

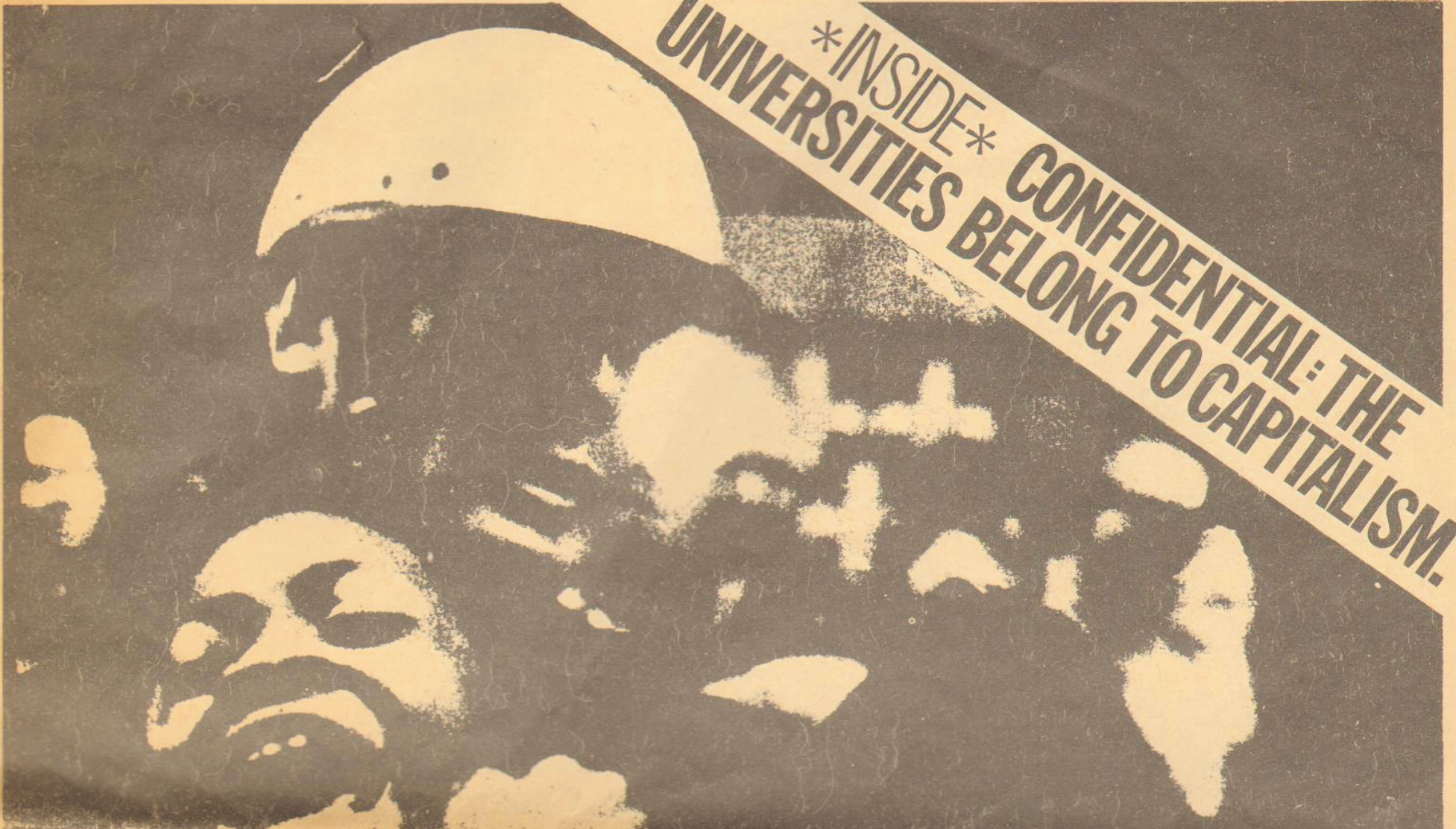
The Black Dwarf

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***INSIDE* CONFIDENTIAL: THE
UNIVERSITIES BELONG TO CAPITALISM.**



BLACK PANTHERS

**SPECIAL INTERVIEW WITH
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.**

Statement.

FIVE MEMBERS of the Black Dwarf editorial staff, of whom four held full time jobs on the paper, have resigned. Our comrades in the IMG, the British section of the Fourth International have left us to start a paper of their own.

The split did not take place over an issue of political principles, but on a question of political practice.

On the three most major issues the Fourth International takes a revolutionary stand. Like them we know that the revolution is ultimately determined by proletarian insurrection in the advanced capitalist countries. That the armed fight for socialism in the terrible conditions of the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America must be led by workers parties that will have to transform the political economic and cultural levels of their countries, even while their proletariats are still a minority - in the words of Trotsky, they will have to make permanent revolution. Thirdly, that the countries of the Soviet

bloc are not capitalist, yet their ruling bureaucracies will have to be overthrown by violent political revolution.

We stand for the overthrow of the bureaucracies, for political freedom and the right to tendency within communist parties, for the defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism, for international revolution, for the de-idolisation of Lenin, for the rehabilitation of Trotsky, who stands with Lenin and Mao as one of the great revolutionary fighters of our time.

Black Dwarf was born and grew with the small genuine revolutionary movement that has jolted the oppressed and battered people of Britain. Our first issue came out in May 1968. We have been a leading voice in the Vietnam and student movements. We represent, with all its strengths and weaknesses, the hesitant new and indigenous forces that will persist and grow and contribute to making the revolution in Britain. Above

all the political conjuncture of our birth means that we stand with the international struggles that have shaken US imperialism across the globe. This is what distinguishes us from all other revolutionary papers in Britain, and this is what makes the bourgeoisie fear us.

Origins and rhetoric are not enough. A paper must be produced on time, it must be edited, it must be sold and paid for. The Black Dwarf has failed to live up to these standards in the past. It was on this question, of how to produce the paper, that fundamental disagreements emerged.

Just as the best revolutionaries are professional revolutionaries, so the best revolutionary papers must be professional revolutionary papers; well produced, and to schedule. It is their job to reach the maximum possible audience, in order to argue and demonstrate with the greatest effect the necessity and the possibility of overthrowing capitalist society.

The Black Dwarf is a fighting, revolutionary marxist, paper.

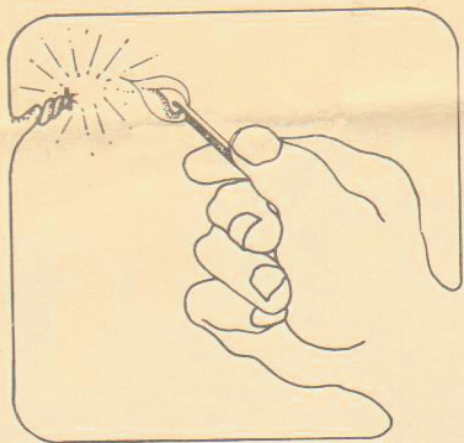
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Cleaver interview © Black Dwarf & John McGrath

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EDITORIAL

Universities are class institutions. They discriminate against the intelligent and creative talent of the working class, they can pick and choose among their candidates on the grounds of politics or prejudice, they oppress their students with stiflingly stupid courses, terrorise them with exams and send them, along with their 'reports', to fill the growing ranks within managerial capitalism.

The ideology of the universities makes them out to be independent centres of learning. In fact their power rests on their ability to control information, and the learning that does go on is distorted as a result. The highest form of this control is the examination system - which marks and judges students in secret. Final results point out the general direction of a student's destiny, just as initial selection excludes many more from the limited privileges of higher education.

The political files support the universities in this corporate rôle. Their

main purpose is intimidation, which starts not with the students but with the staff themselves. The files the professors keep on the appointment and promotion of their lecturers will be the last to see the light of day. The secret dossiers on academics are fatter than those of the students.

The files uncovered at Warwick revealed what the mass of students have always feared: with the vast increase in numbers the universities are cruelly and ruthlessly colluding with big industry, with other universities and with the State.

As far as the students themselves are concerned the favoured few may afford to be bright and 'different'. The rest, the vast majority, do not have this leeway. An apparatus exists for noting down social and political misdemeanours - which might well have a decisive effect on the student's career.

For these files are not confidential - they are a confidence trick. In the name of the students own interests, the ruling class keep

files for their exclusive use. Dossiers are compiled to be read; and to be referred to by future employers. Excuses that they are only records, as the Oxford proctors have claimed, carry little weight. If the files are only records: open them up and let us have a look.

The files and dossiers ought to be opened and the political records burnt. The intuitive and immediate response of the mass of students is just. Whilst they do not control the computers, the indexes and the files they must demand the destruction of the records that the authorities use to control them.

The Warwick documents are a start. They are a creative and scientific revolutionary investigation. Their discovery struck a blow against the class enemy. Such investigations reverse the balance of fear. Students gain strength through proving that their fears are justified, that the enemy is real, that his corruption is evident, and his overthrow necessary. The authorities are

isolated and divided; as their mean and narrow interests are exposed to public scrutiny, as genuine academics express their horror and as the press are critical.

Such investigations help to make revolution. They force reactionaries to hesitate in continuing in their old ways, they give students courage to insist on new ways; and militants gain experience in analysing and arguing the specific political relations of Capitalist rule in Britain today. Also, of course, they show the way forward to opening the books of industry and finance.

Finally the files vividly illuminate the entire class rôle of the universities. The Edinburgh documents especially show the callous judgments that are the culmination of a university training. This bestial and hateful oppression will continue as long as knowledge is controlled by an exploiting class. The closed files signal the closed minds of the university teachers, and the closed doors of the universities themselves.

OPEN THE FILES! OPEN THE UNIVERSITIES!

Edinburgh

In the last part of January Edinburgh students occupied their appointments office, opened its files, and discovered crystal clear evidence of the class nature of their university. Fleet Street's Sassenach press ignored the revelations, although they had kicked up a great hulabaloo when their cheap theologian Malcom Muggeridge, was booted out of the rectorship of the same university a year or so ago.

The Scottish discoveries, unlike the ones at Warwick, are not *directly* political. They do not concern the spying and policing of militant democrats, but the capitalist role of the university. They show that appointments boards in universities operate of class lines, in the interests of the big companies and take account of the habits and discipline that are an essential part of industrial capitalism.

Edinburgh students did not come across their documents in quite the accidental way that the ones at Warwick were discovered. They were uncovered as an organic development of the fight against racialism and imperialism.

While England saw a spate of confrontations, sit-ins and militant demonstrations in 1968 and 1969, Scotland remained quiet. The event which finally brought the Scottish left together in action, at the end of 1969, was the demonstration against the first international match of the Springbok tour at Murrayfield. The demonstrators came up against a solid wall of police brutality, of a kind which has not been seen in Scotland for many years. For Edinburgh students, with many comrades facing serious charges of police assault, South African racialism became an important issue.

So when the University's student newspaper pointed out that Barclay's Bank, with its well known connections with African Imperialism, was due to recruit on campus, action was taken against the Appointments Board. On the morning of January 19th when Barclays were due to interview candidates in the appointments Board offices a small group of militants moved in and occupied the premises, the staff soon left and a number of activists joined the occupation.

In the first evening nearly 100 people discussed policy and formulated three demands which they sent to the University authorities.

At the second meeting the next night, there was a strong feeling that these demands were inadequate and took no account of the politics of the situation. It soon became clear that many of the students involved in the occupation had not been political before. So, in an effort to broaden the issue the occupiers decided to investigate the role of the institution whose activities they had been forces to disrupt. They began to study the files that were lying around the office.

Their investigations showed that the Universities collusion with Apartheid could not be isolated from its other activities. They came across files which showed that the university acted as an independent recruiting agency for the secret service, and some of the militants spirited this information out and sent it South to the *Black Dwarf*. (see the last issue). More important a collective meeting decided to produce and distribute a leaflet documenting the role of the appointments board and explaining why the militants had decided to open the files.

The files themselves showed, for instance, that someone whose "Father was on the railways" is described as "cheerfully proletarian" and it is suggested that this particular applicant "might do well in the sales side, with a little polishing in a less sophisticated sphere." Although family background is

Afore ye go
No. 39,520
EDINBURGH, SATURD.

Sit-in students use rifled dossiers as material for attack

By GEORGE SEMPLE



Prof. Michael Swann
A criminal offence, says Prof.

Students occupying Edinburgh University Appointments Board offices have rifled locked filing cabinets containing confidential material and have compiled a document claiming that the board actively encourage discrimination of the worst kind.

What began last Monday as a sit-in protest against the university offering interviewing facilities to firms connected with South Africa, has developed into a full-scale attack on the board.

In the latest of a growing series of demands to the university court, the demonstrators—none of whom appears willing to sign their document—call for a committee of inquiry, with student membership of at least 50 per cent, to investigate the working of the appointments service, and to seriously consider the suitability of Mr A. G. Acaster as appointments secretary.

The seven-page document, which was circulating among students yesterday, read: "We shall for the first time present confidential material from the files of the occupied Edinburgh University Appointments Board... stereotyped commodities, mere objects to be used." Any student who showed his inability to perform as an "uncritical lump," or any student who was excluded by the accident of birth, would have less opportunity in the board's

The Students' Representative Council of Edinburgh University are meeting in emergency session tomorrow night. A resolution will be put to them supporting the call for a full inquiry into the Appointments Board's workings.

"Outside this category are those who attract comments such as 'possibly a Jew,' or are classed as having 'undesirable political affiliations,' a history of mental illness, or an abnormal

supposed to be irrelevant in a society of equal opportunity, one applicant for a job was found to be "Rather unresponsive and looks generally miserable" which no doubt could be attributed to the carefully researched facts that his father was a schoolteacher, secondary modern, non-graduate.

The most striking thing to emerge from these files was perhaps that the ideology of the 'generation gap' does not mystify the appointments board. There are lots of negative references to long hair of course, but when it is worn by someone from the big bourgeoisie it ceases to be a disadvantage. The son of a director of I.C.I. was described as follows: "Just a little long haired and decorative but obviously an intelligent young man... who has benefited from favourable family background and seems to know quite a lot about I.C.I."

The files also contained internal circulars which contained frank admissions that the board has to go along with firms that actively discriminate on grounds of colour; and reports on individuals are full of remarks like "possibly a Jew", "has undesirable political affiliations", is "slightly against authority".

Students, of course, are told nothing of this. Their files are 'confidential'. It might seem that this would be a just and reasonable form of secrecy protecting the individual student from undesirable publicity. Who, after all, wants other people to know that he is "cheerfully proletarian", "slightly miserable", has a father who is a director of I.C.I., is "possibly a Jew" or is "slightly against authority". Yet if these remarks were pinned up on the wall at the end of the students final year, it would be hardly more invidious than the present public display of exams results, and they would tell a great deal more about a persons future prospects. The fact is that these files are *not* confidential in the slightest. They are there to be read and re-produced for representatives of the state for employers, for policemen and for prospective university discipline or patronage. They are deliberately kept secret from the very

individuals who will be affected by them; allowing judgement without appeal, prejudice without sanctions, sentence without trial.

The publication of the document had an explosive effect. Students who had been against the occupation clamoured on the door to be let in to see their own files. Many others were horrified that the university could keep such files without their knowledge; and some of the first and second year students swore never to go to the Appointments Board and expose themselves to petty prejudices of university bureaucrats, who pretend that they are the judicious representatives of the national interest, when in fact, they are the running dogs of a declining imperialism.

The distribution of the document was the last straw for the university authorities and on Saturday morning, six days after the occupation had begun, the Secretary of the University arrived with a heavy brigade, and pushing his way in, proceeded to oversee the removal of the files and the typewriters. With a force of police hidden around the corner it would have been foolish to resist. The Secretary Charles Stewart strutted about informing people that disciplinary action would be taken. He even went so far as to grab someone announcing, "I know who you are" and then got his name wrong.

After this force had gone there was a general meeting and it was decided to leave the premises. A press conference was called and it was explained that the occupation was being ended as it was no longer possible to liberate the files by allowing students to come in and read them for themselves. Nor was the occupation so relevant for putting pressure on the authorities to break with Apartheid.

Edinburgh students have shown that there is still a vital need for militant action to expose the nature of the university in Capitalist societies, whether it be their tacit support of Apartheid or the processing of students for managerial bureaucracies. In this sense every file that the universities keep on students is used for political ends.
by a participant in the occupation.

President of the Union, Michael Poulton. He has since learned that when you play with a mass of students you play with fire. The sit-in was the culmination of a long campaign for an integrated staff-student building controlled by its users. When it ended it was agreed to hold a second if the demand was not met.

A week later disciplinary measures were announced against the members of the sit-in committee and the indignation this aroused spurred the return to the Registry. This time the President, through press statements and at a general meeting, tried to discredit and isolate the sit-in. He called a general meeting at Rootes Hall, half a mile from the Registry, to vote down the occupation. The occupiers went across to Rootes Hall, to make sure that they would not be out-voted, and to put their case. They left 20 comrades holding—and exploring—the fort. They came across a letter from Gilbert Hunt, Managing Director of Rootes and an active member of Council, to the Vice Chancellor, enclosing a spy's report on the visiting American lecturer David Montgomery. When the rest of the occupiers returned to the Registry a meeting, called to discuss the find, decided to make a thorough exploration of the Registry files. We got out the documents that have been circulated and we have regretted not taking others. Especially one letter that describes Hunter, the Birmingham VC as "third division (Northern) and unable to keep more than three or four points in his head at a time."

The sit-in disbanded itself on Friday morning 13th February so that the information could be circulated outside Warwick. An attempt was made to prevent this through injunctions against publication but the people enjoined were so arbitrarily selected that it backfired;

E.P. Thompson, giving the students full and important support, provided one analysis of the Business University and greatly helped raise the issue nationally. This had particular importance in Coventry, where the University had first been conceived by local Labour leaders. The files showed that the generous grant that Labour had given to the University when it was in control of the council had been used in the interests of the Midlands business men. Worse, their own meetings to which they proudly invited left-wing lecturers were being systematically spied upon with reports going to the University and elsewhere.

The sit-in transformed the student body, for despite a reluctant SocSoc the general meeting of students became a real, vital, instrument of popular power and discussion. Transforming itself through mass involvement, Warwick exposed an issue that affects every student showing how he is threatened at the most crucial points of his life: entrance and employment. It exposed the class nature of the university not at the relatively abstract level of ideology but at the concrete level of spying and capitalist vigilance. In so doing it lit a prairie fire that has now flared across the universities and schools of the nation.
by a participant in the occupation.

Student Front

The capture of the files at Warwick has sharpened the revolutionary struggle in British Education. Faced by nation-wide anger at the shoddy manoeuvres revealed in the Warwick dossier the Committee of Vice-Chancellors has been forced into open hypocrisy - "The universities are not interested in files about political opinions..." and we have witnessed the amazing spectacle of Jumping Jack Straw of the NUS, who has managed to turn up several days after the beginning of each sit-in in order to explain to everybody that he is the leading student militant. Jack's conjuring tricks would be funny if he didn't sometimes have the effect of persuading people that the issue is merely one of civil liberties, and that it can easily be sorted out by private meetings between the NUS bureaucracy and the VCs. Not so. The issue is one of the class-nature of the University and Jumping Jack isn't going to sort that one out in a million years.

A spectacular victory achieved by the left in this struggle has been the total defeat of the injunctions against publication of the Warwick documents. Scarcely a college in Britain has not had them distributed. And the Headmaster of William Ellis Grammar School was personally handed a photostat of his nauseating letter to Vice-Chancellor Butterworth on his first day back at school after the documents were captured. (As the pupils had all received a copy as well, he immediately cancelled the school assembly.)

In many cases distribution of the documents had led to occupation of University buildings, opening of Registry files, and other forms of militant action. Detailed analyses of the struggle in two of the key centres - Edinburgh and Warwick itself - appear on this page. Below are reports received at the Dwarf from other centres.

MANCHESTER

The Warwick correspondence between VCs Butterworth and Manchester's Mansfield Cooper (known to each other as "Bill" and "Jack") proved particularly interesting to the militants who quickly arranged a Union debate on the subject. "Bill" likes to philosophise to "Jack" about the advantages of using civil law rather than criminal law against students (it takes so much longer and keeps people quiet while things are *sub judice*). But when the crunch came he blew his cool and served writs against five Manchester militants to prevent them speaking in the debate, or even entering the buildings. Result: 1,000 students occupied the Admin building, and their action was later endorsed by 3,000 students at a meeting in the Whitworth Hall. Five days later the occupation continues and even *The Observer* felt that Bill was letting the side down - though it hastened to add that Vice-Chancellors need our "sympathy and understanding". We would prefer them to resign.

ESSEX

Essex, as usual, was in the vanguard of extremism. One night some of the students attempted to physically dispose of their local outpost of monopoly finance: Barclay's Bank. Unfortunately the expeditionary force forgot to send out scouts in front of its midnight sortie. With the result that the Bank remains intact while three of the attackers were nicked by waiting policemen, and are charged with attempting arson. Meanwhile another posse made a sortie to the files office and came away with 200 documents from the sociology department. This useless haul eventually found its way to a resting place in the waters of a nearby river.

OXFORD

A meeting at Ruskin College of about 150 students was addressed by two comrades from Warwick. It was decided to occupy the Clarendon Building, the headquarters of the university administration; a sit-in began, undeterred by a Court injunction which the authorities thought it prudent not to serve. The decision to occupy was urged by comrades from the IMG, and one from IS, who have been criticised for being adventurist. But the subsequent growth of the protest movement has shown them to be right.

On Sunday a mass demonstration and meeting was held outside the Clarendon building at which the slogan was raised "Class University. Out! People's University. In!" At the same time the issue of files was linked to the question of the Disciplinary Statutes of which the authorities are now planning to tighten up.

Oxford's system of police, whose self-appointed tasks are distributed among a large number of tutors (Deans of individual colleges playing an especially important role), makes action especially difficult. The occupation of the Clarendon acted as a focus. College Deans were sent along to identify students from their colleges and the unity of the disciplinary system is now clear.

NORTH-WEST POLYTECHNIC

Following a successful and well-supported one day sit-in last term, the students at North-West Poly are moving into the crucial phase of what is in fact the most radical struggle on any campus in Britain—an unequivocal demand for 50% control of their college. The Board of Governors is getting desperate in the face of the students' determination. It has already offered the students 30%, which they have turned down. The last Union meeting not only ratified the demand for equal control of the college. It also passed a motion insisting on the right of each student to inspect personal files kept by the authorities.

CAMBRIDGE

The situation is still tense following a violent demo which succeeded in breaking up a Greek Junta dinner party at a local hotel. 500 students took part in this action, which was a considerable advance on previous actions of its kind. Reactionaries at the Universities are livid, and right-wing students are demanding disciplinary charges against the comrades involved, proving once again that the most privileged Universities produce the most fascist-minded students in Britain.

BEDFORD

Fifty students moved into Bedford two hours before we go to press. They have demanded that the files be open for them to check. One of them stated that they have been trying to argue with the staff, and now they have pushed them into a position where they will have to answer back. Bedford College moves towards its first night ever of occupation.

Warwick

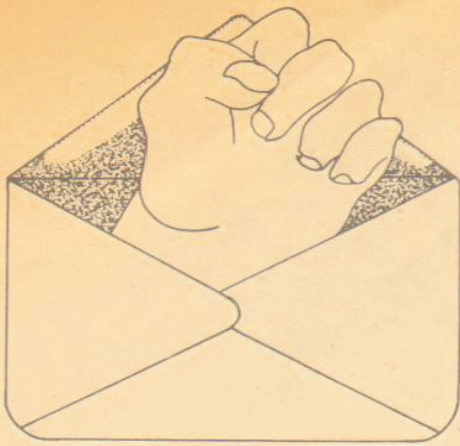
Warwick has become a name with galvanic effect. Events there have provoked and justified direct action in universities all over the country.

Warwick itself it a notoriously corrupt university, closely linked to and subsidised by big business (Rootes, Pressed Steel Fisher, Volkswagen, Barclays Bank, Courtaulds etc.). This isn't the only special thing about Warwick. The recent struggle there took a unique form. The occupation itself was extremely short, lasting only 42 hours. But the ensuing mobilisation has involved at least a thousand of the eighteen hundred students.

Why?

Warwick students till now have been passive but frustrated. Hundreds of them used to stay hidden in their rooms. Others fled the campus every weekend in a mass exodus that aborted the embryonic social life of the university. Only two incidents stirred action: once when a Pooh story was written along a much used footpath and the Vice Chancellor reacted hysterically, ordering all the paving stones to be turned over at the students' expense; and again with a 24 hour solidarity sit-in over the LSE gates. The mass support for the LSE occupation stemmed from liberal indignation, and attempts to point out political implications were resisted. This year that resistance has been broken down.

The first sit-in was a 24 hour occupation on February 3rd. Ironically it was instigated by the



LETTERS

Dear Comrades,

Alan Sillitoe's letter in your issue of 30th January 1970, and your reply to it raise several important issues which must confront any socialist who is interested in the problems of the Middle East.

Sillitoe refers to Fath as "tools of Arab imperialism" and pirates and butchers". Surely the point here is whether the Palestinians have a right to struggle for their self-determination. Dwarf rightly criticizes Sillitoe for failing to mention this.

Whether a Palestinian nation has been in existence since the time of the Mandate, or if it is only now in the process of struggle that this nation is being born is irrelevant. The fact that the Palestinian people are fighting for recognition as a nation is enough for us to admit that they are a nation.

But to admit the just rights of the Palestinians nation does not mean that we have to ignore the equal rights of the Israeli nation for their own self-determination. For the moment, unfortunately, the most prominent resistance group, Fath, is still avoiding this problem by talking about the Israelis not as a nation but as a religious minority. This is one of the weakest points in Fath's programme, and it is for their refusal to admit the existence of an Israeli nation, as a separate entity from both the Palestinian Arabs, on the one hand, and the world Jewish community, on the other, that our comrades from Matzen have attacked them in your paper (see M. Machover and Said Black Dwarf No. 19).

There has been of late, however, an evolution withing the Palestinian movements. The Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP), was the first Palestinian resistance movement to speak of the Israelis as more than a religious group. In an interview with a leader of the PDFLP, published in Rouge (No. 32, 29th September 1969), they spoke about an "Israeli national culture".

When, in an article in Le Monde (27th January 1970) Nayef Hawatmeh of the Political Bureau of the PDFLP said "we have to build a real Democratic State, which will be part of a great Arab socialist federation, where the power, all the power, will be exercised by workers councils, councils of poor peasants and soldiers. The constitutional form of this new state is not important; it can have the structure of a federation or of a confederation, like the Yugoslav or Czech type." (my translation).

For the first time an authoritative voice speaks of the possibility of a Federation between Israelis and Palestinians. The struggle of the Palestinians must be seen in this light. Only movements which fight for the right of Palestinian self-determination, without at the same time, denying that right to the Israeli nation can call themselves authentic socialist.

Mike Whine *Israel Palestine Committee*
Students Union,
City of London Polytechnic, Moorgate, E.C.2.

Dear Sir,

The two gentlemen who chose to put the case for the Ford Convenors I am sure helped neither their cause or the cause of the Ford workers by their cynical comments.

Jock Macrae querulously complains that groups like I.S. and Solidarity tend to attack the convenors and works committees but later on he tells us:-

"It's better to have a well-planned, well-organised meeting with all your own people ready to say the right things and do the right things and you're in".

Does it occur to him in his egotistic "generalship" that the average man on the floor is a democrat? He does not want a "well-planned" meeting with Macrae's "own people" saying the "right things". He wants free discussion between platform and rank and file and not a "well-organised" meeting to enforce whatever policy Macrae may think fit.

I and my fellow-workers have attended two of Jock Macrae's last mass meetings. At the first we dutifully filled in question slips and

were told there was no time to answer any but four of the questions and the chairman sneered to his audience "I have the mike, I will keep it". At the second a mass meeting lasted 14 mins. and people were lining up to go in as the resolution was passed and the meeting disbanded.

If this is the attitude of the two "generals" of the workers in the struggle at Fords, I can only re-echo the words of the Duke of Wellington "I don't know if they frighten the enemy but - My God - they frighten me".

Radical groups like Solidarity and I.S. have always believed in shop floor democracy and while Jock Macrae "does not believe in factions, really" (funny think, few generals do) if they can exert pressure for rank and file involvement in decisions they will have served an admirable purpose.

Yours fraternally, Jim Lamborn
53 Rutland Rd., Ilford, Essex.

HARD CRITICISM

Comrades,

The article on the tenants struggle in your last issue was counter-revolutionary. Your correspondent Chris Rawlence, after describing the defeat of the GLC Tenants movement, declares it a victory! He acclaims a growing movement as he describes a shrinking one; and like all workerist dreamers he capitulates, a strong word but I'm afraid it is true, to spontaneism. He says that the Tenants are strong because they have rejected all politics, even revolutionary politics, and have faith in themselves and their own self determination. Faith is a poor substitute for strength, and how can there be working class self-determination without organised politics?

Rawlence ends by acclaiming grass roots action - but his prairies have been fired and are burnt out.

Fraternally George Ritz

Personal Report: London Exploitation Board

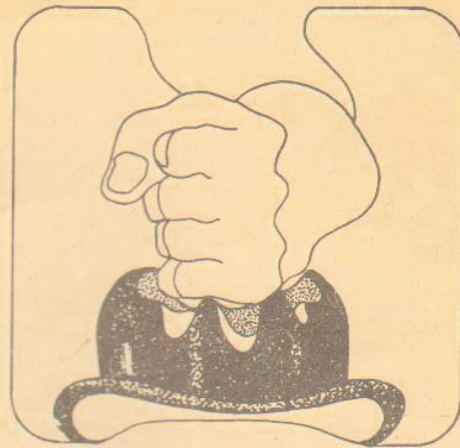
"In these schools the younger generation of workers and peasants were not so much educated and drilled in the interests of that bourgeoisie. They were trained in such a way as to be useful servants of the bourgeoisie, able to create profits for it without disturbing its peace and pleasure." Lenin, October 1920.

As a London Electricity Board apprentice, I soon realised that apprenticeships are a way that working class youth are exploited and used as cheap labour. This is evident from the moment you sign four year of your working life away in an indenture to the LEB. The pay is the lowest in the country and the conditions are like an institution. Their training course is reminiscent of a prison cell block, with clear floors, rules and regulations, and the usual establishment posters about clean health, clean body, and tidyness. When you join the board you are kidded into believing that you are to be trained in a worthwhile job, and at last get away from the school room attitudes. In the welcoming speech, the apprentice supervisor tells everyone that they are now young adults and they will be treated as such. When he has finished you are photographed and labelled with a number, and a file is started. When the Government passed the legislation making the age of majority 18, the apprentice supervisor told me that the LEB does not recognise this and they are not prepared to at the moment. This of course complies with their policy of treating us as adults.

At work there is usually an electrician, a mate and an apprentice. Now they are doing away with the mates - that leaves the electrician and the apprentice. The apprentice, who gets £8. 10s. a week, would then be doing the work of a mate who got £16. The LEB sure are onto a good thing in the cheap labour market. A good percentage of the new recruits are skinheads, who are being indoctrinated into thinking that they are being trained in a skilled job, but really anyone could be an electrician on the Board with a year's training. Then why four years on low pay? - It's obvious. Many apprentices feel that the wages are too low, but they answer with apathy saying 'what can we do'. But can anyone honestly live on £8. 10s. a week, especially as many people now leave home and need money for a flat and food.

I got out because I realised that as an individual I could not fight something so big. But dissatisfaction is growing and soon the LEB could find they are having to deal with more than individual protest.

ALL POWER TO THE LEB APPRENTICES.
Tony Reynolds



CITY DWARF

The City keeps on good terms with the Law, it usually has the last say in making it. But it also has to keep itself informed on the dirty work that its grandpas did in the past. An important article on the law and squatters appeared in a magazine not noted for its mass appeal: *The Chartered Auctioneer and Estate Agent* and immediately drew the attention of the *Property Journal* whose circulation is restricted to owners and exploiters of housing and offices.

In 47 long legal paragraphs a 'leading Counsel' deals with such practical questions as what to charge squatters with, and when, how to get the police to throw them out, whether or not one can sue squatters for damages. It is a model exercise in how to use the law—if you are a property owner.

The owner, poor man, who has had his property suddenly taken from his hands and used by those who need a roof, has four problems: How does he identify the particular squatters. How does he obtain evidence that he can use against them.

"How far is it financially worthwhile to pursue any civil remedies against people who may be 'men of straw'". "How far it is politically expedient to press the criminal law to its limits".

This last problem concerns how the ruling class uses the law politically. The lawyer is very clear on this. He says that in certain recent cases it would "always certainly have been correct to invoke the formidable criminal charges that could probably have been laid: conspiracy, forcible detainer even riot. But whatever the merits of the original argument the "Battle of Peterloo" is not now remembered as a notable triumph for the forces of law and order."

Having set out the general class position the leading counsel lists the five main charges that may be laid against squatters. They are:

Burglary
Malicious damage
Conspiracy
Forcible entry or detainer

Our Victorian ancestors, says the lawyer, took care to provide society with defence against "anarchy". They did indeed. "It is hard to see how some recent Squatter activities" he continues "do not amount to the offence of riot, defined in traditional form. Many have certainly been convicted of this charge within the last half century, in respect of less violent activities."

His "Practical Conclusions are: "It should certainly be possible, where small groups of Squatters are involved, to prove them guilty of the humbler offences like burglary and malicious damage—since it would be hard for any individual member of a small group to show that he was not jointly responsible for any damage committed.

"With larger Squatter groups, it would undoubtedly be hard to prove the guilty responsibility of particular individuals for particular acts of vandalism. But ringleaders—particularly if they boast of their responsibility as such—could almost certainly be convicted of conspiracy. In the same way, such people could probably be convicted—in respect of a large-scale violent seizure of property—of riot."

The practical limitations to these clear conclusions of law arise only from:

"The difficulty, in smaller cases, of securing sufficiently clear evidence;

"The *unwisdom*, in major cases, of appearing to behave too much like the great Duke of Wellington."

He goes on to argue that the Medieval Statutes against forcible entry, that the squatters have often used to defend themselves, can in fact be turned against them. For "there is no doubt that many of the modern squatting mischiefs are precisely those at which the statutes of 1381 and 1623 are aimed"—all history is the history of class struggle.

Our Leading Counsel ends by calling for a specific change in the law which will allow property owners to stick a writ on a building, and then stand back whilst the police empty it for him.

But the chief message of the piece, ominous given the developments in Italy, is that even relatively small actions such as squatting start the ruling class discussing and reminding each other of the fearsome repressive statutes that make up the British Constitution. Percy Ingrams

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JOHN McGRATH INTERVIEWS ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Eldridge Cleaver lives in a few rooms on the first floor of a small white house near the sea, looking across the Bay of Algiers. It has a floating population of Panthers, and of friends and revolutionaries, white and black. It is spare, functional, and feels, in some indefinable way, American. All his books and records have been confiscated by the State Department, and he has a great hunger for new books and above all music.

In Algeria, he is in touch with representatives of freedom movements from Africa and all over the world, who gather there under the friendly eye of that curiously mixed regime. Meanwhile, in America, the Panthers continue to be assassinated or imprisoned, and continue to move further to the left, to outgrow the old black chauvinism. It was in the light of these developments—of internationalism and growing socialist consciousness—that I interviewed Cleaver. He refuses to be interviewed by CBS, NBC or any large organisation. His wife and child are in Denmark, and he is trying to finish a book while they are away. He knows and likes the Black Dwarf, and he was friendly and quietly-spoken throughout the interview, in which he reveals himself as a man of increasing stature, and his party as undergoing ideological developments which are of major importance. JM February, 1970.

—We really don't want to interview you as a personality,—but just to set the scene, how would you describe your present situation?

People when they start talking about my present situation, they start with the word 'exile', you know. I don't like to use that term myself because it is static. We are in the process of establishing here an information centre: to deal with the struggle on an international level, make contacts, find out who our allies are, locate sources of mutual support. It's a way of carrying on the struggle, of continuing to work. I never would have left the United States if the decision hadn't been made for me. We were not prepared to deal with an insecure underground thing at that time. So while we're working on that, this is a way of biding time until we can return.

—You are in Algeria. Did you choose Algeria?

No, I didn't really choose Algeria. After I left the United States, the place that I chose turned out to be almost diametrically opposed to what I thought I was choosing, and I found out it was impossible for me to do what I had to do there. To really explain how I got here and why, I'm not prepared to do at this time. But I could say I didn't discover Algeria to be what it is, and the opportunities that it offers, until after I got here. I didn't really come here by choice; there were very few avenues left open and it just happened that it was fortunate it turned out this way.

—What are the charges against you in America?

There are about six counts of assault with intent to kill a police officer. I have a charge of violation of parole; a charge of unlawful flight to avoid prosecution for these other charges.

—What about the confiscation of your books and your possessions, was that on a different charge?

No, it was based on a decision by the State Department. They declared me to be a Cuban National and they have a law there

called, "Trading with the Enemy Act"—a measure specifically enacted against Cuba to confiscate the property of Cubans who were loyal to Fidel Castro's Government. All they have to do is to designate you as a Cuban National and this entitles them to confiscate all your property in the US, plus they can prosecute anyone who does anything for you,—if someone sends some money, say like the royalties from my book, they construe that as Trade with the Enemy.

—What would you say the Black Panther Party's main successes were, so far?

I think that the main success and the most important success has been in heightening the political consciousness of a lot of people. Once people are aware of a situation I don't think the Government could ever really change their minds back to where they were before. Also dispelling the alienation that existed between Black Revolutionaries and White Revolutionaries of the United States. At the time that the party was started, there was like a big gulf that was sort of a heritage of the work of SNCC and Black Power and Stokely Carmichael.

—So in a way, you have created an awareness of the situation, a political consciousness among American Black People and you have aligned or made some form of coalition with the Peace and Freedom Movement and other white movements. But so far as I can see, you haven't issued any call to the American Working Class as such. What is your opinion of the political role of the American Working class?

You see our Party is drawn largely from the lumpen proletariat. We are members of the working class—many of our members are from the working class, but we have to make a distinction between the employed and the unemployed. There are large numbers of unemployed people in the United States. In the first place the American people are very corrupt, very deeply imbued with the whole greedy dog eat dog philosophy of individualism, and they don't give a damn about other people or each other, and as long as the



Government is able to provide enough jobs, as long as they're able to prop up the economy by manufacturing war materials, as long as they're able to keep a cheque coming to these people, it is almost impossible to do anything with them. We understand the theoretical analysis that makes the working class key to the revolutionary process, but we also recognise the realities of that situation,—the important thing now is to organise those who are objectively organisable and after that we can begin to crack that hard ace. Right now I feel, and it is the feeling of the party, that we must make an approach to the working class as a category, but we feel that they're not about ready to come in.

—So that when you speak of "domestic imperialism" and "The Black Colony" and "liberating the colony", are you talking outside the Marxist framework of class struggle?

I think it's strictly compatible with the Marxist analysis except that we are in a situation where we have to apply these universal principles to our specific situation in a way that has never been done before. To just take the dry marxist analysis as it exists, is not functional for us. This has been the diabolical failure of the American Communist Party. They refuse to deal with the reality of the situation,—they just talk about the working class, and black people are members of the working class, and that's it. They don't confront the ethnic problem that exists. In the United States, the class struggle is hidden by the ethnic struggle, and the way that the people are manipulated by the Government, by the ruling class, makes the ethnic struggle primary. They keep the ethnical contradictions very sharp by manipulating racism and the whole history of racism, which is why the struggle of black people in the United States has come to be looked upon as a race struggle as opposed to a class struggle. We understand that the class struggle is the key, but you cannot neglect the ethnic factor, if you do, you meet with disaster.

—On a question of timing, would you say that liberating the colony had to come before the revolution in America?

No we think that they must be done at the same time. The key dynamic that gave rise to the developing Movement among whites in the United States was started off as a support operation against the war in Vietnam and support for black people struggling for their rights. If the struggle for black people didn't exist, the present anti-war movement wouldn't be there. The two things are inter-related and they must go on at the same time; there's no question about that. I mean you cannot call a moratorium on one and say, well let's deal with the other one first. We say that they must both work together, must have machinery to deal with both of them at the same time.

—The demands of the Panther Party are not particularly Socialist. In some ways they seem to accept the pattern of Society and demand more justice with that pattern, rather than overthrowing it. Is this so?

We often are confronted with this question,—many times as a criticism,—but you must understand the situation that exists inside the United States and the people who drew up the programme. They understood the society from a Marxist point of view. The programme, if you notice, is drawn up on an either/or principle, it says either you will do this, or we will do this, and behind that is the understanding that it's impossible for the Government to deliver those demands. But in terms of relating to the people, the demands are very clear and they're very just and they speak

to the grievances of the people. Now when the people see these just demands put forward and then they see the Government unable or unwilling to meet these demands, then it becomes very reasonable to them to start dealing with the alternatives. We always go beyond the ten points. They are a working device that we can use to approach the people, and it's proving very effective, in spite of the criticisms that a lot of intellectuals make of it.

—I notice that in one of the latest issues of the Black Panther paper, you did a breakdown of a strike in General Electric which gave a very good analysis of how the power structure worked in a specific case.

This is because there have been some successes in approaching the working class, over the last couple of years,—we have got some party members and some allies who are members of the labour unions and who devote all their time to trying to relate to workers. We have a wide readership among the working class, and by running these analysis we can help them make some ideological inroad. You can say definitely that this process will continue.

—How American would you say you are?

I will say as American as apple pie you know. It's very clear to me that I am an American. It's become even more clear to me since leaving the United States, so I make no bones about it. I'm not ashamed of it, I don't feel there's anything to be gained by going through any fancy verbal changes about that. We talk about the third world and we have third world origins but we are members of the first world, which is the Capitalist world.



—When you talk about a united front against fascism you have identified America as a Fascist country, how do you think it compares with Nazi Germany?

I think that in terms of the effects it's having on the world, it's far worse than Nazi Germany. Many people have come to identify fascism only when they see swastikas, you know, or something related to Mussolini. We think that the form of oppression and the totality of the oppression that is involved in the United States is enough, along with the economics that are involved, to identify America as fascism. Through some very devious mechanisms, of holding companies and interlocking directorates and so forth, the economy is centralised in the hands of very few people and very few corporations at the top. It has an apparent facade of competition and free enterprise, but it's not free enterprise, it hasn't been for quite a while; if it ever was. It's definitely a highly centralised mechanism that only gives the appearance of being decentralised.

—According to some Black Panther statements, America needs now a North American Liberation Front. Traditionally liberation fronts fight protracted wars. What would you say was your strategy for carrying out the war?

You see, usually people speak about liberation fronts when they're dealing with a Colonialist regime. In the US the primary struggle is a revolutionary struggle, but at the same time we have to deal with specific conditions of oppression of black people. Black people were taken to the United States as part of the process of the expansion of European politics into the rest of the world, in order to colonise the rest of the world. So many of the forms of oppression that were developed in that process were developed and inflicted upon black people inside the United States. Not all. We don't have the classical form of colony, but many of the forms are there. We have to apply the analysis of Imperialism and Colonialism where the black community is controlled from the white community. But the large thing is that it has to be a revolution that will be won through a process of war. We don't think we're going to be able to vote the capitalist economy out of existence, and we don't think we're going to be able to vote the ruling class out of existence. We think that people are going to have to organise and take up arms and fight a war to overthrow the system. We talk about the North American Liberation Front, I prefer the term The New World Liberation Front.

continued overleaf.

What is happening now is that small groups of people are arming themselves and they're beginning to carry out activities against the system. I think that that process will increase and out of it, just as in other countries, a people's army will develop. This is what we constantly try to bring about. In terms of time, who can say how long it will take? I know that I can't. These things have a way of exploding and processes that we think will take ten years telescope into two weeks: so there's a way of speeding up time through action.

—Do you see it in relation to the economic processes?

Yes, if the economy, because of the international situation, experiences sharp breakdowns where more and more people experience dissatisfaction in their daily life, of course this will open up some very immediate and beautiful prospects. But you have to understand this, that the people who are active in the United States right now are not people who are ground down in poverty, because people in the United States are suffering a different form of oppression, even black people. There is a type of spiritual suffering that is so extreme that people are just as miserable as though they were starving. There is another form of misery. Hunger is not the only form you see and American people are miserable; many of them don't know it, but those who are aware and who know it and who understand the source of it, they have a hatred so deep for that system that they can do nothing but destroy it, because they see that their lives are rotten and the quality of their lives is worthless and that the only way that they can do anything meaningful is to move to destroy the monstrous system that exists there. It's kind of fashionable to talk about a Student Movement in the United States, people talk about this, but it's grown beyond just being a student movement to being a generation of people who are aware of the predicament that the world is in and who understand this predicament and who have enough quality about themselves to want to do something about it: and this is a necessity.

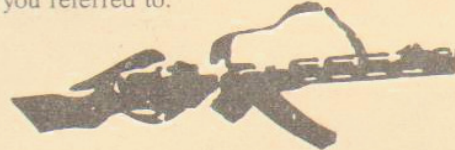
—In the light of this struggle, it seems that the Black Panthers have a tendency to adventurism in actually laying themselves open to being put in prison and being driven out of the country.

Yes. I don't think that is necessarily a bad thing. We talk a lot about this, we know this. People used to say that we were provoking the power structure into coming down prematurely when people weren't prepared, but it became very clear to us that it's always time to move if you're willing to face the consequences. Simply because we complained about the consequences doesn't mean that we were not aware that they were going to be brought about, you see what I mean. I remember when we went to the Legislature with those guns, the Communist party and the Socialist Workers party, all of these super revolutionary phrase-mongers—that's all I can call them—they were more angry at us than the pigs were you know, because they said this was provocative and adventurist. But there's a need for Black people particularly to have something of a kami-kaze consciousness. You recall, the first phrase in The Catechism of a Revolutionary by Bakunin, says that a Revolutionary is a doomed man, so all these people who are concerned about survival and who want to carry out a revolution without suffering any consequences, I think that they don't really want to carry out a revolution. We have to be prepared to take risks, to suffer, in order to bring about the results. So while we have suffered greatly, and while we don't like the suffering we've had to do, we don't regret doing what we've done because it was necessary. We were confronting this situation: we had to choose between doing nothing or taking action that would probably get us killed or put in prison. We prefer to just close our eyes and move against the enemy and then try to pick up the chips rather than sit around like these armchair philosophers do, and analyse the situation. For instance people in the United States talked about police brutality for about 50 years. The NAACP started in about 1911. It started off as a protest organisation. They started off talking about Police brutality and they filed about a million petitions trying to put an end to police brutality. Everybody talked about that. But it wasn't until the Black Panther party got out into the streets with guns and

loss and at great suffering that we have been able to do something to create a climate and an awareness, where the pigs are uptight. All the talking in the world didn't do anything about it, it took the type of action that we took, which they call adventurist, and which we accept. So I really think that we must become even more consciously Kami-Kaze. I like that word because that's just what the situation calls for.

—Do you foresee a stage where you'll need to adopt a more traditional liberation front approach? For example the F.L.N. in Algiers used to strike and disappear, and there are the traditional Maoist Guerrilla tactics—

When the party was first organised there was a big conflict over this. Many people wanted to start the party underground, Huey deals with this whole argument in an essay entitled "The Correct Handling of a Revolution." In the situation that existed in the United States, it was necessary for the organisation to start above the ground, so that it could relate to the people and so the people could relate to it. We anticipated being driven underground, and this has happened to a great extent. Much of what is seen above ground we already consider to be passé. We know that you cannot overthrow the Government through mass demonstrations and pickets but we also know that part of the correct revolutionary approach is to utilise both the legal and the illegal approach, both the above ground and the underground approach. Definitely we are going to have to resort to the tactics you referred to.



—I want to ask you about the Student Movement which you mentioned just now. How would you place the strength of the actual student contribution, would you say it was a revolutionary vanguard, or a detonator, as they said in Paris, or just trouble...?

My whole opinion of student movements fluctuates as their actions fluctuate, but having had some very close associations with large numbers of students, I came to understand that there was this generation of people who understand the problem, and who are committed to it. At the same time there are also a great number of people who are active in the movement who are just going through a sort of initiation process and will afterwards rejoin the system.

—You seem to approve in particular of a group called the Weathermen?

Well you know I was over here when the activity of the Weathermen took place, I know that the people who form the Weatherman faction of SDS are very good, very serious, and very dedicated and very selfless people, and I feel that they deserve support. The action they took didn't seem to me to be so counter-productive that they cannot still be supported.

—Something about it didn't appeal to you, what was that?

I think a lot of it is naive you know, some of the things that they say like Fight the People you know, Fuck the People, they attack the slogan Serve the People—they say, I don't know how to put it but you don't serve the people you fight them, you know. They drifted off into very isolated and really insane ideological positions. But I think that this is not fatal, that they will not be lodged with that for ever; I think that what they are doing is exploring the whole ideological thicket that exists in the United States, they're trying to find the correct positions and they're trying to develop a correct approach to the situation and I think that everybody in the United States is kind of in that position. Some of the things that other people do is just as disastrous for the movement as what the Weatherman did, although it might not have the same violent form, antagonising members of the working class. On the other hand, I think it's not so dreadful to antagonise some members of the working class because members of the working class are murdering off other people, so that I don't look upon them as being objects to be pampered—I think they have to be handled kind of roughly.

—What books would say had influenced you and the Panthers particularly? Well to

texts—Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Mao etc.?

The members of the party, those who started it, they read very widely in Socialist literature. Myself, in prison I had a lot of time to read all the books I could get my hands on, but the key book that really started the party was "The Wretched of the Earth" by Franz Fanon, because it was after Huey Newton and Bobby Seale read "The Wretched of the Earth" that something clicked inside their heads and they put the party together. I was still a prisoner at that time and we read "The Wretched of the Earth" in prison; but we read everything from The Manifesto, Das Capital, to scattered selections from Lenin that were available in Prison, some of Mao's works you know, even some Fabian socialist essays, things like that, reading these materials we were able to draw an understanding of the Society of Capitalism and how it functions and the evils of it.

—Yes, and you felt that quite a lot of it was very relevant to your situation?

Yes. When I first read Marx, I was about 18 years old, first time I ever went to prison, but it was in such a form, that it only offered, like an intellectual understanding of capitalism, I didn't have an understanding of it in terms of moving, it was impossible for me to relate that to my daily activity, there was no organisational structure that I could relate to.

—Have any other later 20th century Marxists, apart from Fanon meant anything, like Marcuse, Gramsci? what about Trotsky?

I think I have read more of Trotsky than I have of the others. Marcuse, I read some of his materials but I read those at a time when I was already, deeply involved in the Black Panther Party so we can't really say that they were a stimulus or influence directly. The books I did read, I read because I went to the Campus in San Diego where he was an instructor and one of the students gave me a collection of his books and I had to deal with him because he was there and he had a lot of support from the Campus but I wasn't drawn to his work. I don't think about them unless someone asks me.

—What's your party's attitude to its intellectuals, Minister of Information, Minister of Culture, Prime Minister, and so?

You see, we felt there was a very important fact that had to be dealt with: the Government's tactic to always depoliticise all of the organisations of black people in the United States. We have very hot arguments about it—people thought that it was too pretentious. But we chose the type of names that we did in order to emphasise the political content of our struggle.

—What's your party's attitude to its intellectuals?

Educated people have been a class in the United States that have sold the black masses out, because they were specifically educated in order to perform certain functions for the slave master, and they have performed these functions well. So there is a lot of suspicion and hostility among the black masses towards the educated people. But in the party there is a great need for intellectual power to constantly refresh the analysis of our situation. People have to learn to really appreciate and dig a cat that functions in that manner, and we've got over some of these suspicions simply because we've got good benefits out of some of the work being done by so-called intellectuals.

We find that the pigs have been very helpful in this regard, because you find that the people that they have been murdering have the brains, like Malcolm X, even Martin Luther King. Fred Hampton was a very intelligent man. The disaster that has happened to certain brains of the party have made people understand that the pigs were doing this because they were trying to hurt us in turning out the lights. People have an appreciation for talent. We know that we need it.

—When you expelled one group of Panthers one of the charges against them was male Chauvinism. I think that this is perhaps the first time in the history of politics that politicians have been expelled from a party when this has been named as one of the crimes.

It is a very serious problem you know. The relationship between the black male and the black female in the United States is horrible. In the United States the Black Woman has suffered extremely, all the way back to slavery, when the family structure

and the family structure that exists now was created. During slavery—to talk about all these forms you have to always go back to slavery—the woman was used as a breeder to produce more slaves and the man was used as a stud. All the delicate sentiments between a man and a woman were distorted, very fucked up, and this has continued and black women have been subjected to a double form of oppression, maybe even triple or quadruple. They have to deal with being oppressed as black people, they have to deal with being oppressed as females, then they have to deal with being oppressed as black females, then they have to deal with being oppressed by black men who themselves are oppressed. So it's very hard for them to deal with, and black men have been very vicious and brutal in dealing with black women.

On the one hand the black woman was more secure under slavery than the black man. The white man in the United States understood that the most effective way of keeping the black man down was to destroy all forms of security for him, so that the black woman has been in a more secure position than the black man. For example, the black woman was able to kill the black man, and was assured that it would automatically be ruled as justifiable homicide, so the black man resorted to a form of brute force on women to keep them in their place. The sisters in the Black Panther Party don't want to hear that shit, they're not going to have it, you see, but a lot of brothers don't understand that. They understand it much better now than they did.

I'll tell you this, the first trial that we ever had in the Black Panther Party was specifically over this problem. A brother wanted to go to bed with a sister and she didn't want to go to bed with him, so he hit her, he cursed her out, and he refused to leave her house, she reported this, and we had to have a meeting about it because at that time it hadn't come to our consciousness that there was such a problem. We had this meeting. Bobby Seale presided over the meeting and we had a discussion of the action of this brother. There were three sisters living in the house and they told about what he did and there was a vote as to whether or not we suspend the guy, kick him out of the party or kill him or whatever might be done as you know we had no code drawn up but these were the alternatives: expel him, suspend him or kill him, what else can you do to a guy? So after a full debate on this, it came to a vote and Bobby called for the vote, and the question came up could the sisters vote. When the party first started there were no women in the party, it was all men, and it was only after Huey was arrested that women began to come into the party. Before that we had women who related to the Party, mostly girlfriends of party-members and they would do little things, that were helpful to us, but at that time our whole activity was taken up with dealing with cops, and very little paper work was involved—it was mostly just Panthers and guns. It was only after the operation expanded that women started coming into the party. So we had no forms, we didn't know how we would designate them. When we had meetings in the beginning, when the girlfriends of the cats would be there, it was understood that they weren't members of the party so when we voted they didn't vote. They didn't participate, because they weren't members of the party—Then these same sisters and more declared themselves to be Panthers, but we would still take votes on certain issues and just the brothers would vote. Then, when this particular trial came up, we started to vote in the same manner. But this was an issue that hotly concerned the sisters. The leader of the women at that time, was Sister Joanne. The vote was taken alright and Bobby told the sisters you can't vote, just like he always would. It was at that moment that we realised that we had another problem on our hands. We voted and the cat was exonerated an in-just decision was passed, the cats just related to supporting this other cat. Joanne jumped up, she was very angry and she just ranted down from the sisters point of view and she split and she said the sisters are subjected to the same objective oppression that the brothers are, and they work just as hard as the brothers do and if they can't vote they don't want to be a member of the party. She walked out and that's when it dawned on us that we had to

her back and we began to develop the machinery to deal with it. That is when we started laying the foundations to get away from male chauvinism.

It's a very interesting problem. There were some brothers who used to brutalise their old ladies, you know, and my wife,—she's a sort of firebrand when it comes to the women's liberation,—got together with some of the other sisters, and they rented this big pad and they called it the Sisters' Pad, and they took some guns into the pad and they established certain rules like that no cat could come inside, but that proved non-functional so then no cat could go upstairs, they could just come into the front room. When sisters would have problems with the brothers, they didn't want to go home to Mother, they just wanted to go some place, they wanted to have it structured so that these problems could be dealt with.



So I remember these two brothers both on the same night had a fight with their old ladies, and without our knowing what was going on,—the sisters took refuge in this pad, and these guys went to the pad and were just going to force their way in, and one of them got shot. I went over to the pad the next day after I found out about this and my wife was there you know, and I said—what the hell's going on here, why did the cat get shot, so they explained to me that this was their pad and they were going to defend it and they were not going to have this type of thing going on, and I said—well I'm coming into this pad, and they said—well no you're not, this is our pad, and you're not coming in unless we let you come in, and you got to respect that. The other sisters they just stepped back and they let Kathleen deal with it and she had a shot gun that I bought her and she threw down on me you know. It was a very important principle to them, but I was not really thinking about what was involved. I was going to force my way into the pad but when she threw the shotgun down on me and I looked at her standing there trembling, I know that this principle was so important that she would have shot me had I just driven over that, I dug that, so I supported that and we developed that pad and it's still there and it's still very functional for sisters and they're able to get a lot across to the Brothers through using this pad.

—Is there anything you can't tolerate in women's liberation?

I say this, that men have been so wrong for so long that I support women even when they're wrong. But sometimes my wife will tell me—we're talking about women's liberation and biologically you're incapable of relating to it. But I think I have something to do with it. It's just not women's problems, it's problems between men and women and I think that we should be

allowed to discuss it. I've been in a situation where I've been put very uptight. I remember when the sisters wanted to use—and Kathleen was kind of pushing this too you know,—the same tactics against us as we were using against the pigs: if a brother brutalises a sister then we're going to go and get him and kill him, things like that. Well I know that brothers shouldn't brutalise the sisters, but I was in a situation where I didn't want to lose a good man, so that I thought another approach to that would be more desirable than just offing the cat, because it got to the point where some guys slapped their old lady and they want to kill him. Now this may be a very just position, I can't attack it because I don't see why a guy should be allowed to slap his old lady even though I've done that before myself. But I make the plea to them, to be a little more considerate about what's going on. Those are the kind of things that put me off. But, in a way, I'm a traitor to my sex. I kind of support them.

—Do you think the effects on the individual of racialism, Imperialism and class exploitation all take place on the same level?

In the first place we're talking about a totality that can't really be separated, but in terms of pain, certain things are more easily remedied than others. Like you can destroy the basis of economic exploitation, and some of those sufferings can be wiped out, but certain other forms of pain, like the suffering that people do for racism, can warp you psychologically so that maybe nothing can be done to alleviate that. But at the same time they're inseparable because the racism is just a tactic employed to bolster up the economic exploitation. It's like this, you could have a ball and chain around your ankle you know, but when you examine your body to see where the physical damage is done it's not the big ball but the clasp around your ankle that will leave the mark on you and the big ball might be imperialism and all the economic exploitations and the clasp may be the racism you see, that's the thing that marks you—but it's really the ball that's holding you down.



—Do you see the struggle continuing on the basis of the international socialist movement or on the basis of an international colour emancipation movement?

I would just say that it may be a toss up. A very desperate situation exists in the international socialist movement. On the one hand we have the Soviet Union coming to be identified as the Revisionists, a Renegade clique, and on the other hand you have the dogmatists and as far as I'm concerned they end up being just as bad as each other. It seems that the Chinese have erected an ideological wall: they make it just as impossible to relate to them as the

Soviets have done by tearing down all ideological principles. This came on to me while I was in Korea at the Conference of journalists that was held there in September of last year. The whole source of the problem is the conflict that exists between the Soviet Union and China which is driving the Soviet Union more and more into a white racist position, and there's a lot of xenophobia in the Chinese approach also. The only principled positions being advanced by a country that I was able to relate to was that being advanced by Comrade Kim Il Sung of North Korea. I found that the people who are not yet liberated are the ones, who cherish the true revolutionary principles of marxism, leninism and anti-imperialism.

If you look at the history of Korea and its geographical situation, a lot can be understood. In the North there's the Soviet Union; in the West there's China; in the East there's Japan and the southern half of their country is occupied by the United States. They've been forced, in order to defend themselves, and in order to articulate their own best interests, to develop an ideological defence against aggression from any direction. They've suffered from aggression from the Russians, they've suffered aggression from the Chinese and definitely they are suffering now from aggression from the United States and they have suffered from the aggression of the Japanese. So while maintaining a consistent adherence to Marxist-Leninist principles they've also had to develop a very sharp critique against certain Marxist-Leninists who've been fucking them over. This is really the position that all oppressed people are in. They have the consciousness of people who are not liberated because half of their country is still occupied and under a neo-colonial regime backed by United States imperialism. The Vietnamese, and many of the liberation movements in Africa, and in Latin America are unable to publicly articulate how they feel about the shit that's going on, because there would be disastrous consequences, people will cut off their guns if they told it like it is. In private conversations they would tell you the same thing that I'm telling you, but publicly it's too expensive for them to take that position. We're in a position where we're not receiving aid from anybody so that we can say these things. It was even true that there were many people in Korea who urged us to make very strong attacks upon the revisionists and also upon the dogmatists because they couldn't do it but they want it to come out and they expressed their position and their feelings by the way they applauded.

—Did you find any danger of Kim Il Sung developing a personality cult?

No, a lot of people feel that there's a personality cult already there. My own personal feeling is, that's the way that human society functions, I don't see anything wrong with people relating to a charismatic leader on that level, particularly, if he's a just man. I think it's

very unfortunate if you relate to an unjust charismatic leader. When we first got there everytime we talked to anybody started off by saying Comrade Kim Il Sung. If we were talking about apples or if we were talking about teacups, anything, but once you begin to understand that this is a way of maintaining their unity and that Comrade Kim Il Sung has founded his country and that he will not live for ever. I don't think that this is any different than what has happened in the history of all countries. There is the father of every country.

—Did you find socialist democracy being carried out in North Korea?

We weren't able to observe deeply into whether or not everyone was satisfied that their will was being brought to bear in all decisions, we were not there that long. But it's a crisis situation that exists in Korea, and the people are mobilised on a level where they are prepared for a war at any moment. The United States has 60,000 troops in the South of Korea you know, and they have a puppet army there of, I think, 600,000 and they have just moved the whole command of the Pacific military machine from Okinawa to South Korea, so the people there felt threatened and the threat is very real, so they're not playing any games about ensuring that everyone can raise a point of order on every question that comes up. There is one thing, that I think criticism of Socialism anywhere in the world has to be tempered with; the understanding that Socialism nowhere has really been given a chance; because of appropriations for a defence against capitalism and Imperialism that are really there and aggressive. You can't really talk about what would happen if these things weren't true, because it is true.

—How much do you feel the movement can rely on the help of Communist Parties in America or Moscow or China or Cuba?

We don't. Because we find that they are lagging behind our activities. We're inclined to have rather disastrous relations with the Communist Party in the United States.

The reason they have started relating to us is because the people were relating to us, and they were out of it. We consciously barred them from participating in certain of our activities and we even at one point barred them from passing out leaflets in the black community—black communists and white communists. We had to come down on them very hard, we had to expose them in our newspaper, write articles attacking them and their activities before they started changing their behaviour. You see some co-operating between the CPA and the Black Panther Party now, but this is something that we've gained through some very bitter conflict. Myself I'm not inclined to be liberal with them or to even forgive and forget, because even though they are functioning in a harmonious way on certain problems, they have an ingrained ideological bias that keeps them lagging behind. As far as I'm concerned, the marxism that they use is not an indigenous marxism, it's something that is unrelated to the problems that exist in the United States. The Movement as a whole, is beginning to relate to Marxism-Leninism in the United States. They haven't structured it, developed Marxist-Leninist traditional type parties, but they have grasp of the principles and they're looking around for forms to cope with the situation now. It was because the Black Panther Party was already structured that we overtly began to use Marxism-Leninism. Because there was a need.

However, when we had a need for mass education of the party in Marxist-Leninist principles we had a lot of books that were printed in Russia, more or less running along with the Soviet line—so that we found a lot of revisionist attitudes, a lot of alien attitudes, started cropping up in the party. There is something about the articulation of Marxism-Leninism in that manner that affected people you see, so we stopped using those books, and we started rewriting that material for ourselves and started using more of a variety of books, and so forth until right now we find that certain analyses made by Comrade Kim Il Sung to be more helpful to us than analyses made by certain revisionists.

—Could you give any more specific examples of analysis of Kim Il Sung which particularly you found relevant?

The concept of Juche that they've worked out; it's a concept of self-reliance that



justifies the independent existence of each party and gives it some ideological defences against the type of domination that is traditional in the Socialist movement, this is really the key factor. When I talk about the value of certain ideological provisions, I'm talking specifically about this concept of Juche. Because of their own experience, they have worked out this concept that gives an analysis of the origin of the party as related to a specific struggle, and how those who were directly involved in that struggle are the ones who must have control of the ideology of the struggle. This becomes very important when you consider that, each Communist Party.—I'm really just talking about China and Russia—has a tendency to try to unite under itself all of the other communist parties and to force on them certain ideological lines.

The great contribution that Kim Il Sung made, is the concept of the autonomy of a party, the integrity of a party, the responsibility of a party to those whom it purports to represent, the duty of the members of the party to have an awareness that they must rely upon their own resources in their struggle in order to gain success, not to blindly follow behind the experiences of others while always being open to beneficial aspects of others' experience, all this articulated and related to Marxism-Leninism. This concept of Juche deserves to be taken further. Let me read you something of Kim Il Sung. "Only by firmly establishing Juche can each country repudiate flunkeyism and dogmatism and creatively apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism discarding the spirit of relying on others and displaying the spirit of self-reliance and accordingly carrying on its revolutionary cause and construction work with success."



Now to me this is very interesting. We have found that in our relationships with the CP in the United States, they will never come out and say "we follow the Soviet line". But when they come to taking up positions on various issues, this is what they do. They even challenged our right to adopt Marxism-Leninism—we could only do it under their good offices. So that this principle of Juche, bolstered up our own self-assurance. The American CP used to put me uptight—they were able to make us feel that we might be doing something wrong. When a cat begins to utilise Marxism-Leninism, if he's not careful he could be made to feel that he's stealing something or that he doesn't really have the right to do that, and this sort of takes away the dynamic approach that you need. You may think that I'm making too big a thing of this, but to us it was a major break-through to relate to the whole concept of Juche—and you go beyond that to the analysis of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, specifically worked out to combat some of the influences seeping into the Socialist movement because of what they call the liberalisation campaign that's going on in Eastern Europe. To me they're disastrous effects coming out of Europe, in terms of what's happening in the Soviet Union, and what's happening in Czechoslovakia, Rumania and all those places. The Koreans maintain a kind of rigid position on these questions and I think that at this time it is necessary.

—What do you see as the main effect of the Sino-Soviet split on the American liberation movements?

People who were relating to Marxism-Leninism in the United States were some of the least racist people in the country, people who were constantly trying to get away from racism. But it seems that the Soviet Union is creating a technique through which people can purport to be Marxist-Leninist, and at the same time be racist. This is something that I think is very very threatening to us in the United States. In its response to China, the Soviet Union is uniting more and more with Capitalist countries, and they're developing arguments to justify this, and these arguments carry over into the United States. The communist party in the United States is becoming more and more white. The Black Panther Party is moving in just the opposite direction. We're trying to move away from just a Black thing to develop a machinery that

will enable us to relate to white revolutionaries. In their jealous attempt to maintain a sort of papal attitude towards Marxism-Leninism,—like they have the only true authorised version of Marxism-Leninism you know,—the CPA are drifting more and more into racism.

Also Jews in the United States are becoming more and more Nationalist. In spite of revolutionary principle they find it impossible to relate to the struggle over Palestine. This is why we've begun to relate to that question, because we think this is one of the key problems in the world today. You know, Black people are called upon to take up arms against other, black people have black enemies inside the United States, so that we don't see any reason why Jews can't do the same thing. But they're not relating to it in that manner, they're sort of caught up in this whole sentimental approach to recent history and they're trying to use the bones of the victims of Hitler to justify the bones of the Palestinian people that they are piling up. I notice a very breaking effect on the movement because a lot of young Jewish militants are unable to relate to that particular problem, and to make an analysis of that based on revolutionary principles. They find it much easier to relate to a revisionist form of Marxism-Leninism that itself obviates or postpones the armed struggle.

—Panthers have in fact declared solidarity with the Palestinian Guerrillas.

Yes. But we're not satisfied with the position that we've taken, because we haven't really gained enough information on that subject. The whole thing that is going on in the Arab world is very very deep and we don't claim to understand it. But just on the basis of the necessities, we have to confront—Israel being supported by the United States imperialists,—we know enough about the situation to know that it's utterly impossible for us to support Israel. We know that justice is on the side of the people who have been kicked out of their land. Now when you come specifically to relating to particular organisations or a practical matter, this is where we have a big problem, because it ain't what it seems to be. There's much more to it. We're a Marxist-Leninist organisation, so that we have some natural sympathies for some other Marxist-Leninist organisations, and you know that in certain parts of the world Marxist-Leninists catch hell.

—To go back again to America, when the Panther Party talk about seizing power in America, there seemed to be at first a tendency to talk about this in terms of seizing power in Black communities and neighbourhoods. Is this still the case?

Things have gone beyond that. I talked with you earlier about the concept of community imperialism. What has happened is that the whole focus of our movement and out attack was upon the specific grievances of the black community, which didn't mean that the general grievances of the proletariat in the United States didn't exist, it just meant that there were certain priorities. Dealing with these has opened up the way for us to deal more and more with the general grievances of the Proletariat in the United States. So that we see both of these things going on at the same time, which means dealing more and more with the class struggle than with the ethnic problems.

—You are in fact confronting the entire power structure of America with all its resources.

This has become very clear, I mean its very clear now. This is a good thing and not a bad thing because before, much energy was being wasted, or not getting the results that we desired, because of this mask, this facade, that the power structure has, and that we had to deal with. Look at all the time, effort, blood, and suffering that went on over dealing with these separate but equal facilities in the United States. Years were spent dealing with that, 50 years as a matter of fact, since the beginning of NAACP right up to 1954, then going through from 1956 from the Montgomery bus boycott, all through SNCC history all of that time was spent just dealing with really irrelevant structures that the system has created. They don't begin to deal with the system itself. That period we feel is all over, because just about all that has been smashed—we have another approach to the problem that gets to some of those deeper issues.

—In fact you're aiming for Washington or aiming to overthrow Washington?

Washington. Washington D.C. Because that's where the seat of power is. That's where the country is controlled from. Actually we're aiming for Long Island—Long Island controls New York, New York controls the Country and the country controls the world.

—On the way there it seems to me you have two problems, your enemies and your friends. Your enemies are perhaps the richest and most powerful men in the world. What do you think of your resources to oppose them?

Well, I don't think that if you deal with these type of quantities you get very far. A big fat capitalist with a billion dollars is still a big fat capitalist. He's only as powerful as the people he's able to deceive and manipulate. As I think has been happening, he's finding it more and more difficult to deceive and manipulate people. In the first place his mass media are being circumvented: alternative media, and methods of communicating have been developed so that the process of suppressing is destroying his ability to manipulate people through his own media. If you look at what's going on in the Army, you find the process of decay and decomposition is rapidly accelerating—particularly amongst black troops. General Westmoreland, the Chief of Staff of the armed forces, ordered a study to determine the extent of Black Panther influence in the army. There is a big thing going on now. We know this because we have contacts with the G.I.s and we know how the brothers are feeling, and we know how a lot of white cats are feeling in the army. So it's not the number of dollars or resources or property control or deeds of trust that really count, it's what the people think, and what the people are doing that really matters. A big fat pig in the legislature, no matter what his resources are, if he doesn't have some strong-arm shooters to protect him, well we can just walk in there and grab him by his ears. We have to organise people, and organise fighting people, the materials to fight with aren't that expensive.

—Your friends. As you head toward this kind of power, if you look as if you're getting near it, do you foresee the assistance of people who in themselves would like to have that power?

That always takes place, doesn't it? We find that Politicians on the make use whatever is happening amongst the people as a lever against those above them. So we play them off against each other, and they try to play us off against their enemies and this is the way the whole process goes down. It's a whole style of politics that we are in conflict with—many people who think that they can ride to power on our backs will be up against a wall with the rest of them when we get into a position to put them there.



—Do you imagine that this would lead to an ideological hardening in your line as you differentiate yourselves from these false "friends"?

I think that one's ideology must protect one from making improper alliances. We don't want to be opportunists, and we don't want to fall into alliances with improper persons, or improper organisations. We understand what the bases of a Socialist Society are. The things that have to be done are what will divide friends from the enemies, so that those who will go along in transforming the American economy from its present monstrosity to a Socialist economy where the means of production are owned by the people, those who go along like that and don't make problems, we won't have problems with them, but those who would have objections to that, those would have to be dealt with. So by following the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and by moving to develop the type of society that we're talking about, I think that enemies and friends can be dealt with.

—In any revolutionary struggle policies are only made in the dialectic between action and theory. Where do you turn for your theory?

Well I don't think we really turn anywhere any more you know. Because we are in the process now of trying to expound a little theory of our own. After one has a grasp upon these principles, there's really no

need. Except like I had to do just now, to turn to a written document to refresh one's memory. I don't think that any movement could rely upon constantly turning to the texts of other people. At some point you have to develop the ability to expound these principles for yourself, and to apply them ever freshly to the changing situation. We're in a position now where we can't really rely on anyone for our overall theoretical analysis. We must make this ourselves. We're beginning to deal with that, that's been one of the very positive things that has happened in the party, we have developed people who are able to make theoretical analyses of our situation and relate them in a very respectable manner to the history of the whole movement.



—What do you think is the next step forward, first of all for America, politically?

You talking about the enemy? I think that decisions have already been made to go all the way to madness, it's very clear to me,—because I know Richard Nixon, you see, and I know that he's a mad dog. And it may even be that decisions have already been made that will destroy the world, because he's capable of doing that, he's even fool enough to think that he can be successful. We've got a hot race on our hands to deal with this situation, because you have to couple their destructive capacity with madness; and they're not going to capitulate. That's why the American revolution is so important. It's very important to speed that up at any cost. To a lot of people around the world, America is Fortress America, but to those within it's like a skeleton in armour. America is very vulnerable from within, and if enough people understand that and move on that, it may be possible to avert disaster, but if they don't then I think that Americans will take the world down the drain. In certain circles, even in the Military, you have some people who see the threat involved, and who would even be willing to challenge the Government to the left. It's only a question of creating conditions where they're forced to move. But it's only by action of the people that we'll force these contradictions in these circles to come to a boiling point.

—So what would you say was the next step for you, here?

Well for me the next step is developing the kind of machinery that can get me back into the United States in a form that I can function. Practically, the only step that I'm interested in is the war, because that's the only thing that is of any value now.

—And for the Black Panther Party?

It's the same, we must, we must you see, we must, I'm not talking about relating to the armed struggle as a pastime or a part-time thing, I'm talking about a total situation that's the process that's beginning to develop, I mean, that process that's under way. The main obstacle right now is the courts. I think that even the Black Panther Party at this point is relating too much to the courts. In my own case, I have completely offed all relationship with the American judicial system. We all know that the American judicial system is part of the apparatus of oppression yet people are continuing to play games with that. I think that with the way the American judicial system is functioning now, it will not be too long before it will be dead for all of us. Once that happens then the war will be on in earnest.

—Do you really think that the culmination of the struggle to liberate the blacks of the United States is the revolution?

That's the only way we can be liberated. You see right now blacks in the United States are going through a parallel phase to the neo-colonialism that you see in pure colonial situations. When Nixon enunciated his doctrine of Black capitalism, this was the power structure throwing in its hand on the old forms, and they began to consciously pump millions of dollars into hands of the black bourgeoisie, and to set up certain front men in earnest. They are beginning to consciously integrate the black bourgeoisie into the ruling class, to give them certain securities and guarantees that they require at this point. So that we're in a position now where our attack has to be upon the system as a whole.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Italy-10,000 charged with political crimes



Throughout this winter a ferocious wave of repression has been sweeping across Italy. From Turin in the North to Brindisi and Palermo in the South, well over 10,000 industrial and agricultural workers have either been arrested or have been charged with offences which can fairly be called political.

The most alarming—and actual—case is that of Piergiorgio Bellocchio. Bellocchio was put on trial in Milan on Friday, February 27th, on 14 charges ranging from “incitement to disobedience in the armed services” to “incitement to hatred between social classes.” The load of charges thrown at Bellocchio is the largest since the fall of Mussolini; altogether, if found guilty, he could get between 11 and 55 years in prison. And his case is important since it is both specific and exemplary.

Bellocchio is being tried solely as a temporary legal guarantor for a review, *Lotta Continua*, in which he did not actually write. He is the second such legal guarantor to be tried in recent months: Francesco Tolin, legal guarantor of another militant left review, *Potere Operaio*, was sentenced to 17 months imprisonment last autumn. Clearly, the government wants to scare off left-wing magazines by making it difficult or impossible to get guarantors. But Bellocchio is also the editor and founder of *Quaderni Piacentini* (the *Piacenza Review*), a magazine which has played a vital role in very large Italian student movement. *Quaderni Piacentini*, in the early 60s, picked up the legacy of the marxist current outside the Italian Communist Party (PCI), which had been established during the Resistance and flourished in the immediate post-war period, particularly in the review, *Il Politecnico* run by Elio Vittorini and Franco Fortini. This current clashed with the PCI and with Togliatti. *Quaderni Piacentini* not only played a key role in introducing heterodox marxism into Italy, it also challenged the official PCI line on the whole of Italy's lay and marxist culture. It rejected the PCI's populist interpretation of the Resistance, and its uncritical attitude to confused and un-marxist figures like Pasolini and Moravia. Bellocchio is only one of many possible legal guarantors who could have been hit, and his role in *Quaderni Piacentini* cannot have been irrelevant.

THE ATTACK ON INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

But the case is only part of a much wider assault by the regime on independent publications. Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, the Milan publisher, has also been arraigned for distributing the Cuban review, *Tricontinental*. He has managed to flee the country. The Italian Radio and Television (RAI-TV) has long been a source of systematic propaganda on behalf of the ruling class. Possession of the communications media is power. This is true even in the pettiest sense: Italo De Feo, the Social Democrat vice-president of the RAI-TV, recently signed a lucrative contract for the rights on a story by a certain Dario Castagnoli, who turns out to be De Feo himself under a pseudonym. More importantly, attempts by some employees of the RAI-TV to present a less biased view of the great proletarian upheavals this winter caused a violent political split in the organization, with the right wing emerging triumphant. The RTF under De Gualle, exposed during the May Revolution, was a bastion of free expression compared with the RAI-TV. More generally, it

has to be emphasised that all communications are conceived of as propaganda organs: politicians like Andreotti, Scelba or Pella (all in the right of the Christian Democrat Party) own their own reviews or news agencies which churn out the leader's line. The only daily newspaper which, in a limited and cautious way, presents an alternative viewpoint to the official regime line from the left, *l'Unità*, has itself now been charged with 3 political offences in recent weeks as part of the overall terrorization of the media.

THE COMMITTEES AGAINST THE REPRESSION

The silence of most of the British press makes it hard to realize exactly what is going on. The repression against the media in Italy would seem to have taken its toll on some of the foreign correspondents there. Yet the formation in January and February this year of special Committees against the Repression, and the alarmed manifestoes which they have issued, should have been adequate sign of the gravity of the situation. In January a group of 40 cineasts joined together to film a vast documentary on the repression: the original signatories included such famous names as Luchino Visconti, Gillo Pontecorvo (*Battle of Algiers*), Bernardo Bertolucci (*Before the Revolution, Partner*) and Cesare Zavattini, the leading script-writer of the postwar neo-realist period. The group has since received the active support of virtually the entire Italian cinema world. Their manifesto explicitly states that they have joined together “to fight the constant mis-information (*disinformazione*) to which the public is subjected.” The project involves not only filming the repression, but also trying to arrange new distribution circuits and combating the grip of the RAI-TV.

At the same time the left and centre journalists broke away from the right-wing-controlled journalists' union, and helped set up committees against the repression in the main towns: these have the support of hundreds of eminent figures from the academic, intellectual and cultural worlds: Giacomo Manzù, the sculptor; Natalia Ginzburg, the novelist; Giuseppe Ungaretti, the poet; Carlo Levi, the novelist; Franco Fortini, poet; Roberto Roversi, poet; Valerio Zurlini, film director; Renato Guttuso, painter. The manifesto signed by Ungaretti, Manzù, Ginzburg, Bertolucci and others states flatly that: “The widespread emotion and grief over the slaughter at Milan (the bomb explosion in a bank) and the attempted explosions in Rome have once again been

used to cover the direct or indirect responsibilities of part of the ruling class, cynically using the victims to operationalize and systematize a plan for repression: everywhere there are houses being searched, books being seized, provocations and arrests against all who express the Italian people's desire for progress.

“This repression, which is repugnant in the way it exploits the nation's grief, also corrupts the country's democratic institutions and tramples on the rights of the citizen; it is increasingly taking on a coherent and permanent aspect which cannot but make one think a plan is actually being carried out, which it is everyone's duty to oppose in the most concrete and effective ways possible.”

The manifestoes which have been issued, and which have been signed by virtually the whole of the intellectual and cultural world, make it clear that the situation is graver than it ever has been since the war.

THE GREAT PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE OF AUTUMN-WINTER 1969-70

The reason for the repression is blatant: it is a direct reponse to the great upsurge in class struggle. The struggles of last year, which started with the huge urban riot in Turin in July, have seriously endangered the process of capital accumulation, as well as production, in big industry. Last year there was a real overall flight of capital from Italy, little of which shows signs of returning, even clandestinely (as investments placed by Italians through dummy Swiss fronts to avoid taxation). Northern Italian industry has consistently been extremely brutal to its employees: Fiat not only own most of Turin, including the newspaper and most of the workers' houses, they also employ the largest goon-squad in Europe. The July riot in Turin was not simply a factory upheaval—it was a wholesale urban riot against Fiat terrorism throughout the town. Agnelli, like the Shah of Persia, has acquired a glossy image abroad, but in Italy he occupies much the same place in the mind of the masses as Henry Ford did in America during the early days of the American motor industry—and his methods are much the same.

The other area where repression has been particularly severe has been in the South—especially in the provinces of Sicily and Puglia. Here share-croppers, enraged by starvation wages and long periods of enforced unemployment (due to the government's failure to come up with any adequate farm plan), have been arrested and charged by the thousand: official

trade union figures gave 4000 arrests in Puglia as of late January; unofficial figures give 7000 people charged with political offences in Sicily alone as of the end of February. It is hard to know the exact number: the figure of 9,938 industrial and agricultural workers arrested or charged, which was given by the unions on January 25th refers only to manual workers. It does not cover research workers (e.g. at the national Institute of Health), students or university staff. Since the figures were released there appear to have been many more arrests and charges (again, even arrests are hard to quantify as the police can arrest and hold anyone as long as they want).

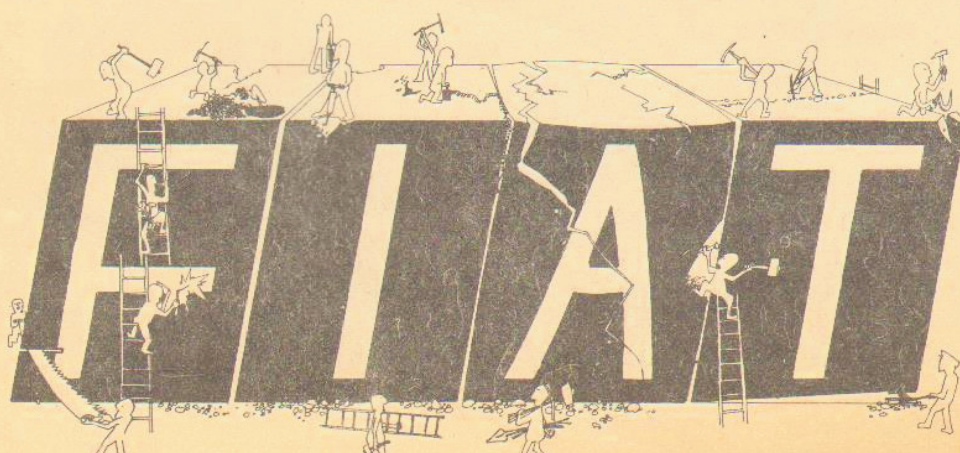
This wave of arrests itself only makes sense if one vital fact is borne in mind: that the huge wave of proletarian militancy which erupted last year is something completely new. Above all, most of the active leaders are outside the established organizations such as the Italian Communist Party and the CGIL (the main trade union federation, grouping Communists and Socialists). The militancy can no longer be contained in the old ways—hence the mass arrests.

THE TACTICS OF THE RULING CLASS

Last week a special commission of Italian businessmen, headed by Leopoldo Pirelli, the head of the giant rubber and textile firm, released a report announcing an imminent shake up in the Confindustria (the Italian CBI), and a more determined intervention by business in politics. The objective is obvious: faced with severe contradictions among its political representatives, business intends to move in and take control more firmly itself.

Most press reports emerging from Italy in the last few weeks have concentrated on the difficulties facing the formation of a new government, and it particular on the divorce question. But two vital facts tend to be ignored: first, there is no such thing as “no government”. When you cannot see a prime minister, it does not at all mean no one is ruling. On the contrary, it may well be the same men as before, as a “caretaker government”, or it may be bureaucrats and others who can best have a field day during such intervals between cabinets. Magistrates, especially, can go to town on such occasions. Second, the divorce question is being used in a very precise way within the Christian Democrat Party (DC). The key Vatican man in the Christian Democrats is Giulio Andreotti, long-time Minister of Defence, legman for the Pentagon, ex-secretary of De Gasperi, and close friend of Paul VI. Andreotti has consistently, spoken for the Pope in the DC, and was the first leading Christian Democrat to float the idea of a referendum (never yet used, although embodied in the Constitution) to circumvent a parliamentary vote endorsing the possibility of divorce. The divorce issue has been manipulated to promote Andreotti inside the DC, on a right-wing position. He would have the backing not only of the Vatican, but also of the armed forces and of much of big industry (he was recently Ministry of Industry).

At the same time, Saragat, the President, has been vigorously doing his bit to push “law and order”—and his powers have been greatly increased by the vacancy at the cabinet level. After the bomb explosion in Milan last December, Saragat sent a special telegram to premier Rumor urging him both to enforce ‘Law



Italy contd.

and order' more strictly, and to proceed with court cases against all those who had been charged with political and quasi-political offences. Some of these dated back as much as 5 years, and had been left pending, simply acting as instruments of terror on those against whom the charges had been laid. In principle, many of them would have been liquidated by the next amnesty (a recurrent feature, partly due to the overcrowding of both courts and jails). Saragat has played a leading role in the whole law and order campaign. This, too, tends to get glossed over in England, since his party, the Social Democrats (now the United Socialists) are thought to have something in common with their name. But they occupy much the same place in the political spectrum as Mayor Daley does in the U.S. (also a 'Democrat'), and are best characterized by the old description 'social-fascists'. The Social Democrats are the main force, along with Andreotti, pushing for a right-wing government and an all-out assault on the proletariat.

This problem has not yet resolved itself. Rumor has just announced he cannot get a government together. Saragat has to make the next move. Yet this apparent power void has been used to promote the right. Fascist gangs have been allowed to run wild in many places in Italy, particularly in Sardinia, and at certain universities: the police have given them a free hand. The magistrates, too, have had a free hand, exhuming vicious fascist laws from the Rocco Code of 1930. This Code was never specifically repealed, although many of its clauses are in flagrant contradiction with the postwar Republican Constitution. In additions, many of the magistrates now at the top of the heap entered the law just at the start of Mussolini's rule: by virtue of the generation and age factor, they have now reached the top.

Normally these laws are kept under wraps, but for the Bellocchio case a truly incredible list has been trundled out: 5 clauses covering "anti-national propaganda", "incitement to hatred between the social classes" and the catch-all "incitement to commit a crime" (this last has also been used against Feltrinelli). The kind of phrases which have been found to offend are as follows: "The only solution is the revolution"; "the violence of the state can be resisted"; "men are not born good or evil but are made such according to their class condition." This last phrase carries a possible 2-3 years imprisonment for "incitement to hatred between the social classes." On the first day of Bellocchio's trial, his defence argued that the case should go straight to the Constitutional Court for adjudication, since all the charges could be held to be in violation of article 21 of the Constitution, guaranteeing freedom of speech and the press. The judges allowed that 2 of the charges, connected with 'class hatred' should be pondered by the jury of 6, which then withdrew. After 4 hours' deliberations they came to pronounce that although there was, indeed, class conflict in Italy, it should not be described in such a way as to promote class hatred...The judges ruled that the case could go forward on all 14 counts.

A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION. THE FAILURE OF REFORMISM

The great upheavals of recent months have shown that the militant proletarian vanguard now almost completely escapes the control of the established organizations, PCI, CGIL. From the capitalists' point of view, the accumulation of capital has been seriously jeopardized. The so-called 'centre-left' political formula is itself in question (in fact, it was a centre-right, of course). Above all, the working class—and the intelligentsia,—have seen that the alleged 'gains' of the postwar period are utterly insecure. 'Structural reforms' can be blown away in one wave of repression. The vacuousness of much of the PCI's postwar policy is well resumed in Togliatti's rôle as Minister of Justice in the mid-1940s: as such, he failed to get the fascist laws repealed. Now they are being marshalled with a vengeance against the left. The old social democrats are pushing law and order." The Vatican is wheeling and dealing just like in the years 1944-48, subverting even a centrist government, challenging the powers even of the Parliament—thanks to the Concordat, which the Communists voted to keep. In the great factories in the North, and the poverty-stricken fields of the South, workers are being arrested in scores under completely arbitrary laws. Houses are being raided and wrecked by both police and fascist gangs. Books, always a bugbear of fascists, are being seized: in Cagliari, even Diderot has been found subversive, and removed along with Marx and Lenin. Italy has not had a May 1968, but for all that the crisis is more profound, because the left is stronger, better organized, more militant. While the crisis incubates, it is well that the regime should know it is hated not only in Italy but throughout the world.



Ligue Communiste takes on the French Army

By our Paris Correspondent

The national campaign against the French Army, initiated by the Ligue Communiste, is assuming greater momentum by the week. Increasing numbers of conscripts are refusing military discipline with the support of a massive civilian propaganda campaign.

On 29th October three soldiers were held in the central prison of Rennes on charges of 'inciting soldiers to disobedience and attempting to weaken Army moral'. They were sentenced on February 6th; Devaux, a teacher, got a year, Trovilleux, an electrician got eight months, and Herre, a technician, got four months. Their crime was having a copy of *Crosse en l'air*, and a petition. The magazine denounced the brutality and repression of army life, the petition protested against a recent incident in their barracks when a young conscript filed a complaint against an officer who had struck him, something he was permitted to do by army regulations, and found himself under arrest.

The Ligue's campaign is aimed at establishing an anti-militarist movement inside and outside the army. As the repression intensifies so does support for the campaign, with petitions, mass meetings, demonstrations and joint Committees for the release of the imprisoned soldiers.

The campaign's first steps have been to mobilise youth against unthinking obedience to authority, which the conscript army attempts to inculcate, and secondly to raise support for those who are ruthlessly punished for refusing to be sheep.

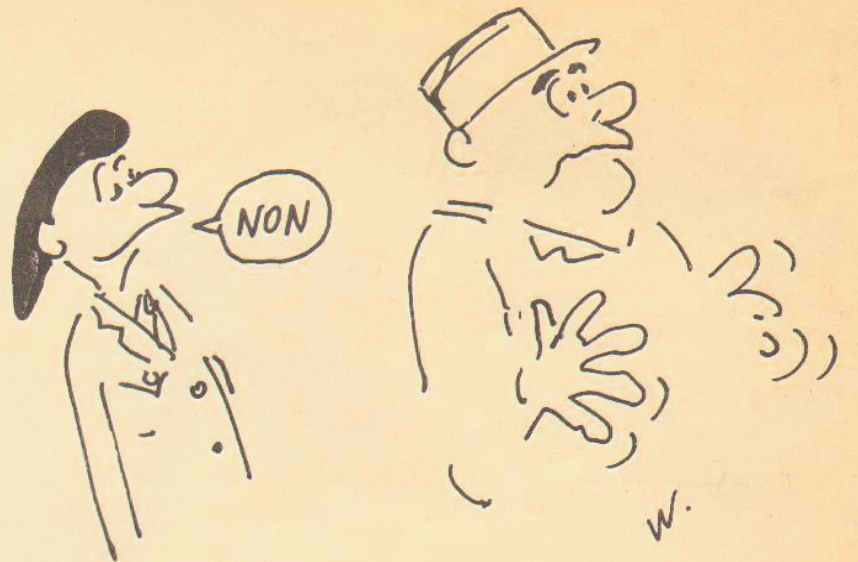
Hundreds of thousands of people have signed the Ligue's petition for the release of the soldiers. The list includes the names of well known intellectuals like Sartre, and militants from the PSU, the PCF, Lutte Ouvriere, the CGT and other organisations. Regional committees for the liberation of the soldiers have been set up, and in Rennes itself a meeting

addressed by Alan Krivine and Michel Rocard drew 3,500. The meeting was supported by local trades councils and schools, but was denounced by the French Communist Party, the PCF, as a 'provocation'. On the evening of the meeting all soldiers were confined to barracks and were told that a subversive and anti-militarist event was being held. The Fascists turned out in strength and were ejected from the meeting. Then, under the benevolent eye of the police and the para military CRS, they made several attempts to force the doors.

The campaign is receiving full coverage in the Ligue's paper Rouge and a special pamphlet has been produced. Called *The Army: from national service to serving capital*, it has striking cartoons by

Wolinsky and documents the reactionary role of the military and the appalling material conditions for conscripts in the most archaic army in Europe.

As the young men who lived through May go through their national service, the army's routine is suffering a severe shock. The only way to avenge those now in prison is to take up their fight. Insubordination within the army will weaken French military strength, and the impact of the civilian support can play an important part in the class struggle. For ultimately the French bourgeoisie will attempt to use the Army against the working class. This campaign and others like it will help to ensure that the army turns against its officers, and gives its guns to the proletariat.



The Three - and what the officers said about them



DEVAUX - Always in a bad mood * Badly turned out * Intelligent and educated * Undisciplined and insubordinate * Always goes to the limit of the tolerable * Well known anti-militarist * Seemed to support the opposition * Untrustworthy * To be constantly watched



TROVILLEUX - Looks placid * Taken to fantasies and impulses * Good shot, bad soldier * Could have become an officer if his pride and critical attitude had not prevented it



HERRE - Negligent appearance * Mediocre * No interest in his work * Difficult and contrary * Could have been an officer but no interest in making the grade

Women's Liberation Ruskin Conference

Between Friday 27th February and Sunday 1st March 600 women from all classes and backgrounds met in Oxford to break their silence. This was not an ordinary political conference, though many different groups were represented, sectarianism was not the dominant moment. The most important politics at the conference were the politics of experience, *women came together to discuss a shared isolation, a common frustration.*

The conference originated from a history workshop in Ruskin College Oxford. It was planned as a fairly small discussion weekend. A number of interested people met and circulated women's organisations and individual women. From the start it was an attempt to reach women and get them together; not to lead them. The response to this tentative and limited project was overwhelming. By Saturday morning 600 women had registered in what had become a stage for the Women's Liberation movement. At very short notice the conference had to move to the Oxford Union building; it was too large for Ruskin. This change meant that it took place in what has been a bastion of male supremacy. The space of the Union is constructed for authoritarian debate. This imposed a mechanics of formal speaking, there had to be a microphone; people had to come up and speak from a platform. For these reasons the papers became more important than had been intended. They had been planned merely to provoke discussion; because of these restrictions they came to dominate it and imposed an artificial and supremacist structure. But despite these frustrations the urgency of the situation was always present and broke through these limitations.

On Friday night the conference opened with report on the work of individual women's groups. About twenty of these were represented. They ranged from politically affiliated groups, such as IS, Socialist Woman, and women from Trade Unions to associations such as the Warwick group and Women on the Move (transport workers). Twenty women from the Paris group, "le Mouvement du Creche Sauvage" were also there.

Despite the variety of positions there was an amazing degree of solidarity and commitment to the struggle for Women's Liberation. Women had come to find out about each other's activities and not to indulge in infighting. However, as the conference progressed certain important problems started to emerge.

On Saturday morning Rochelle Wortis gave a paper entitled "Changing Patterns in the Role of the Mother". This paper boldly questioned the accepted relationship between mother and children and called for radical changes in child-rearing practices and family responsibilities. The paper was firmly set in a directly experiential framework. It received an immediately sympathetic response and generated confused and discordant discussions.

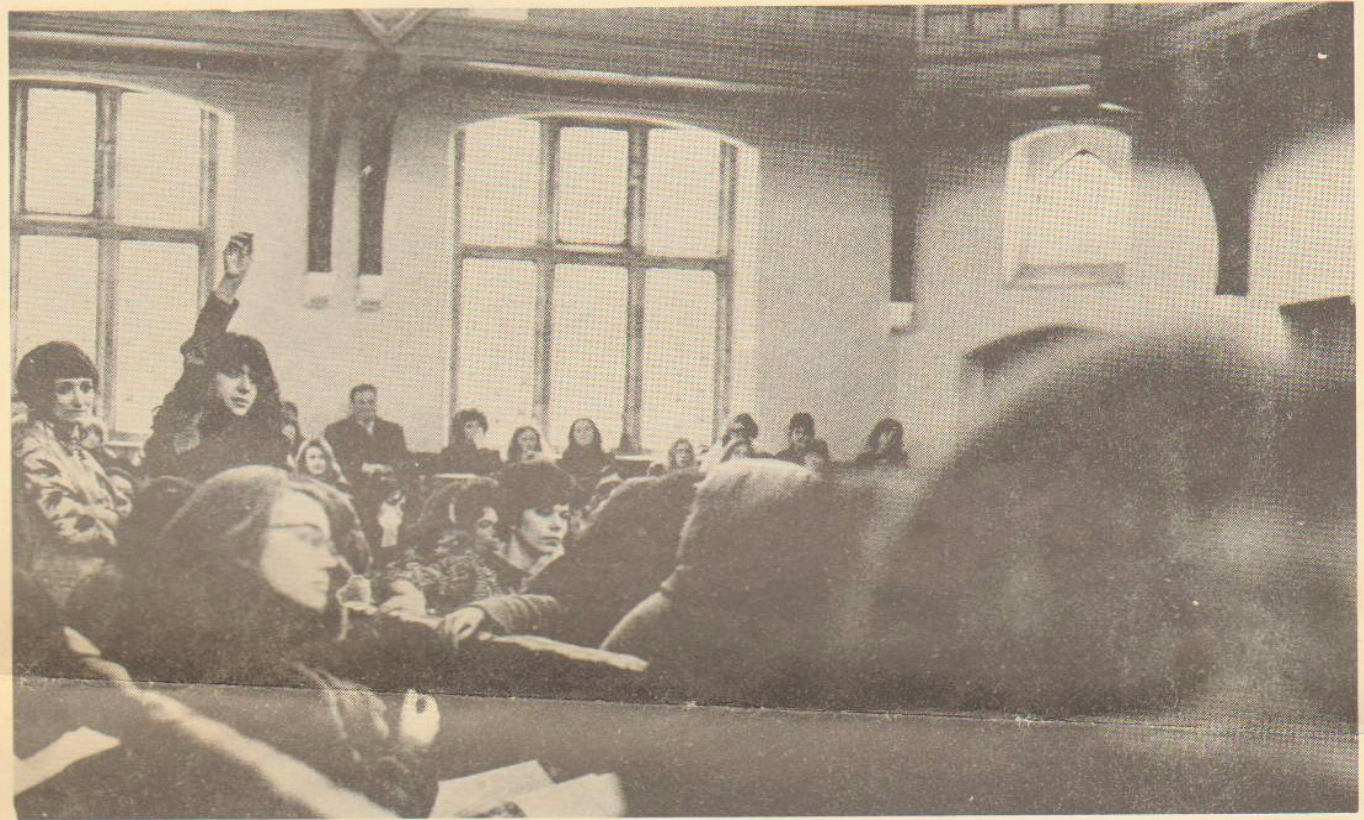
The Saturday afternoon session dealt with women and the economy. Papers covered equal pay and women's role in industrial militancy. With trade union competence, Audrey Wise and others got across a call for women's action in industrial militancy. But these papers caused a certain frustration for they did not grapple with the experiential aspect of women's situation which, for the conference, was the primary concern. Their speeches generated *abstract* disputes about the positions of women's liberation in the class struggle. The subject became a basis for haranguing, rather than discussions. The real division between feminist, socialist, Trade Unionist and revolutionary stances on the place of the women's struggle remains unresolved.

Saturday evening recaptured the mood of involvement and urgency. Small workshops

discussed specific problems of women's oppression, such as sexuality, women and racism, and the political relation of the women's struggle to revolutionary movements.

Sunday opened with two papers which attempted to recover women's revolutionary past, to discover their lost history. The third one, written by three women, consciously expressed the silent women of the present. The three housewives from Peckham described their daily lives in a way that made some earlier papers seem complacent about the sheer drudgery of most women. This collectively written paper, an experiment for the women who wrote it, demonstrated the fluency with which women can express their immediate predicament. At this state such experimental papers were necessarily the most impressive. An organization which allowed everyone to present their own perspectives was essential. Only when everyone has had a chance to express their own situation can we begin to see the possibilities of building a political strategy for the Women's Liberation movement; and a political organization that can implement this strategy. The conference was an essential start.

Four Women Militants



Photos: Sally Fraser.

EASY RIDER: Bikes + Money + Dream = 'Freedom'

'... Easy rider is a term for a whore's old man, not a pimp, but the dude who lives with a chick. Because he's got the easy ride. Well, that's what's happened to America, man. Liberty's become a whore, and we're all taking an easy ride.' Peter Fonda, in *Rolling Stone*, 6-9-69.

Easy Rider is a phenomenon of our times, as much as a product of the media as the product of a life style, and so much of what has been written about the film is stupid and bigoted, that it is hard to know where to begin to pick up the pieces.

Let's start with the commercial product now in its twenty-sixth week at the Classic Piccadilly. In Britain, the film operates on one sure level only - as propaganda for the media version of the Californian drop-out life style. This is what Columbia have based their publicity campaign on, they have spent as much money advertising as Hopper raised to make the film and the results are all too evident - as fast as Columbia encourages kids to go and see the movie and turn on, it subsidises the narcs through taxes to bust them.

The film is easy enough to assess in terms of its commercial qualities. The narrative construction follows the rules of a traditional Hollywood plot - introduce your characters, give them a motivation, enhance the internal tensions with external forces, and resolve it all at the end either through escape or reconciliation. All genre films fall into this pattern, and Easy Rider can be identified as a western where the lonely heroes ride motorbikes, and the songs celebrate pot instead of whisky. Its not too much to claim that it is in fact a remake

of John Ford's 'The Searchers'.

The slick propaganda of images combined with the neutrality of the principal characters (Fonda, Hopper, Nicholson) is a standard technique - we colour them in with our own reactions, determined completely by the given setting. In this case the setting is one that includes all the elements of the hippy life style as interpreted by the media - pot, long hair, sex, communes, country rock, the songs and groups are the hits of '69, Steppenwolf, Electric Prunes, and the rest. The dominant motif is a facile contrasting of freedom against the racist fascism of the South. In fact the principal characters can be seen as screens, abruptly superimposed against this background, drawing all their characteristics from this given, *static*, opposition.

Politically, the film makes a violently anti-democratic statement. It preaches personal salvation at the expense of social justice, and elevates to narrative status the equation: bike + money + dream = freedom. The operative factor is of course dream - it is the *subject* of the film, whose *objects* are bikes and money. The movie rises to lyrical heights as the camera caresses these gleaming monsters, bought with cocaine. More than death symbols, these bikes are an affirmation that you can buy your independence - you can exploit the system to achieve your own individual ends. Responsibility is thus removed a generation - the children of middle class affluence can afford to be apolitical.

So we can say that where the propaganda ends, Dennis Hopper's film begins. It emerges as a profoundly pessimistic work. Again the

publicity acts to deliberately destroy this quality - 'Two men set out to discover America... and can't find it anywhere.' But of course these two men *are* America, and can find no alternatives to their own self-destruction. Captain America is the portrait of a fucked-up guy - he thinks he only has to take off like a bird, and the sky is his. As a plastic propaganda vessel he is all virtue and charity, but as a flesh and blood victim of his own contradictions, his inarticulateness and innocence emerge as frighteningly realistic pointers to a culture gone crazy. By including all the elements of the new life style, Hopper is able to draw on this vast assemblage to ask the fundamental question: 'Do your own thing, sure, but how is it going to affect others?' And on closer inspection, none of the pieces turn out successfully - the commune is a bummer, full of internal tensions, the road becomes a nightmare (no place to sleep, midnight violence), the House of Blue Lights is a cop-out, the acid trip a disaster - Captain America can't even screw anymore. And the ultimate degradation is that the two freedom riders are still on the road after New Orleans - with nowhere to go.

Whatever genuine criticisms of US life Hopper may have, he fails to make them in this film. By setting it in the South he displaces his heroes into a social and political limbo; and then not even the South is real - there are hardly any Negroes in the film. The Easy Riders fill the vacuum and suffer the oppression - lynching and death. But not as part of the actual exploitation intrinsic to the South. Thus the Southern violence is turned into an

image - irrational and arbitrary.

At the same time the enemy, from whom the heroes escape in order to be free, is also displaced out of recognition. What destroys the Easy Riders: the lumpen racism and prejudice of the old slave states or the vicious contradictions which sent them spinning down to New Orleans? By making the killers men who are manifestly not the driving force which crushes the young, and the people, of America, Hopper's film blocks recognition of the system which must be overthrown. Easy Rider is radical but safe. Fundamentally it never questions America and, this is intrinsic to its structure, it never questions its own nature as a film. For there is another level on which the film should be studied - as a pseudo-documentary, as a calculated reversal of the values it tends to propagate. Hopper and Fonda are not the careless, free-wheeling drop-outs they would like us to believe through their interviews - when shooting the film they were careful to include every *selling* point of the new culture, as well as make their own comment on it. And with all the furore stirred up, they've been grooving all the way to the bank. They tried to shoot the commune sequence on location - but weren't allowed on functioning communes. Because the communards knew they were going to be exploited commercially, and put down artistically - there was no scope for their *own* statement. And this is the final verdict on Easy Rider - because all discussion centres around the film's *content*, and we are forced to accept its reactionary *form*, we are, thus excluded from any meaningful dialogue.

John Mathews

EVENTS

MARCH 8th: International Women's Day, the National Assembly of Women. Phone Betty Hanson 01-267-1870 for further details.

MARCH 13th: Bertrand Russell Meeting, Central Hall, Westminster at 7.30 p.m. Speakers include: Connor Cruise O'Brien, Raymond Williams, Ernest Mandel, Professor Schwartz, Gunther Anders, Tony Smythe, Malcolm Caldwell, a representative from Vietnamese delegation in Paris, Stan Newens, and possibly Jean Paul Sartre.

MARCH 14th: Jumble Sale in aid of Agit-Prop, 2.00 p.m. at 160 North Gower Street. Any junk to be brought to North Gower Street the Wednesday evening before.

MARCH 14th: Film "Let My People Go" 52 Clapham High Street, organised by the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

MARCH 14th: Zimbabwe Day Meeting, Lyndhurst Hall, Warden Road, London NW5, 2.00 to 6.00 p.m. organised by Z.A.P.U. 283 Grays Inn Road, London WC1. Following this a Zimbabwe Day Dance, 7.00 to 11.00 p.m., tickets 15s from Z.A.P.U.

MARCH 14th: Anti-Fascist Conference, Dr Johnson's House, Birmingham at 7.30 p.m.

MARCH 15th: Demonstration and rally Trafalgar Square to Downing Street via Ulster Office at 2 p.m. Organised by the Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front.

MARCH 16th: The Revolutionary Struggle in SKOUTH Africa Conway Hall, 7.30 p.m. Chairman Tariq Ali.

MARCH 19th and 20th: AAFS film "China" by Felix Green at Camden Studios, Camden Street, London NW1, 8.00 p.m.

MARCH 21st: An event in Trafalgar Square at 3.00 p.m. Re-enactment of Sharpville.

It used to be the Americans who were the first with everything but the Germans could be reflecting the changing balance of power by organising the first political part with the sole aim of complete sexual liberty. Called the Deutsche Sex Partie (DSP) it operates from Hamburg and claims to be the fastest growing party in Western Europe. Like some others we know they have their own newspaper. Its circulation has increased by 200,000 since January. The whole stunt is a shrewd publicity move by a young publisher called Joachim Driesser.

Sixty per cent of the people interviewed by the Wall Street Journal in the black communities of New York, Cleveland, Chicago and San Francisco, expressed full support of the Black Panther Party's philosophy and tactics; including the Panthers' asserted willingness to resort to violence. Only 26% flatly opposed the Panthers. 100 people were interviewed.

Much of the support comes from youth, however many older Blacks are attracted by the less publicized activities such as the free breakfast and medical programs and the Panthers' war on addictive drugs, according to the article.

The chopping of the Third Programme might be described as euthanasia. It was a disgrace as a cultural radio service: about as relevant and necessary as -say, The Times Literary Supplement. But its disappearance is part of a ruthless streamlining that is definitely a victory for the right.

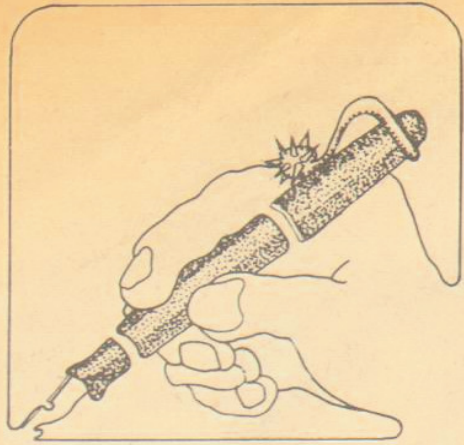
The next battle is going to make the current debate look very tame. The BBC (and ITV) are about to cut down drastically on drama. None of the new right in power at the BBC like plays very much, they are expensive and occasionally controversial. You can pull more viewers for less money with sport or variety. But plays on television are our National Theatre. Sod The Old Vic: who goes there? The TV play is the one place in television where the writer is free to make a statement of his beliefs in a work of the imagination. The reduction of this opportunity is a reduction in freedom for all of us.

Antonioni's new film ZABRISKIE POINT was shown privately in London recently and two Dwarf staff got into the viewing. We can't, in a sentence, report their reaction because they disagreed about it so strongly that it would take a whole column to sort it out. But we can pass on a quote of Antonioni's that we liked: "We should distinguish between the two kinds of violence. If someone is violent towards those who seek freedom, that's bad. But if those who seek freedom have to use violence to achieve it, that's good. Fuck ethics".

A Royal Free Hospital Socialist Society meeting of the low paid workers in their hospital, addressed by Pat Veal of the United Militant Nurses Association (with an audience including nurses, technicians, porters, doctors, a GP and lots of disgruntled students) has decided to form an Action Group. Already the hospital administration has attempted to discipline the organisers and confiscate posters. The Royal Free Group are producing a London version of the rank and file medical workers paper, pioneered by Manchester hospitals, called Germs Eye View. First edition now out and available from John Mitchell, Flat 3 No. 50 Colebrook Row, N1. The Manchester original is still going strong and available from the Secretary of the Manchester Hospitals Action Group, Jack Sutton, 11a Rowan Avenue, Whalley Range, Manchester 16. A Camden Health Workers Group also meets regularly. Their meetings are open to all health workers, information from Pam Zinkin, 11 The Grange, Maitland Park Road, NW3. Similar clandestine groups of red meds are known to operate in the Middlesex Hospital, Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester. James Le Fanu of Clair College Cambridge is organising some kind of red medical get together to include medical scientists in the Socialist Medical Association, the Society for Social Responsibility and Science and the Federation of Revolutionary Scientists (an offshoot of RSSF, which produces a regular bulletin) c/o Martin Thomas, The Maths Department, Manchester University.

"Today one finally has the right and indeed the duty to be above all things a revolutionary doctor, that is a man who utilises the technical knowledge of his profession in the service of the revolution and people." Che Guevara MD

them black) have been refused bail. This form of political detention is growing and must be carefully watched. The five still in gaol are Mark Trampeteler, John Clement, Keith Spencer, Odinga Umwalle and Stanley John. (Photo: Mary Elgin)



DIARY

To counter the ideological offensive of the left a new ultra-right publishing house has just started operating. Its first book: "Income Tax at 4/3 in the £" by Enoch Powell. Other titles include Robert Conquest on "Where Marx Went Wrong" and Stephen Barber on "America in Retreat" and Lord Coleraine on how the Conservative Party is diluting its true principles.

The joint is run by one Tom Stacey, is called Tom Stacey Books, and its first catalogue opens with a photo of an emaciated and balding Stacey under the words "Tom Stacey's a wise old bird".

Indeed he is. The venture is not supposed to make money, or to last. It has been funded with big money from the Economic Institute and right Tories like Lord St. Oswald. Its opening occasion was held in the House of Lords. Stacey has now got himself an easy job, flooding the market with subsidised semi-fascist propaganda.

A Dow Chemicals subsidiary in the Lower Saxony region of West Germany is building a big napalm factory. The West German government is putting in a \$40 million subsidy.

On Monday afternoon, 2 March, a small group of demonstrators gathered in Grosvenor Square to protest against the unlawful detention of the Panther leader, Bobby Seale. They drifted out of the Square and into Oxford Street. It was here that the police, out of sight of their superior officers,

viciously attacked the demonstrators (which they had been itching to do for hours). The demonstrators fought back and sixteen comrades were arrested. Roger Tyrell, an old employee of this paper, was beaten up in West End Central and then immediately charged with assault. Five comrades (four of

