

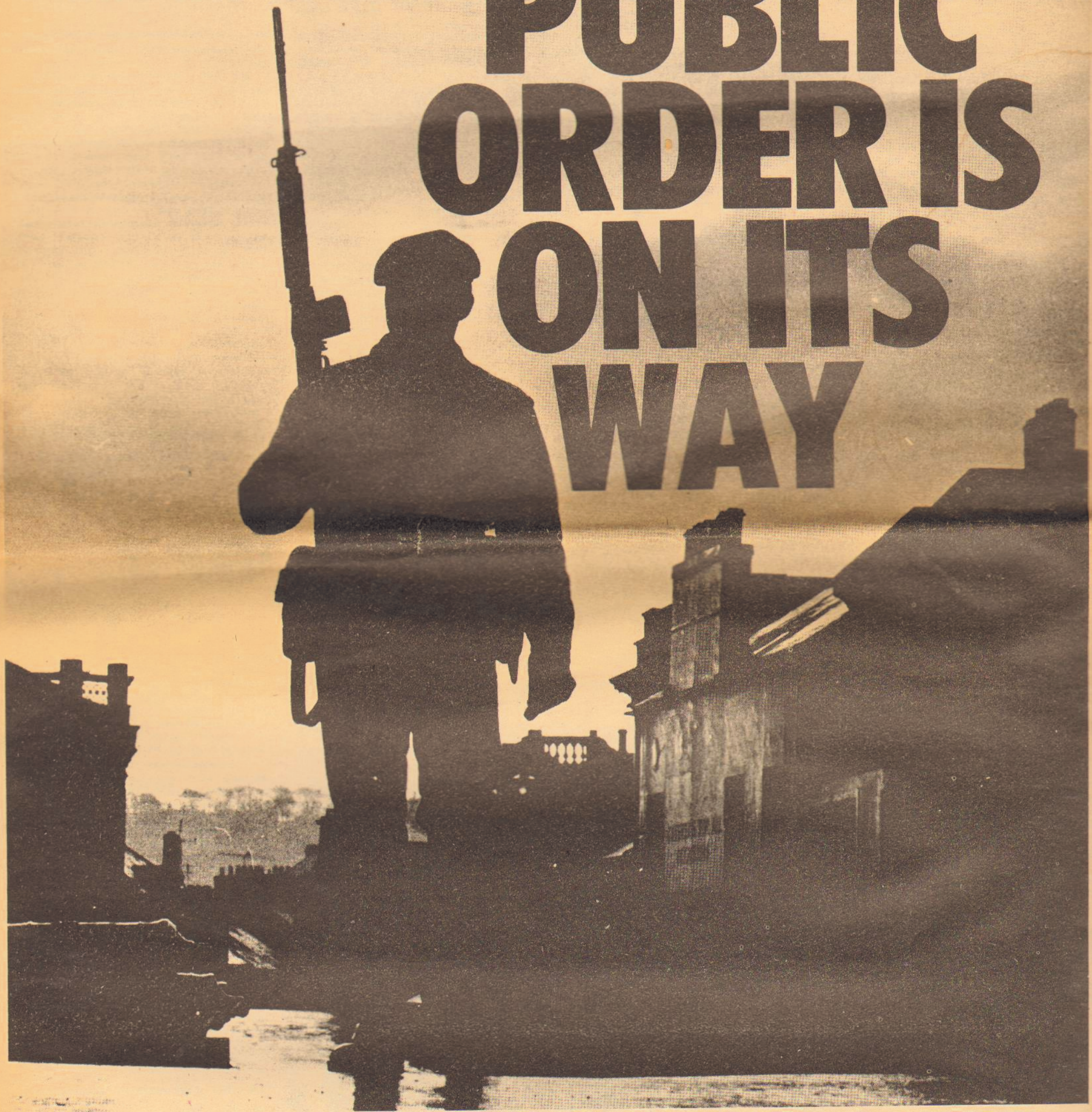
The Black Dwarf

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Price 1/

PUBLIC ORDER IS ON ITS WAY



The Public Order Act 1970 (Northern Ireland) legislates against demonstrations, sit-insand Socialism.

ATASTE OF HEATH'S BRITAIN

Student Movement/Schools/Trotzki im Exil/Z

The last weeks have seen the renewal of street-fighting in Northern Ireland: marches on the "peace-line" by Orange extremists, petrol-bombings of army tenders by the Derry Young Hooligans. Increasingly, the army is coming into

conflict with all the various forces who in the last year brought Stormont into crisis. Unrest in the RUC, the weakness of the government to deal with the right and above all their failure to produce anything but new repressive legislation

has meant that the British military are in an increasingly difficult position. Who are their friends? Who are their enemies? The main lines of this analysis—that while the short-term factors determining the state of play at any given time are

complex, and that the coalitions that the army have achieved are fragile are borne out by recent events. The Ulster crisis is as far as ever from being "solved" by the British ruling class.

Our Belfast correspondent sends the following report...

ORANGE GREEN AND KHAKI

The British Army of Occupation in W. Belfast.

British troops are in Northern Ireland to defend the property of British imperialism and to prevent any course of events which will harm its long-term interests. This means that, at various times, they may be ranged against the Orange Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), the IRA, revolutionary socialists or even Prime Minister Chichester-Clark if his strategy fails to coincide with that of Westminster. The British troops are no more and no less than British troops, moved in to defuse an explosive situation in an imperial outpost where, incidentally, the people also happen to be citizens of the United Kingdom. This last factor has caused a number of complications not usually associated with such operations. We shall examine them in due course. For the moment, however, it must be stressed that the main contradiction that the intervention of the troops has produced is a class one. The troops represent a solution which strikes directly at the interests of the Orange petty-bourgeois and the working class as a whole.

The initial aim of the troops was to stop the fighting (to stop the people arming themselves, and in this sense only, killing each other), in order to make the barricades unnecessary. After an insurrection, however, there is no such thing as a return to normal. In West Belfast the presence of the troops has created a new situation.

The Catholics

There is absolutely no doubt that the great majority of the Catholics in the Falls and the Ardoyne welcomed the presence of the troops in August, and continue to welcome them today, though more reservedly. They did so because they doubted their ability to defend themselves indefinitely against armed attack. The troops saved lives, and—for what they are worth—homes. This is universally understood. What is not so well understood, especially in England, is how the actions of the troops are interpreted by the people of the area.

For one group of Catholics the intervention meant the end of the struggle. In a conflict that was perceived as strictly a battle between Catholics and Protestants, the intervention of the troops was quite simply the British Government taking the side of the Catholics against the Protestants, and assuring them of victory. A relatively small number of Catholics welcomed the troops as having finally assured the Falls of civil rights, the modern surrogate for a Republic.

There is a far larger group—a majority in fact—for whom the troops are neither liberators nor enemies; they are simply there. Occasionally they drive off a hostile crowd, or break up a fight, or shoot someone on the Shankill road. While not greeting any of these actions with indifference, equally the majority does not greet them with any sign of approval. They do not engage in the "get-togethers" with the troops, or only do so guardedly, yet they would make no effort to prevent their children attending them. Nor would they feel any sanction was necessary against a neighbour who took part. If asked to, they would give tea to the military; they would raise only a half-joking objection to the military going out with their daughters. But they are far more likely to leave the area and move in with their relatives than to entrust their lives with the troops should it come once more under attack.

It is this large "centre" of Catholic opinion who at the moment are the propaganda targets of both the PD and the Republicans, but they respond far more readily to rumour than they do to political work.

In December a family was driven out of their house in Old Park Road. Precisely the role played by the troops in this eviction is unknown, but they certainly offered no real protection at all from the thugs who drove the family out. Incidents like this teach the people far more about the role of the troops than any amount of lecturing. At that weekend it became clear to many of them that the main aim of the troops was to prevent riots rather than defend a family from a mob which might otherwise riot.

For the section of the Catholics—the Republicans—who from the start have been more or less openly hostile to the troops, the situation is improving. At the start, when they forbade the

actions on the image of easy-going fraternity that the troops on the Falls were managing to communicate to the people. Similarly, by refusing the people's ambiguous indulgence in the "glamour" of the presence of the troops, they equally made themselves appear churlish. It has been the aim of the British, from the start, to appear to recognise the Republicans as the effective leadership while at the same time attempting to discredit them as a threat to the stability. There are periods when the military



(as the Republicans call the British troops to distinguish them from their own Army) ease up on "community projects" because they feel they are attracting hostility by too blatant a penetration into the street-culture. There are other times when "community-project" work appears to be speeded up in order to identify, expose and rout opposition to the penetration of that culture.

The Protestants

On the Protestant Shankill the situation is very different: if we were to divide the responses of the people, we would find three main groups—1. those advocating armed struggle against the troops; 2. those displaying open hostility to them, but who are not prepared at this

stage to engage in armed struggle; and 3. those who passively accept the present situation. There is nobody on the Shankill in favour of the troops.

Those who advocated armed struggle against the troops, and who have on a number of occasions practised it, are hostile to the troops for the declared reason that the troops stopped their reign of terror. This hostility is expressed openly as an attack on the troops' role of guarding the Fenians. Armed struggle is intended to create the conditions of the troops' withdrawal—at least to the tasks of protecting "vital installations". The number of those who advocate this policy is, of course, somewhat larger than those who would actually practise it, but it is still surprisingly big when the transparency of its self-declared aims is understood. For it makes a radical break with the majority attitude on the Shankill and departs in a number of important respects from the Shankill's self-image.

The majority attitude on the Shankill is open hostility, tempered by a certain restraint in exercising it. The basis of the hostility is not the presence of the troops at all but the attacks by the troops on civilians in the Shankill during the second and third weeks of October last.

This majority is in the mainstream of the Protestant working class in regarding itself as utterly innocent of all the various charges made against them. Instead, they regard themselves as the victims of an intolerable series of unprovoked attacks which the Unionist government has made no attempt to repulse. Hence their passive support of armed struggle. The first group of Protestant militants we discussed represent an important new factor because they are prepared to abandon all the old various ideological restraints which the majority still retains about the relative lack of aggressiveness of the Protestant people, and about their own open-heartedness beneath a bluff exterior, etc.

There is still a certain hesitation amongst the majority of Protestants in regarding the troops as British at all, for Britishness is felt to be somehow inseparable from their own domination—political and territorial. In short, for some hostility is tempered by a confusion which has

suspended their understanding of the situation, and which means that they play a more or less passive role.

The third group of people on the Shankill are those who, while not accepting the presence of the troops as a permanent possibility, are able to live with them now. This group includes what non-Unionist Party supporters there are, a section of those who have emigrated to England and returned, and probably some of the skilled employees who live in West Belfast. Like the supporters and members of the UVF they are prepared to grant the aggressiveness of the Protestant working class and they can see that the troops intervened to prevent the massacre of the Falls, yet they would rationalise this and reflect a certain brittle glamour on themselves by saying they were there to "keep us apart", to "keep us from each others' throats" because "we're a rough and ready people" with "fierce instincts". Like the majority of the Catholics, they do not participate, or participate only peripherally in the army's attempts at "get-togethers", etc., but would not prevent their children from attending such functions. They are the group whom the British Army's propaganda is most consistently aimed at, and they may be the bridgehead in the battle for the "hearts and minds" of the Protestants.

The troops' understanding of the situation

The ideology of the ordinary British soldier is fairly traditional, and a certain pride is taken in the ability to articulate it. Its boundaries are roughly as follows: the army is "all right once you are stuck into it", i.e. it is a career requiring the simultaneous qualities of dedication and resignation. It is "not so much a job, but a way of life"—a total institution which is also a profession, in which much pride is taken both in technical proficiency and also retaining humanity whilst being technically proficient. It is tough, but offers certain compensations. It is simultaneously necessary and "a mug's game" where the soldier is both aggressively reliable and an individual sharing with society at large certain inhibitions about aggression. One of its main features is that what the army does is supposed to be the incarnation of the living principles upon which British society is based. When the army finds itself in conflict with large sections of British society itself, the basis of this self-image is threatened. This is what has happened in Northern Ireland.

The troops are used to killing "wogs", or to keeping "wogs" from killing each other. They are not used to killing people waving Union Jacks and singing the National Anthem, and although none have shown the least hesitation in doing so, some have found the combination of it with the appalling conditions of Belfast more than slightly unnerving.

Most of the troops have resolved their utter incomprehension of the situation through expressing personal revulsion. A few, in fact surprisingly few, have expressed it in desertion and mutiny. All of them express it in their extraordinarily nervous relations with the local populace. Although some have found girl-friends, most have shown great hesitation in mixing with the locals and have had to fall back on the increasingly tense bonhomie of their comrades. There are more pub-fights in Northern Ireland between the troops than there are between troops and civilians. Their own lack of understanding of the situation is complemented by their commonly expressed belief that they are only a temporary solution.

The effect of the presence of the troops

The troops have dramatised the rather drab everyday lives of the people, and for the most part the populace has connived in this. This dramatisation sharpens the dull contours of face-to-face exchanges, but it also sharpens the conflict between the people, which has now been institutionalised. The presence of the troops has confirmed and completed, intensified and made permanent the division of the city by such devices as the "peace-line" which will literally "for ever" physically divide West Belfast. The "peace-line" is living proof of the antagonisms between the people preserved as a means of holding up to ridicule the future pos-



GLC Tenants. Politics not in Command.

In December 1967, the Tory GLC announced a 70% rent increase for its 240,000 GLC tenants; this rent increase was to be imposed in four instalments over a period of three years, the first to be effective from September 1968. Taking advantage of the delay, many thousands of tenants began to organise themselves: first into Tenants' associations on individual estates; then into wider coordinating bodies—the GLC Tenants' Action Committee, and the Tower Hamlets Federation—to which subsequently formed associations became affiliated. In September 1968, 20,000 tenants withheld this first increase.

Last summer, some 10,000 tenants who were still refusing to pay up, decided to question the legality of the increase, since grounds for a case against the GLC had been established. Individual writs were taken out by tenants against the GLC and slowly the clumsy machinery of the law came into action. Hopes were high. They stood a fifty/fifty chance of gaining a victory: a chance for legal victory in their struggle against rent increases.

The establishment are masters at injecting doses of apathy and low morale into working-class militancy. One method they use is the delaying tactic; the case did not reach court until December 1969 and final judgement was not passed until the case went through the Court of Appeal in January of this year—a delay of six months since the issue of the writ. The GLC also delayed: awaiting the result of the court battle, they announced that there would be no evictions for those who withheld rent increases, until after Christmas. They continued, however, to send notices to quit—in their hundreds.

The Tenants reacted by forming a Flying Squad: 1,200 volunteers on call, prepared to resort to violence in preventing eviction, should the attempt be made.

But then the delaying tactic began to have its effect; the first eviction attempt would probably not be made before the court case—but when would the court case come up? And when it did—would they win? Yes—it was possible. They could win the battle legally. And then they would not have to take militant action against evictions—at least, not those in connection with paying the first increase.

Establishment delaying tactics made the court case central to the Tenants' struggle; it gradually became the focus, and then the fulcrum of the fight. Attitudes shifted; at first the Tenants had seen a slim chance of victory in the court case, which would be only a temporary victory anyway; but as the months passed they came to depend on the result of the case—it would determine the future tone and direction of their struggle. The delay sapped morale; many tenants banked on legal victory for the continuation of their struggle.

Last month, the Court of Appeal announced its decision. The Tenants lost the case. Having come to depend on victory, for many this result was a hard blow. In the last fortnight a number of Tenants' Associations have voted to pay up the rent increase that they've been withholding for eighteen months. Today, Feb. 1st, between 1,000 and 1,500 are probably still withholding. Meanwhile, the Government, County Hall, and the London press, smirk—they think that this upstart tenant movement is crumbling.

They are wrong. In spite of many paying up their arrears, the movement is still strong; and its strength, ironically, lies in its declared "non-political" nature.

The Labour Government, feebly professing to represent the Working Classes, has shown many too tenants all too harshly that politics—establishment party politics—is nothing more than manipulation from above. They feel that they cannot trust the politicians in their role as manipulators; working from outside, they have no immediate experience of the particular problems that the tenants face; moreover, their motives as politicians are always "doubtful".

The attitude of the Labour Party as political manipulators of tenants has been typical in the way it has granted and offered concessions. These concessions have been simultaneously electioneering gambits and attempts to contain the growth of the movement, to keep it passive, so that it did not threaten Labour's class identity. The first of these concessions was granted by Greenwood, the Minister of Housing; under pressure from a violent demonstration outside his house, he vetoed the Tory GLC from imposing a second rent increase in July 1969. In-

evitably, this second rent increase has now been announced by the GLC as being effective from March 2nd, 1970—and the Government has allowed it. And of course the Labour minority at County Hall have jumped on this bandwagon; selling themselves for the GLC elections in April, they have promised that a Labour GLC will cancel the March rent increase, or those due in 1971.

The Labour Party also try to manipulate at more local levels, where as councillors or party members they attempt to control or direct Tenants' organisations.

For these reasons the GLC Tenants' movement is "non-political". They realise that they cannot trust "politicians"—whether they are Labour, Tory, Liberal, Communist, or extra-parliamentary left or right. A Tenants' movement must be run, the decisions taken, by the tenants themselves; and this is why the GLC Tenants are still strong—they have faith in themselves, in their own self-determination.

What was the GLC Tenants' Action Committee has now become the United Tenants' Action Committee. London Borough Council tenants, facing rent increases, have formed local associations and are fighting the same battle as the GLC tenants within the same larger organisation—the UTAC. Communications between London Council tenants and Council tenants in the rest of the country are improving—speakers are exchanged, etc. The movement is growing. It is part of a national tendency in the working classes at the moment: rejection of the Labour Party and the bureaucratised trade unions as effective political working class organisations in favour of self-determining, grass roots action. Chris Rawlence

Housing. Property Owners Unite.

The recent amalgamation of the Association of Land and Property Owners (ALPO), the National Federation of Property Owners (NFPO) and the Property Owners Protection Association (POPA), into a single new body—the National Association of Property Owners (NAPO)—is one of the most alarming moves to have been made recently in the property world.

ALPO was already a very strong pressure group for vested property interest: its council included such men as Nigel Brookes of Trafalgar House Investments, Louis Freedman of Ravenscroft Properties, D. S. Nixon of City of London Real Property, B. Stewart-Deane of the Freshwater Group—the biggest residential property owners, apart from the Government.

These men, their colleagues, and the companies they represent, constitute some of the most influential and powerful forces at work in

the property world today.

Brookes, for example, was perhaps the only man apart from Harry Hyams to become a multi-millionaire through property in the years 1959-68. After losing most of a £25,000 inheritance dabbling in hire-purchase and offhand development of Chelsea mews premises, he turned to his subject with a vengeance, and became one of the Third Schedule fiddlers—his company, in which he has a very large personal holding, is now worth at least £38.6m. in asset value.

The Third Schedule loophole was a device much exploited by developers in the late fifties and early sixties: it revolves around an error in the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, which laid down that developers could enlarge office buildings "up to 10% of their cubic content", without becoming eligible for any form of development charge. By putting in curtain walls in place of thick Victorian bricks, reducing the height of each storey by up to half, and primarily by squaring the premises up into an economic cube, the developer could provide five times as much floor space as was available on the old site, and charge many times the rent per square foot for modern accommodation without having to pay any development charge—as long, of course, as its "cubic content" was not more than 10% more than the old building.

Typical of the Third Schedule developments is the New Scotland Yard building in Queen Victoria Street, which replaces three Victorian

buildings, and, with a total office space of 400,000 square feet, has a ratio of site to floor space of 7:1 compared with the maximum allowed by the LCC for this area of 3.5:1. The reason the fuzzi's developers, Westminster Trust, were able to cheat and defy these restrictions was because in 1954 the Conservative Government had introduced an act which required local governments to compensate developers for the full hypothetical value of his development + profit, when refusing planning permission.

To put it in the simplest terms, the LCC had not got enough bread to stop the fuzzi doing what they wanted. The developers not only went, unstopped, against prevailing rules of local government in the area, but, by invoking that Third Schedule anomaly, escaped all development charge. That's police and property for you!

Anyway, Brookes is one of many of the multi-millionaire bosses of the National Association of Property Owners (NAPO), which, from January onwards, replaces ALPO, NFPO and POPA. The combination of the three makes the group a formidable force to contend with.

The former Chairman of ALPO, Mr. Gordon Dashwood, who is Managing Director of London County Freehold, a big property company, becomes Chairman of the new amalgamation of property owners' societies. Gordon Dashwood, writing in The Property Journal, organ of the new society, mused over the past achievements

of ALPO. "ALPO ... has sought to provide wise council to those who govern," he says. "Sometimes it has prevailed, other times blinding prejudice has denied the sane course."

Anyone with any ability to read between Dashwood's lines will know what he means: ALPO was an effective pressure group, though not as effective as he would have liked it to have been. It did, for example, force Parliament to change Section 33 of the Leasehold Reform Act, which prevented inordinate profit from the sale of flats.

It has, however, more ambitious projects on hand, including an immediate return to a free market in rents—which means a free-for-all in which **Rachmanism will be even more common** than it is today.

With the added force of the members and influence of NFPO and POPA, it now represents a very dire threat indeed.

It is this kind of organisation which should be persistently subjected to the closest conceivable scrutiny. NAPO members are, for example, already talking jubilantly about what they will do when the Conservative Government gets back to power. With the abolition of the Land Commission, the raising of the Office Development Ban, the lowering of Capital Gains Tax and Betterment Levy all very much much on the cards; their power and potential will be proportionately increased, and they may very well get their way with home rentals. They must be watched.

Schools Action Kingsdale Affair.

Over the past few weeks the bourgeois press and television have been giving wide and "sympathetic" coverage to the five pupils suspended from Kingsdale School in Dulwich, stressing that the "five unfortunate children" are being roughly treated by a mildly tyrannical headmaster and board of governors. But they try not to say why.

At the BBC, three of the Kingsdale students were assured that they would be asked no political questions; the programme was just about their "personal reactions".

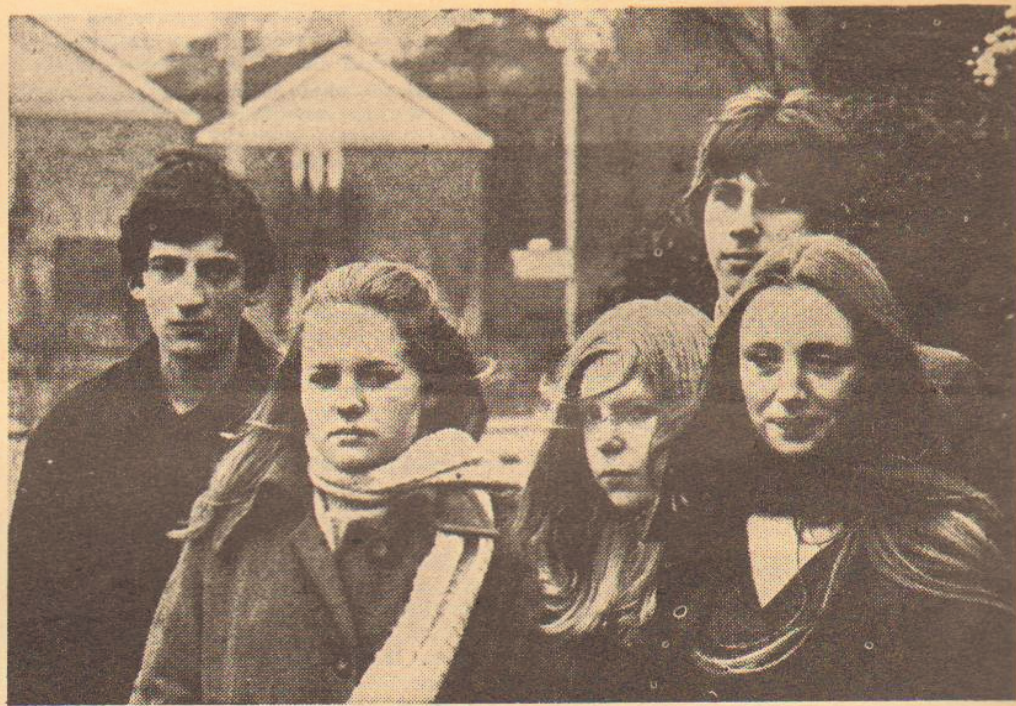
The students were victimised for participating in a one-day strike. They withdrew from school to take part in the Schools Action Union demonstration for an end to oppression of all

school students, and to protest the tremendous discrimination against working-class students. They thought that this action, so mild when compared to the struggles of their own teachers, let alone the working class, was within their "rights". They discovered that school students have no rights, except those that their parents exercise on their behalf.

But the media avoided these questions and concentrated on the five students as individuals. The bourgeoisie has learnt that it can distract people from the deep implications of oppression and victimisation by drumming up the personal aspect of injustices. Meanwhile the specific class forces which lie behind these injustices remain secure. To give them full credit, the media have done a very thorough job over the Kingsdale students.

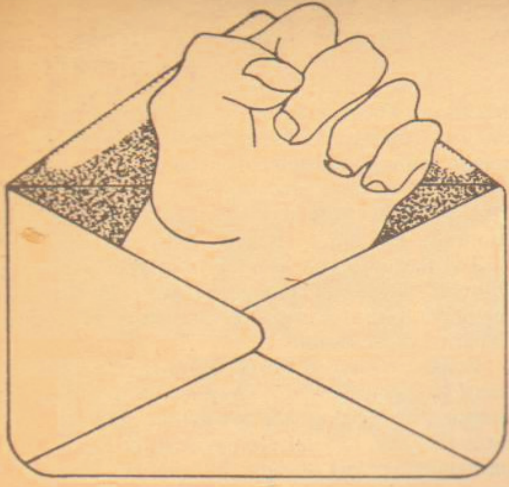
But they have also given the SAU a lot of publicity, and its membership and support is growing. Slowly the SAU is learning the basic rules of organisation, the dangers of fragmentation, the necessity of a clear political analysis. But it is only just beginning to do this, strengthened by the fact that in the schools, unlike the universities, working-class youth is beaten into submission ready for factory life.

Richard Lugg



Our new address is 182 Pentonville Road London N1

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LETTERS

Dear Comrades,

Thank you so much for your telegram; these thanks come not only from myself, but from all the Political Prisoners.

Your support is very much needed at this time. Throughout the country there exists now a mass student mobilisation and in the next few days we hope to see a national student strike. The prime cause and demands now being taken up by the students are the same as those in the Hunger Strike: the immediate and unconditional release of the Political Prisoners. Many schools from the national university are already on strike, such as the schools of medicine and economics.

On January 1, there was a riot here in the prison, in aggression against the Political Prisoners and the Hunger Strike. (You should be receiving an English translation of a document pertaining to the incident any day now c/o the Dwarf). We were attacked by hundreds of common criminals by order of the prison director, many comrades were injured (one shot, two knifed, about twenty severely beaten), all the possessions that we had (from blankets, clothing to every type of intellectual material including pen and paper) was stolen!

At this time, in addition to the support of protest with our Hunger Strike, we need donations of books, magazines (over half the prisoners read English and French), and every form of intellectual aid, in order to continue. Please make this known in the Dwarf, so that a collection may be taken (note: books sent must be sent one at a time and registered, or they will not be allowed to enter the prison). This help is needed very badly.

So that we can keep you and many others outside Mexico informed as to all happenings here, we are trying to have a small group organised at the university with the purpose of sending out all available material and news. We hope to have this working in about a week.

As to the Hunger Strike. Many of us, such as myself, are still able to do limited work, such as bulletins, correspondence, etc. Since the aggression on January 1, many have been taken to the hospital and had to leave the strike: all those who have left the strike were those in the worst condition after the riot of January 1. There are now about 50 of us in the Hunger Strike after 34 days, and will continue this protest for the immediate and unconditional release of all Political Prisoners.

I shall be waiting to see the next Dwarf.

Please accept my Revolutionary and Fraternal Greetings.

Venceremos! Philip Ames, Preventive Prison, Mexico City.

Dear Comrade,

It was a pity that Bob Purdie should have given such a facetious report of the working conference on Workers' Control held on the 11th January. Such snide remarks as "Lubricated with morning coffee..." in no way present an accurate picture of the conference. Perhaps Bob Purdie would have preferred not to have had his morning coffee? Or would that have been another reason for complaint about the organisation of the conference? Comrade Purdie says "The seminars were ... arid." How does he know this, since he apparently only attended one of them? As for the question of seminar report-backs, it seems that one can never satisfy some comrades; the organising committee had tried to arrange matters so that seminar reports would be circulated after the conference thus leaving most of the afternoon for discussion from the floor. However, the conference itself decided otherwise, and I entirely agree that this did somewhat limit the number of speakers from the floor.

As for the ramblings of John Cousins, had Bob Purdie stayed at the conference long enough he would have heard me—one of the organisers of the conference—disassociate myself from his speech and tell him to go back and do his homework on the question of productivity bargaining. Again I would entirely agree that

it was because it was the first one to be held in London, and therefore had the job of bringing together many people who had not attended such conferences before (despite the remarks about familiar faces). It was made quite clear by the organisers that this conference was only a beginning, and that we hoped that industry groups would come together to get down to more specific tasks.

It may surprise Comrade Purdie, but there are still millions of workers who have not yet even talked about workers' control, let alone acted upon the idea. Therefore it will be necessary to go on repeating many elementary ideas as new layers of workers come into contact with this campaign.

If Comrade Purdie wants to help out the campaign on the right lines, then let him come along and help organise it. We are an open and democratic movement and can do with all the help we can get.

Yours fraternally, Ken Tarback,
16a Holmdale Road, London N.W.6.

The Editor, Black Dwarf.
Dear Comrade,

In the last issue of *Black Dwarf* there was a review of the London Workers' Control Conference held during early January. Your correspondent gives the impression of failing to understand the Workers' Control movement as it has developed in this country.

It must be made clear that, unfortunately, the Workers' Control movement in Britain has been largely under the control of middle class academics. This has channelled its growth in a certain direction; conferences in colleges, seminars, academic plans for workers' control in a single industry unconnected with the actual struggles of the workers themselves, and a considerable delving into minutiae.

But perhaps more important, these conferences have acted as a left cover for a certain section of the Union bureaucracy. For example, Scanlon, Jack & Bill Jones have all used the Workers' Control movement to supply them with a left smokescreen of words while they were busy negotiating productivity deals and selling men and conditions down the river.

Bob Purdie appears to be under the illusion that the Sheffield Workers' Control Conference was different to all this; he says "the conference was useful in ensuring the success of the May 1st strike." But was this the case? No! Rather, the opposite was true! The May 1st strike was channelled into the direction desired by Scanlon and company, and as a consequence they were able to use it to reach a compromise with the Government, rather than revolutionaries being able to build upon it.

However, what is worse, he appears unable to understand the real differences between the Sheffield conference and the London conference. Between last year and this a lot has happened in industry. The left Trade Union leaders have been condemned in the eyes of many, many militants by their refusal to really fight the Government's policy of unemployment and cuts in both working and living standards. It is this growing awareness of the class which has, to a great extent, exposed the shallowness of the Workers' Control conferences. But at the same time it has made possible an effective intervention by revolutionaries.

In the London conference, for the first time, definite concrete measures were proposed to link the Workers' Control movement to the living struggle. In four of the seminars papers were submitted which attempted to link the conference with the real problems in the respective areas of work. In the transport seminar more was achieved—the setting up of a Workers' Control Committee which will attempt to intervene in the transport industry. Again, the POEU engineer who spoke played as decisive a role as John Cousins in the final session of the conference. After his attack on productivity bargaining the whole conference was polarised. Those of the organisers who spoke were forced to state their position vis a vis Cousins' contribution.

In his final paragraph Purdie explains that the Workers' Control movement will only be able to effectively help the workers if it becomes involved in the real movement. This is unarguably correct. But it does not attempt to answer the question of how it will become involved.

Quite clearly the present academics and Union lefties will attempt to block all such moves. Revolutionaries have to fight to ensure that the undoubted influence that the Workers' Control movement has is not left in the hands of this centrist strata. We must be in there fighting!

Yours fraternally,
John Peters, Socialist Society, Chelsea College of Science and Technology, Manresa Road, London, S.W.6.

Dear Dwarf,

On the subject of what should be included in *Black Dwarf*, I think that you should devote some space to a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the so-called People's Democracies explaining the bureaucratic, counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism. Remember that the British working-class are if anything anti-socialist. There will be no revolution while the proletariat continues to

Dear Comrades,

The Glasgow *Black Dwarf* Circle has been meeting weekly since it was formed last Autumn. As it is now established with a more or less permanent meeting place and regular attendance, it was decided to discuss the future role of the Circle and suggestions that comrades had as to the contents of the *Dwarf* itself, and to give a report. Firstly, though, I would like to outline briefly the course which the Circle has taken over the last few months.

When the Circle began, arrangements were made to have speakers come to the first few meetings, and give an introduction on a particular topic, after which they would answer comrades' questions and a general discussion would develop. Since that time, members of the Circle have prepared introductions on topics centred around a *Dwarf* article or on a subject of the comrades' choice. Among the subjects discussed have been Czechoslovakia, South Africa, Apprentices' conditions and "Workers' Control". It has also been part of our function to try to involve the members in other political activities, e.g. VSC and the Springboks demo's, Ernest Mandel's recent visit and a young workers' committee which is now developing in the area. At the meeting prior to the Xmas period, we discussed the function of the Circle, a programme of future discussions, and any suggestions the comrades had for improving the *Dwarf*.

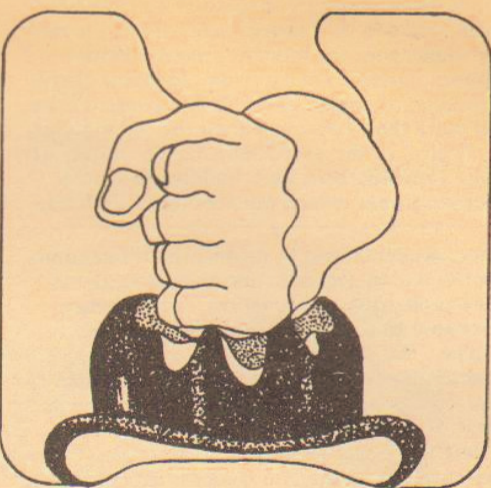
It was agreed that the Circle, like the Dwarf, should be non-sectarian, its primary function being to attract young people, students and workers, who are becoming interested in the kind of politics they find in the *Dwarf*, and provide a framework within which they can discuss, argue and learn about political theory and tactics. We will continue to publicise other political activities and encourage newcomers to develop their interest and take part in political activity.

It was also agreed that we should try and make contact with other *Dwarf* groups and maintain contact with the *Dwarf* office, keeping the paper informed of any interesting developments in the area. On the *Dwarf* itself, the comrades were rather critical of several recent cover pages and suggest this point could be improved upon; also, could we please have some articles on British Labour history, and if possible, bibliographies accompanying the main articles.

These suggestions for improvement were generally agreed upon. However, they only deal with minor items; the general opinion is that the *Dwarf* fills a definite need of the young people on the British left and does so very adequately.

We hope this letter will encourage comrades in other areas to set up similar groups around the paper, and use the pages of the *Dwarf* to help each other by sharing experiences.

John Blackburn, Glasgow Black Dwarf Readers Circle.



CITY DWARF

I frequently find myself in arguments with fellow revolutionary socialists who state that the City, and all that it stands for, is "too materialistically minded". The truth of the matter is that it is not materialistic enough. Instead of being concerned with production, it is interested in abstraction: instead of being concerned with materials, it is intent on the manipulation of prices. It pursues, in fact, that basic game of juggling with intangibles which is rightly called speculation. The prize for the winners is a stint in the money=power equation.

Nothing proves my point more than the Commodity markets. These function in three main centres, the London Commodity Exchange at Plantation House in Mincing Lane, the Baltic Exchange in St. Mary Axe, and the London Metal Exchange in Whittington Avenue—all deep in the heart of the City.

The Commodity markets deal in almost anything from soya beans to apricot kernels, but the most important markets at Plantation House are cocoa, sugar, coffee, jute and rubber. At the Baltic, it's everything from sunflower seed to barley, all corn, seed and maize...

frequented only by those interested in buying these products as raw materials is in for a shock.

The bulk of the business in any of these so-called terminal markets is in "futures" for the products concerned, and the markets are boosted out of all proportion by speculators, out for an easy penny or a quick buck.

A futures market is open to the wildest forms of abuse.

Every so often one gets a sudden upsurge in price in a particular commodity: cocoa, sugar, tin and copper are the four which provide the most fun and games, though it is cocoa which can really become unbalanced.

In late 1968/early 1969 we had a characteristic example of cocoa-mania. For several years, world consumption of cocoa had exceeded production, the difference being made up out of "stock". The outlook for the crop being gathered in seemed bleak, and reports of early harvesting showed that quantities were likely to be lower than even the year before. The price of cocoa in early August 1968 was about 250s. per cwt.; under heavy speculative buying it began to soar. Speculators pushed the price up and up, and genuine manufacturers had to vie with them in the market (the effect of this little game on the public was, of course, an increase in the price of chocolate).

Once cocoa-fever catches, it is one of the most infectious diseases in the City. Geraldine Keene, then Commodities Correspondent of the *Times*, announced that cocoa might "go up to 800s. per cwt." Gill and Duffus, cocoa dealers, advised a "general upward trend", and the reports rolled in about adverse weather conditions, rutted roads, political unrest leading to the destruction of the crop, and black-pod.

Nothing, of course, could have made the speculators happier. Each new Ghanaian disaster was manna from heaven.

The focal point of the markets is the "ring", where business in each commodity is conducted every day, during which time brokers buy and sell rapidly in much the same way as "jobbers" function on the floor of the Stock Exchange.

Figures emerge not only for the day's price of any given commodity, but for its prices for up to a year hence at fixed intervals of time.

This is, of course, an open invitation to speculation. If you have any good reason to think that cocoa—the most volatile and sensitive of the commodity markets—is going to be in short supply in a year's time, either through political information you have received about the situation in Ghana, biological knowledge about the state of play with the black-pod disease, or advance meteorological information, you can always buy "twelve month cocoa" (in lots of five tons).

If the predictions you have made come true, and the Ghanaians lie starving in the mud, the price of cocoa will soar, and you will have a little certificate guaranteeing the delivery to you on a specified date, which, of course, you sell before the goods arrive, at very considerable profit.

This is the basis of all speculation in commodities: it is, in fact, straight-forward gambling with essential products.

The excuse for the charade is that the grower or producer can plan ahead, and get an even price throughout the year for his goods by "selling forward" and picking his prices; thus he can insure against slumps and gluts and guarantee his crop early in the season.

However, the only real "grower" in England affected by the London Commodity Exchanges is the Home Grown Grain grower, and officials at the Baltic have often commented on his reluctance to use their service.

The important thing is that it is reports and not facts which most radically affect a market.

One incident that cannot readily be forgotten from this alarmist period proves the point.

The Commodities Section of the *Daily Telegraph* detailed a journalist to produce a comprehensive report on the situation in Ghana right in the middle of the cocoa frenzy. It is kindest to suppose that the writer, who was inexperienced, was motivated by ignorance. In October an article appeared hinting at secret mounds of cocoa hidden away in Ghanaian stockpiles.

The next day the price of cocoa crashed.

The following day the *Telegraph* published an apology.

The price of cocoa soared again.

It is not difficult to see that under these circumstances talk of a "free market" is absolutely meaningless. The possibilities for corruption are infinite. Simply by talking about a shortage one can create one: two minute markets, pepper and birdseed, have both been subjected to this treatment in recent months. By giving maximum publicity to minimal fluctuations in supply you can force the price of such commodities up without any difficulty—particularly if you are comfortably sitting on stock, or clutching hypothetical stock in the form of futures.

In fact, commodity markets are nothing but mirrors reflecting capitalist avarice and greed. The market has become detached from the materials. The average speculator never sees a

The Banana Republics of Middle Class Ideology. Teach the Schools a Lesson.

By comparison with Germany, France, Italy and the States, the schools movement in this country seems to make little progress. Part of the fault lies in the way we have been analysing the situation; in the mechanical linking of capitalism and education. Schools are not completely isolated from their social setting, and their cultural arrangements are affected by "outside" issues. Because this is so, however, it should not allow us to ignore the unique dynamic within the school, even though it should encourage us to avoid crass mechanical slogans. This article aims at exploring the cultural links of repressive regimentation.

The school is lived through. Students are part of a social fabric and may find it difficult to stand back and analyse the threads with which their lives are interwoven. First the artificial notion of community which is engendered by the school as an institution.

It is no accident that most schools are surrounded by high walls or fences. The reason is not simply that they keep the students in, but, rather, that they keep most of the rest of the world out. They offer the first line of defence, the first screen, in that they symbolise the school's function which is to determine, with some precision, which portions of "reality" from the outside world should be deemed suitable for internal consumption. Any community which forbids already existing freedoms is partial or mediated and must find artificial ways of expressing what it tries to make believe is real. Hence the substitution of the phoney symbols of community, the teams, the song, the spirit: reminiscent of the nationalist-inspired local street names that the "government" of a Latin American Banana Republic is allowed to erect with the permission of the Yankee administrator.

The school has to remain an unreal, filtered community, because the nature of its narrow middle-class training methods cannot succeed if unprotected from the contradictions of capitalist culture, while the contents of its courses cannot live up to a world where substantially different or broader experiences are available. The school has, then, to institute protective

and forcing mechanisms on three levels, each of which is fraught with their own contradictions. The three levels are style, attendance, and education itself. They are linked by the dimension of ideology which is insipid in content and virulent in its application. It is necessary to reveal the contradictions on each level as they provide the clues to a strategy and to subsequent tactics which are the platform from which to smash bourgeois educational ideology.

By style I refer to the manner in which the school, as an institution, wishes to present itself. It takes in the student's dress, his uniform, the length of his hair, right through to behaviour in the streets, to what "gives the School a good/bad name", and to what differentiates it from other schools. The selection of these factors as the determinants of style, to be controlled by the school's administration, is quite arbitrary. It seeks conformity solely for its own sake, and its style is at odds with the surrounding society, where dress can be at its most individual, hair at its longest or shortest, and behaviour (degree of inhibition) most subject to personal choice. Once an arbitrary restraint is placed on styles, which is the easiest way to manifest individuality, a system of policing must be instituted with it, to control the contradiction. The prefect system does this and institutes formal notions of "earned" authority as a reward. The selection of prefects is made on the basis of their conformity to the school's arbitrary style.

The existence of prefects is also the tip of the iceberg of school privilege systems, each school differing from the others in the permutations of the hierarchy of the permitted. At a certain stage, boys will be eligible to stop wearing their caps; at another, they will be allowed to walk the "wrong" way down the corridors; at a third, they need not go out into the playground and can use the library, if it exists; etc. We all recognise the system of privileges unique to a school, at the peak of which stands the prefect system. The function of the whole system is that it is at once ubiquitous and trivial. Everyone obeys it, and when it is challenged even in discussion, everyone recognises its absurdity but feels it's "not worth doing anything about, it's so trivial". With the passage of time, it becomes more absurd and more traditional. Finally, the militants are left facing this enormous body of governing regulation with no more significant demand in their hands than a redistribution of the absurd privilege.

The existence of the prefects, then, shows that the administration knows that under most circumstances students will not accept the rules and must be coerced, and that they reinforce repressive culture, in particular by forcing opposition to the authorities onto the terms of the authorities themselves.

Little needs to be said about attendance. Its function is obvious; you can't mould someone you haven't got your clutches on. He cannot come and go as boredom dictates. His hours must be structured with precision. He will be

induced to volunteer for this attendance because he knows that he won't make whatever peak is on his horizon, CSE, O-, A-, Q-levels, and graduate to the next range, unless he is punctual and regular. Just as punctuality and regularity of the bowels is a sign of probable success in treatment in hospital, so it is the virtue, if not the activity, which demarks the likely pupil at school.

The third level, education itself, shows the most interesting and overt facets of ideology though this pervades the first two levels. There are probably very few students who really think the time they spend at school is worthwhile. When they are there, they are emotionally elsewhere, creatively nowhere. Apathy is the limited recognition of this, and is a partially correct attitude. Once a critical effort is made at insight into courses, their nature becomes manifest. It is essential that we do this. It is no "mere" intellectual pursuit; it is the way of creating a new education. Both the manner of teaching and the content of the courses are designed to channel, not only into narrowing specialisation, but into learning "correct knowledge". The "guidance" they give in facing a subject amounts to a massive evasion of it, because any student who comes to accept that there is a prefabricated one-dimensional knowledge, containing an implicit moral code, has consigned his education to a system as exciting as the Eurovision Song Contest. Only a brief look at the depth of some courses is possible here. Analysis of every course, in depth, has still to take place.

Considering the rendering of English; not only is there an extremely thin spread of the classical authors, but their treatment is an introduction to a form of criticism found sterile in the Universities a decade back. As a form of analysis, it leads you to believe that no book was ever written by an author living at a describable historical moment. It admits only literary influence. The author becomes the interesting subject for amateur psychoanalysis; did Strindberg hate his mother? Comment on his state of mind. And as for the appearance of contemporary authors in the English course—well, who can even spell Ferlinghetti. The trouble is that modern authors have this unhealthy and delicate concern for the sexual (Viva Portnoy), which is not quite the thing for our galls. (There is a girl's school where Oscar Wilde must not be mentioned). When one looks at History studies, the only possible reaction is to wince. I had a history book at school which said, "The Working Class did make some contribution to the Industrial Revolution, and were even involved in some cultural pursuits including the formation of colliery brass bands, but on the whole, their effect was to hinder the industrial changes which were transforming England".

The study of Civics, or Current Affairs, is the final give-away. It is a predigested and easily assimilable account of How Things Really Work and How One Gets Things Done. The world view of the administrator, administering the "problem" family in the manner of the Poor

Law Executor is precisely the standpoint of the school's administration. It is a world peopled omnipotent, all-seeing, paternalistic adults, guiding miscreant waifs down life's troubled paths. It precludes any mention of men who take their problems into their own hands. The courses typify the contradiction at the educational level between the needs of declining bourgeois society to discipline its members' minds into acquiescence, and the needs of a society of producers, whose minds must be open to the potentialities of the creative production of use values. The rationale is the production malleable man (woman) power; the mode of operation that sustains it accounts for the predicament of student and teacher.

It is tempting to consign most teachers to the category of vicious crooks, but this does not say why they have ended up there. Many began with liberal notions, and they certainly couldn't have imagined they'd make their fortune in teaching. However, over the years, with the inevitability of dry rot, passivity and tiredness have taken over, bloody-minded repressiveness becomes easier than education. The liber aspirant ends up in the same ideological position as the administration and becomes incapable of establishing contact with students. He capitulates to feeding in material data (even in the "creative" subjects) which are contradicted by the "facts" existing all around him; he encourages most students to be happy to leave school (and "earn money") at the age of fifteen; he must encourage others to go through mind-bending changes and help their friends through them. He becomes the agent of the administration.

It is no use to attribute the break-down of the student's potential to the cigar-sucking capitalist directing operations from behind the headmaster's cane cupboard. The truth is that the administration have taken capitalism's social goals to themselves and evolved cultural means of seeing them through. This administrative totalitarianism makes them vulnerable at their own level; In The School. Their mode of operation, in all its absurdity, on each level, is characterised by this enforcement of regimentation. The primary mode of counter-action is anti-regimentation, whether physical or mental. This cannot be taken to mean individuality of action which cannot confront well-organised authority. ANTI-REGIMENTATION REQUIRES ORGANISATION. Only an organised struggle can attain a free, realistic and viable education for all students. Organisation demands a vanguard, which, to become a political driving force, must remain distinct and exemplary in its politics, so that however small it is, it is a motor force. It must not contribute to isolation by a crass political style, or by failing to form common fronts to fight some issues. There must be both a distinguishing line between the vanguard and others, and a real merging of its political leadership with the interest of the majority. It is at this point that agitation is really on the agenda. David Triesman

London Students. Militancy becomes the Norm.

Following upon the heels of the post-May '68 euphoria, the student movement in London has settled down to a period of stable, unspectacular growth and diversification. Spreading out from the pinnacle of last year's extravaganza at LSE, there have been thus far break-ups of administrative meetings at University College, Imperial College, and the School of Oriental and African Studies. Imperial College and North-west Poi, technic have had refectory boycotts, and the latter also had a lengthy sit-in and barricade of the administrative block in support of 50% student participation on all college committees. In late January, students at the Institute of Education voted overwhelmingly to occupy the main Assembly Hall for an all-day strike and teach-in in support of striking teachers. The administration, however, finally allowed them the use of the hall, and most departments cancelled their classes, thus avoiding a confrontation.

SOAS's confrontation took place on October 21st when the University Grants Committee held a special backroom meeting there. Thirty-five unruly natives promptly integrated the gathering, and the bigwigs walked out. Although the usual "warning" letter was duly sent, no one was disciplined. The same day, about 40 students marched on the administration building of London University to protest its links racist interests in Southern Africa (as exemplified by the presence of head governor and Tory Shadow Defence Minister Geoffrey

students protested against the arrests and the bureaucracy's ties with University College, Rhodesia. The machine replied to student demands about the UCR link by proclaiming that they would break them only when they thought this would do the "most good". Ian Smith unfortunately didn't wait, and last month broke the link with London University himself, illustrating his sensitivity to protest demos of this kind, and the absolute phoniness of university bureaucrats.

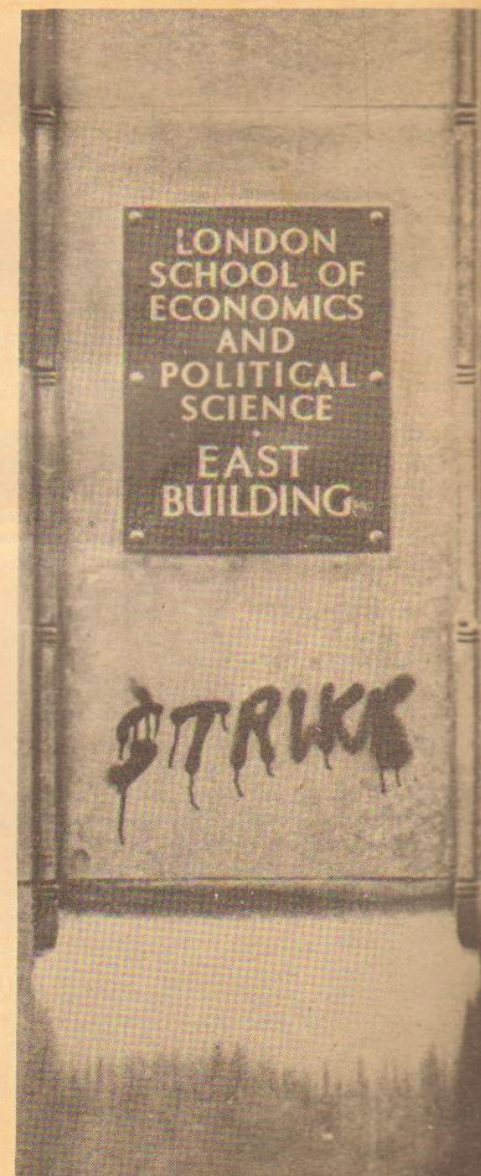
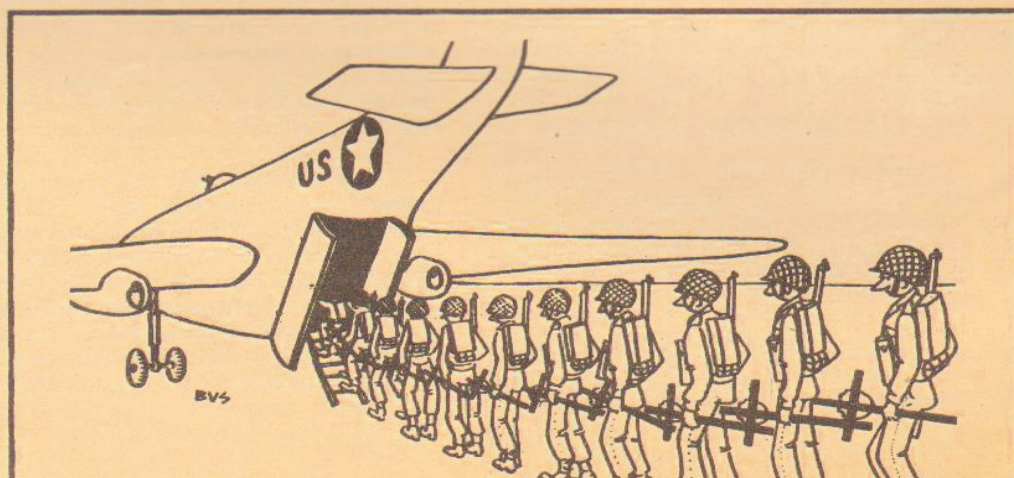
City University recently went into high gear over threats by the Vice Chancellor to issue writs against the editorial board of the student newspaper, because of "libellous" attacks it had made on him. A determined consolidation of student support and the threat of a sit-in caused him to back down. He can safely be relied on to do something stupid in the future. At Bedford College the big issue has been the backroom planning now going on to "rationalise" the College in line with pressures from the Department of Education and Science. The administration already has a huge overdraft (of about £100,000). The students there are tiring of the polite confidential discussions now going on over what departments might be chopped, and recently they passed hard-line union resolutions

demanding full disclosure of all confidential documents and minutes on the coming rationalisation, a full-afternoon student/staff meeting on the future of Bedford and the cancellation of all classes for that occasion, or else...

At LSE, despite the large number of windows broken in recent weeks and the usual panoply of false fire alarms, things look, for the moment, fairly quiet. However, a large general assembly recently voted to take direct action against the administration if there is any victimisation for the break-up of Civil Service Head Sir William Armstrong's lecture on December 4th. Two students already have High Court injunctions for their alleged part in those events, and if the authorities go further it could lead to yet another uprising. In short, though the student movement in London is not getting quite the press coverage it did a year ago, things still look quite interesting.

Paul Hoch

Paul Hoch is co-author of the Sheed and Ward paperback *The Natives are Restless*, the only book to give a full account of the LSE events and the press and national response to them.



Revolutionary students in Britain have retreated into a confused silence. We have decided to reopen debate on the political question facing students by printing this discussion document written by militants of the French Communist League for the IVth International.

1. The student movement in the 1960s was everywhere in the vanguard of the reviving revolutionary struggles. The particular political mobility of the student milieu arises from the accumulating superstructural contradictions of which it is the focus: the crisis of bourgeois ideology which affects the youth as a whole; the problems of employment, training, and professional careers which concern the intellectual workers; and the institutional crisis of the university.

2. A component part of the youth in general, the students were the first to be affected by the crisis of bourgeois ideology, which they are called upon to glorify and perpetuate. The bourgeoisie in the period of decaying capitalism is not the creative bourgeoisie that rose to power to accomplish its historical tasks. The values, morals, and history of this bourgeoisie can inspire no enthusiasm. The cause of the crisis seems clear—the youth cannot identify its hopes with those of the bourgeoisie, or tie its fate to this moribund class. This is all the more true because the values so much preached by the schools, the academies, and the authorities, are denied daily by the crimes imperialism commits in its death throes. Losing its morality and ideals, the bourgeoisie has replaced them with advertising slogans. It no longer seeks to inspire defence of the ideals of the rising bourgeoisie ("liberty" and "equality") but conformity to the robot image of the average consumer, the mediocre bourgeois of the period of decadence. No young generation can identify with this ideology. And more than any other young people—since they are the heir apparent and the appointed continuers of this tradition—the students experience the crisis of bourgeois ideology very intensely.

3. As future "professionals", the students are haunted by the problems of employment. In those branches where the professional perspectives are precisely defined, to be a future specialist is frequently synonymous with future unemployment as a consequence of the imperatives of continual economic reorganisation. In the liberal professions, long years of study often culminate in beginning a slow climb in the restricted hierarchies.

4. More specifically, the students find themselves in the centre of a contradiction which they may strive to surmount but which they can never resolve because it involves the fundamental contradiction in the capitalist mode of production—the contradiction between developing the productive forces and maintaining the relations of production. This same contradiction bears on the universities which are compelled to respond simultaneously to two contradictory demands—(1) advancing the productive forces through a general increase in the level of skills at the price of an increase in the social costs of training; and (2) retaining the productive relationships through fragmentation of knowledge, discriminatory recruitment, and respecting the private profits of the capitalists as individuals. The bourgeoisie everywhere tries to deal with this contradiction by measures and reforms which themselves are hybrid and contradictory and which perpetuate the institutional crisis and instability of the university.

5. The increasing needs for skilled manpower are bringing about a diversification of university recruitment and its extension to the middle strata. These strata, attracted by the prospects of assimilation into the upper classes, do not bring rebellion into the universities with them. But everywhere they are an element of instability. Caught between an insecure family background and an uncertain professional future, the children of the petty bourgeoisie on occasion are ready to make the authorities pay for the insecurity and anguish which is their lot.

6. The student population, rooted in the contradiction of the university, lacks both social and political homogeneity. Even if the time spent in school has been extended, even if the concentration of university complexes has reached immense proportions, even if the diversification of university recruitment and the professional careers open to students create stronger ties than ever between them and the rest of their generation in the high schools and factories, for all that the contradiction in the university system does not constitute an objective foundation for bringing the students as such over to the side of the proletariat and does not make the students natural allies of the workers. There are no homogeneous student interests to defend



STUDENTS AND

poles are outside the university, in the class confrontation between the bourgeoisie and the working class on the national and international scale. A part of the students have aligned themselves with the established order, whose benefits they are destined to share; another part have gone over to the proletariat. But there is nothing natural and spontaneous about this lineup—especially when the workers—deprived of revolutionary leadership—fumble and mark time.

8. This is why in the advanced capitalist countries the politicalisation of the students has generally taken the path of anti-imperialist struggle. The students have not found the least perspective in the Social Democratic or Stalinist workers organisations in their own country, which have submitted to the status quo. As a result, the Vietnamese revolution provided a symbol and an example of the proletariat in which a part of the student population recognised what it was waiting for and which restored its hope.

9. Moreover, mobile, unstable, and continually renewed, the student milieu provides few openings for the working class bureaucracies, above all at a time when the crisis of Stalinism and its ideology echoes that of the bourgeoisie. Thus the student movement represents the weakest link in the chain of political integration forged and maintained by the bourgeoisie and the Social Democratic and Stalinist leaders to preserve the international status quo.

10. Shaken by the interplay of contradictions all of which come to a focus on the campus, the university population produced a powerful student movement. Impelled by the crisis of bourgeois ideology and of the educational structures, and inspired by the example of the colonial revolution, this student movement escaped the control of the working-class bureaucracies. The extreme contradiction in the universities has given the student movement an energy which has enabled it, alone and in spite of its isolation, to wage vanguard struggles distinguished by a revival of violent forms of combat, of direct action, in defiance of the political rules of the game accepted by the working-class leaderships.

11. However, the student movement by itself cannot deal with the contradiction of the university, which rests on the very foundations of capitalism. It is incapable of political and programmatic independence from the working class.

12. As a result, the student movement is torn between its revolutionary vocation and the objective limits of the university community, between its mass character and its role as a substitute vanguard, at a time when, as the weakest link in the political system, it finds itself thrown into the vanguard of the struggle

be analysed as a distinct entity; one could only describe its fluctuations, often irrational and unpredictable. In order to understand it and give it political direction, it must be analysed in connection with the variations of the coordinates that condition its existence and its development, for in itself the student movement has no history or memory. These coordinates are on the one hand the workers movement (the extent of its mobilisation, the political forces which compose it) and on the other the development of the revolutionary vanguard, which is still in too embryonic form to really play a leadership role.

14. The evolution of the French student movement illustrates the relationship between the student movement and the workers movement in a very complete way. After the Algerian war, in a period of relative quiescence in working-class struggles, the student movement became the guilty conscience of the workers movement. Against the spurious rationality of the bourgeoisie, it counterposed its own programmatic rationality—it relied on the power of reason and the word to unmask the contradictions of capitalism and demonstrate the validity of the socialist view without having to take into account a relationship of social forces caused by lack of mobilisation of class.

15. In the period of reviving workers' struggles, the student movement, inspired by the revolutionary groups that had broken away from the Social Democracy or the Stalinist movement, rediscovered the possibility of the workers' movement and the possibility of linking up with it. In this period, the student movement constituted itself either as pressure groups acting on the workers' movement or as supporters of the workers' movement. As a pressure group, the student movement acted through liaisons with the unions on common problems (training, employment); as a supporting force through populist groups inspired by Maoist groups. During this period, the developing student movement slipped into the pre-existing structures of academic vocational associations where it found an ideological forum and a vaguely unionist rubric that legitimised its attempt at hybrid unionism.

16. The student movement could not remain forever on this tight leash, drawn behind a workers' movement under Stalinist or Social Democratic domination. It had to either submit and return to the bosom of the "democratic" forces or rely on the resources of the student population and alone, or at the risk of isolating itself, take the initiative and try to upset the status quo in the class struggle. The student movement was driven to this choice. Economic struggles that were halted or diverted as they ran up against a state speaking in the name of the "national interest" seemed increasingly futile. Thus, the

movement at its birth was typical. Along with this movement, the vanguard groups took the initiative of combining the fragmented political activities of the student movement into an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and anti-bureaucratic movement. After this turn, the student movement ceased to follow its natural channels; it was organised by the vanguard groups which defined its role and its objectives, no longer in accordance with campus criteria but in accordance with the general relation of forces, an overall evaluation of the class struggle. In this altered form, the student movement acquired the means to play the role of a temporary substitute vanguard, of accelerator or detonator of the class struggle, more by its exemplary forms of struggle than by its programmatic content.

17. Once the workers' movement began to struggle, the student movement could not continue to play its role of substitute vanguard by giving an example of determination and courage. The workers cannot limit themselves to moving through the tactical breaches opened up by the students. They need strategic perspectives and slogans which the student movement, incapable by itself of going beyond a certain level of political comprehension—that of petty-bourgeois radicalism—cannot provide. In the face of this problem, the student movement yields to the revolutionary vanguard.

18. The temporary vanguard role played by the student movement is not a novelty requiring any revision of Marxism. Already Engels, Trotsky, Mao Tse-tung hailed the vanguard role played by students in Austria in 1850, in China in 1919. This role merely testified to the fact that the bourgeoisie was no longer vigorous enough to make its revolution and the proletariat was not yet mature enough to lead its own. Today, the vanguard role of the student movement is no longer a sign of the insufficient objective maturity of the proletariat but of the bankruptcy of its Social Democratic or Stalinist leaderships.

19. It is no less true that the student movement can only play this role with the perspective of a link-up very shortly with the workers movement. Without this perspective, the student movement is condemned to maintain an impossible balance between its revolutionary function and its mass character, continually pulled by reformism on the one side and ultraleftism on the other. This contradiction can be resolved only by constructing and developing a revolutionary organisation capable of transcending the student "point of view" and offering a strategic design, an organisation capable of playing a vanguard role in the workers movement as well as in the student movement.

20. Building such an organisation demands qualities of doggedness, of perseverance, of



Photograph of Jan. 25 Vietnam Demonstration by Michele Moschella

THE VANGUARD

This is why we see the flowering in the student movement of a gamut of ideologies that are just so many escape routes from the fundamental task of building the revolutionary organisation.

21. An early variant of these ideological evasions consisted in the dynamics of a group, a phase of introspection in which the student movement searched for the reasons for its political impotence in its own lack of consciousness. A subvariant was populism by which the movement endeavoured to efface itself by doing penance in the service of the masses—all under the theoretical aegis of Mao's thought. Introspection and populism are the infantile deliriums of the student movement.

22. Anarchism and spontaneism are its adolescent deliriums. Incapable of surmounting the contradiction in the student movement (between its revolutionary role and its mass character), the anarchists prefer to deny this movement outright. For them the student population is sociologically petty bourgeois; consequently there can be no revolutionary student movement, only anarchist militants intervening in the student milieu by direct action and propaganda of the deed. The objective is, by means of the question of violence, to radicalise this student petty bourgeoisie still tainted with a squeamish humanism. The objective is to draw the student masses into the wake of an activist minority. But since the "solidarity" of the mass of students is associated more with sentiment than political consciousness, it would be futile to try to give it an organisational form.

23. As incapable of resolving the contradiction as their anarchist cousins, the spontaneists dissolve the student movement in the cultural revolution. For them the students are a natural ally of the proletariat. The only obstacle in the way of revolution is the lingering fascination of decaying bourgeois ideology, the cop everyone carries in his head. Through a spiritual conversion, termed cultural revolution for the occasion, everyone must drive the cop out of his head. In this way he comes directly to the revolutionary movement (without class distinctions) and not to the student movement. In a word, between the student under the spell of bourgeois ideology and learning and the revolutionary militant there is no longer any place for an overly encumbering student movement. The problem is thus resolved but not solved.

24. The common denominator of these student ideologies is an anti-authoritarianism which combines the student movement's awareness of the hoax of the strong state and its resentment of a hated father figure. The student movement blames the bourgeois

by seeking a new anti-authoritarian humanism into which it dissolves the class struggle. And since it does not have the means of carrying out a proletarian revolution by itself, it contents itself with a "cultural revolution". It attacks culture by preference because it began by sustaining itself from it. Mao-spontaneism is the most all-inclusive cocktail of student ideologies in which populism, spontaneism, and anti-authoritarianism blend. All these ideologies converge on one point and that is to reject the revolutionary organisation which threatens them as their own negation.

25. In the period when new vanguards are emerging from the youth radicalisation, these vanguards find a favourable environment for growth in the student milieu. Since they are too weak to confront the bourgeois regime directly or to compete with the recognised working-class leaderships, the student movement offers these organisations shelter and protection. By its mass mobilisation, the student movement compensates for the vanguard groups' weakness. During this period these new vanguards are primarily student groups regarding themselves as parricidal offspring of Stalinism or the Social Democracy. It is only through transforming themselves that they can link up with the Fourth International which is the bearer of the strategical acquisitions that constitute the alternative to Stalinism.

26. This transformation enables the incipient revolutionary organisation to raise itself to the level of an overall strategic understanding, and to finish off the student group outlook that perpetuates the social and political characteristics of the student movement. The revolutionary organisation must be virtually torn out of the student movement.

27. The student movement as such has neither memory nor history, it is absorbed in ephemeral actions, in acts of bearing witness, in spectacular demonstrations. In contrast, the intervention of the vanguard is not spectacular. By organising and training militants it weaves the fabric of the political memory of the student movement. It is the mast that bears the sails of the student mobilisation. It is vertical with respect to the horizontal dispersion of student agitation (anarcho-Maoist agitational focuses). Through the improvisations of the student movement it traces the coherence of its own revolutionary design. The balancing of the student movement between reformism and ultraleftism cannot be broken except by the hammering intervention of the revolutionary organisation.

28. The development and reinforcement of the revolutionary organisation does not mean

of a revolutionary organisation makes it possible to reconstitute the student movement, which is foundering in repetitious actions dictated by its contradiction, into a movement of the youth in general. This broadening is a precondition for increasing the mass movement's capacity for struggle. It has been made possible by modifications in the relationship of forces between the vanguard and the state, between the vanguard and the bureaucratic working-class leaderships.

29. The basis for such a youth movement lies in the struggle against the regimentation of youth. This regimentation begins with vocational training in all its forms (high schools, universities, apprenticeship, technical education). It includes the housing, transportation, and working conditions imposed on youth; the organisation of amusements, culture, competitive sports, all the repressive recreational structures offered to the youth (scouting, camps, athletic clubs); and sexual oppression. Finally this regimentation culminates in the army, the last stage of integration into bourgeois society.

30. The youth, not having gone through the great defeats of the working class, does not bear the burden of this dead past. It is a profoundly powerful element of political renewal and is shaking the bureaucratic yokes.

31. The mass youth movement we have to strive to develop must be distinguished, however, from the youth affiliate of a revolutionary organisation. Such a youth affiliate assumes the existence of an already strong revolutionary organisation.

32. The attempts to define a strategy for the student movement as such have generally ended in failure. The strategists of the Critical and Negative Universities, as these terms indicate, reduce the student struggle to an essentially ideological struggle against the bourgeois university. As soon as the student movement moves on "from the criticism of the university to the criticism of society", it is faced with problems of revolutionary strategy that only a vanguard can resolve.

33. In a parallel way, revolutionary trade unionism in the student milieu leads into reformism. You cannot restrict yourself to applying in limited areas an all-encompassing design which you have the means to carry through only in the universities. This way you end up with the slogans of student control, even student management, in the universities and high schools, which, in isolation from the overall situation in the class struggle, are thoroughly reformist.

34. Any attempt at a student strategy is thus liable to a double trap. On the one hand,

35. The Red University is not a slogan. Like workers' control, it is a general theme of struggle which should be filled out by concrete slogans in specific situations. The Red University is not an institution that can be counterposed to the bourgeois university; it is a movement of struggle by which the vanguard seeks to direct the student movement as a permanent striking force against the system. The Red University is not a line for the universities but the tactic of the vanguard in the universities, a subordinate part of its overall strategy.

36. The university slogans of the organisation may attack the problems of professional training by demanding flexible training and a guarantee of employment at the level of skill required. But the implementation of these slogans requires the mobilisation of the workers' movement, in which the embryonic vanguard does not hold the initiative. That is why the slogans centring around the theme of workers' control of education retain a propagandistic character.

37. Incapable of an overall strategic programme, the student movement can meet the bourgeoisie's university policy only by organisational resistance (maintaining the independence of the movement and opposing participation in collaborationist structures) and tactical political initiatives laid out by the vanguard in accordance with its evaluation of the political conjuncture as a whole.

These initiatives revolve around three major axes—support of workers' struggles, support of anti-imperialist struggles, and the struggle against regimentation. It is under this last heading that struggles for freedom of expression, political organisation, and against the bourgeois educational policy fall.

38. A student trade union as a means of struggle is a scheme that could have reality only in a consciously defined framework of student self-management. The reformist workers organisations, anxious to humour their allies, have maintained this myth of the autonomy of student demands. The student trade-union structures fly into bits as soon as political struggles revive. Moreover, united mass political organisations of the student movement, such as the FUA and the March 22 Movement were in France, can have only a temporary existence. Based on specific tactical agreements, they must disappear or fossilise once strategic problems come to the fore. Caught between the slow attrition of the student-interest organisations and a nostalgia for united political organisations, the student movement runs the risk of fragmentation into fields (Italy) or atomisation.

39. The most favourable organisational outlet for the student movement presupposes already quite powerful revolutionary organisations. In this case, a process of cartelisation develops. The breakup of Zengakuren provided an example of this which will not prove an exception. The revolutionary organisations, which alone are capable of resolving certain strategic and practical problems (like demonstrations which at a certain threshold of confrontation require a degree of discipline and organisation that does not come naturally to the student movement), will reorganise the mass movement around their own political initiatives.

40. The student movement and the youth radicalisation cannot be considered simply as a windfall for the vanguard, which can win the youth involved over to its programme and recruit new elements among them. This youth radicalisation, in which the student movement occupies a prime position, enables the vanguard to alter the relationship of forces between it and the bourgeois state and the working-class bureaucracies. The specific role of the student movement offers the still weak vanguard a margin for manoeuvre, an opening to get a foothold in the political arena, to carry out its initial experiments without being under the double fire of the bourgeois and bureaucratic repression. In this sense, the student movement is playing a precise and specific historical role.

41. But this opportunity for the vanguard is also a test. It cannot be satisfied to profit from the student movement. In order to play its role, the vanguard must grapple with the student movement, organise it en masse, engage in a continual polemic against its spontaneously generated ideologies. Ceaselessly threatened by opportunism of the left and right, the vanguard must have enough theoretical firmness to resist the ideological pressure of the movement and enough political understanding of the conditions of struggle left by the breakup of Stalinism to set in step with the movement without dissolving itself in it. The road is difficult, no easy scheme

Children of the Bolsheviks

The letter we publish below was written in 1967 just as the Soviet bureaucracy was preparing to observe the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution and a year before the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Its importance lies in the fact that it is signed by the surviving children of the old Bolsheviks who were murdered on the instructions of Stalin. The names of some of the signatories may therefore come as a pleasant surprise to many comrades who might have presumed that the children of the old Bolsheviks suffered the same fate as the members of the Trotsky family.

The signatories to this letter, by their very names, and by some of what they write, represent a living link with the traditions of Leninism. The letter has its shortcomings but these might well be deliberate, keeping in mind the fact that it is addressed to the Central Committee of the bureaucracy. This might also explain why the authors have not attacked the bureaucracy, which Stalin only represented, but have instead concentrated their wrath on the personality of Stalin. This could create the impression that the bureaucracy no longer exists or that its existence or non-existence is linked to a "rehabilitation of Stalin" which is an extremely undialectical method of approaching the problem.

The role and nature of the bureaucracy was best analysed by Trotsky in *The Revolution Betrayed* and with a few modifications the ana-

lysis still holds good today. He saw the bureaucracy as the expression of a privileged social layer which arose in the Soviet Union because of the extremely low level of the development of the productive forces, the decimation of the revolutionary vanguard in the Civil War, the imperialist encirclement of the first workers' state, the unpreparedness of the party for a fight against bureaucracy, and the failure of the revolution in Western Europe. However, even after some of the objective reasons for the existence of the bureaucracy had disappeared, the usurping bureaucratic caste continued to exist. This caste is haunted by four main contradictions which revolve round: a) relations with imperialism and the expanding world revolution; b) economic management; c) social inequality; and d) the question of socialist democracy. These contradictions can only be resolved by anti-bureaucratic political revolutions that will overthrow the bureaucracy and replace it with Soviet power. This can only be done by building a new Left Opposition outside the degenerated Communist Party. Whether or not a majority of the signatories recognise it or not, this is the only way in which they can rehabilitate the revolutionary tradition of their fathers and finally defeat Stalinism.

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR (CPSU) on behalf of the surviving children of the innocent communist victims of Stalin.

Today, in speeches, in the press, on television, the "merits" of Stalin are praised. This represents a political revision of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU.

This troubles us deeply. And not only because our parents and ourselves were, like millions of others, victims of the criminal machine of Stalin. It saddens us to think that the betrayed masses were forced to consent to this arbitrary despotism.

This must not be repeated. The rebirth of the past brings communist ideas into question, discredits our system and legalises the assassina-

tion of millions of innocent people.

All the attempts to whiten the black deeds of Stalin raise the danger of a repetition of the hideous tragedy that struck our Party, our people and the whole communist movement.

The tragedy of the Chinese events obliges all of us to outline necessary safeguards to prevent a repetition of similar catastrophes. Only revealing totally the crimes of Stalin and his supporters can generate movement, consciousness and indignation in all of society needed to destroy all the results of the Stalin cult and make the return of new cults and new despotisms impossible.

How can one praise Stalin after all that our people and the international communist movement have suffered because of him?

This adulatory praise shackles our movement, weakens our ranks, destroys our power and makes the triumph of communism impossible.

We must celebrate the 50th anniversary of the great October revolution under the flags of the Party, bearing like a torch the immortal name of Lenin, the greatest democracy, collective control of society, control of society by society itself.

To unfurl these flags is the best homage we can pay to the men crushed by the diabolical cult of the individual.

On some of us today there is still an unjustified stigma. Others are doomed to oblivion.

History will bring them back into the heart of the Party, into the heart of the people.

The monument to the victims of Stalin's despotism promised by the 22nd Congress of the Party must be erected to mark the existence of the Soviet state for 50 years.

In these days of celebration, those who fought for a world October will be with us.

Their number cannot be counted: from the eminent leaders of the Party to the soldiers in the ranks of the revolution.

There is no place for the name of a despot on the flags of the Party.

We ask you to take notice of all that is written here and to see our letter as part of the struggle for communism. We hope this letter will allow an irreparable error to be avoided.

SIGNED BY: Piotr Yakir, son of E. A. Yakir; L. Petrovsky, son of P. G. Petrovsky and grandson of G. I. Petrovsky; A. Boki, daughter of G. G. I. Boki; A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, son of V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko; G. Troitskaya, daughter of Livchitz; G. Akoulov, son of I. A. Akoulov; S. V. Stankova (Ossinskya-Obolevskaya), daughter of communists; G. Polechtchouk, daughter of N. I. Muralov; Yu Jivliouk, son of communists; V. Terlin, daughter of M. S. Gorb; Z. Serebriakova, daughter of G. Serebriakova; "The serious crimes of Stalin make all positive judgement of his activity immoral. I am signing precisely this point": Yu Aikhenwald, son of a communist; S. Fedorova, daughter of G. F. Fedorova; J. Kriapiansky, son of N. G. Kriapiansky; V. Schmidt, son of V. V. Schmidt; Yu Larin (Bukharin), son of N. I. Bukharin and grandson of Yuri Larin; S. K. Radek, daughter of Karl Radek; A. Vsesviatskaya, daughter of communists; A. Gastev, son of A. Gastev; Larissa Bogoraz, daughter of a communist; I. Yakir, grand-daughter of I. E. Yakir and daughter of P. I. Yakir; N. Netchinchtouk, son of a communist; N. N. Popov, son of N. Popov; N. N. Demtchenko, son of N. Demtchenko; "It is impossible to forget and to justify the crimes of Stalin in the name of any of his 'services'"; V. Schwartzstein, son of a communist; I. Piatnitsky, son of O. A. Piatnitsky; T. Baeva, daughter of a communist; R. Ianson, daughter of a communist; Yu Saprionov, son of T. V. Saprionov; K. Zonberg, son of a communist; Yu N. Vavilov, son of the academician Nicolas Vavilov, president of the Vashknil; V. Blumfeld (Svitichis), son of a communist; M. Ivanov (Kalinin), grandson of M. I. Kalinin; I. A. Shlyapnikova, daughter of the friend of Lenin, A. Shlyapnikov; V. Yenukidze, in the name of eight people of a family of Bolsheviks, crushed by Stalin; Aria Reingoldovna Dimze-Berzin, daughter of R. I. Berzin; T. Smilga-Polouian, daughter of communists; L. Zavadski, son of a communist; Yu Kim, son of a communist; S. Guenkin, son of a communist.

Nigeria. Toll of Imperialism.

The thirty-month Nigerian civil war ended on 12th January when secessionist Biafra was finally overwhelmed by federal troops. The toll in human lives was at least 2,000,000 dead, more than have perished in the war in Vietnam.

From the beginning, rival imperialist interests intervened in the Nigerian civil war, seeking to deepen their influence on the African continent. Both sides accepted and sought aid from the most reactionary sources, and each accused the other of making important concessions to imperialism to secure military backing.

The governments of the capitalist world did not regard either side as a revolutionary threat to their interests.

Britain, whose British Petroleum-Shell group alone had investments in Nigeria of nearly \$500,000,000, became a heavy supplier of arms to the federal government at Lagos.

France, Britain's old colonial rival, was Biafra's chief supporter, although it never gave the Ojukwu regime formal recognition and never provided the volume of aid the Wilson government gave the other side.

Some of the most unsavoury governments in Europe intervened, although not usually on the same side. Thus, Portugal aided Biafra, while Spain was reputedly running guns to Nigeria.

In Africa itself, only four regimes recognised secessionist Biafra: Gabon and the Ivory Coast, both former French colonies; and Zambia and Tanzania.

Washington maintained an ostentatious neutrality, but tacitly supported the Nigerian government, while providing some \$80,000,000 in food relief for Biafra—a "humanitarian" policy that was also designed to assure its influence there if the Biafrans should win their bid for independence.

Both Moscow and Peking intervened, too. Moscow joined British imperialism and Franco's Spain in providing massive military aid to the neocolonialist government of General Yakubu Gowon in Lagos. Peking condemned the Soviet bureaucrats, expressing its own support, albeit critical, for the Biafrans' right to self-determination.

The civil conflict was further complicated by the mixing of tribal, class, and regional issues. The country itself was an artificial creation of British imperialism, bringing within arbitrary geographical boundaries people with no common culture or history. The federation united the semi-nomadic Hausas of the North, the Yorubas of the West, and the Ibos of the East, along with many smaller tribes.

ATROCITIES AREN'T WHAT THEY USED TO BE. WE NAZIS KNEW EVERY VICTIM. SOMETIMES WE TORTURED THEM FOR MONTHS BEFORE WE GASSED THEM. THERE'S NO SUBSTITUTE FOR OLD-FASHIONED GERMAN CRAFTSMANSHIP!

THOSE CARELESS AMERICANS DROP BOMBS AND NAPALM ON ANYTHING. EVEN THEIR OWN TROOPS! SLOPPY! AND IT TAKES THEM NEARLY 2 YEARS TO GET THEIR ATROCITY PHOTOS INTO PRINT. SUCH INEFFICIENCY! DISGUSTING!

THEY HAVE NO DISCIPLINE! I PERSONALLY STOOD BEHIND EVERY ATROCITY. AMERICANS DON'T EVEN KNOW WHO GIVES THE ORDERS! THEY BLAME THE LOWEST RANKING OFFICER, AS IF IT WAS SOMETHING TO BE ASHAMED OF

THEY HAVE LOTS OF EXPENSIVE NEW WEAPONS, BUT THEY DON'T KILL AS MANY CIVILIANS AS WE DID WITH OUR OLD EQUIPMENT. WHAT WE COULD HAVE DONE WITH THEIR HARDWARE! IT'S INSPIRING TO THINK OF.

OH WELL, PERHAPS I'M TOO SEVERE. THEY'RE LEARNING. THERE'S HOPE FOR THEM. YET.



LNS - S. Gilbert

estimated 3,000,000 people remained in the Biafran enclave at the final collapse.

The Ibos, who were once the favoured instruments of British rule in Nigeria, became the principle victims of the artificial state after independence.

Without the protection of the British, the Ibos, hated for their role as colonial administrators, became easy targets for pogroms along tribal lines. In face of widespread fraud, the Ibos' political representatives boycotted the federal elections of 1964, which a northern-dominated alliance won by default.

In January 1966, Eastern army officers led by Major-General J. T. U. Aguiyi-Ironsi, an Ibo, staged a coup, deposing the "elected" government. Ironsi was overthrown in a counter-coup in July 1966, which was followed by a pogrom in which as many as 50,000 Ibos were killed. This set the stage for secession.

It can still be debated whether Biafra constituted a nation, and as such has been denied its legitimate right to self-determination. It may yet be seen that the Ibos were right in believing they could never be secure in a Nigeria controlled by their traditional enemies.

But the factor that outweighed all others, in the absence of a working-class party or a revolutionary movement on either side, was the deepening influence of Western imperialism—in Nigerian and Biafra alike. The *New York Times* gave its estimate of the outcome of the war in its January 13 issue.

Nigeria, the *Times* said, "has enough oil to put her among the top six or seven producers in the world and the population to sustain industrialisation... The end of the war will make it possible to reopen oil fields disrupted by the fighting, including tracts owned by French, Ita-

BAYSWATER 9193

EMBASSY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC (PRESS DEPARTMENT) 6-7 KENSINGTON PALACE GARDENS LONDON, W.8

London, 26. January 1970

The Black Dwarf
7 Carlisle Street
London W1A4PZ

Dear Sir,

I return herewith the invoice for the renewal of the subscription as the Embassy does not wish to continue with it.

Sincerely yours,

V. Basetliková

Assistant Culture &

What happened to the Indian population in the U.S. during the nineteenth century is still continuing in South America. The physical extermination of the jungle Indians in Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador is nearing its successful completion. The conquistadores started it with their swords and it is being continued by huge landowners and mining and oil interests with dynamite, napalm and bacteriological warfare.

Brazilian Indian Massacre. Darci Ribeiro, the leading authority on Brazilian Indians, calculates from the data collected during the past 50 years that there won't be a single Indian left alive in Brazil in 1980.

The tragically immense losses of human life have been documented by the Brazilian government in a report totalling 5,115 pages. "The March", 1968 document, accuses the Indian Protection Service, which was started in 1910 to serve and protect the Indian, of connivance and often "ardent cooperation" in the extermination of the tribes. Settlers and huge landowners working with corrupt politicians are shown to have seized Indian lands. Evidences of bacteriological warfare (small pox) and poisoned food supplies, abduction of children, mass murder by gunmen, and other atrocities are presented. Furthermore, the government lays substantial blame on "the disastrous impact of missionary activities".

In the thirties there were 19,000 Mundurucus; only 1,200 were left in 1968.

A single family, several individuals or a lone grandmother are the sole remnants of many tribes, and certain ones have disappeared completely, e.g. the Tapaiunas, who were presented with gifts of sugar poisoned with arsenic. Today, it is estimated that only 50,000-100,000 Indians survive in the upper Amazon Basin and the Mato Grosso, whereas 50 years ago there were about one million.

Senhor Figueiredo, the Attorney General, claims that 62 million dollars in cattle and property has been stolen from the Indians in the past decade. According to him, "It is not only through the embezzlement of funds, but by the admission of sexual perversions, murders and all other crimes listed in the penal code against Indians and their property, that one can see that the Indian Protection Service was for years a den of corruption and indiscriminate killings." The head of the Indian Protection Service and 134 of its employees have been implicated in illegal sales of Indian lands and other crimes. The head of the Service, the former Air Force Major Luis Vinhas Neves was accused of 42 crimes, including several murders, the illegal sale of Indian lands and the embezzlement of \$300,000 from these sales.

A Brief Historical Survey. When the Europeans first arrived in the area which is now Brazil, the land was inhabited by 3-6 million Indians, according to population experts. Wherever they could be reached, the Indians were murdered, or enslaved for labour in mines and on plantations. However, the atrocities of the conquistadores, coupled with diseases such as small pox, measles, etc., soon exterminated the population of the coastal areas to the extent that importation of African slaves became highly profitable for the landowners.

The rubber industry, which depended on Indian workers to tap the Hevea tree of the Amazon, was characterised by unusual excesses and tortures, kidnapping, and enslavement of workers. One company alone, the Peruvian Amazon Company (British owned), is held responsible for the death of 30,000 Indians. Accounts (by Walter Hardenburg and Sir Roger Casement) of the atrocities perpetrated against the Huitoto and other tribes caused a worldwide scandal. (It must be noted, however, that these exposures occurred at a time when the successful Malayan rubber plantations ended the industry in Brazil. Thus, accusations could be shouted and consciences pacified without a loss of profit.) Consequently, the Indian Protection Service was formed in 1910.

During World War II there was a revival of the rubber tapping industry in the region near the borders of Peru and Colombia. Once again Indians were victimised: loss of an ear for the first "offence" of not fulfilling the daily work quota, loss of another for the second offence and death for the third. Legally protecting the Indians was difficult: whenever Brazilian authorities arrived, the rubber companies merely moved their workers across the border.

Presently, small-scale rubber tapping still continues. Senhora Noves da Costa Vale of the Federal Police has reported that Colombians and Peruvians hunt for Ticuna Indians in Brazil and the landowners on all sides of the border enslave Indian workers.

The Massacre of the Cintas Largas. The Cintas Largas occupied several villages in the Aripuana region. They managed to survive the routine attacks of the rubber tappers of that area by cultivating a constant alertness and a rare distrust of strangers. Unfortunately for them, rare metals have been found in their region and

Genocide of the South American Indians.



Rubber tappers hang an Indian woman prior to murdering her with machete blows. (From the Brazilian newspaper O Globo.)

The plans for disposing of the Cintas Largas were organised under the leadership of Francisco de Brito of the rubber extraction firm of Arruda and Junqueira. A series of expeditions succeeded in clearing the area of the Indians except for one large village. Then it was decided to attack the village from the air during an annual feast when the entire population would be gathered together. A plane was hired for the attack and was loaded with sticks of dynamite.

Another expedition was organised to destroy the survivors who had escaped into wilder and more inaccessible regions. A detailed report of what happened subsequently was tape-recorded by one of the murderers, Ataide Pereira, who had never been paid the \$15 promised him for his part in the crimes. "There were six of us, men of experience, commanded by Chico Luis... It took a good many days upstream to the Serra da Norte. After that we lost ourselves in the woods, although Chico had brought a Japanese compass with us. In the end the plane found us. It was the same plane they used to massacre the Indians, and they threw us down some provisions and ammunition. After that we went on for five days. Then we ran out of food again. We came across an Indian village that had been wiped out by a gang led by a gunman called Tenente, and we dug up some of the Indians' mandioca for food... It was another five days after that before we saw any smoke. Even then the Cintas Largas were days away. We were all pretty scared of each other... We were hand-picked for the job, as quiet as any Indian party when it came to slipping in and out of trees... As soon as we spotted their village we made a stop for the night. As soon as it was light the Indians all came out and started to work on some huts they were building. Chico had given me the job of seeking out the chief and killing him. I notice there was one of these Indians who wasn't doing any work. All he did was to

He shot the kid through the head with his 45, and then he grabbed hold of the woman—who, by the way, was very pretty. 'Be reasonable,' I said. 'Why do you have to kill her?' In my view, apart from anything else, it was a waste. 'What's wrong with giving her to the boys?' I said. 'They haven't set eyes on a woman for six weeks. Or failing that we could take her back with us and make a present of her to De Brito. There's no harm in keeping in with him.' All he said was, 'If any man wants a woman he can go and look for her in a forest.'

"He tied the Indian girl up and hung her head downwards from a tree, legs apart, and chopped her in half right down the middle with his machete. Almost with a single stroke I'd say. The village was like a slaughter-house. He calmed down after he'd cut the woman up, and told us to burn all the huts, and throw the bodies into the river. After that we grabbed our things and started back. We kept going until nightfall and we took care to cover our tracks. If the Indians had found us it wouldn't have been much use trying to kid them we were just ordinary backwoodsmen. It took us six weeks to find the Cintas Largas, and about a week to get back. I want to say now that personally I've nothing against Indians. Chico found some minerals and took them back to keep the company pleased. The fact is that the Indians are sitting on valuable land and doing nothing with it. They've got a way of finding the best plantation land and there's all these valuable minerals about too. They have to be persuaded to go, and if all else fails, well then, it has to be force. Prospects. It must be noted that Ataide Pereira in his recorded statement indicated that "Indian hunts" were not uncommon. Likewise, Padre Valdemar Veber has charged "It is not the first time that the firm of Arruda and Junqueira has committed crimes against the Indians. A number of expeditions have been organised in the past. This firm acts as a cover for other undertakings who are interested in acquiring land, or who plan to exploit the rich mineral deposits existing in this area."

There is some grounds for hope in the creation of the Xingu National Park, which excludes missionaries and discourages visitors. The Park shelters about a dozen tribes and may include a total of 4,000 people if the proposed extensions materialise. Likewise, the National Park of the Tumucumac may succeed in saving a few hundred although slavers from Surinam have been reported kidnapping Indians from the Park itself.

On the whole, however, the picture is very bleak. In spite of the protests, accusations, and

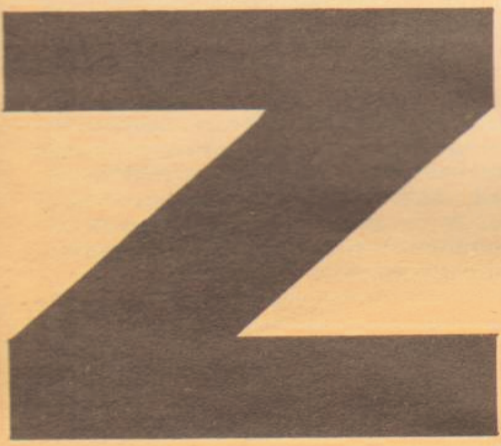


confessions, not a single trial has been held.

Since the government is wholly in the hands of a few interrelated huge landowning families, whose interests lie in the development and settlement of the vast hinterland, an abrupt departure from present policies is unlikely. Furthermore, the occurrence of rare metals makes this area especially lucrative to foreign investment. In the face of all these profits to be gained, naked jungle Indians are expendable.



DWARF ADS



"Z", a film by Costa-Gavras starring Yves Montand, Irene Papas, Jean-Louis Trintignant, Reggane Films (Paris)-ONCIC (Algeria)

The film "Z" is based on a political assassination which took place in Greece in 1963. Each character has a real counterpart and each incident occurred as shown on the screen. "Z" (zei) means "he lives" and was the battle-cry of the mass-based youth movement organised after the assassination of Gregory Lambrakis, a Socialist deputy to Parliament. Some knowledge of recent Greek history is essential to place the film in any intelligent context.

World War II left a bitter legacy in Greece. In 1944 the guerrilla army of the resistance attempted to form a government only to be defeated by the British, who supported the monarchy. A second period of struggle took place in 1947-49, with the U.S. aiding the monarchy. The main result of the two unsuccessful revolutions was that tens of thousands of Greeks who had fought against the Nazis went into exile or were sent to prison while many Nazi collaborators became established in the Greek police and armed forces. The 1950s were marked by economic recovery at the cost of political freedom. By the early 1960s, a new generation of Greeks began to demand an end to political repression. The most prominent spokesman for this new ferment was Gregory Lambrakis.

Lambrakis was an extremely attractive personality, a man of the left but without ties to the lost revolutions of the 1940s. An athletic hero of the Balkan games, an associate professor at the Athens Medical College and a physician who ran a free clinic for the poor, he was widely known for his activities against the placement of nuclear weapons in Greece. Early in 1963, Lambrakis had used his parliamentary immunity to make a one-man peace march from Marathon to Athens in defiance of a government ban. Later that spring he began to speak all over Greece against the proposed placement of Polaris missiles in Greece. One of these speeches took place in Thessaloniki on May 22. When Lambrakis left the rally he was struck on the rear of the head with a blunt metal object by a man riding in the rear of a three-wheeled motorcycle. The assassination took place in full view of Inspector General Mitsou of the Northern gendarmerie and Colonel Kamoutsis, head of the Thessaloniki gendarmerie.

Mass mourning and protests
The murder caused a national trauma. When Lambrakis' body was taken by train from Thessaloniki to Athens, every crossing was locked and guarded to prevent incidents. In Athens hundreds of thousands took part in the funeral procession. The first mass protests since the Civil War broke out all over Greece. In response to this tremendous public pressure, the government sent an examining magistrate to make an official investigation. The young magistrate uncovered a plot that reached through the

iki to persuade the magistrate to stop his inquiry, but the official would not relent. The following day the government fell. By the end of the month, the assassins, the head of a rightist group to which they belonged and a half dozen police officers were indicted. Mitsou and Kamoutsis were among those officially charged with complicity in the assassination.

The assassination and the accompanying police scandal helped to bring a liberal government to power whose minor reforms soon led to its dismissal by the king. Elections were put off for two years with demonstrations in the street becoming larger and more militant. The newly formed Lambrakis Youth Clubs were especially active during this period (1964-67). On the eve of elections in 1967, a group of extremist right-wing colonels staged a coup d'etat. That junta still rules Greece.

The regime of the colonels has been marked by torture and persecution even more severe than the Nazi period. Greek artists have been in the forefront of those protesting the regime. Greek-born director Costa-Gavras was living in Paris at the time of these events. He was fascinated by the parallel between the Lambrakis case and the Ben Barka affair of 1965 in which an Algerian opposition leader had been kidnapped and murdered with the connivance of the French police. With the assistance of Jorge Semprun (*La Guerre Est Finie*), Costa-Gavras adapted the novel "Z" by Vassilis Vassilikos for the screen. The resulting script could find no financial backing in Europe, not even among Eastern bloc nations. The project was saved when the Algerian government gave its support.

The "Z" of the film is Lambrakis but the film is not primarily about the Greek hero but about political crimes of the type which killed him. The enormous history which his assassination opened and closed is hardly dealt with. The film focuses on the mechanics of the crime and the courageous investigating judge. Almost no background is given on "Z". He has no real political dimension. Still less is told about the underlying motivation of the conspirators. The men who commit the murder are from the semi-hoodlum element that festers in every metropolis; that these particular individuals belong to a right-wing group is of almost no ideological importance. They are police auxiliaries to be



used to foment public disorders. The officers who manipulate them are vaguely right-wing and have vaguer connections to the palace. No reason is given for the crime other than the basic antipathy of the right wing to any anti-war movement.

Police frantic

The film makes it clear that "Z's" death was accidental; he was not to be killed but only intimidated by a severe beating. When he dies, the police are frantic to make his death appear an accident. The key figure at this point is the investigating judge, played superbly by Jean-Louis Trintignant. He is not an anti-war activist, a leftist, or even a liberal. He is a man of the establishment with all the proper family connections. He accepts the police explanation that the deputy was the victim of an automobile accident until x-rays show the fatal blow was made by a heavy blunt object and not a moving vehicle. Key witnesses who have supposedly not seen one another use identical phrases to describe events and they use the metaphors of a particular right-wing group. Enterprising reporters and friends of "Z" turn up new witnesses and additional photographic evidence. The judge puts together the evidence meticulously and prepares his indictments. A high official comes from the capital to counsel against the action and to warn the judge of dangers to his career. The judge does not relent. The indictments are made.

The film moves at a sensational pace, especially once the actual investigation gets under way. The immense technical skill of the director and the visceral excitement of the story cloud some key flaws. The ill-defined motivations become increasingly important, for the film's events take place in a social vacuum. Aside from a few minor street scuffles there is no sense of a nation in convulsion. When the police are indicted in an exhilarating sequence of great humour and vivacity, there is an immense feeling of victory. But who has won? What has been won? Is the state vindicated because indictments have been made in spite of corruption and intimidation? Has "Z" won? Has the nation gained? The left is astonished that the judge remains honest; the right is indignant that he has not "played the game" and defended his class interests.

The focus on the judge interferes greatly with the director's stated aim of pleading for the type of politics exemplified by "Z". The only specific political debate comes early in the film when doctors are still hoping to save "Z's" life. A lawyer argues that the movement must be zealous in following the law and its press statements must stick scrupulously to what can be proven. A more radical spokesman argues that they must tear the city apart if necessary. They must ask the students and workers to take action in the streets. His friend argues for formal appeals to proper agencies. "Do you want to appeal to the Red Cross and the Human Rights Commission?" the radical snaps. "Do you want to take up arms?" he is answered. "Why not?" he shouts. The film does not take sides on the issue except to state factually that after the coup the first speaker was sent to a prison camp while the second was murdered by the police.

Lacks political information

Costa-Gavras is far bolder in his handling of the film's music. The songs are all by Mikis Theodorakis and they are brilliantly placed. Unfortunately, their effect will be lost on those not familiar with their lyrics or history.

What is disappointing about the film is not so much what is in it as what is not. Costa-Gavras has spoken of the film as an anti-junta weapon but "Z" does not go much beyond providing sentimental support of the murdered Good Guy. Audiences accustomed to perceiving Greece in terms of "Never on Sunday" will begin to understand why someone like Melina Mercouri so vehemently opposes the present regime, but "Z" provides little political information upon which to make serious judgements.

"Z" means "he lives" but Lambrakis is dead. "Z" was the symbol of a mass movement but that movement is shattered. The illusory judicial victory and the responsible demonstrations were wiped away by tanks and torture. In present Greece even the classic sages have been banned as anti-Greek. The film "Z" tells us little about how the murder of Lambrakis links up with these cataclysmic events.

"Z" does deal brilliantly with the general political decay which precedes a period of tyranny. All the elements are there: the derangement of the judicial process, the muting of the mass media, the corruption in government, the murder of key leaders, the intimidation of the masses, the barbarisation of the police. Costa-Gavras does not sermonise but he tells his story so well that the web of rot is automatically exposed in the most organic and convincing fashion. Jorge Semprun writes of his film, "Let's not try to reassure ourselves, this type of thing doesn't always only happen elsewhere, it happens everywhere." In Greece, the trains are running on time. There is apparent law and order. No demonstrations in the streets. No critics or newspapers to attack the government. Spiro Agnew will sleep well until those who supported Lambrakis have learnt how to fight back.

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).

Marxist Studies. Winter issue—GEC-EE Merseyside. The theory of state capitalism: Ken Tarbuck. Industrialisation of backward countries: Ernest Germain. Bukharin and socialist realism: B. Biro. British Trotskyist history—some notes: John Walters. New printed format, 52 pages. 3/4 p&p. BMS Publications, 16a Holmdale Road, London N.W.6.

Malcolm X on Afro-American history, 7/- ppd. Marxism and Christianity, are they compatible?—major article in International Socialist Review, 4/6 ppd. Key problems in the transition from capitalism to socialism—three articles by Pierre Frank, George Novack and Ernest Mandel, 7/- ppd. From Pioneer Book Service, 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.

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. Cuban Day of Solidarity Poster. 4/- including postage from The Black Dwarf, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

Che Guevara's Bolivian Diaries. 5/- post free from The Black Dwarf, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

Tricontinental, theoretical organ of OSPAAAL (Cuba). Information, theoretical articles, contributions by leaders from three continents. Available from The Black Dwarf, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. Annual subscription £1 10s post free (6 issues). Individual issues 6/- per copy.

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

International Socialism 41. Editorial: The New Militancy; Survey: China and the Russian Offensive; The Squatters; Joel Stein: Locating the American Crisis; Debate: Nigel Harris, Malcolm Caldwell—The Revolutionary Role of the Peasants; Andrew Sayers: Between East and West—Yugoslavia; Reviews: The Inconsistencies of Ernest Mandel; The State of the Nation. 3/- or 15/- a year. 15 Gildea Road, London N.W.5.

Agitprop Information Sheet. Available price 6d (plus p&p) from Agitprop, 160 North Gower Street, N.W.1. Phone 01-387 5406.

Rouge, French Revolutionary Weekly of the Ligue Communiste. Write Rouge, BP201, Paris 19e, France, or write to The Black Dwarf, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1, enclosing 2/- for an individual copy.

The Cartoon Archetypal Slogan Theatre is unable to perform any of their plays until the summer owing to an outbreak of pregnancy. The group wishes to apologise for the cancellation of performances and the breakdown in communications (the latter is a result of the joy caused by having our first break in 5 years). Rehearsals are beginning on new material which we hope will be ready later this year. Meanwhile anyone wishing to contact us should write to C.A.S.T., c/o John Porter, 161 West End Lane, London N.W.6.

SOLIDARITY WEST LONDON: No. 2 now out. Articles include ITALY—Potere Operaio; Punfield & Barslow, 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.

RADICAL ARTS—a new magazine to radicalise artists and bring some imagination to active politics. Copy for second issue to Bruce Birchall, 3 Round Church Street, Cambridge, by 24 Feb. 1st issue 2/6 inc. p&p out at end of January.

Dear Comrades,
I would be very grateful if you could publish the enclosed in the Dwarf. We are being so messed about for office space that it's impossible to produce while this goes on. We haven't even seen our filing system for the last month! If you could include this item, at least word would get around in Manchester that we haven't folded altogether!
Fraternally, GRASS EYE. Temporary address: Rainy City Co-op, Garden Street, Shude Hill, Manchester 1.

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.

Play Power in the Spectacular Society.

"Hippies in England represent about as powerful a challenge to the power structure of the state as people who put foreign coins in gas meters." -David Widgery.

PLAY POWER by Richard Neville. Cape, 38/-.

Roll up! Roll up! And light up. For thirty-eight shillings Richard Neville, the Australian Wizard of Oz, will take you on a breathless tour of the world's underground system.

All hippie life is there in addition to a few pot shots at the *Dwarf*. You can learn how to smuggle drugs into Istanbul, how to live free in London, how to get laid in Laos. You can tread the trippy trail to Khatmandu.

But the information isn't all useless. There is a quick selective run down on the world's hippie press and chapters on sex, cannabis, international drop out travel, and pop. He's good on the last bit because although he doesn't seem to know much about music he is rightly scornful of the way the industry cannibalises genuine mass feelings and then spits them out again as marketable gobs of black plastic. The descriptions of the Stones in the Park and Chuck Berry at the Albert Hall chalk Neville up as one of the best journalists around: Tynan in a sheepskin.

A cheerful book. A jolly book and nobody minds if he puts Proudhon's words into Marx's mouth. But it is also a serious book. Neville isn't kidding. He really thinks that the revolution begins in the King's Road. And attention must be paid because lots of intelligent young people agree with him.

On the second page of the first chapter Neville gives us a small sample of how hippie erosion is going to change the power structure. He meets two girls in the street. "Both have sleeping bags slung over their fringe leather jackets, mock Aztec jewellery and Eastern carpet shoulder bags." They talk. They slip him a bit of hash. "A casual meeting. Two young chicks. Nothing extraordinary; except a reminder that girls like this are everywhere and they're not going to grow up and marry bank managers."

Oh Christ, Richard, is there any way I can convince you that you are wrong? They will marry bank managers. They will. Of course the banks will be different: groovy neon-lit perspex palaces of pleasure and power full of relaxed young executive cats suspended luxuriously on invisible air jet sofas. But they WILL STILL BE BANKS. AND THEY WILL STILL OWN YOU AND ME BABY.

The great spectacular we call capitalism has got you so deluded you can't see beyond the end of your joint.

They used to give the natives beads and drugs to shut them up. Does nothing change?

A Bohemian fringe has always existed around the edge of middle class society and it has always had an influence on the way we dress and look. It can sometimes even help to change our social attitudes about sex and pleasure. But it cannot change the fundamental facts about power, prosperity and wealth in capitalist societies.

In the last chapter, *The Politics of Play*, Neville gets straight into it. He sneakily divides the left into two factions. "The sober, violent, puritan, Left extremists, versus the laughing, loving, lazy, fun-powder plotters." (Which group are you with, comrade? Neither. I thought so.) He tells us that the right way to make the revolution is to create a fun-loving counter-culture opposed to work and devoted to pleasure. A very attractive philosophy particularly to me at this moment as I sit here sweating out this review instead of getting stoned at the Chicago Conspiracy trial benefit.

Neville seems to me to be confusing three very different problems and he has got them all wriggling together in this last chapter in a disarming orgy of argument.

1. Leisure.

The full realisation of the identity of every citizen is a long time glorious aim of socialism. I accept the principle of the granting of a basic living wage to everyone in a socialist society whether they work or not. This country properly organised could afford to do this by the end of the year. But I don't think this problem of leisure is so terrible. For one thing most sensible people would want to work, not only to supplement their income (which would be fixed at a certain ceiling) but also to pursue one of the most satisfying pleasures which Neville doesn't mention, although the writing of this book and the regular production of his magazine point to his own experience of it, and that is the ecstasy of making something: of putting something into the world that didn't exist before.

2. Self-indulgence and guilt

This is a much more difficult problem and I, frankly, do not have the answer although various ones have been advanced since man could talk. Neville's concern with pleasure seems to be almost exclusively with the fashionable ones of sex and drugs. He never gets around to fishing or chess. The Romans had very little

guilt about riotous self-indulgence or, as Neville might say, mass fuck-ins. Play was in the seat of power. But for most people it could not have been a very pleasurable society to live in.

3. Yippie Protest

Neville approvingly details such attacks on orthodoxy like the throwing of money into the Stock Exchange, open contempt for judges and the general motherfucker tactics adopted by some of the American new left. I accept the old left's point of view that much of this can be politically alienating to the working class but I think that is a calculable risk. In *The Big Flame* Jim Allen says that to occupy your own factory needs an audacity and courage akin to putting your hat on in church. The yippies would say, and sometimes I think I agree with them, that it is more like pissing on the altar. There is no doubt that centuries of oppression can breed inferiority and a fear of the unknown that perhaps only outrageous example can dislodge.

These are the strands of Neville's argument and to reduce them all to one imperative slogan FREAK OUT! is an evasion. As someone once said, "the ruling class will give you all the sex and pot you want before it will part with an ounce of political power." The revolution is not going to be made by a lot of hippie gradualists looning around doing their thing. I don't think Neville has worked hard enough on this book even though I phoned him up when he was in the middle of getting it together and he was nearly out of his mind with the sheer bloody hard grind of it. It didn't sound much like play.

Here and there Neville does touch on the left's weaknesses with its "grubby Marxist leaflets and hand-me-down rhetoric". We are up against one of the cleverest and longest-running ruling classes in world history. What they don't own they control. They are even strong enough to give us a semblance of free speech. If you're trussed up like a turkey, where's the harm? And at the first sign of trouble they can pop you in the freezer just like they did with the young black militant Peter Martin: like they've tried to do with other militants and the *Dwarf* and countless others.

We desperately need new forms of action to combat this immense and arrogant power structure. *Play Power* skims through some possibilities. It could be worth kicking from Foyles just for that. Clive Goodwin



Trotzki im Exil.

On January 20, 1,500 people filled the Dusseldorf Theatre to see the opening of *Trotsky in Exile*—the latest work by Germany's greatest living playwright, Peter Weiss.

In this play Weiss has sketched the ups and downs of the Russian revolutionary movement, from Trotsky's first exile in Siberia at the turn of the century to his murder in Mexico in 1941. Discussions between the main exponents of Bolshevism and Menshevism alternate with scenes from the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. The play is packed with action; the victory of the October Revolution, the Kronstadt uprising, Lenin's last fight against the

are all represented.

Trotsky in Exile is full of action, but it is also a play of ideas. Peter Weiss, together with his collaborators, has succeeded in an astonishing way, in dramatising ideological debates and bringing the high points of Trotsky's activities back to life.

The play is not Trotskyist. Trotsky's struggle to build the Fourth International is not shown and is hardly mentioned in the much longer manuscript. But one does not ask an author like Peter Weiss to restate programmatic documents. His art, like all revolutionary art, has another function to fulfil. It brings a message to people who have not yet, or only incompletely, understood basic aspects of reality.

From this point of view Peter Weiss's play is a true masterpiece. Cutting across three decades of Stalinist slanders and historical distortion, Weiss reestablishes the truth about Trotsky's historical role. His message will be read, heard, and seen for months, if not years, by hundreds

This is a powerful blow against Stalin's crimes, much more powerful than Krushchev's speech at the 20th Party Congress; for Krushchev only lifted part of the veil, Peter Weiss completely rehabilitates Trotsky and Lenin's old comrades.

Trotsky in Exile is an act of great personal and political courage. For years Peter Weiss, Europe's foremost radical playwright, has been a guest of the German Democratic Republic and of the Soviet Union. *Marat-Sade*, his passionate denunciation of Hitler's crimes, his violent accusations against Portuguese colonialism and American imperialism, have been played in all the theatres of Eastern Europe. As he fought for historical truth about Auschwitz, about Vietnam, about imperialism, he now fights for the historical truth of Trotsky. Stalinist bureaucrats won't like it. But Weiss's latest play will endear him, more than ever, to militant youth, workers and intellectuals the world over.

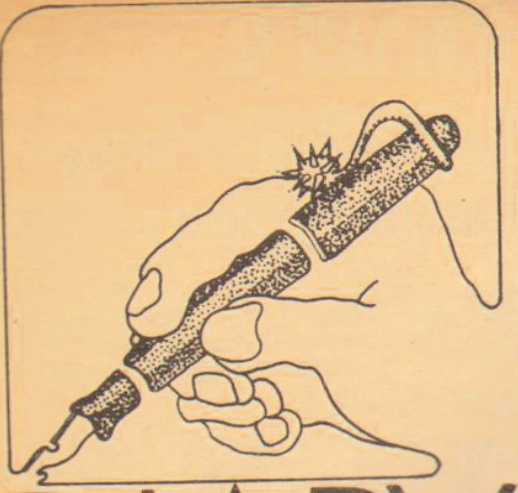
Trotsky in Exile is also significant. Great art-

that the tide is turning in favour of world revolution. It serves notice on the neo-Stalinist rulers in Prague and Moscow that should they intend to repeat the horrors of the Moscow and Slansky trials, they won't get away with it as they did in 1936 and 1951.

At the end of the play, Peter Weiss lets Trotsky, just prior to his murder, sum up his political convictions, the meaning of his life and work:

"I cannot abandon belief in reason and in human solidarity. Since my youth this belief has only grown stronger. I have never known personal revolution. Failures and disappointments cannot prevent me from seeing beyond the present decline, the rise of all the oppressed. This is not a utopian prophesy. It is the dispassionate foresight of dialectical materialism. Never have I lost confidence in the revolutionary force of the masses. But we have to prepare ourselves for a long war; for years, if not decades of uprisings, civil wars, new uprisings and new wars. And when it seems at times as if the class struggle weakens, under the extortion and lies of bourgeois power, and the fragmentation of its political leadership, then the young generations will come—the students, as at the beginning of the century in Russia, but this time in a broad movement. They will come from the universities of all continents. They will take up the struggle and drive it on. They will learn to find a common language, common action with the vanguard workers. Just as the working class has borne privation and sacrifice, so it will shoulder the upheavals and the reconstruction. The victory over world capital will be possible when a new revolutionary party will stay at the head of the proletariats. If death surprised me today, I could say, I have worked for the uninterrupted struggle of liberation of the exploited and colonised; for the necessity of the widest spreading of culture and science; for an art which gives man's urge for renewal untrammelled expression; for the development of technology, which, when it understands how to utilise the energies of the atom, will ease life in the future. Everything has been dominated by the thought of international revolution. Only this revolution can finally abolish exploitation, violence and wars.

This message of rational confidence in mankind's future, and of indestructible faith in the proletarian revolution, delivered by an old man at the eve of his death, will resound for a long time in the hearts of thousands and thousands



DIARY

When Edinburgh University students occupied the campus appointments office to protest its dealings with firms profiting from business in South Africa, some of them took time out to have a deeper look at the files.

One interesting item was labelled: "Co-ordination Staff Foreign Office (Men) CONFIDENTIAL". Back in 1947 a Vice Admiral Sir James Troup made contact with the then Appointments Officer, Mr. Joynt, with a view to "the recruiting of candidates from the Scottish Universities for A Government Service." Since then Joynt and his successor, A. G. Acaster, have maintained contact with a succession of officers of the Intelligence Co-ordination Service, re-named Co-ordination Staff, Foreign Office in 1957. The current contact is a Mr. G. E. Williams who can be contacted at 3, Carlton Gardens, London, S.W.1. (Tel: 01-930 6940).

In the words of a 1948 handout: "It may not be known that there are branches of government service which are accessible by selection and not by competitive examination". Acaster's job, which he appears to fill most conscientiously, is to pick out any likely candidates for Government spying work and diplomatically approach them before fixing up for interviews with foreign office personnel. To help him, he has from time to time enlisted various members of the academic staff. Amongst those currently involved are Professors Beattie, McMillan and Steele.

Chief qualifications for the job appear to be fluency in languages—Arabic and Chinese are in great demand just now—and above all "reliable character". A 1950 applicant, Mr. Taubman, didn't make the grade—he had been foolish enough to join the University Communist Club four years earlier. Acaster's assurance that "he gives no trace of having ever shown advanced Leftish tendencies or even having had particularly close Socialistic friends" was of no avail.

You don't even have to show an interest in this work to be a potential candidate. In 1963 a "more than usually confidential inquiry" was made—about a Paul Luey who "does not know that we are interested in him". Acaster obliged with the information.

The Edinburgh sit-in has so far concentrated attention on connections between the Appointments Office and the big banks and monopolies. It is just as important to expose those with the less well-publicised parts of the capitalist state machine. The British "intelligence" system is part of the world-wide network headed up by the CIA whose objective is to frustrate the revolution against capitalism and imperialism which is the only alternative to barbarism for the peoples of the world.

150 years ago, Scottish radicals were sent to their deaths after the abortive rising of the Strathaven Pioneers—betrayed by government spies and agent-provocateurs. Today in Britain such things are no longer done—but a glance at the CIA's activities in the Third World show they are still very much a part of the spy system. And at the end of the day, the British Intelligence system which Acaster is helping to staff will try to do the same to the British socialist revolution.

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**H.M. Prison,
Parkhurst,
NEWPORT,
Isle of Wight**

13 January 1970.

Mr. Fred Halliday,
7 Carlisle Street,
London, W.1

Dear Sir,

I understand that you have recently received a letter about Dennis Stafford, who is in the special security wing at this prison, with which was enclosed a statement of the circumstances in which he was sentenced with Michael Luvaglio to life imprisonment for murder. You may remember sending an acknowledgment to the letter, and I am writing to explain why Stafford cannot be allowed to continue this correspondence.

When a prisoner has exhausted all his rights of appeal to the courts he may, if he has a grievance about his conviction, petition the Home Secretary and it is open to him to seek

The following letter was received by Fred Halliday, a member of the Dwarf editorial board, on January 15, 1970. Previous to this he had received a letter and documentation about Dennis Stafford, who is serving a life sentence for murder in Parkhurst Prison, Isle of Wight. Fred Halliday sent a reply to Dennis Stafford, a reply that was never received. This letter from the Governor of Parkhurst claims to justify this.

Stafford was sentenced on 15th March, 1967 to life imprisonment for murder, together with Michael Luvaglio. He argues that he is innocent and has put forward the following points in support of his case: there were no witnesses of the alleged "murder" produced by the police at the trial, and the conviction was based entirely on circumstantial evidence; the police withheld from the court the information that they had twelve signed statements, three of them by police officers, stating that the two defendants could have been innocent of the crime; a piece of evidence crucial to the prosecution has now been proven to be false—it concerns the visibility of a road junction from a point 300 yards distant. The Home Secretary has refused Stafford's Appeal against the conviction; his attempts to rally public opinion are now being blocked by the means described in the letter we are reprinting.

Stafford had previously served an 8-year sentence for house-breaking, and was known to, and disliked by, the police in the area where he lived; he is from the North-East. There is widespread suspicion that the local police, under pressure to bring a quick conviction for the murder, were able to blame it on him and hustle through a miscarriage of justice. We don't know. But it is obvious that the Home Office does not want us to know. There have been miscarriages of justice in the past; in the case of some, such as Evans who was convicted of the Christie murders, it cost someone his life. The only way we can even begin to know is to allow Stafford to fight for his appeal and his retrial.

The terms used in the Prison Governor's letter—"good order and prison discipline", "stimulate public agitation", etc.—are euphemisms, they are terms that cover up the fact that Stafford is being muzzled. He has a perfect right to correspond with whoever he wants to. If the public is interested it will write back. The Prison authorities are not protecting the public or the law, but themselves.

We will keep readers informed of developments in this case, and on the more general issue of the right of prisoners to write to whom they want to write to. In the meantime, the Governor should be bombarded with protests (at the above address), and letters of support sent to Stafford's father at 17, Queen Alexandra Mansions, Judd Street, London WC1.

Dear Sir,
I understand that you have recently received a letter about Denis Stafford, who is in the

special security wing at this prison, with which was enclosed a statement of the circumstances in which he was sentenced with Michael Luvaglio to life imprisonment for murder. You may remember sending an acknowledgement to the letter, and I am writing to explain why Stafford cannot be allowed to continue this correspondence.

When a prisoner has exhausted all his rights of appeal to the courts, he may, if he has a grievance about his conviction, petition the Home Secretary, and it is open to him to seek legal advice about his position. He may also write to his Member of Parliament. Stafford has been allowed to consult a solicitor about his representations and, in addition, a copy of the statement you received has been passed by a Member of Parliament to the Home Secretary who has replied that all the points raised will be looked into.

Prisoners thus have ample means of raising matters about their cases but it is necessary, in the interests of good order and prison discipline, to require them to use the approved channels, and there is a Prison Standing Order which prohibits them from attempting to stimulate public agitation or petition. The material you received was circulated to a large number of people in identical form and was clearly an attempt to raise a public agitation. It was not sent by Stafford from this prison but was despatched on his behalf from outside the prison. Stafford is aware that you have replied but it would not be right in the circumstances to allow him to receive your reply or continue the correspondence. He has been told that your reply may be sent to his solicitor or to any other person he may like to nominate to receive it but he has to date declined this opportunity.

Yours faithfully,
S. Newham,
Governor.

The Vietnam demonstration on January 25th. against Wilson's visit to Washington exposed yet again the myth of the British Bobby. In addition to the usual brutalities, we were able to witness the activities of agent-provocateurs from the Special Branch. One, Graham Pennis, distinguished himself by successively provoking a fight between police and militants through setting placards alight.

Our own photographer, Michele Moschella, a free-lance journalist covering the demo for Italian papers as well, was grabbed by a special branch cop, while photographing three police beating up a militant. His camera was seized and he was thrown up against a wall and set upon by half a dozen of them. The charge is threatening behaviour! He comes up in a week.

It is important for us to learn our lessons from these experiences. We must have an adequate stewarding system; we must not get involved in individualist operations; actions should be such that they involve masses in achieving definite

The turmoil in Ireland has split Sinn Fein. At its recent conference it divided on the question of 'attendance'. Its constitution states that Sinn Fein can run candidates for all the three parliaments that have Irish members, The Dial, Stormont, and Westminster: but that they cannot attend if elected. Now they can, and a minority of physical force supporters have walked out. The majority failed to get the two thirds that it needed, so it put the new political line through by a straight majority approval of the new IRA programme, which itself comes out for attendance.

The new programme of the IRA, the military arm of Sinn Fein, boldly declares that 'war is an extension of politics'. Political, economic and cultural resistance to imperialism are given first place. But armed force is far from being ruled out. It also states: "If freedom can be won without violence then by all means let us win it that way, but, let us not allow victory to be snatched from us by those who will have no scruples about the use of violence when they see power and wealth and privilege slipping from their grasp. Only an armed, determined people will be listened to with respect."

"The war with Britain has never been halted and never will be halted as long as Britain claims a right to legislate for Ireland."

Are these fine words sufficient? Without a mention of the working class politics that will have to lead Ireland to independence, the IRA declares, on the basis of 2,500 words, "The way forward to the 70's is clear. The time for questions is over."

Dublin housing actions and the Civil Rights movement have finally swung the base of Irish republicanism from the countryside into the towns. This new urban voice has made itself heard, and it has demanded politics. The issue now is what kind of politics; the time for questions, in fact, has just begun.



EVENTS

FEBRUARY 12th: Is there a "Trotskyist plot"?—the truth about the purges in Czechoslovakia. Tariq Ali, Friends Meeting House, Euston Road, 7.15 p.m. International Marxist Group.

FEBRUARY 12th: Meeting on Palestine, 7 p.m. 155 Fortress Road, N.7. CPB (ML).

FEBRUARY 13th: Discussion meeting. Follow-up question and answer evening on Roland Berger's lecture of 5 February. 24 Warren Street, W.1. 7.30 p.m. Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding.

FEBRUARY 14th: Film evening—"The Troublemakers", 7.30 p.m. 52 High Street, Clapham, S.W.4. SPGB.

FEBRUARY 14th & 15th: Scottish Socialist Students Conference, Stirling University. Contact: Tom Wooley, 14 Preston Street, Edinburgh; Marilyn Wilson, 17 Abbey Road, Stirling.

FEBRUARY 15th: Council Tenants' demonstration. Meet West Smithfield 2.00 p.m. 2.30 p.m. march to Trafalgar Square. Tenants' speakers only. Tenants' Action Committee. Contact Sean Dunne, 267 1255.

FEBRUARY 17th: Barnet branch. Felix Greene's film "China". East Finchley Library, High Road, N2, 8 p.m.

FEBRUARY 21st: ENOCH SPEAKS. Kingston, probably Town Hall.

FEBRUARY 26th & 27th: Film: "The Troublemakers" and Newsreel. Camden Studio, Camden Street, NW1, 8 p.m. Contact Angry Arts, 6 Bramshill Gdns, NWS, 263 0613. Members 5/-. Membership 2/6.

FEBRUARY 27th: Discussion meeting. "From liberation to cultural revolution". Introduced by Derek Bryan. 24 Warren Street, W.1. 7.30 p.m.

FEBRUARY 28th-MARCH 1st: Women's weekend to be held at Buxton Hall, Ruskin College, OXFORD. Fee 10/- for the weekend. For more information phone Black Dwarf.

MARCH 7-8: COMBAT BOURGEOIS PSYCHOLOGY. Anti-academic conference at Keele University. It is hoped that this conference will provide the basis for a later weekend to write a pamphlet on academic psychology and its uses in capitalism. Volunteers needed to prepare papers. Contact Keith Paton, 21 Victoria St., Basford, Stoke-on-Trent.

FEBRUARY 17-20, 22, 24, 25 & MARCH 4, 6, 13: DEMONSTRATE PLEASE. BRAZILIAN FILM SEASON, NFT. The season will "deceive the British public into believing that in Brazil there is every artistic and political freedom, that there is no systematic torture of

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