us of this fact.

For The Black Dwarf, the significance of the last decade was highlighted by two inter-related events which shattered the complacency of the bourgeoisie on an international scale and decisively halted the counter-revolutionary trend which had characterised the first seven years of the decade. The Tet offensive launched by the Vietnamese revolutionaries shattered the myths and illusions fostered by the United States government and its client states, and was undoubtedly one of the factors involved in bringing the revolution back to the advanced capitalist countries. There can be no doubt that the young workers and students on the barricades in Paris on May 10, 1968, were inspired by the victorious offensive of the Vietnamese peasants and workers. Thus May 1968 in France symbolised the fact that the revolution had leapt back to Europe.

The betrayals of Stalinism and social-democracy had succeeded in wrenching the workers' movement in Europe away from its revolutionary heritage, and the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949 had seen the centre of world revolution shift to the colonial and semi-colonial world. This situation was further accelerated by the triumphant revolution in Cuba, which contrasted sadly with acceptance by the French workers of the strong Gaullist state in France at the beginning of the '60s.

Within the imperialist countries the 1960s began with the main pillars of bourgeois power apparently unshakable: the economies of Western Europe continued to grow, fed by an uninterrupted boom in the United States. After 1963 the boom was weakened by a series of local recessions, but these did not accumulate into a generalised crisis. The cold war, highlighted by dramatic confrontations—Vienna, Berlin, the Cuban missiles—sustained the economic boom, suppressed the conflicts within the high command of imperialism, and cemented

the ideological grip of the imperialists—democracy and affluence against dictatorship and hardship—on their own working class. The imperialists could feel confident of a secure base from which to hit the colonial revolution. This revolution reached a high point as the Cuban revolutionaries expropriated 1,000,000,000 dollars-worth of imperialist assets and declared that Cuba was making a socialist revolution. The sharp contrast between the Cubans and such figures as Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Nasser, Ben Bella and Sukarno became very clear as the latter refused to accept the class dynamics of the permanent revolution or uninterrupted revolution, and found themselves unable to solve the problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. This refusal brought its own set-backs and where the nationalist regimes refused to fully integrate the political and economic structures of their countries with United States imperialism, they found themselves overthrown by their armies in league with imperialism. In India the ruling class decided to provoke a limited border war with People's China in order to sell the idea of U.S.-Indian collaboration to the Indian masses. In the Congo the U.N. intervention and later the U.S. intervention resulted in the Congo being secured for imperialism and its leader, Patrice Lumumba, butchered in cold blood. The imperialists' biggest success was undoubtedly the massacre of over a million communists and socialists in Indonesia. The whole story of this exercise has still to be told but Indonesia showed quite clearly that there could be no "third way". The imperialists thought that they could bring their counter-revolutionary successes to a glorious end by defeating the Vietnamese Revolution, but here they were proved wrong by the heroism and determination of the Vietnamese people.

The Tet offensive marked a crucial turning-point for both imperialism and the world revolution. It showed that revolutionaries could with a correct practice defeat imperialism. The Vietnamese masses under the leadership of the National Liberation Front have destroyed the global strategy of American imperialism and have shown that a superior political ideology can withstand the most powerful military pressure. They have put politics in command and held out their successes as an example to the world as a whole and to the colonial and semi-colonial world in particular. They have inspired the resurgence of mass movements in the whole of South-East Asia. And it

is the example of Vietnam which frightens imperialism most and inspires the oppressed everywhere.

In the imperialist countries themselves the Vietnamese struggle has had its most crucial effects and modified the relationship of forces. The Vietnamese peasants are determining the course of American politics: they have split the American bourgeoisie, produced an unprecedented crisis in the imperialist high command and have broken the grip of bourgeois ideology on a whole new layer of the population. The black militants in the ghettos and the white revolutionary students in the universities have both felt the pull and the attraction of the Vietnamese Revolution and they have acted accordingly.

Of course the imperialist boom was throwing up its own contradictions; in the first place the new stage of capitalist development which the boom expressed had necessitated planning the degree of exploitation of the labour force, integrating the trade unions within the state and creating a reserve army of labour. The instruments which have been used to facilitate this process are well-known to us: incomes policy, productivity deals, collective contracts on one side and automation and rationalisation on the other. Secondly, monopoly capital integrates professional and petty bourgeois layers into its productive processes and gears the education system to the needs of big business. Thus the boom contains within itself the seeds of its own negation: the student revolt on one hand and the increased politicalisation of the workers on the other. May 1968 in France saw these contradictions explode with a fury which stunned the bourgeois class throughout Western Europe. Student militancy on the barricades succeeded in triggering off a massive general strike involving 10 million French workers, many of whom occupied their places of work and posed the question of state power. For ten crucial days there was a pre-revolutionary situation in France and the existence of a Leninist revolutionary party would have taken the mass movement further on the way to establishing dual power and smashing the bourgeois state. But this party did not exist. In its place was the French Communist Party with a strong tradition of counter-revolutionary activity. This degenerated party blocked the revolutionary upsurge in France and succeeded in diverting it to reformist and economic channels.

The craven capitulation in France by the French Communist Party did not

come as a surprise. It merely fits the crisis which had confronted the Soviet bureaucracy since the early '60s. The Sino-Soviet rift saw the break-up of the Stalinist monolith and for the first time there was some sort of discussion within the world "Communist" movement on important theoretical questions. The positions taken by the Chinese leadership on some of the issues involved created a new pole of attraction. The concessions which the Czech bureaucrats were forced to make in the political sphere under pressure from students and workers created a completely different situation in Eastern Europe. It was clear that the Soviet bureaucracy would not be able to tolerate the existence of a Communist Party with officially recognised factions in an East European country. The freedom given to the mass media in Czechoslovakia also worried the Kremlin; they were frightened that the example would spread to other People's Bureaucracies and they invaded Czechoslovakia with Soviet troops to accomplish what ordinary pressures could not achieve. But for the bureaucracy this intervention will undoubtedly prove counter-productive and there is strong evidence to suggest that inside the Soviet Union itself, as elsewhere in Eastern Europe, sparks which could lead to a political conflagration. In China the Cultural Revolution might have formally ended, but there can be no doubt that some of its experiences are deeply ingrained in the consciousness of millions of Chinese revolutionaries. Many of these will hark back to Mao's invocations of the "spirit of the Paris Commune" and his anti-bureaucratic texts in years to come. We should therefore see the Cultural Revolution as by no means over ...

The defeats and victories of the '60s have re-taught us Leninism. France and Italy have re-affirmed the historic role of the working class as the gravediggers of capitalism, the workers and students of Czechoslovakia have exposed even further the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy and throughout the world the revolutionary forces are exploiting the victories of the Vietnamese.

But in 1970, the centenary of Lenin's birth, the task to which Lenin dedicated his life remains incomplete—the organisation of the revolutionary forces internationally against the class enemy and revisionism in the workers' movement. The fate of the revolution in the 1970s will be determined by our ability to renew the traditions of the Bolsheviks in the conditions of the present crisis.

stop the war criminals meeting
demonstrate against Wilsons US visit

VICTORY TO NLF

jan 25 1970

assemble with torches at 6 30pm

Charing Cross embankment
march to Downing street

FORDS

Last September, the National Joint Negotiating Committee at Fords put in a demand for an all-round £10 a week wage increase. The basis of their demand is parity, parity with the Midlands. The company is sweating. At the end of last year's strike, in March 1969, they agreed to open discussions on the question of parity. Now they are complaining that the Fords men have singled out the Midlands and in particular the Rootes plant at Ryton in a way which is "unfair". The company thought that parity meant the average wage of the industry as a whole! Then they circularised every man at Fords, trying to persuade them that although the men at Rootes earn around 6 or 7 shillings an hour more, they are worse off than if they were at Fords; but Fords work much longer hours. They also pleaded serious international competition; but they pay their workers on the Continent more than the men at Dagenham and Halewood.

As usual, the arguments put forward by management have little to do with justice or fairness, as these categories are irrelevant to the market. The employers are influenced by the organised strength of the workers and by the combativity of their leadership. The men at Fords are militant and feeling strong. They have argued the case for parity well; the rank and file is taking the demand seriously and knows that it will most likely mean a strike. Stickers and badges can be seen all over the plants. Mass meetings have been held, and there has been well organised liaison. Four hundred representatives from all of Ford's 23 plants met in Coventry last month, and a small group of men from the shop floor went over to Ostend, where they met Belgian and German Ford workers, to

ensure that there will be no international scabbing.

The men's strike has grown out of last year's strike, which was a five-week action which struck a heavy, although not a final, blow against the White Paper. It didn't achieve everything it set out to do; in particular, the Unions conceded a small penalty clause which has since proved totally ineffective. (There have in fact been more stoppages since the agreement than before). Above all, last year's strike was a defensive action which also made some gains, the main one being that the men went back to work work strong, united, and knowing they could fight.

If there is a strike this year over the new demand, as many of the Fords militants think, it will have even greater national impact than last year's. For it will be an aggressive action, demanding parity with the highest-paid workers in the Midlands. Anything approaching a victory for this demand will redouble wage struggles throughout Britain.

The company's first offer will be made on January 23rd. They have a good record for stupidity, and a strike is on the cards. *Black Dwarf* has interviewed two Dagenham convenors about the possibilities of a struggle. They spoke about their international contacts, what they think of students, how they organise in the plants, what they think of the Labour Party, whether or not they should occupy the factories. When asked why the demand for parity was being put forward now, they replied, "Because now the time is right for us to be able to put the most force behind it."

This important interview will be carried in the next issue of *Black Dwarf*.

PARITY
OF
WAGES
AT
FORDS
NOW

TWO NEW STRUGGLES

POLITICAL PIRATE RADIO

You are tuned in to the Islington pirate radio, broadcasting around 230 metres medium wave band, at 10 o'clock every night until the North Islington by-election. We are broadcasting illegally to show our contempt for the politics of parliamentary elections. More and more, what really concerns people is happening outside parliamentary action and debate. Parliament and people are on different wave-lengths. The real politics is where people take their own affairs into their own hands.

(Recorded in a pub): Well, I'm just an immigrant worker, and in some ways all these political parties, both Labour, Tory, Liberal and Communist—they're no bleedin' good, because they don't support, they don't do anything for the working man. I mean you take that Harold Wilson. He's been in power for five years! And what do we have? Incomes policy, wage freeze, high interest rates. I mean, prices keep going up, my rents keep going up... It's all no good.

The North Islington by-election was one of five snap elections which took place last October. A local Labour Party, corrupt even by LP standards, produced a nondescript Irish candidate gerrymandered through selection and sucked into the Palace of Westminster by the sheer massive indifference of Islington people (only 34% actually making it to the ballot box.)

The only political challenge came from the local branch of the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign. They had hoped to field a candidate, but had to settle for active intervention by marches, public meetings, skilled heckling, and by a poster and leaflet campaign about the relevance to the Islington working class of the uprising in Ireland.

At the same time, a group of Islington revolutionary socialists hastily got together the organisation and apparatus for a less conventional attack on people's boredom with politics. With the struggle in Derry and Belfast in mind, they transmitted within the election boundaries an hour-long pirate radio programme every night in the week before polling. We draw a veil over the participants—except that IS members want a mention to show they're not such tuddy

fuddy-buddies after all, and anarchists to show they're quite capable of complex political organisation.

Political pirate radio, as opposed to varieties of pop music, has operated in two sorts of situation. A Committee of 100 group published their single issue through a clandestine operation on TV wavebands, and radios operated fairly openly behind the Belfast and Derry barricades.

In Islington, we thought it would be worth putting over a straight-forward disenchantment with Parliament, and the positive idea of working people doing things for themselves. As we said in our anonymous press release to local press and national agency tapes, the programme consists of interviews with people in social groups whose problems cannot be solved—and are not even expressed—through ballot box politics. The voices were: a tenant, an Irish worker, a housewife, a schoolboy, a black organiser, and an unofficial striker. The interviews varied from just talking casually about one's life, to the more prepared and collective statements of political interest groups. For the speakers' protection, they were not identified in any way and recording took place without their knowing how we were to use the tape. This and other elements of conspiracy in the operation—especially when it came to secrecy about transmission sites—seemed paradoxical when our message was democracy; but we argued that field practice with the apparatus would help prepare for that other situation, where pirate radio could be used with full popular support.

Our other tactic—using the official media to relay the pirate message—came unstuck: we noticed a press story only in the *Daily Telegraph* which kindly gave our editorial and transmission details. But we were also aiming at a direct audience: the transmission was close to the ordinary Radio One programme, and was advertised in the receiving area by thousands of stickers. We cannot know, and cannot be too optimistic about, the numbers whom we reached in this way, or happened to bump into us on the dial.

REBUILDING BOMBAY STREET

A STAGE ON FROM SQUATTING

Our Belfast correspondent writes:

BOMBAY STREET, situated between the Falls and the Shankill, was almost totally destroyed by a combined RUC/B Special/UVF attack on August 15th last year. It is at this moment being rebuilt.

Not that Belfast Corporation has been jolted by its housing problem into positive action of some kind. Bombay street is being rebuilt by its former residents without official assistance. The Corporation's contribution has been to obstruct the progress of reconstruction as far as possible. Using the argument that the "legal position" must "first be clarified", they have even threatened to demolish any building which deviates one inch from their own specifications for the site.

The builders of Bombay Street are mostly skilled tradesmen who have quit their jobs to carry out the work. They are being assisted by sympathetic archi-

tects, surveyors, and (indispensably) lawyers. At their disposal are the bulldozers, dumper trucks and tools of local builders lent or hired for the occasion. Most of the men are Republicans, and the rebuilding of Bombay Street signifies one of the first efforts of the Republicans since August to concretely assert the duality of power which still very much exists in Belfast. Despite their claim of "normalisation", Stormont, the local parliament, has no more than nominal authority in areas like the Falls. What authority it does have can only be asserted by military means.

The rebuilding of Bombay Street not only represents the determination of the ordinary working people of the locality to seek their own solution to the problem of their housing shortage; it also represents the latest addition to Ireland's already worthy innovations in the struggle against the British State.



CHALLENGE
magazine

Factory occupations, lockouts, guerrilla strikes, general strikes, barricades and riots; a minority government internally divided and apparently unable to find parliamentary allies; bombings, plots and financial scandals: even from the press's meagre, ill-informed and trivialised reporting of Italy, its image stands in dramatic contrast to the rest of capitalist Europe. But how are we to distinguish fundamental contradictions from ephemeral phenomena?

THE RULING CLASS: CAN IT GO ON IN THE OLD WAY MUCH LONGER?

The fundamental problems which confront the Italian ruling class are not hard to identify—indeed they could not be missed. Some, such as those represented by the South and the Vatican, are specifically Italian. The exploited and decaying South and Islands may have provided the limitless supply of cheap labour which made the "economic miracle" of the fifties and early sixties possible; but advanced capitalism requires an expanding domestic market, and certainly cannot in the long run flourish with 40% of the national population and 50% of the national territory constituting a huge "underdeveloped" area. Again, the immense economic and political/ideological power of the Vatican is by no means an unmixed blessing; though it may have played a vital role in maintaining the Christian Democrats in power. For in fact constitutes a major obstacle to the solution of a number of fundamental problems: most notably, the archaic socio-economic structures of the South which modern capitalism must tear down are also a principal bastion of the Vatican's power.

Other major contradictions confronting the Italian ruling class are not unique to Italy—though their combination of course is. Like Japan, Italy has a state apparatus, police, bureaucracy and legal system whose structure and whose personnel were largely formed under fascism. The disadvantages of this are obvious—a grossly inflated and absurdly inefficient bureaucracy, massive corruption (just in the last couple of years public figures involved in major financial scandals have included the mayor of Rome, the mayor of Palermo, one cardinal, two ministers, the chairman of the atomic energy programme, and the Governor of the Bank of Sicily), an anachronistic tax system which is to all intents and purposes unoperative for higher incomes, etc. Like France during the Fourth Republic, Italy now has a permanent governmental crisis, and the fear of a "Gaulist" solution is naturally a constant preoccupation of the left. Like France again, Italy has a huge communist party—in membership indeed some five times the size of the French one; moreover, unlike the PCF, the PCI has shown itself ready and able, within certain limits, to move with, encourage and coordinate working class militancy. Finally, like all capitalist countries, Italy needs to expand its national economy and its industrial base; yet since the mid-sixties capital investment has been grossly inadequate, and the result has been failure to run the economy at full capacity. Government policy has consisted of a series of timid deflationary measures. In such a situation, Italian capitalism needs desperately to control wages tightly, and the industrial conflicts of the autumn of 1969 must be seen in this context.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS

How capable is the Italian ruling class of finding solutions to these problems—problems which are not simply external but which invest and structure that ruling class itself? Before any answer can be even attempted to this question, we must look at the main political instrument of bourgeois power in post-war Italy—the Christian Democrat Party (DC). Since the break-up in 1946, at the start of the cold war, of the coalition which had been forged in the war-time resistance to fascism, the Christian Democrats have been continuously in power. They have governed with a series of allies, at first mainly on its right, and more recently on its left—the so-called "centre-left" formula. In this latter phase (since 1963) it has had the support of Italian social-democracy—comprising the growing Social Democratic party of Saragat and the declining rump Socialist party of Nenni. These two parties divided in 1947 on the issue of communism, reunited in 1967 and re-divided in 1969.

The DC is an inter-class formation; not merely in the sense that like the British conservative party it has a large slice of the working-class vote, but in a more structured way. Most notably, the second in strength of the three trade-union federations (CISL),

PCI DREAM OF POWER

stretches right across the social and political spectrum via urban petty bourgeoisie and peasants, via the central bloc of the big bourgeoisie itself, to the landowners and political bosses of the South, though sections of big bourgeoisie support the Liberal party on the right and the Social Democratic party on the "left". The weight of the Vatican in cementing and swaying this bloc of forces needs no emphasising. Is this organisation capable of effecting the transformations which are needed by Italian capitalism? It is difficult to believe so.

NEW BLOC

Yet what should we conclude from this? The most popular conclusion is that a new bloc will have to be formed. In concrete terms, this means the eventual inclusion of the PCI, which takes 26% of the national vote, in a "new majority" coalition. Such a prospect is certainly invoked explicitly enough by the "modern" wing of Italian capitalism and of the DC, is hinted at by certain Vatican sources, and is fervently believed in by important, and probably dominant, sections of the FCI leadership. Moreover there is a superficial plausibility in it. FIAT, the Vatican, and the Moro wing of the DC with its trade-union left, might seem strong enough forces to form a new bloc with an "integrated" PCI and the social democrats, and to shed the Christian Democrat right—the reactionary Southern bosses and landowners, and those sections of small capital, of the petty bourgeoisie and of the traditional intellectuals (Southern priests and lawyers, bureaucrats, etc.) who were not prepared to follow. Then the way would be open for a solution to all the fundamental problems enumerated above.

A PIPE-DREAM

However, this "rational solution" is in fact a pipe-dream, or rather it is a myth—which has a very precise function. The fact is that on closer inspection, the "modern" forces have very little substance. FIAT has been the foremost proponent for a decade and a half of company unionism and iron fist policy against strikes. The Vatican, by all evidence, is a thoroughly conservative concern, and it is hard to take "modern" hints as anything other than its customary bet-hedging. Is it seriously possible to believe that an organisation unable to come to terms with the Pill can do so with Communism? The Moro group has been ousted from any serious positions of power within the Christian Democratic party. But these are only minor considerations. More importantly, it is necessary to be quite clear that it is sheer idealism to reduce bourgeois politics to the rational interests of "capitalism" in the abstract. The process whereby economic factors are ultimately determinant is a very complex one, in which in specific conjunctures the dominant factors may well be themselves political, social, or ideological. The fact is that the Christian Democrat party, despite its internal contradictions, has been the most successful bourgeois party in the world since the war. Quite unchallenged in power, it is comfortably the largest party (half as large again as the PCI even after its reduced vote at the last general elections). It stands in the centre of a wide spectrum of potential allies, and whereas during the fifties it was confronted with a communist/socialist front commanding 40% of the electorate, it now has against it fewer than 30% (the combined forces of the PCI and the little PSIUP which can to all intents and purposes be considered an appendage of the PCI). Moreover, in Italy more than in any other advanced capitalist country, anti-communism has been the cement of the social order. Crucially important as anti-communism has been, and is, in both the United States and West Germany, the absence of large communist parties has meant that it does not have the same absolutely fundamental function in the domestic politics of those two countries that it has in Italy. If the PCI was brought into a coalition, the DC would lose both the inter-class unity and the ideological cement which have

port consistently over the last twenty-five years while its membership has declined and its allies have been detached from it.

The real function of the "modern solution" is as a myth to ensure that the PCI remains within the system. So long as the PCI leaders have their eyes firmly fixed on the possibilities of participation in a coalition government, there is little danger that they will endanger such possibilities by extra-parliamentary adventures. Of course, this is an over-simplification, since the myth is genuinely believed by many of its proponents, and is not simply manipulated as the way I have presented it might suggest. But it functions as a myth whatever the intentions behind it.

THE EXPLOITED CLASSES: WILL THEY BE PREPARED TO GO ON IN THE OLD WAY MUCH LONGER?

The expanding industrial working class, followed by numerous other categories of employees, has shown itself decreasingly willing in the last couple of years to accept the logic of the bosses. The three trade-unions federations have achieved a remarkable degree of unity, after years of mutual hostility fostered by every device of the ruling class; but the national wage campaigns and massive general strikes of the autumn of 1969 should be seen against the backdrop of two years of escalating working-class militancy in almost every sector. Significantly this militancy has expressed itself not simply in terms of wage demands—though these are of course crucial—but also in the growth, at first largely spontaneous and subsequently fostered by the PCI, of new forms of factory organisation, notably general assemblies of all workers in each factory. The picture has been one of working-class militancy preceding trade-union orchestration on the national scale, but also of a relatively flexible response on the part of the union leaders—in particular the communists and the left Catholics. For instance, high wage demands first put forward by small anarcho-sindicalist groups such as *Potere Operaio* were subsequently adopted by the unions and fought for successfully in recent strikes. Naturally, one can be certain that this policy of militancy and sensitivity to the masses followed at present by the unions has its very definite limits. It is an industrial policy, avoiding any direct political dimension. It would be quite wrong to see the present situation as one of irresistible and irreversible pre-revolutionary upsurge on the part of a united working class. It is perfectly possible that the movement may be braked, at least temporarily, by wage increases in key sectors, and the French experience after May shows how easy it is for the capitalists to recoup these by price increases etc. Perhaps the most important of all, it seems only too likely that if the danger of a rightist solution of some kind becomes a real possibility in the minds of the communist and left Catholic leaders they will reverse their present policy and bend every effort to brake the movement. Perhaps there are already signs of this in the wake of the recent bombings in Milan and Rome, though it is still too early to prophesy the effects of

these. In short, the combativity shown in recent months both by peasants in the South and by the working class in the North is an important and encouraging sign that the long period of discouragement and disunity is at least for the moment at an end; but it should not be made out to be more than that. What one may legitimately believe is that both the new-found militancy, and the experience of new forms of organisation and of united action by communist and Catholic workers, will have their own dynamic, and that any attempt to reverse the trend will be hazardous.

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

The Italian left is of course dominated by the huge communist party. What kind of a party is it? This is not the place to attempt a characterisation of the parties formed by the Third International, but at least it can be suggested that the PCI is a complex organisation, neither characterisable simply as "reformist" nor certainly as "revolutionary". Widely quoted as now threatening the entire stability of Italian political life by its recent gains in electoral strength, its membership has in fact declined steadily from over 2 million in 1949-56 to a million and a half in 1968, its youth organisation has dropped from a 1951 peak of 460,000 to 125,000 in 1968, 80% of its members are over 30, its membership in the industrial triangle* has dropped proportionally to total membership from 31% in 1946 to 21% in 1968 (despite the huge increase in the working-class population of that area). The drop in its membership in the big cities has been greater than the average drop throughout the country, its working-class membership has dropped by over a quarter from 856,000 in 1954 to 617,000 in 1968 despite a big increase in the size of the working class during that period. Perhaps most striking of all, PCI membership in both Milan and Turin—the key working-class cities of Italy—has been halved since 1956. What do these figures signify? They should not be over-dramatised. Membership has never meant a very high level of active commitment—at least since the end of the war. The party still undoubtedly has the vast majority of the most militant and politically conscious workers; its political and cultural presence in the country as a whole was almost certainly greater in the sixties than it had been in the fifties, and its strength is of course far more real in the present context of government crisis and working-class militancy than it was—despite its "socialist" allies—in the doldrums of the fifties, when Christian Democrat hegemony appeared unassailable and unemployment and the flood of cheap labour from the South drained the industrial power of the organised workers.

What one can say with certainty is that the overwhelming emphasis of the PCI on parliamentary activity has been accompanied by a massive neglect of organisation in the factories, which has only begun to be fully appreciated in the last couple of years. At the last party congress, blessing was conferred on the factory assemblies which have begun to spring up, but the party's industrial strategy is guided by a constant preoccupation on the one hand with maintaining a "responsible" national image, and on the other with preserving its continuing alliance with the Nenni social-democrats inside the CGIL. Moreover, it is important to stress the deficiencies of the party's implantation of even a general idea of what the socialist revolution might mean in an advanced capitalist country; for years its central themes have been on the one hand the defence of democracy and the full implementation of the republican, post-fascist constitution, and on the other identification with the Soviet Union. The birds came home to roost with a vengeance in this latter respect when an estimated third of the party's membership dissented from the leadership's condemnation of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia—a third which largely coincided with the party's working-class base. (A curious coda to this



episode was the line followed by the small PSIUP: its leadership, normally impeccably faithful in their tailing of the PCI leaders, opportunistically adopted a more "pro-Soviet" position on Czechoslovakia in the hope of wooing discontented communist militants)

Two further episodes must be mentioned in any attempt to characterise the present PCI. Firstly, its relations with the student movement. After May 1968, Longo, the party secretary, (who himself had an ultra-left past when he led the youth organisation between 1927 and 1969; he was already campaigning for what was later to become the line of the Third Period, in opposition to the Bukharinist leadership of Togliatti and Tasca in those years) arranged a meeting with a number of prominent student militants from revolutionary groups to the left of the PCI, and after a long discussion inaugurated a new "open" policy towards the far left in the student sector. However the practical effects of this directive are hard to assess, since the student movement declined sharply in 1969 and the far-left groups fragmented prodigiously.

IL MANIFESTO

The second, and more important episode is the "Manifesto" affair. After Togliatti's death, there was a swing to the right of the PCI's centre of gravity, and a number of leftists in important positions in the party apparatus and press were pushed out and were subsequently unable to develop any consistent alternative to the official strategy in the party press. This, however, they regarded quite correctly as absolutely indispensable in the present conjuncture. In the past, two more or less coherent strategies had been respectively articulated by the party's "right"

and "left". On the one hand Amendola was arguing for a labour alliance of communists and social-democrats as an electoral alternative to the DC. On the other Ingrao was calling for a strategy aimed at detaching the catholic working class from the DC. With the recent fragmentation of social-democracy—not merely have the followers of Nenni and of Saragat re-divided, but each sub-party is itself riven with dissension—Amendola has made himself the standard-bearer of what in reality would amount to an eventual "grand coalition" of PCI and DC—with presumably social-democracy thrown in for good measure. The traditional Ingrao "left" has been absorbed into a "centre" which on the one hand seems to have accepted the Amendola perspectives for a new coalition, but which at the same time is following an industrial strategy which fairly closely corresponds to the old Ingrao conception of uniting with the catholic workers. This situation comprises the background to the decision of a group of intellectuals from the left of the party who had been effectively silenced after Togliatti's death to found their own journal *Il Manifesto*—despite party disapproval. The group includes Central Committee members

Aldo Natoli, Rossana Rossanda and Luigi Pintor, and the most original Marxist theorist in the party, Lucio Magri. The significance of this enterprise became clear when the first issues of the journal revealed that the group was producing a coherent and powerful alternative to official party positions on a number of key issues. Not only did they attack the policy of waiting hopefully to be allowed to participate in a subordinate capacity in some new coalition, and call for a strategy for socialism, based on mass struggle; they also published serious

analyses on the structure of the PCI itself, favourable material on the Cultural Revolution, and wrote an editorial on Czechoslovakia which stated that the existing order in the European socialist countries could not be renovated but must be replaced. Such unorthodox views earned them expulsion from the party. Many commentators have expressed surprise at this decision—the more naive that the "liberal" PCI should do such a thing, the more cynical that they should do it now, of all times, when they need a democratic image to reassure the bourgeoisie that they would be acceptable partners. But in reality, of course, the PCI has not permitted freedom of expression for Marxists since 1926, and the bourgeoisie—despite the rhetoric—could not care less about the internal regime of the PCI, any more than United States imperialism could care less about the internal regime of its Soviet partner in peaceful coexistence (or for that matter than the Kremlin could care less about the internal regime of the United States).

Aside from the PCI, the Italian left presents a dismal picture of incoherence and disarray—to which can be added severe repression since the recent bomb attacks. The state of the revolutionary groups alone should temper the illusions of those who see the revolution around the corner in Italy. Before the student movement of 1967-8, the Italian far left was broadly speaking spontaneous and ouvrierist, and the main international marxist currents outside Moscow-orientated communism, Maoism and Trotskyism, had little presence. During the student upsurge, which in Italy was an extended one, the Cultural Revolution made a bigger impact than in any other of the European advanced capitalist countries, and a vigorous

list countries, and on the other a vigorous Trotskyist youth movement, Falce e Martello, emerged. In the past year the picture has completely changed. The spontaneist groups have returned to the forefront in the recent industrial militancy, and devoted as they are, their mish-mash of vulgar anti-Leninism and crude ouvrierism hardly fits them for the role of political vanguard. The countless "Maoist" groups, far from applying any positive lessons either from Mao's own example or from the Cultural Revolution, have degenerated into a delirious cult of Stalin. To complete the picture, Falce e Martello has disappeared and its former leaders are now leading one of these "Maoist" groups, the Unione, abject Stalin-worshippers, who are renowned for making their members marry if they live together, so as not to offend the workers' sense of morality!

In conclusion, one can say the following. The ruling class *does* have a series of fundamental problems which it is hard to see it being able to solve in the immediate future, but there will always be a way out for it in the absence of any real revolutionary challenge.

The working class has recently achieved a very high degree of militancy and unity, which is bound to alter the coordinates of the political situation to some extent; but it would be wrong to present its temper as revolutionary.

As for the forces of the left, it is clear that there is no existing organisation on the Italian left which could even potentially become a revolutionary vanguard, so that the PCI retains its absolutely dominant position. The future of the Manifesto group, now outside the party, is unclear. Without a revolutionary party, talk of imminent collapse of the bourgeois order in Italy is quite illusory. Ouintin Hoare

'I'M A MARXIST, BUT SOME OF MY COMRADES HAVEN'T COME THAT FAR YET' A LIBYAN GENERAL

On September 1st, a group of young army officers overthrew the archaic and oppressive regime of King Idris of Libya. In its place they established a Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) which has already irked Britain and the United States by taking steps to remove the huge US base near Tripoli. The following interview with a member of the RCC was made by Ania Francos, a French journalist for the magazine Le Front.

Lieutenant-Colonel El Mokadem, who must have been a captain or a lieutenant before the coup, waited for me at the door. Small, thin, he is twenty-five, but seems even younger. The epaulettes of his beige battle-dress bore traces of the braiding he had torn off. "We don't want to become a caste," he said, "and besides, braiding and medals are ridiculous."

Extremely shy, with a secret air about him, speaking Arabic in a soft voice, he refused at first to answer my questions, put to him in English, which he speaks very well.

"My story is the same as that of all my comrades. We all were at high school, coming in general from poor peasant families, though some of us were children from bourgeois backgrounds. We understood the misery of the people, the corruption of our leaders, the foreign occupation (of the Italian colonialists) ... In 1948 we were children, but it seems as though we ourselves lived the occupation of Palestine by the Israelis. Finally, at the beginning of secondary school, some of us decided to build a Revolutionary committee. We did form it, about eight years ago. We understood that in our country, where there is no revolutionary party, the only way of taking power is to control the Army. So many of us, after the end of high school, entered military academies in Libya and Europe, or even directly into the Army. In 1964 we reorganised our movement and formed an exclusively military central committee. Its first meeting took place at Tolmeitha, on a beach near Tripoli. But we have never been very numerous. We didn't have confidence."

It is said in Tripoli that the young officers struck on September 1 to pull the rug from under other groups of superior officers who were themselves planning coups—some in support of the Iraqi Baath party, others in the pay of Anglo-American economic interests. I asked El Mokadem if this was true. He smiled, and declared, "No one other than us, the young people, could have pulled off a real revolution. This wasn't a putsch, you know. We succeeded because we were out to make a revolution."

mand Council, on the first day of the coup, made a mistake and said on the radio, "Unity, Socialism, Liberty", which is the triple-threat slogan of the Baathists. (The Baathist party is the ruling party in Iraq and Syria, and incorporates both Socialist and Islamic elements.) I asked El Mokadem whether the "mistake" meant that the great currents which presently divide the Arab world politically (Nasserism, Baathism, Arab nationalism, and Marxism) are reflected in the Council of the Revolution?

"If you want to put it that way," said the officer. "But in terms of influencing us, not really. You've said yourself, we're for unity, socialism and liberty, for Palestine and for the Arab Nation. However you order the words, we're all, primarily, nationalists. So we don't want the Council of Libya to become a closed battlefield for quarrels between these different movements."

"But what does Arab unity mean to you exactly?"

His answer came like a cry from his heart: "The Unity of all Arabs from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean."

"Meaning unity with Faisal (the feudal king of Saudi Arabia) and with Hassan (the bourgeois dictator of Morocco), plus Nasser, Algeria, and you?"

"Ah, no," he said. "Unity of the progressives only."

"Well, then, the whole world won't be unified tomorrow!"

He laughs. "Not tomorrow, that's right, but revolutions sometimes happen when you're not expecting them."

I had noticed in almost every conversation I heard in Libya a sort of hostility to the idea of the Great Maghreb (the union of North African countries bordering the western deserts, including the Sahara. So I asked whether the Libyans felt closer to Egypt than to Algeria.

He moved his head as though I were touching upon a delicate subject. "We're very close to revolutionary Algeria, but we feel that the problems of the Arabs of the Middle East are our problems. For us, the construction of the Great Maghreb is not a very practical business. We are for the unity of the entire Arab nation. That's the only important thing. But if the unity of the the Maghreb is a stage on the road toward the unity of the Arab nation, then we're for it." And he adds, "You know, the unity of the Arab nation is not a reactionary slogan. Even for the rest of the world, it's important that the Arab world be unified."

"There never used to be any political parties

strictly Libyan, coming out of the revolution. Others want a front, still others want us to join one of the big parties of the Middle East."

I asked him if he thought there exists in the Arab world today a party in power capable of leading the masses to an authentic socialism.

"But to feel social injustice, foreign oppression, that's already a lot."

"Is it sufficient in 1969?"

"But what drives the masses to make the revolution, if not misery, injustice and corruption?"

I asked him whether he really believed in class struggle.

"As for me, I'm a Marxist, but some of my comrades haven't come that far yet. Nevertheless, they're patriots and revolutionaries."

For the Libyans, Palestine "Lost" is still an open wound. But in their speeches, they speak less about the resistance of the Palestinian people than of the necessity of unifying the Arab armies for the next battle against Israel.

"We think," he says, "that the resistance will not win without the Arab armies, and vice-versa."

I was astonished. Hadn't the defeat of '67 taught them anything about classical Arab armies?

He answered me with such a passion, that I understood the frustration of these officers when in '67 they were arrested by the king for having tried to go to the front. "But we weren't surprised in '67 when we couldn't get across to the battlefield. Israel had a real technological advantage over the Arabs; the West had given them arms, information, everything. We had to unify ourselves, acquire modern armaments,

learn techniques ... Of course, you need popular armies, but you also need modern arms. We wanted them."

But if the liberation of Palestine is at the centre of their preoccupations, economic problems are not less important. "We must give back to our people, who are used to corruption, a sense of working the land, a pleasure in it. We have to irrigate the desert, modernise agriculture: and what to do about oil? Of course, the ideal, for the people, would be to nationalise it, because it belongs to them. But can we today?"

We talk about Wheelus Field, the huge US military base. "Today, foreign bases aren't the problem. We're here, after all, and we can expect to control what goes on. They can never be the starting point for carrying out aggression against us."

Reference is often made to giving youth an "Islamic morality". Did El Mokadem believe in Islamic socialism?

His eyes fold with irony. "Islamic socialism? Me, I don't believe in it. But I'm sure that some of my comrades do. But you shouldn't take a term like that too literally. Nothing that we say really has anything to do with religion. But our people are not very politicised yet; and they are Believers. Look, you have to understand our situation. We've lived for a century in the shame of of being what we are. We were colonised by the Italians, by the English, by the Americans, up to just a month ago. We want our people to rediscover the pride of what they really are ..."

And what is that?

"Arabs," he says, getting up and accompanying me to the door.

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in March 1968 the inhabitants of My Lai, old men, women, children, were liquidated by C Company of the Americal Division's 11th Infantry Brigade. Twenty months later photographs of the massacre were spread across the pages of the bourgeois press. It had become a story.

Despite the heroic journalists who had reported truthfully on Vietnam, despite all the evidence of barbarity and genocide, despite the efforts of the Bertrand Russell Tribunal, the papers and television had never carried such a story before. Yet massacres were known to have taken place. My Lai itself was known to the press—Life, Look and Newsweek turned the "story" down in June.

The US Army also knew. GIs had immediately protested and the Army had received Haberle's black and white photos as a matter of course. Yet their informal inquiry, headed by Colonel Oren K. Henderson, found nothing. Only a letter from an honest American citizen, not a peacenik, but a man who hated the authoritarian corruption of the US Army, started to get an inquiry moving; and then only because Congressman Udall, unlike the President's office, decided to check his letter. In April 1969 an inquiry was ordered. Pressure for action was evenly balanced against the interests of the Pentagon East. On September 5th, only one day before he was due to leave the Army, and with it its jurisdiction, twenty-six year old 1st Lt William Calley Jr was charged with the murder of Vietnamese civilians.

The brief announcement of this fact was not considered important. For two months, while all the world knew the Vietnamese were being massacred in an atrocity of unparalleled dimensions, the single incident which has come to represent this remained hidden.

It is a measure of the numbed intelligence of the left that no one has asked why My Lai should "suddenly" become news. It is a shameful condemnation that socialists should turn out appalling moralistic prose to berate US aggression while at the same time appearing to begrudge the coverage that My Lai has received, as if they were jealous of the media for pinching their story. Unable to grasp the way the press can be used, the left fails to see how adverse publicity, at the same time that it is a genuine, if limited freedom, is an integral part of the class role of the media under capitalism. The publicity of My Lai calls both for an analysis of the nature of the war, and for an understanding of how the ruling class in the West is now manoeuvring to cut its losses.

Capitalism has always enforced genocide. Its ruthless and rapacious expansion destroys all cultures and all social organisations which stand in its way. It has sacrificed, and will always be obliged to sacrifice, millions of lives to ensure commodity production and the accumulation of capital. From the slave trade to apartheid, labour power has been consumed by capital; while the social forces which threaten to deny it access to labour power, and to potential markets, have been smashed. Capitalism respects no civilisation, not even its own. It distinguishes between civilians and the military only to treat its soldiers better than its working men. It exercises no colour bar, it is free from all prejudice: blacks, browns, yellows, and whites, Catholics, Buddhists, Jews, and Muslims, capitalism has slaughtered them all.

George Brown is right! My Lai is not exceptional. If we "knock" the US for one atrocity, then we will have to attack Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Japan ... Yes, everyone has done it. This bitter truth is turned into a frightful lie. It is turned against mankind. Human "nature" itself is expropriated from the peoples of the world. Massacres are told (usually by those odious valets who accompany and profit from all imperialist wars: priests), massacres are tragically human. And then, if that does not exculpate the US, we are also told, and without a trace of self contradiction, that, anyway, communist massacres are worse.

The bourgeoisie have always felt it their right to exterminate their opponents, and utilise the latest industrial and technical advances against the oppressed. From Thier's use of petrol against the Paris Communards to the napalm of Kennedy's helpful advisors; from the annihilation of the Red Indians to that of the citizens of Hiroshima, from Britain's South African concentration camps to those of Germany, no scruples have restrained, no mercies softened, the expansion of capitalism's political oppression.

But it is very rare for the bourgeoisie to celebrate this essential feature of their civilisation. On the contrary, they use the crimes that have been committed in the name of socialism to wax horrified and prance their hypocrisy before the working classes of their own countries. They suppress and distort the news of their own world-wide class oppression. The proof is this—that My Lai occurred in March 1968, and that many massacres like it have taken place. The ideology of the bourgeoisie turns the world upside down as they do everything in their power to convince themselves that violence is foreign to their system and is threatening im-

are preserved and then strengthened. The use of the Atomic bomb is justified on the grounds that it saved American lives, when, as it has been shown, it was used to prevent the Russians from participating in the occupation of Japan. Now we are told that Vietnam is being protected from external aggression. The tale is familiar; but something has changed—My Lai is there to be seen in the papers of the bourgeois themselves.

Why?

The simple answer comes first—the US are losing. The political question is to know how they are losing. And how, and this follows, this opportunity can be used to inflict upon imperialism the greatest possible political defeat.

If these questions could force us to think through the specific contradictions within the world capitalist system at the present moment, then the anti-war movement would be achieving a degree of political maturity. As it is, it is only possible to speculate on these questions. A dangerous but vital task—dangerous, because we could easily get the wrong idea about what is going on within the US ruling class; vital, because unless the anti-war movement develops an understanding of the nature of imperialism, it will fail to turn against the progenitor of imperialist war—capitalism itself—and will become a means whereby masses of youth and the middle classes can excuse themselves from its results.

The coverage given to My Lai is an opportunity to start on three tasks: 1. to speculate politically on the contradictions within the US ruling class, contradictions which may have an important effect on the way the war ends; 2. to look at the way the press is manipulated as an independent but subordinate agent of the bourgeoisie; 3. to glance at the odious ideology of US/British imperialism.

The Leak

All three start with one question. Where did the publicity about My Lai come from?

The news that the US Army had acknowledged the massacre at My Lai was leaked by an inside informant. There is also evidence to suggest that the leak was a deliberate and calculated move to expose the Army to political scrutiny.

The story first went to Seymour Hersh, a freelance reporter who had worked with Eugene McCarthy. Hersh is known as an independent, and thorough, liberal journalist who has already written a book about Chemical and Biological Warfare and is at present writing one about the Pentagon. He does not flinch from subjecting

There's a guy down in Benning who is being held on a charge of murdering 70 to 75 Vietnamese civilians." Whether or not Time is right in quoting those actual words, Hersh's source must have had something more. For Hersh was able to locate the members of C Company and bankroll his expensive investigation with great speed. He must have been assured that he was onto an important story.

In less than two weeks, also according to Time, the first paper to carry the story, the Alabama Journal, of all papers, had "received a tip". Then, three days after the Alabama, the New York Times, the major national able to print anti-Army copy, got the copy. My Lai went to print on November 13th. Hersh, using the Dispatch News Service, placed it into 35 papers. Again, although it was Washington-based, the Dispatch News Service had no loyalty to the Army; it had only been in existence for a few months and was run by a young and "leftish" staff.

The press notice which announced the charges against Calley gave no figures for the murdered. Only an insider, or someone with inside information, would have known the significance of the charges. This secret lay dormant for two months and then turned up in a peripheral newspaper and with a marginal but vigorous and independent anti-Army reporter. Neither relied on the patronage of the military. Their publicity was followed by a transatlantic blast from the British press. A press dedicated to the political leadership of the US but again independent of the huge patronage of the Pentagon.

There are three possible sources within the US ruling class who could have leaked the story and who will profit by its publication. All three share certain common values: they will sanction the death of communists provided they can get away with it; they favour political control over the military; they are now against the war in Vietnam. These three sections are: the East Coast Ruling Class, the CIA, and part of the military itself. Probably the leak came from an individual or a group who represent a combination of these interests.

The Military

The military is suffering badly from the collapse of morale and internal discipline. Black Power is now an independent force in the Army which has become a training ground for Negro militants. Desertion is rife, there are now more than fifty GI anti-war papers being published, malingering and self-inflicted wounds are nor-



If the present war rouses among the the whimpering petty bourgeois only aversion to all use of arms we must say - capitalist society is a



The only US casualty, a Black GI shoots himself in the foot rather than kill NLF women and children

Force from its huge and useless losses over North Vietnam. For the Army, every day that it stays and tries to fight in Vietnam threatens disintegration, not just in Vietnam where it simply faces defeat, but in Washington where a defeat will turn into a purge of the personnel who have served the US so badly. The officers who just managed to get Calley charged show that there are men within the military itself who want to end the war before it is too late.

The CIA

Since the bombing of the North, the CIA have been doubtful about the value of the war. Their information on the real balance of power in Vietnam has always been better than the Army's. With their world-wide intelligence network they have been able to calculate the global political losses entailed by the war. (From Peru to Pakistan, it is to their CIA advisors that puppet officers first turn to ask that threatening question: "Can the US really be defeated?") The hostility of the CIA was sharply exacerbated by General Creighton Abrams, commanding officer in Vietnam who ordered the arrest of the leading officers of the Green Berets, the CIA's own army. The Green Berets, unlike the Army, are trained to murder without remorse.



reactionary christian socialists, among bourgeoisie, only horror and fright, as to bloodshed, death etc then always has been horror without end

on centralising his command. When the Green Berets resisted, he arrested and humiliated their leading officers. The leak of My Lai may have been the return blow. Not out of spite, but a calculated risk to ensure that the army does not make the same strategic mistake again.

The East Coasters

The third possible source is civilian and political and undoubtedly has allies within the military. Its interests would be followed both by the CIA as well as by the more intelligent officers, for it represents the traditional direction of US foreign policy.

The secret of US imperialism has been that it is indirect. Historically, acting under the banner of "freedom", it has exploited other imperialisms (British, Japanese, France, the UN). The war in Vietnam has bust this. The US has had to fight it on its own; and indirect control has wreaked a havoc of conflicting orders, corruption and incompetence. The tricky and difficult task of imposing imperialism against the wishes of the local population (injection of some stable capital and a puppet ruling class) demands centralised political direction over both the Army and the indigenous people. The US has failed to manage either. The war in Vietnam has gone out of its control.

Not that some declassified military colossus has taken over. On the contrary, the Army is in for a drumming. The fact that the troops were put in on the advice of the military does not mean that the Pentagon has taken over. What went wrong was that its advice was militarily incompetent and that is the mistake which must not be repeated. The US ruling class are not opposed to military victory in Vietnam, even at the cost of millions of Vietnamese lives. But they want a victory in Vietnam; and if they can't get that, then they want to be able to lose, like the British, as best they can, controlling and containing the after-effects. They know, for example, that they could have had a neutral Vietnam five years ago, that they could have engineered an uprising there which would have been put down to cries of "murder" etc. in the bourgeois press. The last thing they want, however, is a defeat of the US forces there. But that is what has happened. Now the Army must be disciplined and more tightly controlled.

Having militarily lost the war, powerful US imperialists have unloosed the story of My Lai in the interests of imperialism itself. How else can the fact be explained that high ranking political and military personnel have struck a blow

It is certainly no accident, nor, as it is easy to show, is it a result of the fearless search for truth set in train by the leading organs of the US free press. They are not totally unable to achieve such a task, but at this moment, on this issue, they did not succeed in doing so.

Certainly the leak need not have been the result of a Machiavellian conspiracy. (Although it is difficult to know what else Washington is good for.) For it is clear that whereas two years ago, such a treasonous charge as: "The civilian inhabitants of My Lai were murdered in cold blood by GIs acting under the orders of the US command in Vietnam" would have been dismissed out of hand as unthinkable. Now, the unthinkable has happened. The US has lost the war. Slowly the hegemony that the military exercises when the boys are fighting and dying, crumbled and failed to hold. For the boys were dying for nothing. Gradually, Congressmen, service personnel, Washington public relations men, began to criticise the war in the most effective way they knew: they stopped supporting it. Then General Abrams publicly humiliated the Green Berets. When the boss says it's all right to take the gloves off... then the gloves come off. So even if the leak of My Lai to Hersh, the funds which were raised for him, and the encouragement he received, even if these were not part of a discussed decision, even if, and this is a less rational and in its way a more paranoid position, they happened unconsciously as part of the war-weariness of the US ruling class, the structure of the event remains the same. What was unthinkable two years ago has happened; the American bourgeoisie is turning against the war in Vietnam. But, as always, it is doing so in its own class interests.

This can be demonstrated immediately and definitively. If the revelation of My Lai was in itself an attempt to disclose the real nature of the war in Vietnam, and if it was so treated by the press and television, then the nature of the war the US is fighting there would have been systematically exposed. Nothing of the sort has happened. In fact the opposite has happened. My Lai has been used to expose the Army, and at the same time no effort has been spared to contain it, ideologically and politically, in defence of capitalism—the fundamental cause of the massacre.

The question of the mass graves at Hue shows this quite clearly. Without doubt, after they stormed and occupied the City of Hue in February and March 1968, the NLF executed some of the leading lackeys and valets who had

was bombed, strafed, shelled and invaded by the US. Its defenders were napalmed, anti-personnel bombs were dropped into the heart of the old citadel. What happened to the dead? Unlike the barbaric and callous American and allied troops who leave them piled up on the roadside, the Vietnamese bury the innocent victims of the War. The US then dug up the victims of their own aggression only to shout and scream about the horrors of communism. All this is well known. The North Vietnamese and the NLF had made it known that the mass graves of Hue were the casualties of the fighting, not of execution. *The Black Dwarf* reported this in May 1969. As we say, we accept the fact that political executions took place, even though they shrivel to insignificance beside such US actions as Operation Phoenix. But there can be no reasonable doubt, to borrow a phrase from bourgeois justice, that a very great part of those who were buried in Hue were killed by US aggression against that city.

However, none of this was to trouble the press. They repeated and reproduced, like trained dogs, the vile lies of the US military. *The Times*, famed for its independence, reproduced a vast picture of the bones of the dead from Hue the very day after it carried the story of My Lai. There was no doubt about it. Communist massacres, *The Times* told us, are worse.

Marx had a few words to say about the way the ideologists of capital protest against the resistance of their victims: "All this chorus of calumny, which The Party of Order never fail, in their orgies of blood, to raise against their victims, only proves that the bourgeois of our days considers himself the legitimate successor to the baron of old, who thought every weapon in his own hand fair to use against the plebian, while in the hands of the plebian a weapon of any kind constituted in itself a crime."

Now we have seen a sensational advance on the barons of old. While Atom bombs, B 52 raids, and defoliation, go uncensored, when the ordinary soldier on the ground starts to implement for himself the slaughter and sadism which is the state policy of imperialism, then he too is crushed. Imperialism does not shrink from genocide but it wants it to proceed automatically under its state control. Thus both the ordinary Vietnamese and the ordinary GI are condemned for taking weapons into their own hands.

This double condemnation suits imperialism very well. No distinction is drawn between the peasant fighting for the collective independence

The response of the British press when the news of the massacre "became known" demonstrates how the publicity was used to cool out the population in preparation for US defeat. The mass circulation papers all announced that the war was lost, as if by fate or some human error. At the same time the news was slanted to contain any adverse political effects. Three years ago the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal set about considering US war crimes. It was ridiculed and dismissed by the British press and banned from Britain. No retrospective acknowledgement enlivened the excellent job the British media did in making My Lai known. That would have been to admit their class role. My Lai was seized as an opportunity to change line and "speak out" against the war. At the same time it was used to speak out for the US itself. Thus, when social democratic rabbit Harold Wilson praised the free press for its exposure of the atrocity, as he did in the Commons debate, he is talking into President Nixon's hat.

It was necessary for the papers to publicise My Lai. It also forced them to attempt a whole range of miserable excuses. Only one of them had any effect; that, in the unforgettable words of Peregrine Worsthorpe, chief columnist and deputy editor of the *Sunday Telegraph*:

"This is a plea for moral rigour. Atrocities are shocking. But the choice is not between atrocities and no atrocities. It is between atrocities and atrocities."

Apparently anti-imperialist atrocities can be worse either in quantity or quality. *The Sunday Times* reproduced the first argument in its introduction to Haeberle's colour pictures. It wrote: "Not that such atrocities are an American monopoly. The Viet-Cong have far surpassed them." This is a straightforward lie. No attempt was made to substantiate it. Nor can it be excused by progressive journalists on the grounds that such rubric is necessary to ensure publication of the photos; which after all are what is important. For if in staring at these grotesque and gruesome pictures we are told with all authority that the Vietnamese have done worse, then the horror and fear of the NLF (not the Vietcong) grows a hundredfold. The very atrocities of imperialism are used as propaganda for the bourgeoisie.

The other line of defence is even more sickening; communist atrocities are worse because theirs are policy. What greater form of self-condemnation can be imagined than to excuse one's society on the grounds that it does not deliberately massacre people, it just breeds and trains men who do so on their own accord without even receiving orders. "If I don't kill him, someone else will, so what's the difference?" How many Vietnamese have died to that stupefying thought vaguely echoing through the drugged mind of a GI?

It could be argued that conscious genocide, the deliberate and responsible decision made in a specific situation, is better than the US's mindless killing of Vietnamese. But this would condone, if only slightly, the decision to bomb the North and to defoliate and napalm the South.

Epoch of Atrocities

The fact is that the US does not need to make atrocities part of its policy. It has always committed atrocities. The torture and death of civilians, especially women and children, form an integral part of capitalism itself. The implacable contradiction in capitalism is manifest in Vietnam. It is the fundamental contradiction which spells its doom, even though it will only be overthrown by those who, like the Vietnamese, have learned to read. The West's billion-dollar war machine, its gigantic productive force, is used to impose its narrow and restricted relations of production. It will destroy a nation in the name of freedom for capitalism.

The excuse that formally juridically, the bourgeois governments are opposed to massacres is a mystification. For they represent an entire order of society, they implement the policies of a class whose rule has seen an epoch of uninterrupted atrocities.

The vicious psychology of capitalism, the psychology of competitive destruction, is excused by apologists as an unchangeable aspect of human nature—they are wrong. It is no longer necessary. As they retreat to the most bankrupt and superficial ideology they expose this to the entire world. The US has publicly admitted responsibility for the greater part of the deaths of 300,000 Vietnamese civilians. In what possible way could this be considered either natural or an aberration, unless the dynamic structure of the US itself is the cause?

It is argued that the war does not pay, that the US do not have a rational financial interest in spending millions of dollars to force Vietnam into the capitalist world. This misses the point. Capitalism is not a simple system of rationally calculated self-interest. It is economism to assume that war is decided on the basis of a single balance sheet. Capitalism is a political system; bourgeois rule in the citadels, imperialism and imperialist hegemony in the rest of the world.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The last few months have seen an intensification of the repression against the Black Panthers in the United States and many leading Panther militants have been shot dead by the American police. The killing of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago on December 4, 1969 brought the number of slain Panthers up to twenty-eight, many others have been wounded, and the best known survivors are either in prison or in exile. The Black Dwarf (Vol. 13, No. 8) was the first to report on the Panthers for the revolutionary left in Britain. Since then the American ruling class has embarked on a campaign to annihilate the Black Panthers. The reason for this: the Panthers present a serious potential threat to the social structure. In the words of their leader Huey Newton: "The Black Panther Party's position is that the Black people in the country are definitely colonised, and suffer from the colonial plight more than any ethnic group in the country. Perhaps with the exception of the Indian, but surely as much even as the Indian population. We too, realise that the American people in general are colonised. And they're colonised simply because they're under a capitalistic society, with a small clique of rulers who are the owners of the means of production in control of decision making. Therefore that takes the freedom from the American people in general. And they simply work for the enrichment of the ruling class ..."

While we may disagree with some of the formulations expressed below, we are in no doubt that at this moment it is the duty of all revolutionary socialists to express their solidarity with the Panthers. We print below a letter from the Black Panther Chairman, Bobby Seale, imprisoned in the United States. Details on Black Panther solidarity campaign in Britain can be obtained from Scott Anderson, Ruskin College, Oxford.



LETTER FROM JAIL

This is Bobby Seale in the San Francisco County jail. I just arrived back here today, November 10th, Monday. And there's a word to be said to the progressive forces in America, about imperialism abroad, and domestic imperialism (fascism) here at home.

It's correct that many millions of people 55-60% of the nation or more, are fed up with this unjust aggressive war against the Vietnamese people. It's understood that the Vietnamese people are fighting for their right to self-determination, their right to determine their own destiny in their own land, country, in their communities. It's good that progressive forces (organisations and people) can come forth and mass and demonstrate and redress their grievances against the government for waging such a war against people unjustly, not only in Vietnam but anywhere else in the world. But

...the part of the ruling class circles that are infested inside the U.S. government, if there is a war going on that they perpetrate and put together there, it must be understood that they're not waging that war for those people's right to self-determination, that they're waging that war for some inequality and unjustness against those people. And it's evident that it is being waged for this reason on their part because of the fact that there is no equality and there's no justice at home for people right here in America like Black people in particular who've suffered under racism and brutality and murder for 400 years right here in America. It's evident and it's clear that if there is genocide in a country as in Germany during World War II, then anything that ruling class fascist government does outside is also unjust and is also aggression and is also out to deny and murder and kill people.

What we have to understand is that right here at home in America we have to oppose imperialism, also. That you can't just fight imperialism, the acts of imperialism abroad, without understanding and recognising community imperialism here of Black people, Brown people, Red people and even to the point of protesting students and radicals and progressive peoples here, in America.

Domestic imperialism here at home is in fact fascism. But what in essence is it? I think Black people if we go over the concrete experiences that we've had in America and what's going on now against us we can understand exactly what it is—to be corralled in wretched ghettos in America and look up one day and see numerous policemen occupying our community, and brutalising us, killing Brother Linthcombe, murdering young Bobby Hutton. The fact that so much brutality goes on to the extent that all the fascist press and all the demagogic politicians say it and the only thing that the courts put out is that it's supposedly "justifiable homicide" on the part of policemen who occupy our community.

The police state that exists here in America right now is in fact fascism right before our eyes. There are numerous examples of the police state activities. Only

posedly cashing a so-called fictitious check in a bank here in San Francisco and was walking out of the bank amongst a crowd of people and this police guard runs out of the bank and he's only walking and the brother is shot dead in the mid-section of his back. He's dead and killed, Black brothers and Black people who have experienced and know these fascist tactics and know of too many cases and too many situations where young brothers and Black people have been gunned down and murdered by these cops, and it's becoming more and more out of hand. It's becoming out of hand because in every major city, in every major metropolis where Black people live, police forces have been doubled, tripled and quadrupled.

Also, the racist courts of America are justifying the police brutality and murder of Black people and any people. The Democratic Convention as EVERYBODY knows, as everybody saw on the more than pigs, cops, and politicians brutalising, murdering and bashing skulls. And many Black people looked on and said, "Look at those White people getting beaten", because we knew we had been beaten and brutalised for many

years and still are.

They dragged me into this case. They put me as one of the defendants there, and they literally, overtly, fascistically, piggishly and racistly denied me my basic basic constitutional rights. Charles R. Garry, the most beautiful lawyer in the world, a revolutionary lawyer, was here at home going through an operation for his health and couldn't come to the court. Dr. Goodlett explained it to the court a month before the court even convened that Charles would be risking his life, and I made motion after motion, request after request, and argued those requests and those motions on my behalf in my attempts to defend myself there and was literally denied (literally denied) my constitutional rights to be able to defend myself, after it was clear that my lawyer wouldn't be able to be there to assist me. For a man to stand up and demand his constitutional rights and in turn the court looks at him and denies his rights, that's not intelligent. In fact we Black people, we people, all people, American people, know that to deny people their constitutional rights, their right to defend themselves, their right to council, or any constitutional right, is

nothing more than to justify the brutal tactics, murderous fascist tactics of the police running rampant in the communities of America, and in particular the Black communities of America.

To the Peace Forces, the progressive forces in America, the protestors, those who know the war in Vietnam is unjust, those who are going to the streets and demonstrating, those who think they're really, really doing something—what the they're doing in trying to end the war in Vietnam is not meaningful at all, yet. It's not meaningful at all and will not become meaningful at all if you really want to stop the war in Vietnam, until you take some action here in America against the fascist brutal forces against Black people here in America. The very fact that the North Vietnamese government has announced that they are willing to release prisoners of war, for the release and dropping of all charges and trumped-up charges against the Minister of Defence Huey P. Newton and myself, this relating to the war in Vietnam, that's not end police brutality and murder of Black people right here at home. Because the Black Panther Party itself has moved in this direction from its very inception to get rid of those fascist forces that corral us.

This is the kind of action that has to be taken on the part of the Peace Forces in America and the progressive forces in America. And until they begin to do that they will not begin at all to stop imperialism; they will not begin at all to stop domestic imperialism right here at home. You must move against domestic imperialism, growing rampant, FASCISM—right here in America, before you can end the war in Vietnam or all forms of aggressive wars like that against other people abroad. The very fact that Black, Brown, Red and other peoples in America, and poor people, even poor White people, are corralled in wretched ghettos, especially those people of colour and Black people whose communities are occupied in the fashion they are and murdered. No, we can't continue to allow ourselves to be duped with the notion that we're doing something good until we learn to smash imperialism right here at home. Because to smash imperialism right here at home is to smash imperialism abroad. Smashing imperialism means taking action, demanding that those prisoners of war be allowed to come home. When you say, "Bring the G.I.s home", bring the G.I.s home. And we can bring the prisoners of war home by demanding that the U.S. government release political prisoners here in America. Beginning with Huey and me, right now in America we will set a precedence of opposing fascism, abroad and at home. If that is what the Vietnamese people want, to release the political prisoners and people here in America, then I say that the progressive forces have to take some action in that direction; and they will be relating directly to smashing imperialism at home and recognising that this has to be done.

People move. Black brothers and sisters, American people, it's time that we moved against fascism at home because



THE YEAR OF THE MILITANT WOMAN

A year ago *Black Dwarf* declared 1969 the "Year of the militant woman".

A lot has happened in 1969. There has been action by women at work ranging from the lavatory attendants who struck against the White Paper, to the women at Industrial Mouldings plastic plant in Coventry who secured the same rate as the men. In jobs like nursing and teaching where women are very numerous, there has also been an important and determined militancy. Apart from local agitation, the National Joint Action Campaign for Women's Equal Rights organised a demonstration in the summer which included women from the potteries, buses, GPO, and engineering.

In the student movement the secondary role women play was raised at the RSSF conference in the spring. Since then there has been discussion within all the left socialist groups as well as the Communist and Labour Parties. Various women's liberation and socialist women's groups have started, and two papers have appeared, *Socialist Woman* and the *Shrew*.

Our weaknesses are apparent: lack of communication, lack of empirical information, lack of theory and lack of confidence. Our strength is our willingness to work with one another and our determination to base any analysis on the actual situation of women now. For many women the simple discovery that they were not alone has been important. It has given us the confidence to argue and to act without feeling we were freaks. Here the stand taken by Lil Bilocca and the fishermen's wives in Hull, the sewing machinists' strike at Ford's, helped, as did the news of the women's liberation movement in America and Germany, and less directly the impetus from the experience of Black Power.

EMERGENCE OF DISCONTENT
Discontent has emerged from very different situations.

Consequently it reflects different emphases, different preoccupations, and looks to different objectives. Working-class women have complained about their pay, about the way jobs are graded, about lack of training, lack of creche facilities, about the difficulty of combining work and housework, about lack of representation in union positions, about being regarded as a decoration at conferences. Young educated middle-class girls, often students or ex-students, are particularly sensitive about their sexual situation. They know that contraceptives have brought them the possibility of enjoying sex without worrying. But this hasn't really affected the way they see themselves as people or the way men see them. Before you were wrapped up and traded to the highest bidder, your virginity hopefully intact. Now you're "free" to circulate on the open market. The protective wrapping of your "niceness", your "spirituality", is stripped off. You're on the sex nexus. You're still a commodity. For socialist women there is a great irony; amidst all the talk about people controlling their lives, and counting equally and developing fully, it never seems to be applied to them. They are beginning to demand that it should. Young working-class girls are in a similar, often more contradictory position. An alternative is less clear to them but they're asking awkward questions. "Why is it always naked women on the tube, why aren't there naked men?" "The Pope must be bent. He doesn't like women, does he? He's against the Pill." "I'd like to take boys out in a car late at night in the rain and push them out in the road and make them walk home." "Every boy in this place is a raving sex maniac, and yet they say they want to marry a virgin." There are stirrings too amongst older women who are housewives and don't work. They feel the isolation and trivialisation of their lives. They resent their confinement inside. They feel pushed on one side. They are told that they're failures if they can't adjust. They are complaining about the false choice they are forced to make between neglecting their children or dropping all the things which they were interested in before they were married. They see right through the hypocrisy which mutters piously about motherhood and does nothing to make their lives easier. They are absolutely essential to the community as producers and consumers

definition, recognition and human beingness. Instinctively women's groups stress everyone speaking, distrust leaders and figures. It's important to understand every aspect of the very different ways all women experience subordination in capitalism. There's a tendency to try and restrict it to particular groups and particular areas. Middle-class women are described as experiencing psychological oppression, working-class women economic oppression. Discussion of non-economic oppression is seen as diversionary. Well, you can't zone off oppressions and then stick them mechanically together with a percentage and say this = exploitation, and leave it at that. If you do, you'll end up with an identikit, not a person. You'll find the spheres of oppression overlap and interact so much that you either go round in circles, locating the origin of one oppression in another, or you'll disentangle them but produce an abstracted clarity which doesn't express what it feels like. Both these miss the way particular experiences merge and particular oppressions reinforce one another. They ignore the way groups interact on one another. Young middle-class girls could be encouraged to look at their own situation differently by the action of working women. A group they start could be important in involving more working women.

COMBINATION OF DISCONTENT
Think how subordinations combine in the situation of the working-class woman. She suffers straightforward economic exploitation, she gets something like half the average wages of men. She exists in what amounts to a permanently underdeveloped section of the working force. She is a transient, denied training opportunities and consequently access to skilled work. Both the reason and justification of this are not simply that she is a member of the working class, but that she is a woman. Because she is a woman her main commitment is seen to be making a "success" of her family. If the family breaks up, if the children are difficult, if his shirt cuffs are frayed or the washing-up not done, she blames herself, other women blame her, the family blames her, the advertisers, the sociologists and psychologists and everyone blames her. There's no way out of the guilt. It's consequently very difficult for her to put effort and responsibility into her work. She'll go for a job which isn't too demanding, which allows her to think about her other preoccupations. Undoubtedly the money's important. The bit of economic independence is valued as well as the change. But so much of the work is boring, the pay so poor, that to think of it as emancipatory is starry-eyed. Some work obviously can be, but most of it, and most of the kind women do, is just crushing. The two spheres, work and home, invade each other. There's the remembering, the sheer practical difficulty of quite little things like shopping, collecting children when you're on shift-work.

Amidst all this, it's a very exceptional woman who takes on the extra job of shop steward or union work. It's also a very exceptional husband who'll encourage her. Not only will his comforts suffer. He'll have to face his friends. Eyebrows are still raised about wives who are always nipping off to conferences and summer schools and meetings, and leaving men baby-sitting. The man is partly seen as a sucker; partly felt to be hardly done-by. To stand out against this pressure, men have to be very convinced and rather brave. There's still the feeling, give them an inch, they'll take a yard. Men still mutter to one another about giving them a few kids so you know they'll stay put.

The individual working woman isn't just stuck in these ways. She's stuck in the memory and experiences of her own past and the past of other women. Dolls, not soldiers, toy hovers, not cowboy outfits, little girls can cry but they can't get dirty. Little girls do not climb trees, jump off high walls, fight. They are not allowed to be a full member of the gang. There is the whole mystery of menstruation, the bewilderment of puberty, "pull your skirt down", the separation of bra's and make-up. There is still too the double standard, reputation—easy-old slag. Remember that factory girl sentenced to a remand home in Kidderminster last summer

individual working-class woman. She can either sit like Cinderella taking it all, complaining masochistically to Buttons from time to time, and wait for the prince to come and take her off to a shiny comfortable world. Or she can dress up like a boy and go off to sea in her imagination, and pretend she's a boy. But she'll always be sent off home again to be a woman as soon as she's discovered. No one ever heard of Cinderella organising Buttons into a trade union, or undisguised girls capturing and occupying boats. If they did, you can bet there'd be no prince or pirate king who'd look at them. Who wants to give up the definite possibility of princes and pirate kings for unpleasant struggles of doubtful outcome and no history?

Women are conditioned to leave the external world to men, to "go helpless", be suspicious, and regard all other women as poachers. The whole conscious world of articulation and organisation belongs to men. It's not surprising women often let themselves be pushed around—they're trained to—or don't stand up for themselves—they're not expected to. It's true there is an implicit solidarity. But it doesn't have words to describe itself, much less concepts to situate itself. It exists only in particular experiences, it is flashed between women in a look. It understands pain, humiliation, persecution, menstrua-

tion, abortion, being hit, ridiculed, the subject of dirty jokes and dirty postcards and dirty actions. It has its own strength, its own toughness and its own code. "They're all the same", "just like children", "they don't half go on", "they're like that" or simply "Men!" Behind the stock phrases there's the feeling "If we ever had a chance", an affirmation of ability, worth importance. But the feeling is always accompanied with a shrug. What's the point of fighting? Whoever heard of winning? It's loaded in their favour. You just lose what you've got now—cling on to it. It's always been this way. It's just being a woman.

GENERALISATION OF DISCONTENT
That's why Lil Bilocca's so important, and Ros Boland and Kath Fincham and Daisy Nolan and all the women you never hear about. They break through all the hopelessness, all the fatality, the resignation, the passivity. They make possibilities. Not only is their situation and action generalisable to all women; it can be extended to all men. We are all entrapped in these interconnecting oppressions. We are all separated and afraid. We are all unable to be fully ourselves, to act consciously and creatively in the world. We are all passive victims. We are all devourers.

Sheila Rowbotham

PRAISE MARX AND PASS THE CHEQUE BOOK

Review of *Praise Marx and Pass the Ammunition*. Paris Pullman.



Review of *Praise Marx and Pass the Ammunition*. Praised by the bourgeois "critics" for its sensitivity and wit, *Praise Marx and Pass the Ammunition* is an unpolitical and humourless film about Bloomsbury Marxism. It wants to say something important about the British Left but is so ignorant and unsure of its own tone that all it manages is easy jokes and a kind of sophistication which just becomes glib when under any political pressure.

The hero, Dom, is, apparently by some genetic defect, a compulsive revolutionary. Expelled from the Communist Party aged 15, we find him in 1968 as the only white member of the Central Committee of a Third World Revolutionary Party whose aim is to build solidarity movements with guerrilla struggle. Dom is also writing a book about the modern condition of the British working class in tribute to Engels and to prove how little has actually changed in the relationship of classes.

The Party has comical meetings of its leadership, but its only activity is the publication of revolutionary pamphlets written by Dom, and the distribution of very ugly posters. These are sold in a local psychedelic bookshop, disguised for the day as a proletarian headquarters.

As a result of the May events, Dom becomes (surprise, surprise) convinced that the Party should turn towards the working class. He somehow arranges meetings with various ill-at-ease convenors and stewards and attempts to persuade them to start a general strike. He's seen lecturing an obedient class of dockers; he buys a Ford convenor a cuppa, he plays docile bar football with an Irish building militant. Suddenly and inexplicably, the Party has cells in 100 factories and has recruited the entire steward's committee fighting a factory

to echo Lenin's arrival at the Finland Station, Dom is sprung from the trial and joins his comrades at Euston Station to journey North to the forthcoming Liverpoolian Revolution.

Dom is sent up a lot of the time. When he comes back wounded from the May Events in Paris, he's only shut his head in a door. His series of glistening rich birds show his flesh weak, his reliance on irrelevant Marxist quotes shows his mind unwilling to listen. He lives in growing luxury with many phones, records and brightly coloured hardware ... presumably not acquired by the sale of pamphlets alone. No duplicators, heaps of *Financial Times's*, unsold newspapers and unwashed teacups. His politics appear to be those of a 15-year-old Maoist ... nothing wrong with that unless you are billed as a 27-year-old Trot. He sprays bits of Marx indiscriminately across any political enquiry. He seems incapable of personal relationship (the film-makers apparently believe, like certain militants, that personal nastiness is the same as political hardness). When in a crisis (he needs to torture a spy) his Home Counties girl has to take a taxi to Harrods to get a torture machine.

Across this narrative of 1968 come two passable documentary inserts in a drab black and white. One details statistical evidence which shows how little our ruling class has given away. Against a succession of photos of the world of those who work for a living, their home, schools and jobs, the sweat and the muscle and pain behind those easy words like "exploitation", "repression" and "class-struggle". The second of the inserts concentrates on the physical scars left by capitalism on the bodies of those who work for it; the neck snapping, back breaking, flesh grinding which is the daily medical sacrifice to British business.

To be most charitable one might assume that the film was supposed to be critical of the British Left. But to make such a film honestly would require some real knowledge. Not just a familiarity with cliché and an acquaintance with Marxist celebrities gained in Hampstead parlours. The first plays of David Mercer dealt with the politics of the Communist Party and Committee of 100 in a way that was itself involved, even scarred by the British Left. The TV plays by the Kestrel Group, especially those written by Jim Allen, commence from an understanding of working class life and of what it is that makes men political. Even the less political French film, *The War is Over*, about a revolutionary courier to Spain and his growing

MADNESS UNDER CAPITALISM

A few weeks ago I heard R. D. Laing discussing his views on Schizophrenia with a group of Marxists in North London. He told us about a classic case of madness involving a German judge called Scherer, who suddenly decided that he was turning into a woman, and that he had a direct link-up with God through his nerves. Laing told us Freud's interpretation of this case, which was a variation on the Oedipal theme—Scherer, Freud thought, was a suppressed homosexual who wanted to be fucked by his father. Then Laing gave us his own view of the Scherer case—an interpretation which he believed was a Marxist one. Having done research into Scherer's restrictive and brutal upbringing, Laing had come to the conclusion that Scherer's "madness" was in fact a breakdown of his conditioning by bourgeois society. If Scherer was "mad" at all, it was when he was normal, when he was carrying on the ludicrously strict and puritanical traditions of his family. His so-called Schizophrenia was a step forward. It could be regarded as progressive, because it was a breaking down of the conditioning he had received as a child. It was, in fact, a valid experience—just as valid as Scherer's "normal" life as a German judge.

Laing left us with two important problems. First: is there really such a thing as Schizophrenia?—is anyone entitled to say that people leading "normal" bourgeois existences are any less "Schizophrenic" than the people in mental hospitals? Second: have Marxists paid enough attention to this whole area of psychology? Have they really examined the all-important question of how the values of our society are passed on to the individual, and how they can be broken down in later life? In particular, have they thought about the way in which the family plays a mediating role between capitalist society as a whole and the individual growing child? An off-shoot of this problem might be the question: how many Marxists bring up their children as miniature capitalists even though they are sincerely and energetically fighting against capitalism outside their homes?

Like most other people at this meeting, I left feeling fairly confused. I just wasn't used to dealing with these kinds of problems "as a Marxist". Nor did I have any direct experience of insanity to base my views on.

Then, a few days ago, a friend of mine went dramatically mad. Her boy-friend Peter came round to see me on a Sunday, looking very worried. He told me that Ann had decided that the son she had borne four weeks before was the reincarnation of Jesus Christ. A few minutes later, Ann herself came running along the road with her carry-cot. She burst in, saying:

"I had to come and show you! Isn't it fantastic! You know, don't you! It's fantastic! John, I didn't know, I never realised. I didn't want this, I didn't know!"

Some of the time she was very frightened, and burst into howls of anguish. Other times she was beside herself with joy, and was equally noisy about it. She was like somebody on a very violent LSD trip, except that she organised everything that happened to her so that it would fit into this theory about her baby being JC. The feeling we all had—particularly my wife, who could relate it to her own experiences of childbirth—was that Ann was so overcome by the real, miraculous implications of having produced a baby that the only way she could cope with them was to transform them into this highly appropriate myth.

Two other things struck me. One was that she desperately needed our support and help. She definitely didn't want to be alone with this thing, she was too scared by it. The other was that part of her psychosis involved an ugly and dangerous revenge idea. She was the instrument of God's justice, and she was going to pay back the people "who had tried to kill the baby" at the hospital.

So what was needed at that moment was an immense amount of reassurance and warmth from us, to calm her down and bring out the love side of her experience instead of the paranoid side. This we proceeded to give as best we could, and by the evening she was much more calm and happy—but as deluded as ever. The next morning was the same, and we began to prepare her to go and see her psychiatrist as soon as possible. But now we encountered two related problems. The first was that though she was completely zonked out of her head, she was as intelligent as she had always been, and rather more sensitive. She had an uncanny knack of seeing through all our attempts to reason with her and persuade her to cooperate

with us. The other thing was that if you have recently given birth to Jesus Christ, you may be slightly alarmed about it, but basically you feel pretty flattered and pleased. Ann, in fact, was as high as a kite on it, and simply didn't see why we should be worried about her. Her view was that if anybody needed help, it was us—so that even to get her to take her pills, we had to take them too, as a result of which we spent most of that day half-asleep.

We had been told by now that Ann was suffering from "Puerperal Psychosis"—a form of insanity that afflicts some women after childbirth. It can sometimes be very acute—even more than it was with Ann—but we were told that it usually clears up fairly quickly. This was moderately reassuring, but meanwhile Ann wasn't eating properly, the baby wasn't getting looked after properly, the strain was beginning to tell on poor Peter, and none of us felt we could give Ann all the time and help she was going to need. So she needed treatment. The question was: how does our society react to people going through an experience like hers? In some ways she was obviously getting a terrific kick out of it, and was receiving—and giving out—a lot of valuable insights. What was society going to do about it?

The answer, as told to us by the psychiatrist, was: cart her off. Get her inside a mental hospital. If she was willing to go, fine. If not, drag her off. And there was no room for her to take the baby as well.

"What about Peter and John?" asked Ann. "I want them with me—I need them."

"Sorry," said the psychiatrist. "You'll have to go on your own."

"Then I'm not going," said Ann.

"I really think it would be the best thing for you," said the psych.

"No!" said Ann vehemently. "It would be the best thing for you. That's why you want to get rid of me."

And she was quite right. We all wanted to help her. But part of the reason we wanted her to go to hospital was that nobody outside hospital could spare the immense amount of time and love that was necessary to look after her.

As she was so determined, the psychiatrist gave her another day to decide. Peter and I spent the time using our education and influence to try and get Ann a better deal. We phoned Laing. We talked to several other doctors as well. We persuaded Ann's psych. to try all the hospitals again to see if she could find somewhere more humane than the one that had

originally been decided on. Because we were articulate and knew about these things, we got Ann a place in a hospital where she could take her baby, and where she could be visited any time during the day. Most people wouldn't have been able to do that. They wouldn't have known where to start. So their wives and friends would have been carted off screaming, and parted from their babies.

But the real point of this story is this: not only are people who are mentally ill not productive, in the usual sense of that word. They also represent an embarrassment and a threat to some of our society's most deeply held notions of normality and usefulness. They expose our society's contradictions in a particularly sharp way. So society does its best to get rid of them. It pushes them aside into a corner, hoping that nobody will be able to see them and be embarrassed by them. It treats them like dirt.

Yet more people go to mental hospital than university in our society. Our society actually makes people mentally ill—because it is so competitive, because it is so purposeless, because it isolates people, because it prevents them from a living collective relationship with each other, because it is basically uninterested in people's feelings (unless it can exploit them for the purposes of advertising). Capitalist society recognises no debt towards these casualties of its inhumanity.

Often it is really necessary for these people to go to hospital. It was necessary in the case of Ann, because the kind of care and rest she needed couldn't be had outside. But instead of the warm and understanding environments they should be, most of these hospitals are like prisons. Their facilities are hopelessly inadequate, the buildings are lousy, the nurses are underpaid, there aren't enough staff. Society puts people in them, not so that it can live up to its responsibilities to the mentally ill, but so that it can escape from them.

When we make a socialist society, we must make it possible for people like Ann to go through her experience with the minimum of suffering and with the maximum of creativity and learning. Mental illness must be treated as a useful, valid experience, insofar as that is possible. People undergoing it must be helped, not rejected. They must never feel that society has forgotten about them. They are an important part of the human race, and deserve the same consideration that everyone else gets—in fact more.

John Hoyland

DWARF LETTERS

X-MAS

At last the Dwarf has carried a new revolutionary article! But the last sentence of "The Dialectics of Christmas", which says that despite everything we should still enjoy that festival, gives the game away.

In his opening section Fred Halliday shows that Christmas was not originally Christian, though, even under Christianity, it was once a time for a popular saturnalia. The modern Christmas has nothing of that. It is a nineteenth-century bourgeois festival, a vile and claustrophobic celebration of the Church, the Family and the State. That is why Fred Halliday is right to single out the ideological moment as the worst part of the thing. But, to really abolish it, we must separate the progressive from the reactionary aspects of the whole affair.

Christmas, even under the bourgeoisie, has a dual nature, and the vacillation in Black Dwarf's article reflects this. There is a definite element of liberation in Christmas; goods and food are not transferred on the basis of capitalist exchange value, nor even on the basis of the plain man's use-value, but on the basis of pleasure-value. Capitalism exploits Christmas, but this fundamental aspect of it is profoundly anti-capitalist. At the same time, Christmas is especially oppressive. With the liberation from the market goes a forced and cultivated worship of the narrowest, meanest and most reactionary aspects of daily life. This is what must be abolished, the

Dear Editor,

I am writing to you on behalf of a group of Apprentices and young workers. We have noticed that the Dwarf at one point writes for the student intellectuals of the Left, and then writes for the working type people in the form of articles on skin-heads. We think that the Dwarf has got to decide which it is centring on. The reason we say this is that many of our friends have said to us that the Dwarf is a good paper but they can't understand the dictionary type articles and that although they are good articles, they are not interested in reading about Stalin, Pakistan or the Middle East troubles.

I, like them, would like to see the Dwarf do more articles on young workers and workers in general, because as I'm sure you realise that in any revolution or social change it is the workers and the working class that are the force that fights for the changes, and not the intellectual groups, or have you forgotten that?

I, and the others, thought that the Dwarf was very good when it did the Youth Supplement and we would like to congratulate all the people concerned, but then we are disappointed when the Dwarf returned to its usual self. What we would like to see is a permanent youth page that has articles from youth writers and articles that are more relevant to us.

We sincerely hope that you will consider this matter as we feel that the Dwarf has the position and influence in the Left to draw in and get

EVENTS

JANUARY 11th: Conference on Workers' Control. Chelsea College of Science, King's Road, SW13. 10 to 6.30. Tickets 12/6 (inc. food), Brian Nicholson, 64 Northampton House, Corporation Row, ECI.

JANUARY 11th: Film-Making and the Young Socialists. Classic Cinema, Hampstead—Pond Street, NW3. 9.30 a.m.

JANUARY 11th: Demo. Stop Wilson's visit to Washington. Speakers' Corner 2 p.m. to Lyceum Ballroom 4 p.m. Sponsored by the YS, 186a Clapham High St., SW4.

JANUARY 12th: Enoch Powell speaks in Surbiton. Info: Students' Union, Kingston Poly, Penrhyn Road, Kingston, Surrey.

JANUARY 14th: Springboks v Munster at Limerick. Information: Irish TGWU, Liberty Hall, Dublin, Ireland.

JANUARY 16th: Class struggle in socialist China. 24 Warren Street, 7.30 p.m. Anglo-Chinese Educational Institute. 387 0074.

JANUARY 17th: Springboks v South Scotland, Galashiels. Contact Tom Woolley, 14 W. Preston Street, Edinburgh 1.

JANUARY 18th: Which way for the Union? A discussion on productivity deal between Bert Ramalson (Industrial Organisation of CP) and Roger Rosewell (International Socialism) at the Africa Centre, 38 King Street, WC2. 7.30 p.m. Entrance fee: 2/6. Meeting organised by IS.

JANUARY 18th: Women's Equal Rights Campaign social. 7 p.m. on Camden Studios, Camden Street, NW. 5/- plus refreshments. Vietnamese films.

JANUARY 20th: Springboks v Llanelli, Llanelli. Contact Will Howells, c/o Students Union, Dumfries Place, Cardiff, 0222-44644, ex.8.

JANUARY 20th: Teach-in on Equal Pay movement, Greenford Coop Hall, Greenford, Middx. Contact: Leonora Lloyd, 40 Inverness Road, Southall; tel. 01-574 7407

JANUARY 24th: Springboks v Wales, Cardiff. Information: Will Howells (see above, Jan. 20th).

JANUARY 25th: Vietnam Solidarity Committee demo. 6.30 p.m. Charing Cross Embankment. Torchlight march to Downing Street. Contact: VSC, 13 White's Row, E1. 01-BIS 9845.

JANUARY 28th: Springboks v Southern Counties. STST, 21a Gwendolen Ave, SW15. Phone 789 5370.

JANUARY 31st: Springboks v The Barbarians. Twickenham. STST as above.

FEBRUARY 5th: Lecture. Internal Situation in China. Holborn Central Hall, Theobalds Road, WC1. 7.15 pm. Anglo-Chinese Educational Institute.

FEBRUARY 7th: Conference on left and future action. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. Contact: Left Convention, 11 Fitzroy Square, WC1. EUS 6073.

FEBRUARY: Conference of Left Economists. Contact EUS 6073.

FEBRUARY 14th-15th: Scottish Socialist Students' Conference. Stirling University. Contact Tom Woolley, 14 W. Preston Street, Edinburgh 1.

vietnam demos

VSC Jan25th

evening demonstration

stop Wilsons departure

Young Socialists
STOP WILSONS
US VISIT

Marcuse: Alasdair MacIntyre. Fontana "Modern Masters", 5/-.

The Fontana "Modern Masters" series seems to have been designed to blast out of the water the armada of subversive ideas that have recently invaded the fetid waters of British academic culture. If *Marcuse*, by Alasdair MacIntyre, is anything to go by, the threatened barrage will only be a pop-gun salvo. From an interview with Frank Kermode, editor of the series, it emerges that this is intended to be "the first, and last, book about Marcuse". Fortunately it is neither—just as it is neither the first nor the last display of the virulent philistinism of its author and of the culture of which he is a chosen, if lowly, custodian.

The formula for the series is a perfect example of what the situationists mean by recuperation. Potentially dangerous subjects are to be handled by reliable authors: George Lichtheim on Lukacs, Philip Rahv on Trotsky. Potentially dangerous authors are restricted to safe subjects: Conor Cruise O'Brien on Camus, Raymond Williams on Orwell (let's hope a miscalculation has been made here). A makeweight biography of Che Guevara, gushing with trivial romanticism, tops off the menu. Need one add that the architect of the series is a former staff worker for *Encounter*, presently rejoicing in the title of Lord Northcliffe Professor of English Literature at University College, London.

MacIntyre has for a long time specialised in doing hatchet-jobs on such figures as Isaac Deutscher, C. Wright Mills, Georg Lukacs and Herbert Marcuse, as well as purveying slanders on the Cuban, Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions. His reputation as a leftist makes him most useful in projects of this type, witness his frequent contributions to publications supported by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. His "left" reputation has derived from the tolerance extended to him, over the years, by various left groups, and not from his writings or actions. But let us hope that this book will definitively mark the end of both the tolerance and the reputation. The following are characteristic political judgements which MacIntyre offers in criticism of Marcuse:

"The defence of the authority of a university to teach and research as it will is in more danger immediately from Marcuse's student allies than from any other quarter." (p.91) or:

"The notion that the ruling elites are now able to treat welfare as an instrument of social control is at very best a quarter truth and a very dangerous one in so far as it distracts from concern over welfare." (p.69)

Even a sensitive liberal might refrain from claptrap of this sort. It should be stressed that MacIntyre's politics reflect in many ways the philosophical position which he has always defended. Take the following sample of argumentation:

"The paradigmatic example of political accident is the Vietnam war. The myth of American imperialism in Vietnam is the product of a collaboration between the sternest critics of the war and its sternest supporters. In actual fact American involvement in South Vietnam came about through a series of improvisations and ad hoc measures in which Kennedy and Johnson continuously produced larger and larger unforeseen effects; they then identified themselves with what they had produced and ended by producing a war which has been destructive for every party engaged in it and from which no good can result."

What, then, of victory for the Vietnamese people? Would that not be a "good" result? Sustaining MacIntyre's aberrant political judgement is an empiricist view that social facts must be "accidental" if they are not deliberate. The notion that a given society might systematically produce "accidents" of a certain sort (wars, exploitation, invasions, etc.) which constitute imperialism does not occur to him. As we shall see, MacIntyre has always been the sworn opponent of all philosophers who seek to contest the dominant "facts" and "values". The US intervention in Vietnam can, without great difficulty, be seen as part of a pattern of similar interventions: including Russia in 1918, China and Korea after the Second World War, Guatemala in 1954, Cuba in 1961 and Santa Domingo in 1965, to mention only a very

MacIntyre, the game is up



MacIntyre, as Dean of students, announcing expulsions

the Vietnamese, and this explains many of what MacIntyre euphemistically calls their "improvisations and ad hoc decisions". British empiricism has always refused to analyse social systems as coherent wholes, just as it has always denied the meaning of revolts against them. This is why it assails critical philosophers like Herbert Marcuse with such venom.

The substance of MacIntyre's slim volume is elusive. Ninety pages of pedestrian quibbles simply don't add up to a coherent critique. Those sections supposedly devoted to exposition of Marcuse's views are miserably inadequate when not flatly misleading. In a whole book devoted to Marcuse, one might have hoped for some specific reference to those important sections of his early writing which have yet to be translated into English. No attempt is made to indicate Marcuse's distinctive relation to Adorno, Horkheimer and the Frankfurt School. Most staggering of all is the omission of any discussion whatsoever of most of the central themes which unite and divide the Frankfurt philosophers. The counterpoint of individuality and mass, identity and non-identity is totally ignored. MacIntyre has not even noticed the significance of the problematic of "nature" in this work. Throughout Marcuse's writings there is an attempt to unravel the fatal link which he detects between the control of nature and the domination of man (and the natural in man) which has been characteristic of Western civilisation. Unlike most Marxists he does not conceive a liberated existence as one in which man masters nature and suppresses the natural in himself; any such attempt can only provoke the return of the repressed with, as always, a vengeance. Instead a harmonious integration and pacification of existence should be sought. It was partly because nature constituted an unchanging pole of negativity to capitalist society that Marcuse could sustain an eloquently critical position within a neo-capitalism which deceptively appeared to have absorbed class conflict. The insight of Marcuse, the "critical

theorist", was unaffected by that temporary eclipse of the proletariat as a revolutionary force which plunged the orthodox Marxist in gloom. This time, perhaps, the mystificatory kernel (the idealist dialectic of "Nature") will have to be rejected if the rational shell (the critique of bourgeois civilisation) is to be rescued by the revolutionary movement. But in developing a critique of "critical theory" the revolutionary movement will need no assistance from fink professors or cold-war hacks. Lenin once remarked that dialectical idealism was a thousand times preferable to mechanical materialism. If one adds that mechanical materialism is a thousand times preferable to vulgar idealism, one can see what a chasm separates Marcuse, the dialectical idealist, from MacIntyre, the vulgar idealist.

The most insistent complaints which MacIntyre has to make are that (1) Marcuse violates formal logic; (2) Marcuse is unconcerned about, or even hostile to, "facts"; (3) Marcuse is intolerant of views not his own. It soon becomes clear that MacIntyre is himself hysterically intolerant of any mode of discourse which does not conform to, or still worse actually attacks, the crabbed routines of Oxford philosophy. The logic and evidence which Marcuse employs are usually those appropriate to the critique of established ideologies and the culture of repression. No doubt it is this enterprise itself which is intolerable to MacIntyre as he has, for his part, always sought to combine academic reformism with political "leftism", at the expense of the latter.

British empiricism has never criticised the civilisation of its bourgeois masters. Indeed this empiricism, usually united with traditionalism and moralism, very precisely reflects the consciousness of the world's first capitalist class whose successes owed nothing to theory or ideas. The exact nature of dialectical logic may be problematic but only the most myopic pedant could imagine that it could be refuted by an elementary exposition of the law of identity. MacIntyre

Marcuse saluting Black militants.



brings to such tasks the same wretched philistinism to be found in his earlier attempt to outlaw the key concepts of psychoanalysis in his book *The Unconscious*. To this self-proclaimed empiricist concepts like "the unconscious" or "contradiction" are an unwarranted attempt to go beyond the categories which are spontaneously thrown up everyday life in bourgeois society. MacIntyre's own view of what constitutes useful evidence is bizarre in the extreme. Fantastic as this may seem, Marcuse is actually reproached with not accepting the "facts" discovered in the demented later researches of Wilhelm Reich! Confronted with an authoritative appeal to such evidence one is forcibly reminded of its author's notorious role in perpetrating the "cattle" scandal of some years back.*

MacIntyre actually has the impudence to write: "What Marcuse invites us to repeat is part of the experience of Stalinism". At the time when Marcuse was publishing a superb indictment of Stalinism as an ideology (*Soviet Marxism*), MacIntyre was rebuking Dunayevskaya for "a fantastic under-valuation of socialist achievement in the Soviet Union. She writes of the Soviet state as though the Moscow trials, Vorkuta, and Hungary were its supreme and authentic expressions. And because of this standpoint she tends to treat as Soviet crimes and heresies what are in fact at least attempts to face the problems of a socialist society". Later on in this review MacIntyre allowed himself the following "witticism": Trotskyism, he wrote, "shares all the dogmatism of the Stalinists without any of their achievement". (*Universities and Left Review*, Autumn 1958: MacIntyre was reviewing Dunayevskaya's book *Marxism and Freedom* which had an introduction by Marcuse!) With this book MacIntyre is again lining up with his old friends in Moscow as they continue their dirge of hate against Marcuse and all that is most vital in revolutionary thought.

Marcuse has helped to educate a generation of new revolutionaries in the West; he introduced them to much of what is best in classical thought and culture. How can anyone imagine that they would allow a miserable charlatan like MacIntyre to get away with the vicious assault contained in this book? Perhaps older groups on the Left have indulged MacIntyre's political delinquency and intellectual bankruptcy in the past, but this was part of the traditional philistinism of the Left in this country. It is poetic justice that Marcuse has begun for us the task of dispelling this backwardness—thus protecting the Left against chameleon pundits and professional renegades of the MacIntyre variety.

MacIntyre should understand that the game is up now. We know exactly who he is and what he stands for. His threadbare political and intellectual clothing can no longer hide the nakedness of his opportunism. Superficially MacIntyre has occupied nearly every conceivable political and intellectual position but it would be truer to say he has never really understood any of them. In the past he has been a "Christian" without God, a "Trotskyist" without commitment to revolution, a "Marxist" patronised by the Central Intelligence Agency, an "anti-elitist" adornment of the world's most mediocre and servile bourgeois intelligentsia, a "socialist" avid for the approval of his social "superiors". Now he is a liberal who rattles the fasces of law and order, a libertarian instrument of academic authoritarianism. Full of "toughness" when handling militant students, he is meek when in the shadow of power or authority. With Professors like this one understands why British universities have not needed campus police. Robin Blackburn

*In a number of philosophical papers MacIntyre made numerous references to the Azande's attitudes towards cattle to illustrate his points: familiarity with he supposedly aristocratic discipline of anthropology is very modish among British philosophers. MacIntyre's academic colleagues were much amused when it was pointed out that the Azande do not have cattle, seeing these laborious references to non-existent animals as a comic illustration of the idealist pseudo empiricism lying behind MacIntyre's "Carnal Street Marxism".

DWARF DIARY

INDIANS LIBERATE ALCATRAZ

During the last week of December a party of 183 American Indians, Mexican Aztecs and Eskimos seized and occupied the former island prison of Alcatraz.

The operation was led by Richard Oakes, 27, a Mohawk from San Francisco State College. On behalf of the occupiers Oakes offered to buy Alcatraz from the US Government which owns it. The price: "24 dollars in glass beads and red cloth, a precedent set by the white man's purchase of a similar island about 300 years ago."

similar island about 300 years ago."

Since it ceased to be a prison in 1963 the island has been inhabited by US Government caretakers and their families. The Indians, who propose to turn the island into a cultural centre for their people, have announced: "We will give to the inhabitants of this island a portion of the land for their own, to be held in trust by the American Indian Government—for as long as the sun shall rise and the rivers go down to the sea—to be administered by the Bureau for Caucasian Affairs. We will further guide the inhabitants in the proper way of living. We will offer them our religion, our education, our life-ways, in order to help them to achieve our level of civilisation and thus raise them and all their white brothers up from their savage and unhappy state." It is rumoured that the US Government is prepared to offer the Indians a piece of land at Fort Miley near the Presidio. The Indians are prepared to discuss this: "But we want Alcatraz. We'd accept all America back if possible."



Indian children play in liberated Alcatraz

IMPERIAL VISITORS

An unidentified helicopter circled overhead as 30 Lancashire demonstrators marched, on Sunday 21st December, from Burtonwoods Catholic Club onto the local US Base. They attempted to deliver an anti-War petition which had been signed by over 1,300 American servicemen. A British police officer refused to take the petition to the US Officer in Command on the grounds that "... any Americans here are only visitors." The Stars and Stripes and the entrance sign which read: "US ARMY BASE" showed that the visitors had settled in. They were also no doubt flying overhead, gas canisters at hand, ensuring that the police and the RAF did their jobs as the servants of US imperialism.

The ruling class won't dare jail Bernadette Devlin. For each petrol bomb she helped on its way towards the RUC, there is an outbreak of Unionist skullduggery waiting to be unearthed. The Irish in the North, as they say, have got up off their knees, and they won't keep silent if the British try to put Bernadette behind bars.

Should they run true to form, instead of risking dragging the case all the way through to the House of Lords, the British will dole out a suspended sentence. This will appear to be "lenient" and at the same time will establish their right to jail the MP for Mid-Ulster if they want to.

If they do carry on with their attempt and actually put her inside, the Civil Rights movement and Peoples Democracy will be faced with a difficult job of concentrating their political demands around Bernadette. For one of the most lethal effects of Bourgeois justice, wheth-

A WHIFF OF CLASS CONFLICT

Sweden has long been held out as a model of Social Democratic peace and prosperity. Its centralised and strictly controlled wage negotiations, so the ideology goes, are the special ingredient behind the highest standard of living in Europe. Now a two-week wild cat strike has threatened the entire structure of nationally organised class collaboration. In Sweden's worst wild cat for 35 years, 5,000 miners and surface workers have brought the Northern LKAB iron ore mines to a halt. The Swedish TUC has announced that it was inconceivable that even each union should negotiate its own wage deals, whilst the men have raised the question of the way the company, which is State-owned, controls the mines.

What is remarkable is not the intensity or seriousness of the strike, but the fragility of a long-established system. The Financial Times reports that Swedish government circles are worried about a complete breakdown of their national wage negotiations, and this as a result of a strike which by British standards would be considered quite a normal occurrence. Under certain conditions it may be possible to paper over the struggle between Labour and Capital, but there is no piece of paper in the world which can keep them at peace.

The UN voted 67 to 1 (with 17 abstentions) that its members should take all "effective judicial measures necessary" against hijacking. The one country that voted against was Cuba. Their ambassador, Dr. Fernando Alvarez Tabio, pointed out the measures that were still in force against his country and said "It is naive to request unilateral judicial assistance from Cuba with regard to certain types of piracy while implicitly accepting the right of imperialists to be pirates against Cuba." Cuba, he said, would retain the right to grant asylum to revolutionaries if it so wanted. Havana remains an escape route from US oppression, provided you can get onto an airliner.

A wage-claim at Lucas's Birmingham plant has thrown up a new tactic for industrial struggles. The DATA men have been applying a technique called "silent concentration": draughtsmen just sit and think (and sometimes, thinks the management, they just sits) considering where to draw the next line, or what to do next on any given problem. A DATA official remarked: "When you've got creative men it is hard to tell when they are not thinking about work." Silent concentration also involves a refusal to answer telephones or to maintain communication at any level other than inter-office memoranda to fellow-draughtsmen. The Financial Times reported that the management was "quite peeved". The wages of 25 DATA members who had spent the week concentrating silently were withheld. As the management smugly remarked: "They just didn't do any work so we just didn't pay them." So the workers just went on strike!

THERE'S NO SMOKE WITHOUT FIRE Having benefited from the military protection of private property, Gallahers, who have a large factory in the outskirts of Belfast, have given 160,000 cigarettes to the British Army serving in Northern Ireland. A packet of 20 for every man, from private to General Freeland. Since private property was saved from going up in smoke, they feel rich enough to give the men some tobacco, and of course gain some good publicity. —No doubt when Gallahers are expropriated there will be plenty of smoking behind the barricades.

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SCREW—Support Communications for a Revolutionary Europe and World. 46 Paek Creseent, Brighton, Sussex.

Marxist Youth Journal (Youth Bulletin of IMG). 2nd issue. Articles on the Worker-Student Alliance; Trotsky on the United Front; Elementary Marxist Economics. Price 1/- (plus 6d p&p), bulk terms by request. Available from Peter Gowan, c/o 75 York Way, London N.7.

Workers' Republic, theoretical journal of the League for a Workers' Republic (Ireland). Autumn issue contains articles on the Student Revolt; Fascism in Ireland; Trotsky on Trade Unions Under Imperialism. 3/- including p&p from LWR, 15 Hume St., Dublin 2, Ireland.

The Irish Communist. Containing series of articles on Nationalism, Partition and Politics. Subs 9/- for 6 months post free. 1/- per single issue (plus 6d postage). Available from D. Golden, 28 Mercers Road, N19. Connolly Books, 62 College Road, Cork.

Cuban OSPAAAL Posters 12½" x 21". Printed in full colour.
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4/- including postage from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ.

1970 Poster Workshop Calendar. Different poster for each month—black, red, blue. Send 7/6 (at least) to Alison Waghorn, 9 Lyme Terrace, N.W.1.

2nd Edition: DIRECTORY OF ORGANISATIONS 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.

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 21 Watcombe Circus, Carrington, Nottingham NG5 2DU.

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

Rouge, French revolutionary weekly of the Ligue Communiste. Write: Rouge, BP201, Paris 10e, France.

Grass Eye, Manchester local paper. Six months sub £1; annual sub £2; individual copies 1/6. Write: Grass Eye, c/o The New Arts Centre, Garden Street, Shude Hill, Manchester 1.

'Solidarity' (West London). First issue of their magazine. Contents include articles on: GEC—Liverpool. The occupation that failed (by the man that nearly booted Bill Bewley's Bollocks); Brent Dustmen's Strike; Viners—Sheffield Cutlery Industry. 10d each post free or 10/- for 12 issues. 15 Taylors Green, Acton, London W3.

ERNEST MANDEL:— An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory. 9/- ppd. The Revolutionary Student Movement, Theory and Practice. 6/- ppd. Marxist Economic Theory (2 vols). £4 4s 0d the set. The Inconsistencies of State Capitalism. 4/6 ppd. Available from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee Street, London E.1.

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

GLASGOW BLACK DWARF CIRCLE is now meeting regularly to organise sales, reports, political discussions. Contact Phyllis Duniface, 53 Diana Avenue, Glasgow W3 (Tel: 042-954 8172).

THE OTHER PAPER: New socialist paper in LEEDS. Weekly. 6d. On sale colleges, newsagents, and on the street Saturday afternoons. Leeds comrades should send news, help, etc. to 15 Kingston Road, Leeds 2 or phone 28413 or 34030.

Dwarf sales Centre in Nottingham. For details and information about discussion group, contact Nick Beeton, 38 Wilford Grove, Nottingham.

SOLIDARITY WEST LONDON: No. 2 now out. Articles include ITALY—Potere Operaio; Punfield & Barstow, the struggle continues; Wembley Furniture Workers; "Glasses" of Perivale; N.W. Poly occupation. 10d each post free or 10/- for 12 issues post paid from M. Duncan, 15 Taylor's Green, East Acton, W.3.

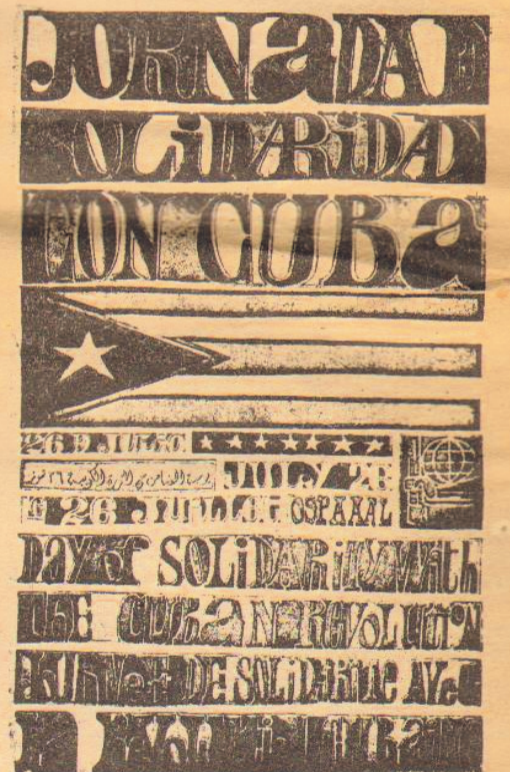
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Room available in revolutionary household 1 mile north of King's Cross, early/mid February. Rent £3 10s to £4 (1 month in advance). Enquiries to Box LT70, Black Dwarf.

International Socialism 40. Moody: The American Working Class in Transition. Harris: Agriculture, Peasants and Accumulation. Higgins on the CP. Sub 15/- per annum. 2/6 per copy (plus 6d p&p) from International Socialism, 36 Gilden Road, London N.W.5.

"THE INCONSISTENCIES OF STATE CAPITALISM". NEW PAMPHLET BY ERNEST MANDEL. PRICE 4/6 (INCLUDING P & P) FROM PIONEER BOOK SERVICE, 8 TOYBEE STREET, LONDON E.1.

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