

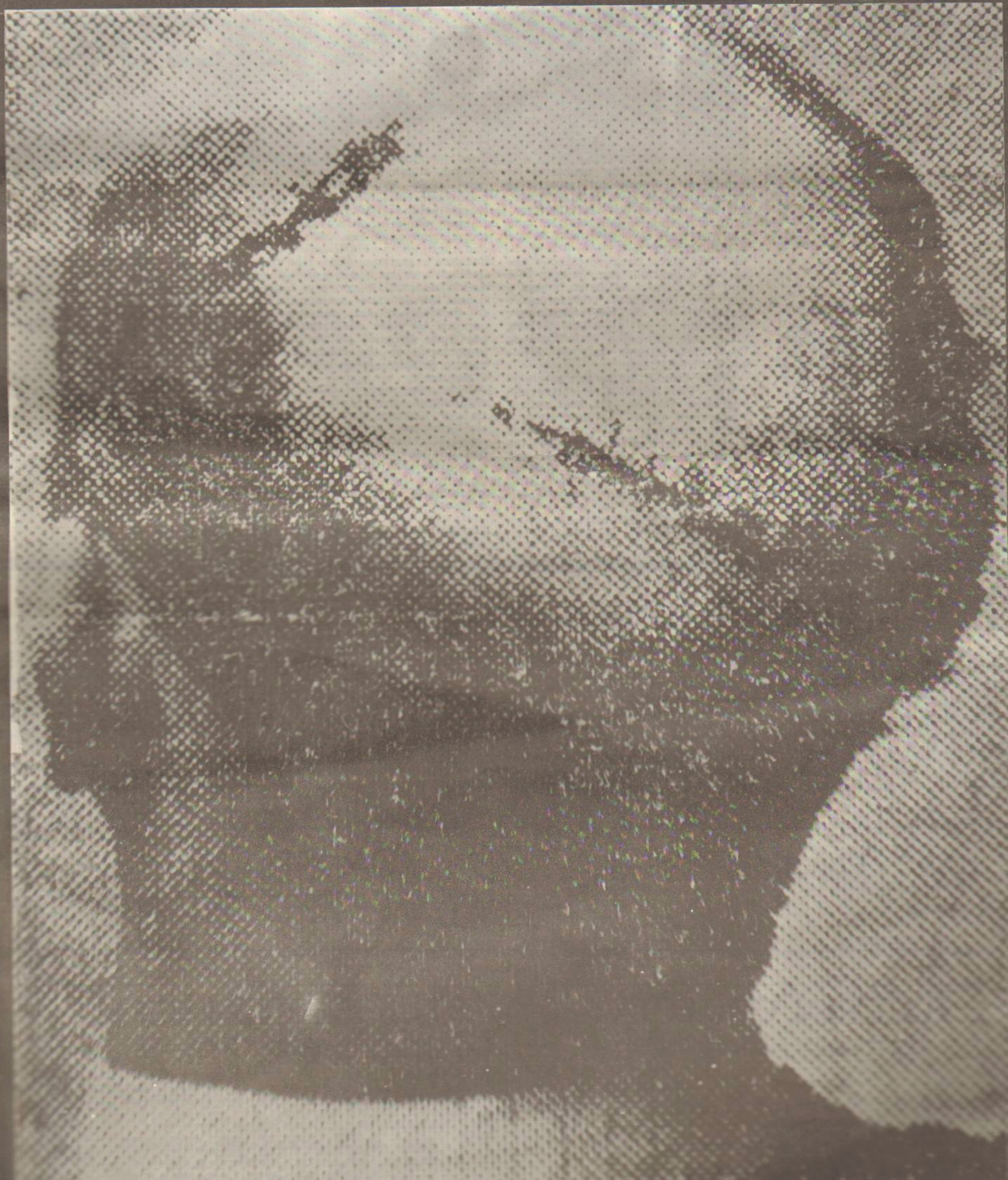
The Black Dwarf

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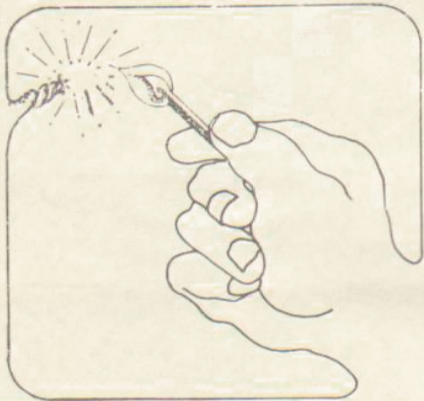
Bernadette Devlin and Ann Devenney: **How Sam Devenney Died.**



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THE COMPLETE NEGATION OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY



EDITORIAL

Socialists have never found a successful way of opposing the Labour Party.

Founded by the Trade Unions at the turn of the century, the Labour Party was formed to defend the most narrow and immediate interests of the working class. It was hegemonised by the Fabians,

whose ideology of practical imperialism abroad the judicious welfare at home gave Labour a rhetoric to be proud of, and finalised the class role of Labour politics. Trade Unionism is confined and captured inside the problems of capitalism. Fabianism gave this defensive ideology a positive twist. Its reformism serves capitalism.

But time and again militant and revolutionary groups have capitulated to the Labour Party. In the first place because Labour has served a political end. In both 1945 and 1964 Labour victories ousted a blatantly reactionary Conservative government. The magnetic attraction of a gigantic working class vote combined with throwing the Conservatives out of office proved irresistible.

When Labour fights to remain in office this ideological attraction weakens. But in 1951 the Labour Party had split. The Bevanites, a hotch potch of radical politicians including the dominant group in the present cabinet, confused and obfuscated the issues. They held out the promise of a socialist 'alternative' within the Labour movement.

Now the Labour left hold office. Wilsonism openly organises to in-

crease the rate of exploitation. The Labour Party will be going to the polls united around its present policies.

But there is still confusion over how to oppose Wilson. All forms of images, allusions and provisos have been used to paper over this confusion. The industrial actions in the docks and at Heathrow, and the Labour Government's reaction to them, reported on the opposite page, can act as a clarification. The dockers' strike, the Heathrow firemen's strike and the threatened action over BUA concern a traditional labour issue—nationalisation. All three are aimed against private capital. All three are involved with the State because of the national importance of the industries that handle Britain's trade with the rest of the world.

When the men in these sectors challenged the State, and the Labour Cabinet, on questions of working-class power, the Party's leaders responded by denouncing the challenge as unconstitutional. Labourism and Reformism can only go where the Parliamentary road leads them. Marsh's phrase that the dockers' one-day strike was "complete negation of Parliamentary democracy" was well turned, if ahead of its time.

It is not democracy that is threatened by mass political actions of sections of the working class. It is the pseudo democracy of the political institutions of the ruling class. It is in this arena, and only within this arena, that it is possible to discuss whether to oppose or support the Labour Party in a General Election. For this is a tactical question, which can only be handled vigorously with a clear overall perspective. That is why revolutionary forces in Britain have always fumbled on the issue. With no coherent alternative to the Parliamentary road, they are, and have been, swallowed up by their tactics; which become rigid and inflexible.

The dockers have shown the way. The social basis of opposition to the Labour Party is the existence of extra-parliamentary working class political action. Labour will be driven from office, and more important, from its hold over the vast majority of the working class, in clashes with the independent political activity of labour. That is the basis for opposition to the Labour Party—and its political message is the destruction of the parliamentary dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

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For three consecutive issues the *Black Dwarf* has carried special features. In issue 30: the interview with Eldridge Cleaver, in issue 31: Fred Halliday's front-line report on the war in Dhofar, and in this issue: the interview of Ann

Devenney with Bernadette Devlin's introduction.

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STRIKING FOR CONTROL



Heathrow workers at Brentford Stadium Monday March 16

With a copy of *The Times*, dated 17th March, folded into a neat pack to pinpoint the editorial leader, titled, "When a Strike is an abuse", one of the dockers who struck for a day over the new Ports Bill said, "You've got to give it to them, lad. They're sharp—smell a rat in a jiffy. If this thing gets going, with the airport lot at it as well, they're really going to be on the run like the gas works".

"They" is the British ruling class, the "gasworks" Westminster, and the "rat" is an unexpected development which could start breeding.

The *Times* editorial was nervous and uncertain as it attempted to draw the line between legitimate wage strikes and political strikes: between economic demands and the actions which threaten the system of ownership as well as the institutions that maintain and guide it. But the dockers and *The Times* tied together the disputes at London's massive Heathrow airport, and the campaign in the docks.

For eighteen months now, after a period of loyalty to the Labour Party and the "national" interest, workers have been going about their own sectoral interests, industry by industry, group by group. With the bus, the fireman's strike at Heathrow, the clash over the ownership of BUA and the acceptance of the new wages deal on the docks (which looked as though at least that one was settled for a bit,) three actions emerged to bring about political challenge harnessed to industrial power.

Richard Marsh, ex-Government Minister and the man originally responsible for the new Ports Bill, which is putting through what is better described as 'rationalisation' than nationalisation of

the docks, jumped into the fray the night before the dockers' one-day strike. In a speech which was interestingly enough to his own party workers (since the society-wide appeal of Barbara Castle has eclipsed, the battleground is now within the labour movement) Marsh stated, "the strike raises very serious questions indeed...The use of industrial action to apply pressure to an elected Parliament to force changes in a Bill which is still in Committee is a complete negation of Parliamentary Democracy".

Fred Mulley, the Minister, made a pedestrian attack in the House of Commons and even tired old Ray Gunter, the failed ex Minister of Labour, felt called upon in this hour of need to put the line good and hard. "Power in the hands of irresponsible people has always earned the resentment and triumphant opposition of the British people". Capping it all, hysterically in advance of the real situation, Ron Bell, Tory M.P. for South Buckinghamshire fired off "No country can go on like this. Militant gangs of students, trade unionists, and ordinary criminals now infest the process of British life".

Labour's nationalisation of the docks has gone sour. It was granted at a period when workers' participation looked as though it might be an intergrative mechanism, and when nationalisation of the old-time dock owners was supported by the big industrialists who wanted to get their exports out fast and cheap. An alliance was formed between the industrial capitalists who want efficient and cheap transport, and who were prepared to sacrifice a section of their class in their own interests, and the state which thought that this alliance for modern-

isation would buy off the dockers who wouldn't realise that it was capitalism that was bringing nationalisation to the docks, not workers' power.

This manoeuvre collapsed. After several years inside the Government machine, the final Ports Bill emerged without guarantees of 100% nationalisation, without measures of workers control, and without any firm guarantee of the continuation of the present National Dock Labour Board which gives 50/50 control over labour to workers and bosses. While the Bill has been mellowing, the full impact of containerisation has started to be felt, and the big companies in shipping and international transport realised that steady profits can be made in the Docks, profits of a different order to the speculative gains and compensation which interested the old dock owners.

The collapse of the manoeuvre means that the Government has got to take sides: the dockers' strike—not their last move by any means—shows that they have worked out whose side the Labour Government has chosen. The political status of 'nationalisation' is now seriously questioned, by a group of workers whose ability to organise their politics is beyond doubt.

HEATHROW AND BUA

At Brentford Football stadium, 15,000 Heathrow workers voted for a 24 hour strike if a Canadian servicing firm started work on the airport. Clive Jenkins, referring to private enterprise attempts to stop a takeover of the private British Airways firm by the state's BOAC said, "We say to independent airlines

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such as Laker and Caledonian, who would like to take over BUA. 'Just you try'". Jenkins was promptly denounced by Harold Wilson for bringing undemocratic pressure to bear on Parliament. Business makes its interests felt by surrounding political institutions with economic and social pressures; in contrast, the labour movement is supposed to toady to the myths of parliamentary democracy.

The situation at Heathrow is extremely complex. The present crisis is a double one—airport workers trying to prevent private capital from carving up the most profitable sectors of the servicing work, whilst BUA staff want to ensure that the state takes over their rickety company, and demand a say in the ownership of their own firm.

The sector has been sufficiently in crisis in recent years to warrant a full Government enquiry. Ron Edwards, the Electricity Board boss took the enquiry on. Edwards recommended the setting up of a private second force airline made up of a merger of the present shaky private airlines, who have consistently tried to get access to the profitable routes monopolised by BOAC and BEA.

But the private companies have squabbled amongst themselves, and BUA decided there was no alternative but to sell out to BOAC, when the price was highest. Parliamentary permission was given. Then caledonian said that they would take BUA on, and Parliament changed its mind. Outside pressure? Not at all! It is only outside pressure when workers object to Parliament changing its mind at the nod of commercial bosses.

The BUA crisis coincided with the firemen's strike, which was the point chosen by the British Airports Authority for a stand against group by group wage demands at the airports. The strike was the climax of the Heathrow workers' opposition to the Canadian ground handling firm General Aviation Services. The workers have stood firm against GAS coming on to the airport. GAS were granted a contract by unusually unpublic processes by the British Airports Authority which is led by Peter Masfield, of Beagle Aircraft fame, and controlled at a financial level by John C. McGrath, who had a record of rightist in fighting against the left in the Cooperative Movement.



Dockers gathered for a mass rally at Tower Hill, London.

At present, ground handling is done by the state airline firms. The workers felt that the insertion of GAS would start an avalanche of "picking" for private capital, as well as restructuring of their own organisation. This fight will escalate as the Roskill Commission decides on a site for London's new, third airport. A multi million pound venture which has brought big capitalists circling in, with at least two consortia already planning on a gigantic new sea and air city at Foulness.

The essential element in common between both the docks and the airline and airport workers is that in terms of basic job security, wages and conditions, nationalisation makes sense. Nationalisation has become an immediate economic demand, at the same time as, (and partly because of,) the way the Labour Party has rid nationalisation of its political clothes. Nationalised industries are so much a part of the social scene, and the planning of different sectors has become so necessary for private investment, that sections of workers are having to make the future developments of their industries a component part of their basic economic militancy. In the initial clashes that have already occurred, they have been forced to repoliticise nationalisation against the wishes of the Labour Party.

As Labour tries to play hegemonic middleman to a 'classless' society they naturally take steps against working class actions. That much is well known. The actions at the docks and the airports are tiny swallows of working class counter-initiative. They are far from making a summer. But they show that at its own slow pace and in what would seem to be very different sectors, British workers are more than capable of taking up the political struggle of their class and deploying it against the Labour Government.

Ronald Melbury

EASTER SKINHEADS

A not inconsiderable amount of newspaper was devoted to police activities over the Easter holiday. The cause—the traditional 'bit of bover' at the seaside. It had all been done before by the Mods and Rockers. Perhaps the press would have balked at churning out the same story for the seventh consecutive year, if the friendly fuzz hadn't had a bright idea for disarming the skinheads.

By Monday the East End of London had exhausted its attractions as a holiday resort, the trainloads of skinheads and greasers were descending on the coast. Brighton, Southend, Weston Super Mare, Skegness, Great Yarmouth and Tonbridge were hit and in most cases the police were waiting at the stations. In fact, 30 youths had been prevented from even getting ON one train at Victoria.

The master-stroke, the answer to Britain's youth problem, was delivered just as the rival factions were limbering up for a bit of aggro. Skinheads were "invited" to remove their braces and

would not be able to fight AND hold their clothes on. The press was not slow to point out that nobody had forced the skinheads to part with these two crucial items. But as a police spokesman said, "If they had refused we would probably have taken them in and charged them with possessing an offensive weapon." Cynics may doubt the legal validity of that ploy.

After that the story was the same as usual. The petty bourgeoisie was scared out of its wits, at the prospect of having its shop windows broken. There were a few mindlessly savage attacks on individuals; but for the most part what action there was was confined to skinheads and greasers beating the hell out of each other, trailed incessantly by the police.

There were a number of arrests in all the resorts: offences ranged from assault to using obscene language. Eleven people were fined a total of £215 at Brighton. The chairman of the bench there, Mr Herbert Ripper, announced that "We are not having any more

in Brighton," as he ganged up with the police.

The skinheads were also in action at the CND/YCL rally on Sunday at the Victoria Park. The Young Communists, with their customary concern for working class youth, were deeply proud of this mass demonstration of unity by middle class pacifists. Thus they and others were appalled when 200 skinheads appeared on the scene waving a large black flag and with every intention of disrupting the happening.

A number of 13 year olds made off with a huge "balloon for peace" belonging to the Peace Trades Unions. There were clashes with Joan Littlewood's theatre group, and a confrontation with the Pacifists, notable for the hostility shown by both sides.

The skinheads' perceptive choice of target did no more than remind CND that they now have both feet in the grave.

Black Dwarf reporter

Leaping sideways

After a careful rereading of the article entitled "The Student Movement comes of age" in the last Dwarf, we are forced to the conclusion that this article which offers itself as an overall analysis of the current events (within a framework of new theoretical perspectives), consists of something like 70% well-tuned rhetoric and inaccurate metaphor—a massive introduction to a minimal restatement of old and dubious propositions.

Though constantly referring to 'concreteness' and 'precision' the article lacks even an occasional reference to our precise history—references which would at least give critics some notion of the range and accuracy of information on which its assessments are based. The following statement is an example of the looseness which characterises the article's routine propositions—"Already many (student revolutionaries) regard Marxism in some form as the means by which changes may be produced. More must be won to this position." Such formulations beg all the key questions; the specific forms Marxism takes in this country, the role of the groups—their operation and relevance to the student sector. So, some students are interested in Marxism! Is this anything new? What does it *mean*? How does it affect the practice of militants?

Exhortations to "ask what is the *real* content of this struggle which goes beyond and even, perhaps, against, the ideological form which the movement has taken" are in no way followed through; instead yet another ideological form is imposed. Rather than following the exhortations for precise analysis of a concrete history the article is substantially an exaltation of spontaneism, a capitulation to subjectivism, and a celebration of spectacle politics. This, in spite of the concluding paragraph, which is little more than a ritualistic genuflection to the need to transcend spontaneity. The 'longer term

limitations' of spontaneity are no longer long term problems, but problems being faced now in specific situations. To emphasise the short term advantages of spontaneity is dangerous and counter-productive.

There is one lonely thesis in this article. We quote, "Suddenly, by personal experiences, the theoretical understanding of many thousands of students was deepened." This thesis is backed only by assertions, of 'new relations between theory and practice' and that 'the concept of revolution has acquired new dimensions.' The thesis may be sustainable, but in the article it is not sustained. It may be as the writer states, that our limitations are revealed when we attempt the task of analysis and assessment, but those limitations cannot be used to justify the absence of a coherent and rigorous argument—necessary to support such a new thesis. In our opinion, all the new breakthrough does is to state more aggressively formulas arrived at two or three years ago.

According to the article the student movement has 'come of age.' We ask, what does maturity mean for our movement? What criteria does the article apply? Does the *moving* of the latest wave of occupations add up to a *movement* at all? And is that movement *revolutionary* in its impulse, or merely liberal? The writer argues that the files issue is concrete but avoids stating what he thinks the nature of the issue is. The fact the issue is a liberal one is ignored by the writer, who, of course, cannot then go on to the important task of assessing the contribution of liberalism.

The writer seems not to be aware of the fact that only in a few cases did files alone trigger the revolt, and that actions at the different universities and colleges had their own histories—in the cases of Edinburgh, Swansea and Bolton, coming to open explosion before the Warwick

"revelations." At Warwick itself the Union building issue and participation are key background factors. At Liverpool, actions were centred on ongoing campaigns of opposition to Salisbury the Chancellor and to links with Southern Africa, the ultimate perspectives being the conception of the university as an imperialist institution. At Manchester, a long campaigning strategy from last year, plus other issues underlay events. LSE, as pointed out in the last Dwarf, only took action after preparing student's consciousness; stressing the need to attack the *causes* (the capitalist system and its emergent Gleichschaltung) rather than the effects (the keeping of files). In short, the article's scenario is inadequate—the pre-existence of other campaigns means that "spontaneity" is not an accurate characterisation.

Nowhere is there any substantiation of assertion that the present wave of events is more of a Movement than the semi-planned reverberations to the LSE closure of last year. Mystificatory rhetoric about creativity, sex, new ideas of production and consumption, fill up the space where evidence and argument should be.

The article does not even seem to take note of EP Thompson's major public insertion (in "New Society"—The Business University") based on a liberal university concept, let alone does it offer political assessment of Thompson's move. Similarly, there is no assessment of NUS moves, eagerly disseminated by the bourgeois press). One of the measures of the challenge facing us in the universities is the reliance of activists on older-generation politics and pre-revolutionary theorists like Thompson, and on professional student diplomats like Straw.

Talk of students being in the forefront fighting for the working class, fails to tell us what working-class impact or

relevance there is to the files issue. The article speaks of the reaction of the workers and middle classes, presaging a general revolt against new (new??) forms of oppression. There is no evidence of this. Warwick militants, tied to workenism and Labourism, tried to reach out to the midlands car plants, and the result was an academic lecture (respectfully received) from the local Labour Party leader on good behaviour and the way to build meaningful community links. Those of us attempting conscious planning have for some time been trying to resolve these problems on a level deeper than that of rhetoric.

The article speaks of a student movement poised "after its recent leap." Leap?—Rhetoric again: Mao's Great Leap Forward was within a context of a strong revolutionary party, a powerful army, genuine new theory, and a history of successful practice; the recent wave of student militancy has been more like a Great Leap Sideways.

Only a great distance from the front lines of struggle could lead to the expectation of a climb-down by the VCs, as portrayed in the article. Most of the militants, far from being challenged by problems of victimisation (as they have been for three years past), Knowledge of the limited use of mass uprisings which fizzle, and the dangers of a dissipating defensive struggle, is the other side of the coin of the excitement and euphoria referred to in the article.

In summary, the article's two stated objectives have not been achieved. There is no precision of analysis, and no transcendence of spontaneism, as urged by the writer. We agree that there is a need for theory and analysis, but have felt the necessity to engage in harsh criticism because it is precisely this sort of "theory" and "analysis" which have brought these important forms of practise into disrepute so often in the past. A group of RSSF militants

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Confrontation: 1/- news and events. 63A Brick Lane E.1.

Direct From Cuba: fortnightly. Press service with articles and info. on Cuba and L.America. From Prensa Latina, Foreign Service D, 17 Rue Boissiere, Paris.

Enough is Enough: 1/6, Bristol Womens Liberation Group, 1 Apsley Rd., Bristol, B5H 2FH.

Free Palestine: 1/3, monthly. Middle East News subsidized by the Arab embassies, P.O. Box 492, S.W.1.

Freedom: 3/6, monthly. Pubd. by Freedom Press, 84B Whitechapel High St., E.1.

Growth: Sub 35/- p.a. Not much known—contact 56 Crow Hill North, Middleton, Manchester M241FB.

Idiot International: 2/6, monthly. Revolutionary mag.

International: 1/6, monthly. IMG publication survey of british and world affairs. 8 Toynbee St. E.1.

International Socialism: 3/6, monthly. Theoretical journal of the I.S.: 36 Gildea Rd. N.W.5.

Irish Communist: 1/6, monthly. Theoretical journal of the Irish Communist Organisation. 28 Mercers Road, N.19.

Irish Democrat: 1/6, monthly, linked to the Connolly Association and to the R.P.

Israc: 2/6, monthly. Pubd. by "Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee." 219 Putney Bridge Rd. S.W.15.

IT: 2/6, fortnightly. Sounds 'politics,' and beautiful people.

Jude: 1/6, weekly. Oxford's weekly Community Paper. 38A Cowley Rd. Oxford.

Listen, Marxist: 1/6, pubd. by Committee for a Libertarian Students Federation. 160 North Gower N.W.1.

Marxist Studies: 3/4 p. & p. BMS Publications, 16a Holmdale Rd. N.W.5.

Marxism Today: 2/6, monthly. 'Theoretical' journal of the C.P.

Marxist Youth Journal: 1/6. Youth bulletin of IMG. Bulk terms by request. P. Gowan, c/o 75 York Way, N.7.

Militant: 6d, monthly. Pubd. by Labour Party Young Socialists. 197 Kings Cross Rd, W.C.1.

Mineworker: 4d, Pubd. by Trotskyist "Mineworkers Internationale." 16 Abbeyfield Road, Dunscoff, Doncaster, Yorks.

New Left Review: 5/6, bi-monthly. 7 Carlisle St., W.1.

1/- Paper: Rev. Socialist Cambridge University Publication 3 Round Church St., Cambridge.

Oz: 3/6 monthly. Glossy play-power mag. of the underground scene.

Peace News: 1/6, weekly. 5 Caledonian Rd., Kings Cross, N.1.

Rank and File: 1/2, quarterly. Militant teachers journal. 87 Brooke Rd., N.16.

Red Front: 1/6, bi-monthly. Theoretical journal of Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain. (Maoist).

Red Mole: 1/6, fortnightly. 182 Pentonville Rd., N.1.

Red Notes: from Agitprop, 160 North Gower St., N.W.1.

Revolution: 6d, monthly. London (Maoist) RSSF news sheet. 5 Dorset Court, Chichele Rd. N.W.2.

Rustle: 2/- Inter-schools mag. Little Garnetts, Dunmow, Essex.

Sam: 1/- 29 Southdown Rd., Beacon Park, Plymouth. P12 3HN. Schools Alternative Mag.

Sanity: 1/6, monthly CND 14 Grays Inn Rd., W.C.1.

Shola: 2/- monthly. Rev. Pakistani journal in Urdu. c/o Pakistani Marxist Group, 8 Toynbee St., E.1.

Shrew: 1/6, monthly. Discussion journal News and opinion. Womens Liberation Workshop, 154 Barnsbury Rd., N.1.

Socialist Standard: 9d, monthly. Official journal of Socialist Party of G.B. 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4.

Socialist Woman: 4d, weekly. 1. S. Newspaper. 6 Cotton Gardens. E.2.

Solidarity: 6d, monthly. For the "libertarian revolution." M. Duncan, 15 Taylors Green, W.3.

Spokesman: 3/6, bi-monthly. Pubd. by Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. 45 Gamble St., Forest Road West, Nottingham NG7 4ET.

Struggle: 6d, monthly. 4 page pamphlet by Communist Federation of Britain, (Marxist-Leninist). 1 Grovedale Rd. N.19.

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Third World Reports: monthly. Well produced reports for the liberation organisations. First issue just out. 209, Abbey House, Victoria St., S.W.1.

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Tricontinental: 6/- + 10d post from Tricontinental Committee, 15 Lawn Rd., NW3, or Black Dwarf.

Worker (The): 6d, monthly. 4 page pamphlet by C.P.B. (Marxist-Leninist). 155 Fortress Rd. N.W.5.

Workers Broadsheet: 1/6, monthly. Pubd. by Working Peoples Party of England—"a new kind of political party." and a rude one. 54G St. Giles High St. W.C.2.

Workers Press: 6d. The only revolutionary daily paper. Pubd. by Socialist Labour League. 186A, Clapham High St., S.W.4.

Vietnam: 1/6, monthly. Pubd. by V.S.C. 13 Whites Row, E.1.

Events

APRIL 14: Discussion/Films (Cuban) to commemorate death of Angolan freedom fighter. Contact Polly Gaster, 531 Caledonian Road, N.7.

APRIL 17: Film/Talk on China. 7.30p.m. Porchester Hall, Porchester Rd, W.2.

APRIL 17: Angry Arts: "The First Teacher." Camden Studios, Camden St. 8p.m. Phone 263-0613.

APRIL 18-19: "Theoretical systems

Keith St. Edinburgh.

APRIL 19: United Action to end the War in Vietnam. Support and money urgently needed from All groups. Enquiries and donations to: April 19th. Ad Hoc Committee, 13 Whites Row, E.1. Phone 247-9845.

APRIL 22: "Lenin in October." Film. Camden Studios, Camden St. 7.00pm. phone: 485-3609.

APRIL 23: Lecture and discussion on Lenin. Camden Studios, Camden

Peking Celebrations, Botany Theatre, Gower St., W.1. 7.30pm.

APRIL 24: Centenary Celebrations-Lenin. 6-10.30pm. Camden Studios, Camden St.

APRIL 26: Evening of Free Greek Art, presented by Greek Committee against Dictatorship. Royal Albert Hall.

APRIL 26: United Front Demonstration against war in Vietnam. Phone: BIS-9845.

Labour Peace Fellowship. 7.00pm. Committee Rooms. House of Commons.

APRIL 28: Discussion meeting "Education in China—the discussion continues." 7.30pm. 24 Warren St. W.1.

APOLOGY: Birmingham Anti-Fascist Committee apologize to the 30 people who came to meeting advertised for March 14th. Breakdown in London/Birmingham liaison.



Go for the head!

A young schoolteacher gives her analysis of what she considers the most reactionary element in her school. For obvious reasons she has to remain anonymous.

Schools are immensely powerful institutions of repression, imposing on and reproducing in pupils the ideology of capitalism—by physical violence, by rigorous organisation, by sets of rules, by psychological and social pressure. Schools enforce class behaviour in a variety of ways, some subtle and some brutal. In a public school pupils learn ruling class behaviour, in a working class school they learn submission. At the apex of this power in every school is the Headmaster.

The ways in which the headmasters' power may be exercised are such that at times he can be little short of a dictator. It is in his power to control the whole infrastructure of the school; he decides how many classes there will be, controls which class a child is in, whether the school is streamed and how this is organised. He controls the allocation of rooms, and can veto or encourage any structural additions to the school buildings. His agreement may even be required on the position of the desks in a classroom.

The head can decide which subjects a child should learn; whether or not they must take either art or music in the 4th year; whether or not they may stay on into the sixth form. His influence may be decisive at the most crucial moments of a child's career, which often hangs on the contents of a testimonial. Even the minutiae of school life come under his command. He can control the text books that are used, can ban books or magazines at will, he can even insist on a particular type of handwriting being used throughout the school.

The headmaster decides on the rules and on the sanctions. He can cane a child on the smallest pretext; for skipping a lesson, for 'playing up' a teacher; or for swearing (3 weeks ago in the school I teach in the head caned a 12 year old boy until his hand was badly swollen, the skin broken, for being overheard swearing to his mates). In the privacy of his office a head can physically assault a child, as happened the other day at Eliot Comprehensive in Putney, the child was so shaken that he has refused to go back to school. This overt brutality is happening in schools every day, every week all over the country.

The run of the mill method of controlling children, of course, is humiliation, which is used so often as to pass unnoticed. Headmasters are usually experts at this. The apogee of this humiliation is the assembly when the entire school, pupils and staff, have to kow-tow to the head as the symbol and pinnacle of authority in the school.

The headmasters power extends over the teachers as well as the pupils. He controls which subjects they teach, to whom they teach them, and the content and form of their teaching. His permission is needed for the shortest outing, he can interrupt a lesson at will, he can insist on certain exams being worked for, he will supervise the content of internal exam papers. The

testimonials and confidential references (files, in fact), and ultimately he controls the security of a teacher's job.

The headmaster has specific aids in the exercise of his power; its acceptance is an integral part of the 3 year teacher training that most teachers receive. School inspectors support it. Parents usually agree with the value of obedience and see its instillation as a part of the school's function, more often than not they cooperate with the headmaster over discipline. Working class parents who think that their child may be being victimised are usually unwilling to take the matter very far, either they don't know how to, or are afraid to 'cause trouble'. If they do object they soon find that the official channels for complaints are so structured against them that their complaints peter out. The pupils expect the headmaster to act in this way (one boy at my own school was quite expecting to be caned for something another boy, who was away, had done, because as he put it, the headmaster 'wants someone to punish'.) So the rebellious pupil finds that ultimately he has no legal rights as an individual.

The ultimate authority in a school is the Board of Governors. As an institution they are a typical British ruling class formation, carefully composed of a 'cross section' of interested parties, M.P.s if it is a public school, local councillors if it is a state one. The governors are the chief means of control over the schools. Their main job is to select the headmaster, and guide him in making the senior appointments. They operate through a combination of scrutiny and trust. They vet applicants for a headship, make their selection and then give him more or less autonomous power. So a head has maximum room for manoeuvre and to develop his skills. If he 'lets them down' and the governors are forced to intervene, as happened when the ILEA moved against Duane of Risinghill, then the Board of Governors have failed in their task—they have selected the wrong man.

The function of a school is manifested and symbolised in the relationship between the headmaster and the staff and pupils. This relationship is a complex one, in this society it is authoritarian but not totalitarian. There are liberal headmasters and genuine knowledge can be gained within, if against, the school system as a whole. Such knowledge is potentially liberating and is vital to socialism. Though it will only be possible to completely destroy the position of headmasters inside the schools when political power outside is in the hands of the working class, even then it will not be possible to move against them effectively unless the actuality of their power is understood. However blows can and must be delivered now. For the perspective must be to smash the power of headmasters over the schools.

This can only be done by uniting pupils and radical teachers, with outside help, so that they can enforce

already have councils, but none of these have any real power and they become institutions of collaboration which allow the headmaster to use them. The attempt to build such councils will take time and hard work, but surely it will be easier than continuing in the present way.

Schools Action

The recent documents obtained from the files of Warwick University deal with two main fields of activity: with the dangers of allowing Schools Action Union militants into the universities; and of allowing militants in the Universities to agitate in the factories.

It is right that the two main dangers for the system should be seen to come from the schools and from the links, however tenuous, of militants with the working class.

The schools, unlike the Universities, are socially representative of capitalist society. They contain not only the cream of the ruling class, which will pass on to the universities, but also, as the headmaster of a famous public school once put it 'the sons of the dustmen'.

If the schools movement develops it can provide a training ground, not just for middle class intellectual radicals but, more important, for millions of young workers who leave at 15 to go straight to monotonous £9 a week jobs, or into 4 year apprenticeships, at the same money, but with the promise of 'a future'. And there is increasing evidence that these young workers are no longer so easily fooled.

The call for law and order in the schools is an interesting sign. The headmasters and senior staff are being recognized not just as the saviors they are but as definite enemies to be attacked. At the moment many of the attacks are purely physical, such as in the school near Kings Cross where the banning of boots caused the students to paint bootmarks on all the walls and to burn down the door of the headmaster's study with a Molotov cocktail. He now has a steel door. He banned boots a second time and then a hut outside the school was burnt down. Such physical attacks are on the increase but they are not indiscriminate as the right wing heads claim. On the contrary, the students discriminate all too clearly for their liking. It could be their study that burns down next and there is no guarantee that they won't be in it.

OK, so boots aren't Marxist, but they aren't the only thing that school students are reacting to. In Tottenham schools there is a call for a School Union to control the curriculum. This move does not come from the grammars and the sixth forms but from the fourth years in the comprehensives.

Universities have sit-ins and occupations but when they are over the power structure remains as before. The truth is that power lies at the point of production and not in academic institutions. So it is the job of the SAU to send out from the schools politicized young workers who understand the role they play in capitalist society and will organize to form the vanguard of the struggle against capitalism.

The SAU is now beginning to move into the large comprehensives, not very fast and not in great numbers, but it is nevertheless getting in. And once as we won't leave until the present ruling class has been overthrown by

BRITAIN'S POLITICAL PRISONERS

NAME	OFFENCE	SENTENCE	PRISON	COMMENT
Peter Martin (23)	Distributing leaflets accusing Brixton police of violence towards black people.	9 months	Camp Hill Newport I.O.W.	Letter asking for his release signed by Ken Tynan, Micael Foot, Tony Garnett and others not printed by The Times.
Stephen Johnson	Assaulting the police.	3 months	Brixton	A Nigerian diplomat was arrested and handcuffed in Brixton for a traffic offence Johnson busted in a demo outside police station.
Michael Mountford (25)	Brighton squat.	Remanded in custody	Lewes	Cannot raise bail. Awaiting trial.
Steve Mullens (22) Gerald McKearney (27)	Endell Street squat.	9 months	Pentonville	Condemned under the Forcible Entries Act of 1429!
Ian Purdy (23)	Possession of Molotov Cocktail outside Ulster House London.	9 months	Wormwood Scrubs	Would anyone with information on this case please ring us.
Conor Lynch (19) Pat O'Sullivan (25)	Attempted raid on Sterling arms factory.	7 years	Wormwood Scrubs	Both prisoners on 'special watch' which means they are locked up for 19 hours a day 23 hours at weekends.
Fred Onouphrius (21)	Possession of bomb in Greek Embassy.	7 years	?	The bombs were not primed to go off. He was in the building when they were discovered.
Eamonn Smullen Gerry Doherty	Conspiring to acquire and transport arms.	8 years and 4 years respectively	Wandsworth	Note, they were charged not with possession but conspiracy.
Tim Daly (20)	Trying to burn down Imperial War Museum	4 years	Maidstone	See previous Dwarfs.
Dave Woodthorpe (26)	Insulting words.	3 months	Pentonville	See Diary.

THIS IS THE FIRST LIST OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BRITAIN. OUR INFORMATION IS NOT COMPLETE. FURTHER INFORMATION ON OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS SHOULD BE SENT TO 'BLACK DWARF' FOR FUTURE LISTS.

NANTERRE Two years later

From Our Paris Correspondent

The fighting at Nanterre this year has seen the most violent confrontations between police and students since the May events. This time the Nanterre actions have been confined to the Campus, and they have been all the more intense for that. 2,000 students have taken part in the fighting, 10% of the student body. The police have moved into the university as part of a co-ordinated campaign of suppression. Ricoeur, the Principal, has resigned, and Nanterre is now effectively under direct Ministerial control.

Nanterre is not isolated. There have been intensive confrontations in the schools and universities at Marseilles, Toulouse, Lyons Clermont-Ferrand, Bordeaux, Montpellier, Nancy, Besançon, Nice, Poitiers, Le Mans, St Etienne, Rennes...

The actions have often been a response to the government's 'reforms' of the archaic French education system. They are also coupled with a more serious policy decision by the French state. A campaign of repression is under way in France. Rather than banning groups and their publications, as they did after May (though there are rumours that bans are on the way), the government is harrasing them, arresting their

cadres, limiting their actions, and taking a heavy toll in fines and time spent in the courts. The Ligue Communiste are loosing 30 of their sellers every Sunday, who get astronomic fines. Ludicrously even the sellers of *Humanité Dimanche*, the Communist Party's mass circulation Sunday paper, as stolid and packed with consumer ideology as Britain's *Observer*, are arrested and fined. For years the CP has sold its wares in peace. Now, despite the feeble protests of the C.P. deputies, their paper sellers are being rounded up and detained. Like every bourgeois country France has archaic laws which the police can use at will against any action they want to prevent.

Lenthy prison sentences have been imposed on shopkeepers and farmers who have fought the government, and the Minister of the Interior, Marcellin, has tried to ban all meetings that bring the Army into 'disrepute' (See our report in the Black Dwarf No 30). Schools are being closed; the Lycée Chaptal in Paris, got four days extra holiday because order could not be 'maintained.' The Ministry of Education is working hand in hand with the Interior—education in France has been institutionalised as a branch of the forces of order and repression.

Chronology of events.

12 February. In one of the many 'incidents' between left groups and CP supporters, a C.G.T. worker was severely hurt. There was considerable delay in getting an ambulance to the scene because the police insisted that the authorization of the principal, Ricoeur, was necessary. Later the worker was reported to have died of a fractured skull.

20 February. Meeting of the University Council which voted for the 'banalisation' of the campus—i.e. to put the campus under police protection when and if necessary.

Between 20 and 27 February. The police occupation was discussed and planned by representatives of the Prefect of police, the Ministries of Education and of the Interior with the help of people who knew the campus well.

26 February. Decisions of the Council meeting were made public.

27 February. Police arrived on the campus in force, 1,000 strong, without consulting Ricoeur or the Council.

Between Saturday 28 February and Monday 2 March. Situation frozen. Faculties remained open and police remained on campus. On 2 March the extreme right-wing **Groupe Union Droit**, from the Assas Law faculty, came to Nanterre to provoke a fight with the left groups. Then they retired behind the police lines and allowed the real battle to begin. The police were not supposed to enter buildings, from which the students poured down missiles, but they succeeded in throwing the odd tear gas canister up the stairways. In a general assembly held during the afternoon several groups denounced the extremists (mainly Maoists) for fighting the police, who they claimed were not the real enemy, and left the campus.

3 March. Battle continued all day until evening, when the principal announced that the police would withdraw and courses would be cancelled for March 4. Fighting ceased and students went to eat in the university restaurant, which is on the other side of the campus. Shortly after 7.0 pm the police attacked it with tear gas. All the lights went out and the police slaughtered the confused students. The 'Garde Mobile' was sent in to separate the two forces, whereupon the police turned on nearby cars and property, wrecking everything.

4 to 10 March. All courses suspended.

7 March. Mass general assembly called by UNEF.

9 March. Ricoeur announced his resignation to take effect from the beginning of the Easter vacation, March 20. This necessitates elections for a new principal, which will be held in the second week of next session, April 10-12.

The state that Stalin formed.

Black Dwarf Reporter

A Viennese Marxist magazine has just published extracts from the testament of Eugen Varga, a major Soviet economist who died in 1964. Varga was a Hungarian who participated in the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919, and was head of the Moscow Institute of World Economics and Politics from 1927 to 1947. He was sacked for predicting that the capitalist economies of the West could avoid collapse in the immediate future (Stalin was predicting the opposite).

Although a leading ideologist of Stalinism, Varga's testament contains a bitter critique of the present Soviet regime. It is not a revolutionary document, since it denies the role of the masses, but it is a lot more serious than most of the critiques that are leaking out of Russia at the moment: these are either ranting attacks on socialism by intellectuals who are infatuated with the west—General Motors, and Heidegger—or else apologetic speeches by members of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Varga states that despite the changes made by Krushchev the economic, social and political system of the USSR has not changed since Stalin's death to any extent. "The major reason for this immobility lies in the fact that the leaders of the bureaucracy of the state, which Stalin formed, are unwilling at any price to give up their unlimited and uncontrolled personal power or to abandon the secrecy with which they surround their political and economic decisions. Consequently Krushchev's attempt to limit, even partially, the autocratic prerogatives of the party had no positive results. He was not allowed to finish what he was trying to do."

Varga ends up by arguing that what is needed is "a radical change at the top." His reason for this is profoundly pessimistic: "There is no point in awaiting a change from below. In reality, the working masses are so used to obeying that they are unable to force the ruling circles to realise the tasks that Lenin set for Soviet Society at the end of his life."

The present crisis of the Soviet Union—defecting intellectuals, economic shortcomings—is a continuing illustration of the crisis that Varga analysed. Organising political opposition will be difficult. But it is hopeless to expect the bureaucracy to reform itself: the only road forward lies in fulfilling Leninism.



Bernadette Devlin has denounced the murder of Sam Devenney. Not, it might be thought, a very controversial thing to do. But the Unionist M.P.'s in the House of Commons frothed and roared with agony and rage. Sex, religion, age, were compounded to make their blood boil as the 'sanctum' of the House was broken with a few truths of British domination in Northern Ireland. What upsets them most of all is that they are losing political power. And to a girl! The barbaric rituals of parliamentary rule explode as the most complex and intimate imperialist

contradiction proves to be intractable. The Unionist Tories howl at Bernadette. While befuddled Labour M.P.'s aroused by a chance to prove their chivalry lumber, like horses without a knight, to what they fancy is a rescue.

In this introduction to the interview with Ann Devenney, Bernadette Devlin has been forced to be restrained. The fact that she is under trial for being behind the barricades in the Bogside in August 1969 prevents her from comment on the just insurrection that defeated the RUC. The Black Dwarf is not under any

such restraint. The lessons of January and April were not lost. The Bogside's prepared for the August processions and rose to physically defeat the police.

The political control of the Unionists over the RUC has been broken. British officers and civil servants now directly control physical force operations in the North. They do so to preserve the Unionist Party and to ensure the safety of Britain's considerable investments in the area. This has tangled them in a contradiction. They must take effective power out of the hands of the Unionist

Party while at the same time preserving them in office.

It is time to tangle the contradictions further. To ensure that reforms in Northern Ireland are made by the workers and students there; not conceded and controlled by the British. The Bogside's have shown the way. They answered the physical brutality of the RUC with force and courage. Now the manipulations of the British will have to be met with an equal political intelligence.

Police terror in the Bogside.

Sir Arthur Young, the British-appointed head of the Royal Ulster Constabulary has taken to boasting of the "new passive non-retaliatory role" of his policemen. By inference this senior officer admits that the Northern Ireland police force has played an active repressive role in the past. Whether his new optimistic description can be justified is very doubtful.

During 1969 the Royal Ulster Constabulary invaded the slum Bogside area of Derry on three occasions. To many English people the idea that dozens of policemen raid slum areas, smash windows, break down doors and beat inhabitants senseless is incredible, for the English are very ignorant of their own colonial history and almost unbelievably naïve about the function of police forces. In Ireland, the first of England's exploited possessions, the population has had a series of object lessons teaching just how the forces of law and order react when legitimate protest by subject people reaches an intensity that is dangerous to those in control.

During 1913 the Royal Irish Constabulary ably assisted the British Army in smashing workers' organisations which had sprung into existence to combat a massive employers' lock-out designed to break the trade union movement. So vigorous were police attacks on picket lines and demonstrations that James Connolly's Irish Citizens' Army was obliged to provide armed protection. By this action he earned the admiration of the Clydeside shipyard workers who were engaged in a similar struggle as well as the firm solidarity of the slum dwellers of Dublin whose tenements were repeatedly attacked by police battalions.

Since the incorporation of the Northern Irish state into the U.K., the Royal Ulster Constabulary has understood its role to be the armed wing of the Unionist Party. Together with the sectarian B Specials, now in course of being replaced by the Ulster Defence Regiment, they used physical violence to put down any individual or grouping that acted against the Unionist power clique. The vigorous republican movement was hampered by arbitrary detention, and savage personal oppression. Unemployed Action Groups in the slump period of the 1930s were attacked by police and specials. Hunger marchers of the same epoch were similarly harassed.

This pattern of police violence has persisted till the present time. On dozens of occasions police and special constabulary groups have invaded residential areas in Belfast, Derry, Armagh and elsewhere and have attacked inhabitants, sometimes with fatal results. Fatalities have also occurred in small country towns and isolated areas. And there has been one recurring feature of these incidents: nothing was ever done to identify assailants. For a very good reason, even if the police were not acting at the express behest of the Unionist Party, they were behaving in a way the power clique of landowners and industrialists had taught them and approved.

Against this background look at the case of Samuel Devenney. In 1968 the Unionist Government had been faced with a new phenomenon: a mass movement of people determined to revolt against their living conditions, the political control of the statelet, and the oppressive measures directed against minorities. During the first four days of 1969 a People's Democracy march of young students and workers traversed the North from Belfast to Derry carrying banners calling for houses, work, and an end to the system of repression. Attacked along the route by police and police supporters the march reached Derry in battered condition, to an enthusiastic popular reception. This was too much for the police. They felt that the popular movement had gone too far. So that night hundreds of uniformed members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary invaded the Bogside, this was reported by one eye-witness:

"About 2a.m. Sunday morning I heard the wagons coming up Lecky Road. I looked out of my bedroom window and saw the R.U.C. jumping out of these wagons with shields, dustbin lids and batons. They went to each side of the street and put batons through doors and windows. My mother is physically handicapped and was in bed in a downstairs room. When they smashed her window I came downstairs and opened the door. I am physically handicapped myself, 4'6" in height and 5st. 7lb. in weight. These police surged round me at the door, one put a baton against my throat and pushed me in to the hallway. My mother then struggled out to me and one of them pushed her against the wall with a bin lid, shouting "Get in Fenian Bs". One shouted "We should have given you this 50 years ago", and another shouted "Ha ha one man one vote". My mother asked them why they broke the windows and then they used vile obscene language then they moved back into the middle of the street and pelted my mother and I with stones."

This invasion was a repetition of previous invasions of the same area in past years, usually following Republican parades. But, for the first time, English and other television cameras were present, and detailed statements were taken from the victims of the outrage. Even the Cameron Committee, which was forced to conduct a half-hearted investigation of some of the disturbances in the North, conceded that the police had behaved in the manner described. An unsatisfactory internal police investigation identified

Young, no steps were taken against these men who are, presumably, members of the new "passive non-retaliatory" force.

On April 19th the North Derry Civil Rights Association planned a march into Derry expressly to protest against the failure of the government to deal with the policemen, specials, and others responsible for the attacks on marchers and slum dwellers of Bogside. The Minister of Home Affairs, Robert Porter, issued an order prohibiting the march. Under protest, the Civil Rights group decided to respect this ban. But local Orangemen, having succeeded in subjugating the Minister, were taking no chances. Three hundred men, armed in the customary fashion, assembled at Burntollet bridge. This group consisted almost precisely of the same individuals who had been involved in the attack on January 4th. The Special Constabulary was well represented. In Guidhall Square a small crowd gathered to protest about prohibition of the march. While this meeting was in progress, information reached the crowd at Burntollet, and the men, already prepared for action against any Civil Rights group, piled into cars and headed for the city. Meanwhile after skirmishes, the crowd in Guidhall Square had moved in a body towards Victoria Barracks protesting against the failure to act against the policemen responsible for the attack on individuals and houses on January 5th. The barracks has a certain emotive significance to Derry citizens; they associate it, not with a foreign garrison, but as a housing place for a gang of licensed thugs. Skirmishes broke out, and a wholesale attack began. Paving stones were dragged up, objects hurled and police driven into the building. Police reinforcements poured into town, and a full scale battle developed through the streets of Derry.



It was during this that the police broke into the Devenney home with the consequences described by Ann Devenney in the interview beginning on the next page. I was in Derry on the night of April 19th. I spoke to the Devenney children very soon after the attack. And I am quite satisfied that the interview well describes what happens.

Then as the situation seemed about to quiten, the police repeated the medicine used to quell the popular spirit on January 5th. A force several hundred strong rushed through the Catholic slum area, batoning, beating and stoning. Shots were fired by the police, one into the hallway of 16 Hamilton Street. The real, primary, and justified cause of public discontent in Derry,—police-attack on people in their own house—was repeated.

Sam Devenney had a history of heart disease and tuberculosis. He never recovered from the beating administered by the forces of law and order. And he died a few months later.

The names of some of the attackers are popular knowledge. Others could have been, and can easily be identified by any competent enquirer. For example, attention was drawn to the Devenney house by the fact that a couple of local people ran into the hallway to escape marauding policemen. This inspired an officer to announce the address by radio walkietalkie and call for reinforcements to pursue these individuals. The maker of this call can easily be identified. He must also know who were the senior officers involved in the attack.

The present emphasis on the Devenney case is not inspired by any desire for revenge against individuals felt by the family of the dead man or others. Rather do the people feel that the old pattern must be broken, that we must all see demonstrated that the physical force branch of the Unionist Govern-

HOW SAM DE

On Saturday April 19th 1969 in Derry Northern Ireland, the Royal Ulster Constabulary assaulted Samuel Devenny in his own home in front of his children. He subsequently died of a heart attack.

Devenny, 42 years old, and father of six, lived at 69 William Street, between the Strand Road Victoria Police Barracks and the Bogside, Derry's Catholic working class ghetto.

Two days earlier, on Thursday April 17th Bernadette Devlin had been elected MP for mid-Ulster. On the Saturday itself Derry Civil Rights militants had planned to march from Burntollet bridge, where a Peoples Democracy march had been gruesomely attacked in January, to the centre of the town. The Minister of Home Affairs had banned the march. In the afternoon a small number of the militants, mainly Young Socialists, sat down in the centre of the old town of Derry to protest against the ban. By the late afternoon they had met up with Paisleyites returning from their vigil at Burntollet. There were the usual scuffles. Then the police swung into action and joined the extremist protestants. There were widespread reports of police advancing on the civil rights demonstrators supported by missiles thrown by Paisleyites from behind the police lines.

As the Civil Rights protestors were driven towards the Bogside they picked up the support of the local men, whose memories of police brutalities in January were still fresh. The balance of forces was reversed, the police were overwhelmed and driven back to their barracks. Every window in the Strand Road station was broken.

Then the police brought the heavy equipment into action. Reinforcements, water cannons and armoured cars in turn drove the Bogside into retreat. They were unprepared, their barricades were smashed and their ghetto occupied and terrorised. (for a full report of the action in Northern Ireland that weekend see *The Black Dwarf*, April 30, 1969).

The attack on the Devenny household came as a police charge down William Street dispersed the Bogside. Sam Devenny was watching the action. As the men fled down the street they rushed for the open door, of number 69, the RUC followed. The police found the door shut, broke it down and six of them murderously savaged the inhabitants.

The following is from the graphic interview with Sam Devenny's eldest daughter Ann, which was taped on the Sunday morning twelve hours after the attack. Three leading members of the Civil Rights Association had made their way to Derry and were interviewing Ann Devenny, as they were interviewing others, to find out the details of what had happened the night before.

The three interviewers are:

Frank Gogarty; Chairman of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association

Mike Farrell; Member of Peoples Democracy and on the Executive of the NICRA

Bowes Egan; Co-author of 'Burntollet'

The interview was under way before the tape recorder began to turn and the transcript starts with Ann being questioned about how the police broke into the house.

Bowes Egan: How did they get in?

...they smashed in at the door, and they put my Daddy down on the floor at the side of the settee, and there's a television sitting on the floor in our room—well, the case of a television—and they put him between that and the settee, and they kicked him and they battered him about, and he has a bald head, and they really were going to town on his head, you know—

Frank Gogarty: He's in hospital now, isn't he?

Yes, he had six different places in his head stitched.

BE What other injuries has he got?

He has a broken nose...and he had on glasses, and his arm's broken, and the rest of his mouth's all cut where they broke the teeth in his mouth.

(Devenny wore an upper denture plate. This was broken in two in his mouth by a baton blow and Ann showed the blood covered pieces.)

FG And there's your brother, that's Harry, aged 20?

That's right. I know his leg's hurt, but I don't know how bad...

FG You're Ann, isn't that right? And what age are you?

Eighteen.

FG And what happened to you?

Well, I was going to defend Kathy, she was lying on the fireplace...

FG And how old is Kathy?

My sister—I think she's 15. And he was going to kick her in the stomach, and with her not being well beforehand I put my arm in front of her, and he was going to kick her and I put my foot out to kick him, and he held my leg up and kept on banging my toes with a baton. Just kept on—and he held my leg up—I couldn't move. Everybody else in the room was so badly injured at this time, there was nobody could even help me. And there's a man down the street, he's a friend of my Daddy's...

FG What's his name?

Freddie Budd. And he was lying on top of two other children, and they hit him here with a baton, and here on the head. On the forehead and on the crown of his head. They hurt his hand, I don't know how bad—but he put his arm up to defend himself and they hurt his arm.

Mike Farrell: He was defending the children?

He was. He begged them. You may know how bad it was, he told the police they had him and me and to leave the children alone.

FG Who are these children? How many...

That's John and Claire. John's five, Claire's 10, Danny's 12, and Kathy.

FG They were injured?

They were all in the sitting room. And the younger ones, they were all upstairs—but they weren't touched. My Mummy was in bed and they were up with her. My boy friend was on the stairs and my brother was on the stairs, keeping them out, you know. Keeping them down from going up the stairs at all.

FG How many police actually entered the house?

Eight. I would say there was eight in the sitting

room—there must have been in the scullery, because broken too. And it was went to get the fellows away too quick, because stairs, you see. And then And their language was

BE What kind of things

Well, for example, they and I asked them not to after an operation, and

know she was a girl the said, that's a girl, please

said, I don't care the Budd said, just hit us

hurt the children. And crying because he knew

the children immediately their way to get the you

MF And did they get th

They did, yes. On the c

FG Would you be policemen?

Well, I won't say it for point in saying—even if I told—

FG Would you be fright

No. Not after what the cause my Daddy was ly

over to the corner of i arms down—and my D

know, and at least a m bashing and his hair wou

really going to town on like that, and they pu

and they nearly cut it know—here where the

lay on top of Kathy, a under me, I got up aga

this time someone of t hair and just left me

guard—you know, he away from my Daddy

near. And when they'd they kicked him out at

beside the sofa and the all over his head. I th

sure he was dead. He g think he could live. I r

you should have seen it

MF What did they s when they came in thr

My Daddy and my l room door because th

and they didn't want they could keep them

then. I know one they out. They came into

people from the street passed all those people children.



VENNENEY DIED.

been two in the back out the scullery window's the police done that—they who got out but they got they got away from up— didn't get any of them. disgusting—it was terrible. and they say...?

ame into the sitting room touch Kathy she was just e was a girl—they didn't thought she was a boy. I don't touch her. And he H she is. And Freddie hurt anybody but don't e was so annoyed he was they were going to go to . And they went out of er children.

two young children? own of the head.

able to identify these

ow. You see, what's the I could identify them and

ned to identify them?

ve done to my father. Be- g on the sofa, and I went room, and they kept my ddy's got a bald head you with hair can get a good protect him, but they were m. And I put my arms up d the back of my dress, nder my arms there, you pulled it. And I went and when they got her from to go to my Daddy. And m caught the back of my ying on top of the fire- st swung me round and and he wouldn't let me nished beating my Daddy lay him just on the floor was just of pool of blood ght he was dead—I was so bad a beating I didn't an it sounds fantastic, but ourself.

? Did they say anything gh the door?

yfriend were locking the knew we were in there em in there at any time ut, so I didn't hear them id, get the whole f'ing lot at hall and the ordinary ere standing in it and they and especially went for the

MF I'm not sure why they came in here in the first place?

Because all the people from the street had run in—that's the only thing we can think of. Why else would they do it?

MF But they quite clearly attacked not the people who had run in, but the family?

One fellow, Paddy Harpin, was outside the door with my Daddy—and they got him. His blood's on the footpath outside there. He couldn't move—they kicked him. They just stood there laughing and threw him in the road, and they kicked him under the kerb—you know at the side of the footpath—and they kicked him until he could kick no more...

BE What kind of clothes were they wearing—the men who came in?

The policemen? Policemen's clothes.

MF Uniforms?

Oh yes, they were uniforms all right.

BE Had they crash helmets or—?

Some of them had. Actually there was only one that did not have a crash helmet.

BE You couldn't tell whether he was a senior man?

I know who he is

BE Do you know his name?

No—I don't know his name

BE But he's from Derry?

Well, he's stationed in Derry. You see, I work beside the police barracks and I know quite a few of them. I couldn't say for sure they were all Derry—but I know one of them definitely is from Victoria Barracks in the Strand road—I know for a fact.

BE Could you describe him—what does he look like?

I could describe him, but I'm not going to if you don't mind.

MF How did it end up?

It ended up with the police just cursing. Everybody was laying bleeding as hard as they could, and they just walked out. They just walked away from it all. Everyone in our house couldn't have got out, because the whole street was round—you know what I mean. Only if they had gone upstairs...my Mummy was in bed and if they'd hurt her it would have been worse—my Mummy and my Daddy would have been in hospital, and we'd have been left. But we had to go out over the back wall and ring an ambulance—we couldn't get out the front door. They wouldn't even let us go to the 'phone.

A neighbour: Is your father in hospital now?

Yes, he was detained last night.

MF Did they hang around outside the house after they came out?

Not particularly about this house but they were in this area you know.

BE What time did all this happen?

Twenty past nine—about

MF Did they just beat in the door, or did they knock?

They beat the door down. They didn't knock at any time. They tried to get in the window, but it's

plate glass as I told you, and they beat on the door and eventually got it open and they just felled everybody they got.

FG Did any of them smell of drink?

I couldn't say—none of them came that near. The bottom half of them was nearer us—you know what I mean, because they were kicking us.

FG Did they look mad or drunk?

They didn't seem drunk, but they were definitely mad—anybody who could hurt our children like they did last night, there's something wrong with them. They're not normal people.

MF Were the children taken to hospital?

No, Dr McLean was very good—he came up, and they were all in bed. They all slept after that. The doctor looked at them and he said there was no one serious—they were all cut a bit. No they didn't have to have stitches.

BF Was your father actually out in the street?

No, my father was at the door—he just looked out down the street. He never took any part in Civil Rights.

Mummy was out in the big march, you know. I was always working on these marches, but I've seen the carry on in the Strand Road...from my work, you know. My Daddy never goes out on Civil Rights—never.

FG Did he actually open the door for the people to come in?

No, he opened the door to go and look down the street to see what was happening there, and the people come in as the police rushed up the street. The rushed up, and this man that I told you came to the door, was blocking Harry and my Daddy—they could neither get out or in, you know. And then the whole street was just at this door and everybody just swarmed in. I opened the room door and was shoved out—I've never seen so many people in the hall...

FG Where they panicking, or were they just trying to get out of the way?

They were just getting out of the way. They weren't chaotic or anything like that—they were just getting out of the road. Then a few of the men that we know stayed behind and they were up in the top room, I didn't even know this until later on and they were washing the blood off the children you know, our children that had their heads hurt and that. They weren't very bad, but they were bleeding, you know.

A neighbour: Are your family over at your grandmother's now?

Well, at that time, when my Granny came, everything had cooled down—we didn't need to send them away. My Mummy's brother and my brother and me and my Mummy and my boyfriend all stayed here last night—there was enough, you know.

Neighbour: Did Bernadette Devlin take the children over to your grandmother's?

Bernadette came and she wanted to take them away, but seeing that they were all sleeping, and Dr McLean said they were all right, so she didn't move them.



SOUTH EAST ASIA

The war widens.

Nixon and his advisors planned to contain the war in Vietnam and impose a military solution; building up the puppet regime there on the basis of the US Army and US led South Vietnamese troops. Events in Laos and Cambodia have shattered this dream. The war has escalated in Laos and deepened in Cambodia. The control of the whole peninsula is now at stake.

In Laos the Pathet Lao and their Vietnamese allies have moved forward to a position that they can well defend. This has greatly extended US lines with minimum loss to themselves. The Americans have been forced to fly in puppet troops from Thailand (there is no stopping the war from spreading) using the CIA airline Air America as a 'cover'.

In Cambodia the Vietnamese have been pushing the new right wing regime as hard as they can. Either Lon Nol, who has just ousted Prince Sihanouk, will have to go for help to the Americans or he will topple. Either way the NLF will secure their own base areas in Cambodia, though it will cost them in supplies and effort.

Meanwhile from Vietnam itself come reports of a new offensive against the US troops.

Laos

According to the late Jack Kennedy, Laos was not a country "worthy of engaging the attention of great powers." Now it is one of the storm-centres of the world.

Laos borders on China, Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Vietnam (both north and south of the 17th parallel). It is slightly larger than Britain. The

population is probably around 3 million—although estimates vary between 2 and 5 million. Roughly 50% of the population is Lao, 15% Tribal Thai, and the rest Meo, Kha and minor groups. More than half of all the Lao people live in Thailand. The whole area is a zone where national and ethnic frontiers do not coincide. All the frontier lines are the creation of imperialism and the politics of the 'national question' is both confused and exacerbated by this fact. But the revolutionary peoples of the area are refusing to allow themselves to be restricted by the legacy of colonialism.

It is difficult to analyse the Laotian economy. In 1963 the imports were 40 times the value of exports. 65% of the budget was covered by foreign aid—and three quarters of the remainder by duties on imports (paid for with foreign 'aid')—adding up to about 95% of the budget. Some of Asia's richest iron ore deposits are known to be situated at Xieng Khouang, the scene of one of the major battles recently: they have never even been touched. This is partly because of the exceptionally difficult terrain, which sends up transportation costs. The country as a whole is very sparsely populated, yet the nutritional density is high—there is very little cultivable land per head of population. The Plain of Jars is the only relatively large area of cultivable land in Northern Laos, apart from the Mekong valley. Yet even this, when forcibly depopulated by the Americans in February, yielded up a mere 15,000 refugees.

The Laotian Patriotic Front has recaptured the Plain of Jars—Xieng Khouang region. The Front had held this area for 5 years until they were ousted last year. The advance now has mainly

been to retake territory previously held—plus a little bit more, the last posts on the southern and south-western edges of the plateau. The area provides defence in depth for the Ho Chi Minh trail, and the Front is now within striking distance of the Upper Mekong. This is a good military and strategic position.

Two stories have appeared in the press. One describes a vast North Vietnamese offensive. The other a relatively minor series of engagements, involving garrisons, and attacking forces in the hundreds. What is clear is that the Americans have decided to launch a full-scale war of destruction, of the type used in Korea: "burn all, kill all, destroy all." The South Eastern area of Laos which includes the Ho Chi Minh Trail, has already been subject to a vast bombing offensive. Long before this current escalation Laos was being more heavily bombed than North Vietnam at the height of the American offensive. Given the extremely difficult terrain and the proven unreliability of the minuscule mercenary forces under the bandit chieftain Vang Pao, the Americans have decided to depopulate the Plain of Jars area and create one enormous free-fire zone—from the air. So the new situation is both the result of a Vietnamese backed Pathet Lao advance and of an escalation by the Americans. Full scale warfare is in progress. (Fred Halliday first analysed this in the Black Dwarf—see "Imperialism Routed in Lao" BD Vol 4 No 24)

Unlike Korea, in Laos the demarcation line between nationalists and communists has remained fluid. The Americans have never succeeded in isolating the Pathet Lao, who still hold seats in the government, and have a representative in the capital, Vientiane. Laos is the one country where there has

been an imperialist war launched by the US, and where the popular forces have managed to prevent the installation of an artificial geographical frontier. The political situation is much more open than the US would wish (it has always tried to close the political and geographic situation—in China, in Korea, in Vietnam, in Germany).

The recent successes of the Laotian people are particularly helpful to the struggle of the Vietnamese. It has enlarged the area of popular control in Laos, and made more secure the lines of communication between North and South Vietnam. The advance has also created conditions for an advantageous political settlement in Vientiane, the capital of Laos. And it has been well timed to catch the US at a moment when it may find it difficult to plunge into another war of aggression. Yet it is also important to repeat that the US is deeply involved. At Long Cheng, in the words of *Time*, "American money and officials have created a town of 40,000 people dedicated to war." *Newsweek's* Saigon correspondent writes that "I have watched the US escalate again and again in Laos, always in secret and without the knowledge or consent of the American public." The limitations on American action are obvious, but equally obvious is America's determination to block the liberation of the peoples of Asia. Laos has been a political failure for the US—they have failed to stabilize a right-wing regime with control over the country—and so now they have decided to turn the Laotian war into a war of destruction.

Cambodia

In the present state of imperfect knowledge, it is hard to provide a comprehensive picture of the new situation in Cambodia. But it is not just a matter of a power struggle between the Lon Nol clique which has seized office, and Prince Sihanouk.

Sihanouk is most comparable to Sukarno among Asian politicians: a leader who conducted an apparently 'left' policy, mainly manifested in foreign policy (as 'neutrality') but who failed to establish any organised popular base and allied himself with thoroughly unreliable right-wing elements. Sihanouk has failed to establish his credentials as the leader of the Cambodian people's struggle. And the group which has ousted him is not from within his ruling group, but is his ruling group, minus the Samedech himself. Sihanouk's much eulogised party appears to have failed to move. This is not to say that Sihanouk need necessarily be written off: it is open to him to become Cambodia's Souphanouvong, the prince who leads the Pathet Lao in the North. But, quite apart from Sihanouk's record, which is impressively devastating he has so far given little sign of placing himself behind a popular struggle: his confused (and confusing) pronouncements from exile indicate more concern with restoring himself to power than with establishing the dictatorship of the peasants and workers of Phnom Penh.

However, having said that, the Lon Nol putsch is in the short run a considerable threat to the fight in southern Vietnam. The operations by US artillery and helicopters across the frontier, and the incursions by ARVN elements into Cambodia are more than ample evidence to show that the putsch benefits the Americans. It is utterly mendacious to argue, as the bourgeois press has done, that Nixon "does not want to expand the war." The 'war' has long overflowed the artificial boundaries in the area. US imperialism, it can never be repeated often enough, is the number one enemy of all the peoples of the world. It will go wherever the people of any country are fighting for their rights. In the short run this putsch facilitates US strength in Cambodia. But in the long

Three million demonstrate.

The Marxist dominated United Front Government of West Bengal has fallen, after just one year in office. Yet its last display was to bring *three million* demonstrators onto the streets of Calcutta during a totally effective general strike. The rally was ostensibly organised by all the parties in the United Front Government, but the government's fall was expected and it was obvious that the demonstration was really a massive display against the right wing sections of the United Front.

The leader of the right factions, Ajoy Mukherji, has long denounced the growing 'anarchy and disorder' in West Bengal. In the main he has attacked the Naxalites, groups of rural guerrillas, for spreading terror among land owners. He did not forget to add a demand to end industrial 'anarchy'. Disturbed by the fact that the local police had not intervened to prevent Gheraos, when Indian workers lock up their bosses until they get wage rises, Mukherji and his 'liberal' colleagues supported by the Moscow oriented Communist Party of India (CPI) left the Front and brought down the Communist Party of India (Marxist), to the joy of the parties of the extreme right.

Mukherji resigned on a Monday, March 16th. On the Tuesday there was the general strike, called for by the CPI (M). Violence followed. Not just on a right v left basis. The traditional CPI joined with the right. The CPI attacked working glass pickets and strikers, their cadres under orders to break the strike. They did not stop short of murder in pursuit of their treachery. Altogether 30 people lost their lives in the clashes between the strikers and the Right—CPI

sale in the main market of Calcutta for 2 rupees each—about 1/9d.

Joyti Basu, the leader of the CPI (M) asked the State governor to allow him to form a new government. The Governor, strengthened by the backing of India's prime minister Indira Gandhi, and the support of the press instead suspended the West Bengal parliament and instituted Presidential rule from the Centre. If the Governor had dissolved Parliament rather than suspended it there would have been elections and it is widely thought that the CPI (M) would have won. Instead on Thursday, 19th March Indira Gandhi's central government took direct power in the State and announced a purge to rid the West Bengal administration of Communists.

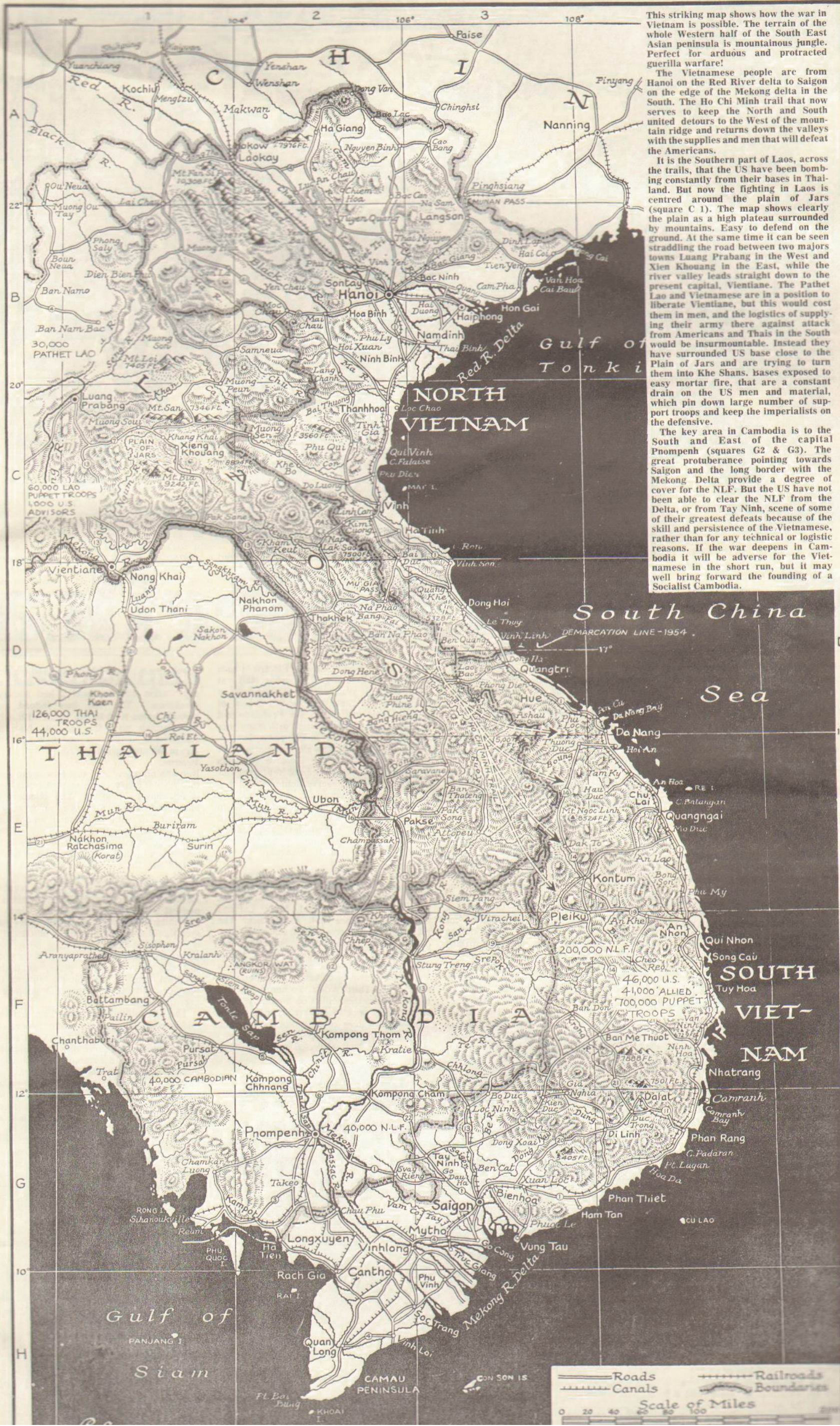
Developments in the million strong Indian army give the events in Bengal an ominous shadow. The younger officers coming from the richest families, and trained in an atmosphere of anti-Chinese hysteria, are actively sympathetic to the extreme right wing parties. The older officers are losing their Sandhurst scruples about the need for ultimate civilian control. And as a voluntary army, not a conscript one, the ordinary soldiers do not reflect the changing political consciousness of the population.

The industrialists have been terrified by the developments of the urban proletariat in Bengal. Gheraos and the rapid unionisation of the major factories make it urgently clear to them, as it does not seem clear to either of the Communist Parties, that they have to act. They learnt to live with Communist participation in government when this was confined to a parliamentary role, as in Kerala, in the South. But in West Bengal

mentarism. The Naxalites have been a catalyst for militant forces, with their rural warfare in areas that the army considers to be strategically vital for India's defense against China.

The fall of the United Front Government has dramatically forced to the surface the strengths and weakness of the left in Bengal, and in India. When three million people demonstrate on the streets for socialism, Revolution must be on the agenda. Yet it is not. Not because groups in West Bengal are not in a position to pose the question of power. But because they are committed to action at other levels. The Naxalites are promoting rural guerrilla warfare and do not command mass support in the huge centres of urban population. While the CPI (M) which does command support, tried desperately to keep the dissident rightists from leaving their coalition, and when the price was too high Basu attempted to woo enough of the individuals over to form a government by himself. This failed and the CPI (M) put themselves in a position where they had to campaign for the right to call an election! If three million people had marched through the streets of Petrograd, would Lenin have called for elections?

The growth of mass support for communism is not confined to Calcutta and West Bengal. Indira Gandhi hopes both that it will prove to be a local phenomenon, and is determined to crush it by any means possible. Yet her ramshackled administration and the intractable problems of Indian government could swallow up the Army. The Indian bourgeoisie is weak, but is now determined to try and break the revolutionary left. How the groups on the left respond may prove



This striking map shows how the war in Vietnam is possible. The terrain of the whole Western half of the South East Asian peninsula is mountainous jungle. Perfect for arduous and protracted guerilla warfare!

The Vietnamese people arc from Hanoi on the Red River delta to Saigon on the edge of the Mekong delta in the South. The Ho Chi Minh trail that now serves to keep the North and South united detours to the West of the mountain ridge and returns down the valleys with the supplies and men that will defeat the Americans.

It is the Southern part of Laos, across the trails, that the US has been bombing constantly from their bases in Thailand. But now the fighting in Laos is centred around the plain of Jars (square C 1). The map shows clearly the plain as a high plateau surrounded by mountains. Easy to defend on the ground. At the same time it can be seen straddling the road between two major towns Luang Prabang in the West and Xien Khouang in the East, while the river valley leads straight down to the present capital, Vientiane. The Pathet Lao and Vietnamese are in a position to liberate Vientiane, but this would cost them in men, and the logistics of supplying their army there against attack from Americans and Thais in the South would be insurmountable. Instead they have surrounded US base close to the Plain of Jars and are trying to turn them into Khe Shans, bases exposed to easy mortar fire, that are a constant drain on the US men and material, which pin down large number of support troops and keep the imperialists on the defensive.

The key area in Cambodia is to the South and East of the capital Phnompenh (squares G2 & G3). The great protuberance pointing towards Saigon and the long border with the Mekong Delta provide a degree of cover for the NLF. But the US have not been able to clear the NLF from the Delta, or from Tay Ninh, scene of some of their greatest defeats because of the skill and persistence of the Vietnamese, rather than for any technical or logistic reasons. If the war deepens in Cambodia it will be adverse for the Vietnamese in the short run, but it may well bring forward the founding of a Socialist Cambodia.

South China Sea

SOUTH VIETNAM

Gulf of Siam

Roads
Canals
Railroads
Boundaries
Scale of Miles



Weathermen on the streets of Chicago. (Guardian Photo, Steve Rose, Newsreel)

Blow up Amerika

Remember the good old movement days when we could dig Mao, Che, Viet Cong and Revolution, without ourselves becoming, or struggling to become, a Mao, a Che, a Viet Cong, and a revolutionary? Remember those nice comfortable, bourgeois, hip, counter-revolutionary, anti-communist, boring, empty, confused, deadening, nauseating days? Those days are, thank God, gone. For us "movement people," there are but two possibilities: either we push on to become soldiers in the world revolutionary war, or we completely slide back to our respective bourgeois holes and become anti-communist pigs.

Until just a few weeks ago, whenever the U.S. repressive machine wanted to jail some militant leftist for organizing, it arrested him for conspiracy. Thus jailed, have been the members of RAM (Revolutionary Armed Movement), the New York Black Panther 21 (13 of them now awaiting resumption of their trial), the leaders of the Mexican-American Alliance of Free Peoples (who demanded a return of their treaty-guaranteed New Mexican lands), the Oakland Seven (who helped organize the anti-draft demonstration two years ago) and the Chicago Eight (five found guilty in the most sensational and obvious frame-up in recent years).

These are put up jobs. Meantime a real conspiracy exists. Yet the whole Establishment, from the Justice Department and the F.B.I. to *Time* and *newsweek* magazines are yelling that the guilty are just a few lunatics. The reason is simple: the new conspiracy, long talked about and only just surfacing, is serious. It is threatening the capitalist establishment where it is most vulnerable—in its capital. It is a conspiracy by young militant, dedicated revolutionaries to "bring the war home" by bombing precisely those institutions which profit from America's interventions, neo-colonialist dominations and imperialist wars.

Two Year of Explosions

In fact, sabotage has been occurring for two years—but the press, except for an occasional article in an underground paper, has been studiously silent. In 1968, the power stations to Berkeley's atomic reactor, two South West Military depots, various Dow Chemical (makers of Napalm) sub plants and scores of police stations, ROTC offices and draft boards were blown up. In 1969 no less than 62 bombings took place in the San Francisco Bay Area, 93 in New York and 33 in Seattle—yet not a word in *Time*, for example, until March 23, 1970. Obviously, the Establishment hoped that if it said nothing, the sabotage would just go away.

But all these bombings were only small practice runs for what was to come—and it began coming in the summer and fall of last year. It was then the bombs exploded in the

General Motors, Radio Corporation of America, Chase Manhattan Bank, and the docks of United Fruit. The Federal Office Building, the Whitehall Army induction center and the criminal court house were also bombed. The explosions always took place at night, after cleaning and guard personnel warned by telephone, had time to evacuate. Then, in November, three young leftists were arrested on an alleged tip from an informer, and the whole press talked about the crazy, desperate, frustrated, demented extremists. Even the bombers' "press releases" previously repressed were now printed. Said one, in part: "Spiro Agnew may be a household word, but it is the rarely seen men like David Rockefeller of Chase Manhattan, James Roche of General Motors and Michael Haiden of Standard Oil who run the system behind the scenes. The empire is breaking down as peoples all over the globe are rising up to challenge its power. From inside, black people have been fighting a revolution for years. And finally, from the heart of the empire, white Americans too are striking blows for liberation."

If the established press gave such publicity to the bombers, it was only because it was convinced that the bombing would stop now that the F.B.I. had arrested the "maniacs." But the bombings continued. The Rocky Flats Nuclear Plant has been so damaged that it is not yet in full operation. The Munitions Plant of Hanover, Mass., was blown up.

Three New York General Electric plants were hit. In Pittsburg, a shopping mall was destroyed; in Washington a nightclub; in Michigan, the State University's School of Police Administration, in San Francisco and Berkeley, two police stations (with many cops injured and one dead); in Louisiana, Texaco, Chevron pipelines, oil wells and stations, 48 times; in Madison a Reserve Officers Training Corps building and the computer room of the Army Reserve Center.

In Baraboo, Wisconsin, a Cessna 150 plane dropped three bombs (which failed to go off) on the Badger Ordnance Plant (which produces gunpowder) and leaflets saying "Have to check out supplies. Be back soon." It was signed "Vanguard of the Revolution."

Then, in March, bombs tore apart the courthouse where SNCC leader Rap Brown was to go on trial in Cambridge, Md., and the New York offices of IBM, Mobil Oil and General Telephone and Electronics. The New York assault was carried out by a group calling itself "Revolutionary Force 9" which said, in a press release: "All three (companies) profit not only from death in Vietnam but also from Amerikan Imperialism in all of the Third World. To numb Amerika to the horrors they inflict on humanity, these corporations seek to enslave us to a way of 'life' which values conspicuous consumption more than the relief of poverty, disease and starvation. In death-directed Amerika, there

is only one way to a life of love and freedom: to attack and destroy the forces of death and exploitation and to build a just society—revolution." The war had indeed been brought home to Amerika (spelt with a "k" the German way, for both its Nazi and Kafkaesque significance and now spelt that way in the underground press).

Veterans

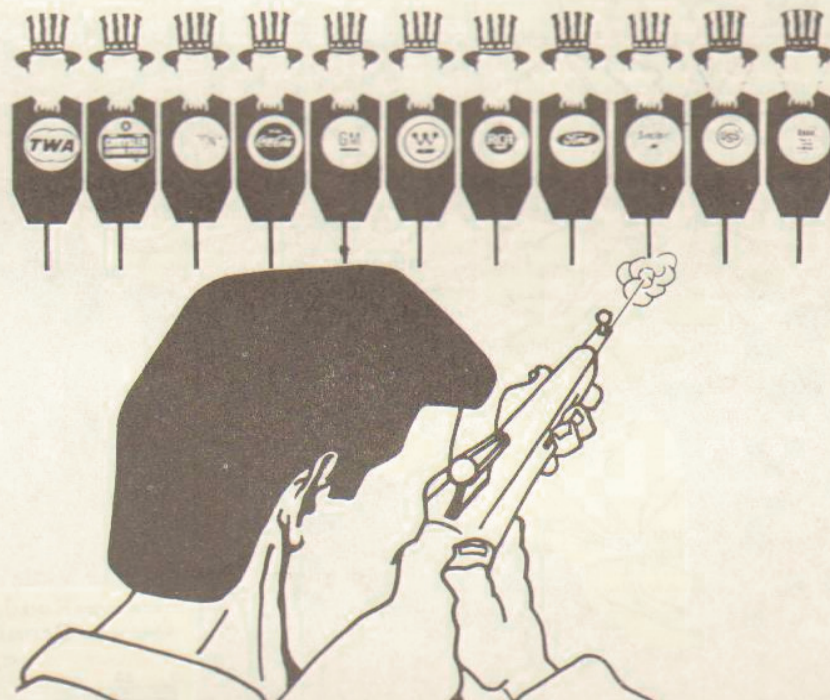
But who are they? And just how organized is this revolutionary conspiracy? Legally there is no conspiracy at all. The bombers are individuals, three, four five, nine, working together but with no contact among each group. The conspiracy is strictly in their minds: They each hope to contribute to the dissolution of the state, to weaken it, helping in that way the liberation movements of the world to win their global war against U.S. imperialism. These militants have seen the Movement use every non-violent means of protest to change Amerika into a humanitarian country—and fail. They have seen the Blacks jailed, tortured, murdered for demanding justice. They have seen every university resort to the violence of the police to keep them in their place, as faithful obedient cogs in a capitalist system that plunders and butchers innocent peoples all over the world.

The new militants and saboteurs are white middle-class ex-students who reject the values of their parents, teachers, cops, government officials who serve only the interest of the rich. They are veterans of Civil Rights marches, anti-war protests and Chicago, who have learned from experience that Amerika is free only for talk—but never to achieve Meaningful change. They have also learned from experience that the courts, the laws and the whole justice apparatus is not at the service of the poor or the dispossessed or the exploited or the mistreated. The new Militants have themselves been arrested, beaten, arrested again, beaten again—and then found guilty of all sorts of crimes—all because they believed, originally, that 'America' was fair and just, the land of opportunity, for all, or should be.

So, they organized. They grew in number and protested more vociferously. But what they found was that the Justice Department, the FBI and the local police simply reacted by sending agents to infiltrate their organizations, set up traps, bring them to frame-up courts. They split up into small groups with less chances of police infiltration, and began to plan actions which could be more meaningful in the struggle. Many of the groups resorted to sabotage. More will follow.

Reprehensible Provocations

To traditional leftists, such actions are reprehensible. The Communist Party U.S.A., for example, has condemned them as "either the actions of demented persons or are the direct work of police provocateurs or fascist



sweeping the country." Almost all intellectual leftists have also put them down: Sabotage and terrorism have never built revolutionary consciousness, they say, thus are self-defeating.

But those new leftists who approve of such tactics, reject the old analysis, as well as Amerika's old leftists who they say do nothing except talk. All the protests, all the organizing of the "working class" will have led to no change whatsoever—nor in creating a substantial increase in revolutionary consciousness. The reason, say the New Militants, is that Amerika is not in a revolutionary situation; that the working class is really two classes—the unintegrated who are politicizable and the unionized industrial workers whose short-range interests are identified with Amerika's imperialism.

The Weathermen

The Group which has pointed this new analysis and which has grown most in the last year is the Weathermen (taken from a line in Bob Dylan's *Subterranean Homesick Blues* which says "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows") Formed by many of the leaders of SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) Weatherman is organized, with strict discipline, in revolutionary party lines, with a central committee (the Weather Bureau), cells (collectives), regional boards, etc. It believes that life style and theory should be inseparable: all Weathermen live in collectives and are 24-hour-a-day activists. Their analysis tells them that unless white revolutionary groups live the life of revolutionaries, they can and always have been co-opted back into the affluence of white skin privilege. Indeed, ever since the repressions got heavy in the U.S. last year, most movement intellectuals have dropped out. The excuses are many: we must wait for the economic depression to radicalise the workers: we must organise the masses: we must not let ourselves become isolated through an adventurism that alienates the workers etc. Weatherman's analysis excludes such rationalisations: the working class profits too much from whiteness privilege to be a vanguard: youth are the most potentially revolutionary force because that privilege is at least institutionalised and because it is the most alienated sector of the white working class; talk alone will never turn radicals into revolutionaries, only action with talk will. But that isn't enough since white youth can

always slip back into the bourgeois world unless, that is, he is totally involved in the revolution not just by his ideas but by his life style. He can then be supported in moments of weakness by his comrades and that means living, working and fighting together in collectives.

They organised such collectives in twelve major cities, tough working class cities like Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Cleveland. Twelve bodies, male and female to an affinity group, living in one town. The Weather Bureau (central committee) set the example: physical training, Karate, political education, criticism and self criticism sessions, tight discipline in combat and out. Everything is social, they said, nothing is private. Sex, doubts, failings, fears, hang-ups, lusts, everything out in the open. To have these failings is no sin but the normal product of our corrupt society. The only way to overcome them is to bring them out.

The Battle of Chicago

The first major Weatherman battle was fought last October in Chicago. Weatherman has expected thousands to show up for the declared objective to break up the loop (Chicago's rich business district). Firearms were forbidden although they knew the fighting would be heavy and deaths likely. Only 500 scared, self-conscious collective

members arrived. They were outnumbered by the police almost ten to one, with the National Guard on call nearby. "Well," shouted a Weatherman leader. "You know why we came, and what we said we'd do. This is only the beginning. Whether it's also the end or not depends on us, now. So let's do it!" And they charged. The fighting was probably the hardest yet in the history of the New Left. Thousands of police, with tear gas and clubs and then with guns against a wild but tightly disciplined group of white kids, protected by helmets, boots and steel genital guards, using lead pipes and chains. The city watched in amazement as the Weathermen, meekly at first, then increasingly stronger, pushed through, dispersed, regrouped, dispersed again and got through from their staging area to the Loop where they did as they had said—smashed windows and wrecked stores. More than 200 Weathermen were arrested and eight were shot (none died), yet the next day, they were back. This time, the main thrust was to come from the Weather women. There were only 65 of them, surrounded by 150 cops. The girls were more scared than the day before, feeling more isolated. Then Bernardine Dorhn, a 31 year old former lawyer and member of the Weather Bureau, told the women "the fear that people feel in this demonstration has to



All that was left of the house where the Gold and his fellow Weathermen were working.

be put against the hunger, fear, death and suffering of black brown and yellow people in this country and all over the world." Then she led them out of Grant's Park across from the Hilton Hotel and into the police lines waiting. The Weatherwomen fought well too, and downed many cops, but they were stopped. Still, they were back again the next day, and so through the week. At the end, 284 were in jail with bail of \$1,000,000.

But Weatherman grew. Put down, laughed at and even denounced as counter-revolutionary for their adventurism, the Weatherman have begun to gain the respect of working class kids. As the collectives continue to fight, their influence grows. Besides, another one of their tactics seemed to be paying off, though painfully slowly. That was the school "jailbreaks," in which Weatherman collectives would seize working class high schools, barricade the doors, explain what they are doing and why, beat up any teacher who interfered and then fight their way out through the police that surrounded the schools.

Weatherman's organizational objective was to create cadres. Today, some 2,000 have fanned out across Amerika. They are trained in Karate, weaponry demolition. They read Marx, Lenin, Mao, Lin Piao, Cabral, Che. They have weathered arrest and torture. Operation in small affinity groups, some prozelytizing among working class youths, others try to radicalize demonstrators by their militant and exemplary tactics. Others still, have gone underground. No longer in contact with the parent organization, operating alone, they are involved in the current sabotages. On March 6, a house on West 11th Street, in New York's Greenwich Village, exploded in an apparent accident, killing three occupants. In the debris, police have found huge amounts of dynamite and blasting caps, and claimed the house was being used as an underground laboratory. One body was identified. It belonged to Theodore Gold, 23. A few days earlier, Gold had told a friend, "I know now I am not afraid to die." Gold was a former leader with Mark Rudd of the Columbia University revolt. He died a Weatherman.

The political argument about Weatherman continues but their dedication and commitment is making every revolutionary in Amerika examine very carefully his own relationship between what he thinks, who he is and what he does. John Gerassi

Kestrel sharpens

"It's about the fact that three quarters of the kids in this country are thrown on the scrap heap at the age of 15." "It's about secondary modern schools, the wickedness of which is not put right by phoney comprehensivisation." "It's about what education should be in a healthy society, and what it is in our society."

Tony Garnett talking about "KES", which he produced and co-adapted.

On the one hand Ken Loach, the director; Barry Hines, on whose novel the film is based, and Garnett, who have succeeded in making a film with these values. On the other hand the monolithic Rank organisation sullenly mute, refusing to distribute the film.

It cost United Artists, and American distribution company, £160,000—which

they were partly persuaded to put up by Tony Richardson, partly seduced into by the devious talents involved. This is a minute budget for a fully-crewed, all-location colour feature, and could be recouped in this country alone. Why the Rank refusal? George Pinchus, the disguised policeman of Rank whose 'judgement' dictates what two thirds of the cinema-goers in this country will see, blandly refused to comment. He does not talk to the press or appear on Television.

In our society "Education is about the creaming off of a few to be trained expensively, and throwing the rest, the majority, with a few basic skills on to the Labour market, trained only to live in an authoritarian situation and to remain passive. To do this you have to kill their personalities." Garnett again.

So do Rank feel this film to be 'non-commercial'? Do they believe it lacks stars, or is not well made, or is obscure, or will not appeal to the 'ordinary' film goer, or to the 'family' audience?

Having seen the film I can say that it does not need stars, is very well made, is not in the least obscure and cannot fail to be of value, entertainment and otherwise, to film goers of all kinds.

"The hawk is an image, not a bit of

Walt Disney. When the boy talks about his hawk to the well meaning liberal schoolmaster, he says: 'They come up to me and they say—is it tame?—is it heck tame, it's wild and that is what I like about it. It isn't tame—you can train them, but you can't tame them! Amongst other things, that is our hope for the working class in this country—that they can't be tamed. It's interesting that hawks are trained on their bellies. First you starve them,—get them 'sharp' as it's called,—then you hold a bit of meat out, and when they do what you tell them to do you give them the meat.'

Kes is being put out in nine cinemas in Yorkshire, by ABPC, Rank's "rivals," who risk nothing but hope to cash in on the enormous amount of publicity the film has had, and—if it does well—show it in London.

Garnett "There is the story about Alf Robens coming in his aeroplane to harangue the men at a pit about absenteeism: 'You're supposed to work five shifts a week—why on earth do you only work four?' he turned on a miner: 'well? Miner: 'Because I can't live on three'—that's what Kes is about."

And that's why Rank don't like it. Tom Stenaug

Arlo in wonderland

Alice's Restaurant, after being a very successful record, has now become a very successful film. And it is easy to see why. It expresses a lyrical, sometimes very funny, confusion and scepticism about the contemporary USA. It combines both old and new aspects of American culture: Alice's Restaurant is both "half a mile from the railroad track" and a sanctuary for addicts, drop-outs and homeless kids.

Arlo Guthrie visiting his dying father Woodie personifies the specifically American cultural mix that defines the film. He is hostile to straight America—to the war, the police and short hair.

He both expresses some of the problems of the US and resolves them all in one inane toothy grin. After falling out with the local cop, Officer Obie, he then befriends him and has him act himself in the movie. He could hardly have done that if he'd been black. He is at once typical of spontaneous hostility to his society and able to contain it with a few jokes. It is not for nothing that he was hailed by Newsweek as "bridging the generation gap".

Alice herself runs the restaurant and mothers her flock only through over-work, and throughout the film there is a tension between the idyllic world of most of the Restaurant clientele and the fact that Alice is worked to the bone. Neither her unbelievably thuggish and stupid lover Ray, nor the facile Arlo, can cook. All they can do is "have anything they want," and talk any rubbish they want while Alice works away.

The inner truth of the film has been clearly shown by the real sequel to it. While it was being shot, the real Alice was divorcing the real Ray and setting up a commercial chain of "Alice's Restaurants."

Arlo Guthrie himself lives by the motto "I create my own world," which is what he does. His world is based on infantile oblivion: Alice's Restaurant where America's children can forget about what's outside. But as Arlo strums his way through this new Wonderland Alice herself is allowed no such escape, nor are most other people. Arlo consumes, Alice produces. H. F.



LENIN - 100 YEARS

The anniversary business, as practised in the Soviet Union, shows how even Lenin's centenary can be used as an opium to the people.

With the 'official' communist movement using the occasion for its ends, and the bourgeois press making their contribution towards distorting everything that Lenin stood for, we are forced to give battle a hundred years after he happened to be born, forty-six years after he died, to defend the politics of Lenin and revolution.

Lenin was a Russian revolutionary and an international revolutionary. He founded the Bolshevik party and the Third International, led the October revolution and directed the Soviet state for the first five years of its existence. All this the bourgeoisie and its ideologists can readily admit. But what their class position does not allow them to admit is precisely what is most essential to taking up the fight here in Britain. Lenin was above all a revolutionary *Marxist*, whose work represents, to a degree still unparalleled, the unity of the theory of scientific socialism and the practice of class struggle. The bourgeoisie can never admit that class-conscious workers have a privileged access to the most advanced social science—Marxism; and that they can use this knowledge as an instrument to transform society and overthrow all forms of oppression and exploitation. To admit that would be ideological liquidation for the bourgeoisie.

Conversely, if we are to make any headway in the immense task of advancing from the inchoate struggles of students and young workers, to reconstruct the whole rotten mess of British society along socialist lines, it is absolutely vital to master the tools of Marxism. Which means, in part, to learn from the achievements—and the mistakes—of the masters of Marxist theory and practice, and in the first place—from Lenin.

MARX AND LENIN

What a myth the bourgeoisie tries to put over when it contrasts Marx, the supposed 'historical determinist' who believed in the inevitable evolution of capitalist society into socialism, with Lenin, the 'voluntarist,' 'Blanquist,' who saw that capitalism wasn't developing into socialism and thought he could step in with a small group of conspirators and push Russia—and the world—onto the socialist path! Marx spent his whole adult life in the service of the workers' movement. His theoretical work aimed to provide the working-class with an understanding of how capitalist society functions, of what the working class has to do in order to emancipate itself (smash the bourgeois state and organise its own form of political power), and for thirteen years he was active in building the early working-class organisations (Communist League 1847-1852, International Workingmen's Association 1864-72).

Just as Marx the 'theorist' was an active organiser, Lenin the 'activist' was a systematic theorist. The starting point of Lenin's political practice, and which Lenin reverted to at every decisive turning, was the socio-economic analysis of Russian—and later of international—society. In Siberian exile in 1897, Lenin the 'voluntarist' completed his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. His first major work, it is an exhaustive analysis of the Russian social formation, and the dynamic way in which the traditional forms of patriarchal peasant economy were being eroded by the capitalist market. It defined the objective features of the specific class society in which the Russian workers' movement had to operate, an analysis which was to constitute the starting-point of Bolshevik strategy. It is still unsurpassed as an example of Marxist sociology. And it demonstrated at a point when this was not clear that capitalism was the dominant development in Russian society and that the working-class would be its decisive social force. In 1916 Lenin's more famous though less exhaustive book *Imperialism* also served to orient the international strategy of the Bolshevik party and the Comintern in the 'highest stage of



Lenin making a tape recording in the Kremlin.

predictions and expectations of orthodox social-democratic 'Marxists.' In Russian, in contrast to the social democrats in Western Europe, revolutionaries faced problems that forced them to discover those implications of Marxist theory for political practice which *Marx himself had not developed*. Russia had on the one hand an advanced capitalist sector and consequently the basis for a socialist workers' movement. But it had not yet achieved its bourgeois-democratic transformation and was still overall a peasant society dominated by the bureaucratic Tsarist state. It was impossible for Russian revolutionary Marxists to import a model for their political role from the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe. Their political tasks were not mapped out for them—they had to decide them for themselves.

The first Russian Marxists of the 1880's, Plechanov and the Emancipation of Labour group, had already decided that the fundamental aim of the workers' movement in Russia must be *the overthrow of Tsarism*. Lenin built an organisation able to lead the

working class in this *political* struggle against the state. In the course of constructing what was to become the Bolshevik party, the weapon of this struggle, Lenin reached two further conclusions, which essentially define 'Leninism.'

LENINISM

Firstly, if the revolutionary workers' party has to *choose* its strategic aims, then it cannot be the party of all workers, or of all who are 'for socialism' or even of those who pay lip service to Marxism. The Marxist party must be *the instrument of the strategy it has chosen*, and so membership must be open only to those who accept its strategic programme, and who 'personally participate in one of the party's organisations' (Bolshevik resolution at the 2nd Party Congress, 1903).

Secondly, the internal organisation of the party must be such as to put this strategy, and the tactics chosen to realise it, into effect. This means that although the party's line is decided on democratically by a party

congress, after this decision the minority must work loyally with the majority to put it into practice. Between congresses the central committee elected by the congress must have the authority to make any tactical changes required by unexpected conditions.

These two concepts of *revolutionary militancy* and *democratic centralism* gave the Bolshevik party a quite different character from its Social Democratic contemporaries in the West and from its Menshevik rival in Russia. It sought to be first and foremost a cadre party rather than a mass party, although the bourgeois myth of a 'group of conspirators' is amply refuted by the fact that the 'conspirators' had grown to 30,000 in February 1917 and to 240,000 by October 1917, backed at that time in elections and mass mobilisations by the overwhelming majority of the industrial working-class. The Bolshevik party built up its organisation and a mass base under Tsarist repression; it was the only major party of the Second International that remained true to proletarian internationalism and did not meekly follow its ruling class into the World War; its tactical flexibility and discipline enabled it to take advantage of favourable conjunctures: to the point of leading the first victorious proletarian revolution.

REVOLUTIONARY CRITICISM

The most strenuous revolutionary criticism made of Lenin is that although the organisation and tactics he developed for the Bolshevik party provided a successful instrument for overthrowing the Tsarist and the embryonic bourgeois state in Russia, the highly centralised and even monolithic structure of the Bolshevik party already contained the seed of a bureaucratic elite divorced from the masses; inevitably producing Stalinism and the degeneration of the Soviet revolution. Thus libertarian socialists reject the Leninist forms of organisation. In so doing they throw out the baby along with the bathwater. They cannot put forward an alternative force which can overthrow the bourgeois state. They are forced to rely on nebulous solutions of spontaneity, autonomous local soviets or workers' councils which, as every revolutionary working class upsurge from the Paris Commune of 1871 to the May events of 1968 has proved, cannot by themselves displace the bourgeoisie from power. Even though without them the working class can never achieve power.

The libertarian's reading of Leninism forgets that it is forged on the action of the masses of workers and peasants. They offer as an alternative to Lenin the opposite of their own crude schematisations of Bolshevism. The distorting Stalinist orthodoxy bears a heavy responsibility for these errors; so do those who refuse to study Lenin for themselves. For the successful organisation of the revolution is built on the dialectic of political force and the masses. In Russia—the Bolshevik party, the Soviet state and the Red Army, and the innumerable independent actions of workers and peasants.

The Bolshevik party conducted its revolution in a highly specific historical conjuncture, one which posed the most immense problems for the construction of socialism. But its social base was firmly rooted in the industrial working-class, and its revolution was a democratic one—for the working class. At the moment of the seizure of power, the party enjoyed both the organised support of the absolute majority of the class, and the unorganised support or at least acquiescence of the peasant masses. But the spontaneous peasant land redistributions of 1917, which the Bolsheviks had no alternative but to accept, doomed the working-class party to transform the agrarian economic structures (in which 80% of the Russian population was embedded), *from the outside*. Socialism had to be built against the peasantry. The bureaucratic state, built up to govern a peasant country (bureaucratic in the Marxist sense, i.e. one separated from the class from which it arose), ended up by dominating the party and the workers' soviets and transforming them in its own image.



and the consequent slaughter of thousands of irreplaceable worker-Bolsheviks helped to engender the divorce of the working-class from its own state. Above all, once the Russian revolution was isolated, the objective class relations in which the Bolsheviks took, and had to take, power, prejudiced the programme Lenin set out in *The State and Revolution*.

In the Chinese revolution, the Communist Party succeeded, on the basis of very different social and political conditions, to base itself firmly in the majority class, the peasantry. In the advanced capitalist countries, where the industrial proletariat has for decades formed the majority of the population, the socialist revolution can only be a majority revolution. Whatever problems we have to face, and they will be many, the tension between state and society produced by minority class rule (the objective setting for the deformations suffered by the Russian revolution) will not be one of them. But it remains that the party Lenin built, though and advanced instrument for making the revolution at the political level, was not perfectly equipped to confront the tasks of socialist construction. From its weaknesses there are lessons to be drawn for revolutionary practice and revolutionary organisation today. The Bolshevik party could deal with the contradiction between the people and the enemy, between the forces of revolution (the workingclass and poor peasantry) and those of reaction (Tsarism, the bureaucratic state and the bourgeoisie). It could not deal adequately with the contradictions that arose among the people themselves.

This weakness comes through in a number of different ways. The Bolshevik party, the centralised strategic vanguard of the revolution, could never relate satisfactorily to the Soviets, a revolutionary but essentially heterogenous force. In 1905 the Bolshevik party saw the Soviets as a dangerous rival, and although Lenin criticised this position, he did not put forward a coherent alternative. In 1917, although Lenin now saw the Soviets as the state form of the proletariat, it was implicit in the October seizure of power that the Bolsheviks would use their majority in the Soviets as the instrument of party decisions, and all opposition would be firmly dealt with. Between 1917 and 1920 opposition Soviet parties were gradually squeezed out, under the exigencies of the civil war. But no theory was developed of the changed role that the unforeseen one-party state assigned the Bolshevik party. The ban on organised factions within the party, imposed in 1921, specifically stressed the right of tendency and provided for new forms of inner-party discussion, but the means to guarantee this discussion were lacking. The degeneration of inner-party relations in the mid-twenties proved that a revolutionary party's control of its own actions, and its ability to openly acknowledge and rectify mistakes and not compound them by distortion and suppression, cannot be guaranteed by any formal organisational structure.

In Russia after Lenin's death these weaknesses greatly facilitated the takeover of the Bolshevik Party by the state apparatus, and the stifling of political discussion. If the contingent weaknesses of the Bolshevik party had been corrected—they might have been had Lenin lived—then the party would have had the means to openly check and correct mistakes, the period of 'primitive socialist accumulation,' for all its inevitable hardships, need not have involved Stalin's crimes of the 'thirties, and the Soviet Union would not be in the absolute impasse in which it finds itself today.

LENIN'S GENIUS

Revolutionary militancy and democratic centralism are fundamental principles laid down by Lenin that differentiate the revolutionary party from reformism, and without which no revolutionary organisation and no proletarian revolution is possible. But the specific forms of revolutionary organisation have to be evolved both on the basis of national circumstances—and it was Lenin's genius to have done this for Russia—and on the past experience of the revolutionary movement internationally. No formal organisational structure can guarantee these principles; they can only be guaranteed by the ideological level and critical independence of the party rank and file, and by a theory of organisational problems developed from past experience. It is crucially important for us to study Lenin's political practice and the Russian revolution, its achievements and its limitations. Just as it is vital to study the Chinese experience which solved some of the problems unresolved by Lenin (eg. how to handle contradictions among the people when the proletariat is still a minority class. Though the Chinese experience also does not provide an accomplished example to be mechanically applied in the West. Above all we need to start where Lenin started, with the scientific investigation of our own society, its socio-economic formation and its history, and to discover forms of political practice specific to the task of building a revolutionary workers'

A brief chronology.

1870 22nd April (10th April—old Russian calendar); Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanov (Lenin) born at Simbirsk, on the Volga.
 1887; Lenin's elder brother, Alexander, executed after an attempt on the Tsar.
 1887; Lenin enters Kazan University to study law, participates in the student movement, is expelled and exiled for a year.
 1888; Lenin studies Capital and joins a Marxist circle in Kazan.
 1889-1893; Lenin engages in Marxist propaganda work among the students at Samara, where he prepares also for his examinations in law.
 1893; Lenin moves to St.Petersburg, where the Marxist groups are making their first contacts with workers.
 1894; Lenin is a leading figure in the St.Petersburg Social-Democrat group, and organises propaganda among workers. At the end of the year he produces the first agitational leaflet, for the workers of the Semyannikov factory.
 1895 Spring; Russian Social-Democrats meet in St.Petersburg to plan the transition from narrow propaganda circles to political agitation among the masses.
 1895 Summer; Lenin travels abroad to meet Plechanov and the Emancipation of Labour group in Geneva, and to learn about the West European working class movement.
 1895 Autumn; The newly founded St.Petersburg League of Struggle plans to produce an illegal newspaper, *Rabocheye Dyelo*, which Lenin edits. In December Lenin and most of the committee is arrested.
 1896; Lenin spends the whole year in prison, but maintains some secret contact with his comrades.
 1897 Jan; Lenin is exiled to Eastern Siberia for three years. The region has many exiled Social Democrats and populists. Lenin makes a living by giving legal advice to the peasants. He manages to correspond with Social Democrats in St.Petersburg and abroad. His main work is his book *The Development Of Capitalism In Russia*.
 1898; Lenin is married, in exile, to N.K.Krupskaya.
 1900 Jan; Lenin is released from exile. After discussions with Social Democrats and a close shave with the political police in St.Petersburg, he leaves for abroad, where he plans publication of an all-Russian political newspaper, ISKRA—the spark.



The first spark—*Iskra* no. 1, December 1900. The front page is taken up by Lenin's article, *The Urgent Task Of Our Movement*; its first sentence "Russian Social-Democracy has repeatedly declared the immediate political task of the Russian working-class party to be the overthrow of the autocracy, the achievement of political liberty".

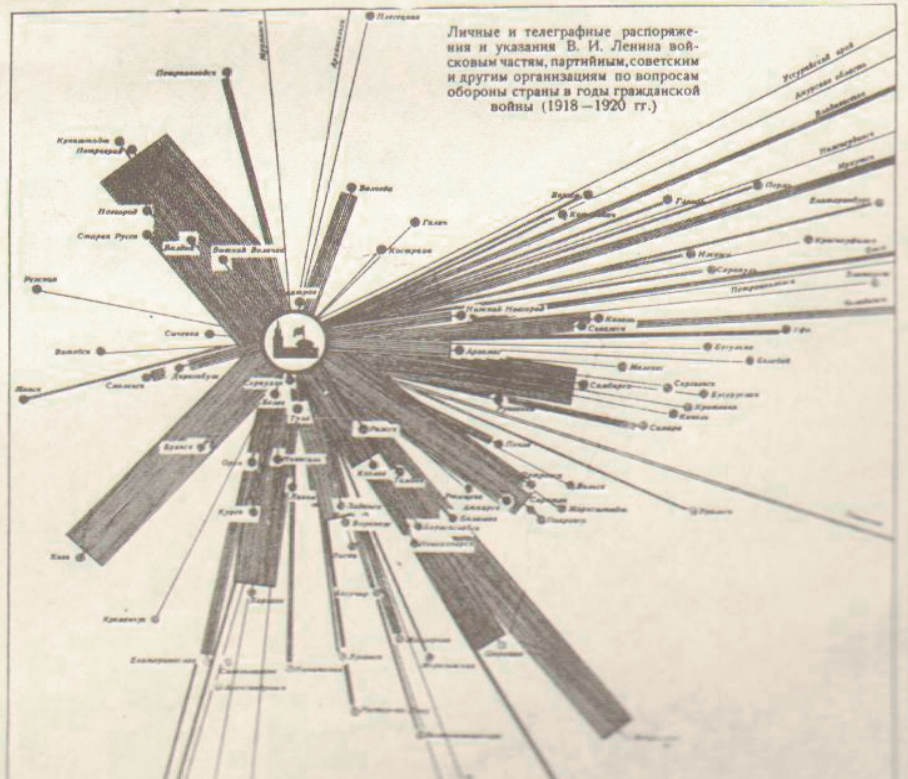
1900 Dec; Lenin edits the first number of *Iskra* in Munich, with Martov and Potresov.
 1901-1903; *Iskra* is regularly distributed secretly in Russia by 'Iskra agents' who build around the paper the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party organisation, and prepare for the 2nd. Party Congress.
 1901; Lenin writes *What Is To Be Done*, which appears in March 1902.
 1902 Apr.-1903 Apr; Lenin and Krupskaya live in London, where *Iskra* is produced at the Social-Democratic Federation's press at Clerkenwell Green (now Marx House).
 1903 July-Aug; The RSDLP 2nd.Congress opens in Brussels, but has to move to London. The *Iskra* group splits



Lenin delivers the April Theses; at the Tauride Palace, Petrograd, October 28, 1917.

1917 Feb; Revolution breaks out in Russia. The Tsar abdicates, the provisional government is formed, and alongside it the Soviets.
 1917 April; Lenin arrives in Petrograd. His 'April theses' call for 'all power to the Soviets'. Lenin leads the work of the Bolshevik party in Petrograd, seeking to win the working-class to the Bolshevik position.
 1917 July; After the 'July days' in Petrograd, the Bolshevik party is banned, Lenin is forced into hiding near the Finnish border.
 1917 Aug-Sept; Lenin writes *The State And Revolution*.
 1917 Sept; Lenin demands from Helsingfors that the Bolsheviks organise an insurrection.
 1917 20th Oct; Lenin returns secretly to Petrograd, where Trotsky organises the Bolshevik insurrection.
 1917 6th Nov night; Lenin arrives at Smolny, the Soviet headquarters, during the insurrection, and takes off his disguise.
 1917 8th Nov; 2nd All-Russian Congress of Soviets opens in Smolny. It approves the Bolsheviks' Decree on Peace, Decree on Land, and Decree on the formation of a workers' and peasants' government, headed by Lenin.
 1918 Feb; German advance after Brest-Litovsk negotiations break down. Lenin secures, against heavy opposition, Bolshevik adoption of German peace terms.
 1918 Aug; Lenin shot in the head by Fanny Kaplan, an anarchist; not seriously injured.
 1918 Nov; Lenin writes *The Proletarian Revolution And The Renegade Kautsky*.
 1919 March; The founding conference of the Third (Communist) International held in Moscow.
 1920 Apr-May; Lenin writes *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, setting out the foundations of Comintern tactics in the West.
 1921 March; Kronstadt uprising during the 10th Congress of the Bolshevik party. The period of 'war communism' is ended by the measures of the 'New Economic Policy', allowing a partial free market. Factions within the party are banned.
 1922 May; Lenin suffers his first stroke, and is out of action until September.
 1922 Dec; Lenin has his second stroke. At the end of the month he dictates his last notes on the re-organisation of the Soviet administration, and in his 'testament' demands, in vain, the removal of Stalin as general secretary of the Party.
 1923 March; Lenin's third stroke puts him permanently out of action.
 1924 21st Jan; Lenin dies.

The political direction of the Civil War—a diagram from the Lenin Museum showing the direction and intensity of Lenin's telegrams and letters, between 1918 and 1920.





DIARY

DHOFAR- DEALING WITH THE BOURGEOIS PRESS

The last issue of **Black Dwarf** had a special section on the armed struggle in the Dhofar and Gulf areas of the Middle East. This was intended to introduce an important but little-known area to revolutionaries here.

On Tuesday March 24 **Black Dwarf** gave a press conference at which Fred Halliday and Fawwaz Trabulsi, who visited Dhofar with him, reported on the war and British involvement in crimes and torture. About 30 journalists attended, and the questions they asked illustrated the highly structured and limited ideological fixations of the bourgeois journalist's approach. Not one asked about the social conditions in

Dhofar, or about the nature of the revolutionary struggle, i.e. what the Dhofaris were actually doing. Their main concern was with the purely technical question of whether the planes that did the bombings had RAF markings painted on them. We pointed out that the Sultan was not independent and hence even planes with his markings on them were RAF planes, and were piloted by "seconded" RAF officers. The man from AP even started grunting about what "bad journalists we were." The man from the **Times** asked us why the **Dwarf** was distributing "propoganda"—i.e. the **Front's Declaration to the British People**. The man from **Tass** was concerned about the **Front's** hostility to Nasser.

Reports of this conference appeared in the **Guardian**, **Mail**, **Star** and **Workers' Press**, and details on the Dhofar struggle have been given to some of the left MPs.

Reporters from **The Times** and **The Telegraph** wrote stories on the press conference, and these were suppressed by their editors. The **Guardian's** Defense correspondent put the whole story 'down'. We've known about it all along, he wrote. Which is why **The Guardian** does not bother to report on it.

In a series of written answers to questions by Stan Newens, Roy Hattersley of the FO said on March 25 that none of the British personnel officially seconded to the Sultan had been killed or wounded, and that RAF planes did not fly bombing missions. He stated that: "In each of the last five years there has been a total of some 40 officers of the Royal Marines, the Army and the RAF and 7 Army other ranks

serving with the armed forces of the Sultan on secondment."

There are in fact three kinds of British personnel in Dhofar: British officers "recruited independently" by the Sultan's Consulate in London; British personnel at British installations and not under the Sultan's command; and British personnel officially "seconded." Hattersley's answer only covered the last category, and did not include the 150 RAF battalion personnel now guarding the Salala base of the hundreds of "independent" personnel. These distinctions are in any case mythical since apart from the Sultan being a puppet the "independent recruitment" is carried out through a semi official Army network; and the RAF personnel guarding the base are guarding the Sultan's combat airport and hence straight forwardly serving him.

From Dhofar itself comes news of a heavy bombing raid in late February on the town of Rakhout, which included the use of incendiary bombs—illegal under international conventions; and in Peking a Delegation of the Popular Front gave a press conference on March 13 in which they accused Britain of waging a criminal policy against the economic livelihood of the liberated areas.

A Dhofari Gulf Liberation fighter on the move. Behind the barrel of the gun on the left are the seeds that will put an end to Sheik and free his slaves.



Repression is reaching idiotic depths in Brighton. Dave Woodthorpe is a 26 year political militant involved with the excellent Brighton rents project and squatting drive for homeless families. Two weeks ago he was involved in a slight argument in a local cafe. Inspector Roberts (known locally simply as 'the bastard with the moustache') happened by. Could he have been keeping an eye on Woodthorpe? Anyway Roberts pulled him out only to be accused of being 'a thick puppet.' Roberts invited him to make a stronger criticism. 'No, I think that will be quite satisfactory' replied Dave. 'Unless you want me to say Sieg Heil.' He was promptly arrested. He appeared in the Brighton magistrates court without bothering to find a solicitor for such a minor offence. The magistrate's first two questions were 1) Do you believe in God? and 2) Are you a communist? He was then questioned about his beliefs in 'law and order.' His answers to the inquisition questions did not go down too well, he was sent to gaol for three months.

DIARY OF OCCUPATION

On Staurday 15.11. a hand grenade was hurled at an Israeli military vehicle in a street in Ramala. On the one o'clock news bulletin in Israel the same day it was announced: "A hand grenade was hurled at an Israeli military vehicle. One soldier was wounded. The soldiers in the vehicle fired in the direction from which the grenade had come. Seventeen people were wounded."

On the two o'clock news bulletin the same incident was reported as follows: "A hand grenade was hurled at an Israeli military vehicle. The soldiers fired into the air. Seventeen people were wounded by the grenade."

The Sunday morning Hebrew newspapers had the final version: "A hand grenade was hurled at an Israeli military vehicle. AS A RESULT OF THE GRENADE ATTACK SEVENTEEN PEOPLE WERE WOUNDED."

The class struggle begins in class and last month saw the first issue of **CHERRY RED**—an underground revolutionary magazine produced at Elliot School, Putney, a co-educational comprehensive with 1800 students. The magazine is taking a lively stand against the particularly repressive regime at the school as well as against repression in general. The first edition sold widely at Elliot, also at Mayfield and Wandsworth schools (neighbouring comprehensives each of about 2000 students). Plans are being laid to extend activities to other local schools.

The magazine arose on a triple conjuncture. The behaviour of an unpredictable, violent and autocratic headmaster who has succeeded in almost completely disrupting the equilibrium of forces in the school. The setting up of a school council, which appeared to have set free certain of these forces only to frustrate them with what amounted to a mock parliament. The presence of a few students and teachers, Marxists and generally of the left, who have embarked on a struggle for a fully democratic school with all power in a school council.

The production of **CHERRY RED** is very necessary to all this activity. The editors are trying generally to combat the reactionary role of the school and the ideas it teaches. They are busily organising future meetings, discussion groups and films to supplement the written word.

The last Black Dwarf carried a report on the Japanese student group, Red Army (Sekigun-Ha) which was planning to attack Expo 70. A week later the Red Army hit world headlines by hijacking a Japan Airlines jet to Korea. The bourgeois press has miscast them as latter day Samurai. In fact they are a 400 strong student group, average age under 20, who have broken from the pro-Soviet Communist Party but are anti Chinese and look to Cuba, North Korea and the Black Panthers.

Mick Shrapnell, well known **Black Dwarf** street seller, was busted for obstruction outside the Lyceum Theatre benefit in memory of the Sharpville Massacre.

It seemed an obvious case of police victimisation as there were at least fifteen other sellers and leafleteers standing around but Mick was the only one arrested.

In court Mick carefully explained the vendetta the police wage against him (this is not his first arrest) and the judge fined him a pound. Whereupon Mick calmly asked for time to pay and was