

The Black Dwarf

Vol. 13. Number 3.

19 July, 1968.

FORTNIGHTLY 2s.





REVOLUCION S!

John Berger

The people of three continents are involved in a struggle which they will never abandon until they have achieved their freedom: not the nominal freedom of independent States, but the freedom for which all others so far imagined have been a preparation: the freedom from exploitation. When they have achieved this freedom--and at the longest it will be within a century—they will produce art unimaginable by us today. Unimaginable by us today because the freedom they win may change the condition of man.

Turn to back page

It will happen here

RAY CHALLINOR

IN 'SOCIALIST REGISTER 1968' the French Marxist, Andre Gorz began an article by saying, 'The working class will neither unite politically, nor man the barricades.' Only a month afterwards France was gripped by a general strike and barricades in Paris stood in the same places as in earlier revolutions. But Gorz was not alone: left-wing as well as bourgeois thinkers were taken entirely by surprise.

But then Gorz is in distinguished company: Lenin did not anticipate the Russian Revolution! Four months before it occurred, he addressed some young workers, telling them that it would not happen in his lifetime but they were sure to see it in theirs.

This illustrates an important characteristic of revolutions—their unpredictability. Nobody can be sure when they will break out. But, equally, revolutions are inevitable. The social tensions within capitalist society, the inability of the ruling class to solve the basic contradictions, means that the working class will, sooner or later, revolt.

This contention may be doubted by some socialists, because they fail to keep to Hegel's dictum, 'to hold fast to the positive in the negative.' They see the negative side—exploitation, misery, submission—inherent in present-day capitalism; they do not see the subterranean changes, the slowly emerging new values, the growing need for an entirely new way of life—the positive side—that rumbles beneath the surface and may burst forth at any moment. The whole progress of Mankind, as Bakunin pointed out, has arisen from an essential human quality, that of rebellion. It has been the desire to improve upon things as they are that has kindled the spark of discontent, a preparedness to struggle relentlessly against the status quo.

Inevitable

We live in a period of escalating class struggle. Whether in the Negro ghettos, student campuses, factories, or in the 'Third' World, the general trend will be for the fight to become more fierce and violent. We cannot tell when breaking-point will be reached—when the revolution will occur—but occur it must.

It was this belief in the inevitability of revolution that inspired the Bolsheviks. Lenin liked quoting Tolstoy, who once described a man, squat in a door-way, making weird gestures like a madman. On inspection, it was discovered he was perfectly sane, doing a necessary job, that of sharpening a knife. Likewise today, left-wing politics may appear, to an outsider, as a form of insanity until it is realised that we, too, are doing an essential

has been to have a revolution with no revolutionary party. The lesson should not be lost on us. In Britain today, squabbling Marxist groups do not have impact on immediate issues, such as Powellism and incomes policy, because activity is not co-ordinated. If suddenly a situation like that in France were to arise, they would not be able to cope. The need for unity is urgent. Time is not on our side.

Alas for Wilson

In Britain, capitalism has not undergone the period of rapid growth of its French counterpart. Real wages in France have generally risen whereas in this country they have been subjected to a series of squeezes and freezes. Having experienced an almost perpetual economic crisis for the last 20 years, the frustration welling up inside the London worker is likely to be even greater than that of the Paris worker. The big question is not whether the British revolution will come but when.

Three factors make the situation more favourable for socialist revolution in Britain than in France:

First, the ailing state of the British economy. This gives the ruling class less room for manoeuvrability. It will be less able to make concessions, buying one section of the workers off, playing one against the other.

Second, the bankruptcy of the parliamentary game. Tory, Labour, Tribune MPs alike, all have been soiling the bed-clothes of British politics. All of them agree on basic principles. They have each contri-

buted, in their own special ways, to the present mess. Consequently, in a crisis situation it will be extremely difficult for anybody to play the Mendes-France, diverting a revolutionary protest movement into harmless channels. Party politics in Britain do not have the same allure as in France, where General De Gaulle effectively stifled them for the last ten years.

Third, the absence of a large Communist Party in Britain. Anybody studying the recent antics of Waldek-Rochet and Seguy must be driven to wonder whether the French Communist Party is not in fact being financed by the CIA! But really it is idle speculation for even if it did receive American money, it would still act in precisely the same way. More than any other single factor, the French CP leaders—the 'Stalinist shit-bags,' to use Comrade Cohn Bendit's expressive phrase—were responsible for the failure of the French Revolution. Instead of trying to unite workers and students, calling for the formation of soviets, attempting to spread disaffection among the army and police, the Communist quislings turned their backs on the class struggle to go electioneering. The election results have therefore come as a rightly deserved kick in the balls to them. Alas for Wilson & Co., the British Communist Party will unfortunately be unable to play such a decisive counter-revolutionary role.

So the forces retarding revolution in Britain, the traditional parties and the CP, are likely to be less influential than in France while, at the same time, the tensions prevailing within British society will lead to the revolution being deeper and more thorough-going.

It is important that we see the coming British revolution as part of our perspective. It widens our mental horizon, adding a new dimension to our thought. It is a

necessary step in the evolution of the protest movement. Way back in 1958, when C. Wright Mills wrote his penetrating book, 'The Causes of the Third World War,' socialists were worried and afraid. They could see terrible things taking place, but they were powerless to influence the course of events. There appeared to be no agency for progressive change. Then came Che Guevara, a saviour because he demonstrated that the peasantry had not been assimilated into the capitalist world order, that in remote parts of the globe guerrilla action could defeat reaction. Then Professor Marcuse took the process a stage further and showed that the entire Third World, not isolated pockets of the peasantry, was a revolutionary force. What we must now do is to show that the working class, especially in the advanced European countries, can be drawn into the fight for socialism. Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and Luxemburg said so, and they are being proved right.

Universal

A universal revolution embracing the whole of suffering humanity, is taking place. Even the rulers are beginning to realise the magnitude of the threat. For instance, Robert MacNamara, ex-US secretary of defence, told a Montreal meeting: 'In the last eight years alone, there have been no less than 164 internationally significant outbreaks of violence—each of them specifically designed as a serious challenge to the authority, or the very existence, of the government in question.'

In the next eight years, these outbreaks must be surpassed in number and ferocity. They must continue until all the MacNamaras, all the capitalist politicians, have finally been flung from office and into the 'dustbin of history.'

Social democrats → corporate managers

Britain is now well on the way to becoming a permanently depressed area. No one wants to believe it, of course, but to deny it is to fly in the face of the facts. The Labour Government has now had a four-year run. The results have been devastating. The balance of payments problem has not been solved, and devaluation will probably not solve it. Average unemployment has been running at a high level and is now rising rapidly. Prices are shooting up, as any housewife will point out bitterly. A reduction in the standard of living of workers is being enforced by an incomes policy which is undermining the independence of the trades unions. Tens of thousands of men are being made redundant, although the Government have no effective policy for retraining and redeployment. The welfare state is being dismantled, a result by

Budget, while wage increases are to be held down to a maximum of three-and-a-half per cent.

As it turns out, the whole policy cannot even be made to work. In the first place, as Wilson used to point out, deflation is self-defeating. If demand and investment are

valued. But the pound was devaluted, and consequently the economy stagnated so that British industry has become tion if the pound had not be over-really backward. Like any economy which is handicapped either by an overvalued currency or backward industry, Britain is bound to run into trouble in a free trade system. There is an inevitable tendency, even among wealthy industrial nations, for the gap

intent to the IMF clearly shows, any use of import controls, exchange controls, etc. Yet these are the only methods within the present system which, would enable the group to solve the balance of payments problem while maintaining full employment and a rapid rate of growth. Controls, and effective central planning, provide the only hope for resuming economic independence.



ON STRIKE UNDER OCCUPATION

The doors are open: The French lesson begins

ENV is a North London factory, famous among employers and industrial militants for its shop steward organisation and the conditions won by it. On one celebrated occasion, the management—either in despair or as an attempt to frighten the workers—dumped responsibility for the running of the factory in the hands of the workers. The stewards took up the gauntlet—and ran the factory. During a nine-month period when the management had promised redundancies, production continued under workers' control—without redundancies.

In France, the movement has been one of sit-in strikes, not taking over production. I asked one of the key shop stewards at ENV (his name has to be concealed because of possible employer reprisals) whether the French workers should have started production again under their own control. This was a strike movement, he said, which was only the beginning of a movement aiming at power. In the French situation one had to ask 'production for whom?' Restarting the factories would only become relevant when power really was in the hands of the workers. And power meant the control of at least whole localities, if not the State. Of course the sit-in was a major advance on the ordinary stay-out strike. And the movement was precipitated as much by the example of the students seizing the University as by the memory of what French workers had done in the 1930's.

One important lesson for us is the audacity of the demands—for example four weeks minimum holiday with full pay. I wish people here would even start talking about it, let alone demanding it. And then think of the immense variety of people participating—the gravediggers, or the crew of the France which turned back from Southampton. The demands and the

The most important lesson for socialists is that without clear leadership a revolutionary situation cannot develop further. What was lacking in France was a revolutionary group with sufficient contact in the factories to point out that the 10 per cent pay rise conceded would be swept away by devaluation in the coming months unless the workers went further. But the French Left organisations do not even know the name of the person who sits next to them, so how can they know what's going on in the working class?

As for the French CP it has a great future as a respectable conservative party "by appointment to General de Gaulle." The Soviet Union cannot play a revolutionary role in Europe today, and the European working class is not in general attracted to the Chinese position. At the moment there is no organisation to pick up the pieces. I know some people say that yet

another revolutionary party will inevitably become bureaucratized, cut off from the workers, incapable of reacting to new events, so that it will sell out in some way. But there is nothing inevitable about the nature of organisations so long

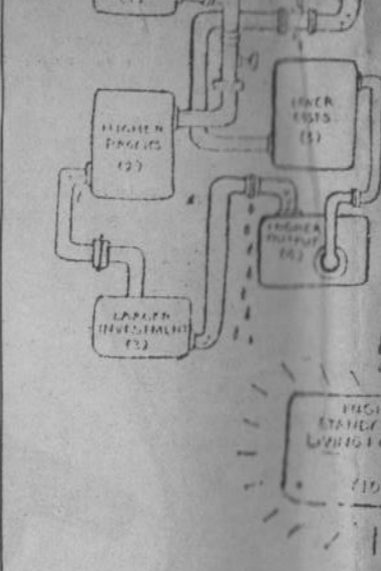
illegality, to make the execu-
ner's axe for Tsarism. It deman-
tremendous sacrifices, a com-
e personal dedication which
ld only be sustained because
y saw their goal clearly before
m. Yet, at the same time as they
ertainty, they also had doubts.
while it was obvious that the
sian people would rise up,
wing their furious detestation
Tsarism, there was no certainty
Tsarism would be overthrown.
olution is inevitable; the suc-
s of the revolution is not. It was
equation that gave Bolshevism
raison d'être.

capitalist state, centralised
co-ordinating the means of re-
sion, can only be smashed by
orce that clearly knows the key
nts to attack. A spontaneous up-
ing by the masses is an essential
redient for success; by itself,
ver, it is a guarantee of defeat
er than victory. To succeed
at is required is a strong and
ed revolutionary movement.
nts of the past month prove this
clusively. The tragedy of France

The present disarray, however, is only
the beginning. The general economic
situation is likely to get much worse.
For the Government are now against
the wall. They have not solved the
balance of payments problem. The
country is still running an enormous
deficit. Something must be done to
close the payments gap if we are to
avoid a major financial crisis in the
next few months. But what? The
arsenal of orthodox policies has just
about been exhausted. There are now
only two choices. The Government
can resort to further retrenchment and
deflation in the hope of improving the
balance of payments. The only alterna-
tive is a complete reversal of policy:
import quotas, exchange controls and
a real system of central planning. The
odds, however, are strongly against a
swing to the Left. The most likely
response to a continuing deficit will
be more cuts and restrictions to reduce
total spending. The Government will
be urged on, perhaps pressured, by
their foreign creditors. The conse-

quences will in the long run be higher
unemployment, stagnant output, falling
investment, a squeeze on public
expenditure and the flight of capital
abroad. We may even see a further
devaluation of the pound and a con-
tinuing rise in prices. In short the
likely prospect is for economic dis-
location and permanent stagnation.
Britain is becoming the Argentina of
Western Europe.

What, then, has happened to the
Labour Party's design for a New Brit-
ain? It should be said, first of all, that
the New Britain had very little to do
with socialism. It was merely a glossy
version of capitalist society, with a
high rate of economic growth and
some extension of the welfare state.
The Prime Minister had been saying
practically every day that prosperity
was just around the corner. The *pur-
pose* of devaluation, Mr Wilson ex-
plained on television on 23 November,
was to ensure full employment and
economic expansion! Shortly after the
announcement of devaluation the
Prime Minister said that at the new
rate of exchange it would be possible
for the economy to grow by six per
cent a year, but instead the Govern-
ment has adopted an economic strategy
which is more deflationary than any
in the post war years. That strategy,
which the central bankers helped to
map out, has two basic aims. The first
is to reduce demand in order to 'free
resources' for improving the balance
of payments. The second is to place
the burden of adjusting to devaluation
on the shoulders of the working-class.
The Government's strategy for re-
covery after devaluation consists of
three parts of those measures an-
nounced at the time of devaluation,
the cuts in public spending introduced
in January, and the Budget itself.
Some of these measures were prob-
ably delayed in order to reduce the
chances of a public outcry. The strik-
ing thing about them is that collec-
tively they were extremely deflation-
ary. Taken together, they will prob-
ably reduce expenditure in the econ-
omy by about £1,800m—in accordance
with the recommendation of the
OECD that the Government should
aim for 'overkill' of 150 per cent, that
is, it should aim to 'release' 50 per
cent more resources than are needed to
improve the balance of payments. This
is reaction with a vengeance. It is
hardly surprising that unemployment
is nearly 600,000 already, the highest
June figures since 1940. And, accord-
ing to the Chancellor, the Budget
measures are only beginning to bite.
The Government's strategy is also
exceedingly cruel and unjust. The bur-
den of the new taxes in the Budget,
which totalled £923m fell almost ex-
clusively on the average wage earner.
Almost all the new taxes are indirect;
and such taxes have a much heavier
impact on the lower-income groups.
The wealthy and the middle-class have
hardly been touched. The Government
has made it quite clear that the two
per cent fall in total consumption is
to be enforced by a pincer movement.
Prices may rise by seven or eight per
cent, partly as a consequence of de-
valuation and partly as a result of the



held back, costs rise. The expan-
sion of exports is inhibited. The
evidence of failure is already at
hand. Manufacturing investment is
falling. Imports, which can now
compete even more effectively with
home goods, have shot up. If some-
thing does not happen quickly, the
country could end up with a trade
deficit of £800m. for the year.
Capital is leaving the country at a
rapid rate. We are back at square
one!

Is there any way to avert permanent
economic stagnation and the drift
towards reaction which it is likely to en-
tail? The Labour movement is be-
wildered and demoralised because it
is trying to find its way without a map.
Very few people seem to understand
why four years of labour government
have proved disastrous. When every-
one understands what the problems
are, we may be able to begin solving
them.

One of Britain's basic problems is
that it is very closely linked to other
capitalist countries. The British econ-
omy is part of an international capi-
talist system based on the principles
of free trade and free enterprise. The
flow of goods, capital and labour is
relatively unrestricted. The essence
of this system is 'free competition.' That
is where the problem begins. For the
system forces weak countries to com-
pete against industrial giants. Relat-
ively backward industries are exposed
to the full force of competition from
technologically progressive industries
in other countries. The weaker coun-
tries inevitably lose in that competi-
tion. In the mid-fifties, when the
British economy was not yet quite so
backward, it could probably have stood
up against its international competi-
tion between the rich and the poor to grow.
Britain has also had to contend with
the rules of the present system of in-
ternational payments. These rules,
which are actually the conventions by
which the central bankers operate,
compel deficit countries to deflate.
Deflation, as we have seen, is self-de-

feating. British began with a deficit and
followed the rules prescribed by the
bankers for eliminating it. It now has
a larger deficit at full employment
than it ever had. *The rules of the
game thus tend to reinforce the natural
tendency of a free trade system to
widen the gap between the rich and
the poor.* For a country like Britain,
they exclude the possibility of even a
progressive capitalist policy of full
employment and growth.

The third problem has been that cen-
tral bankers and others have *deliberately*
used the rules to drive a wedge
between the Labour Government and
the movement which brought it to
power. The sterling crisis of 1964
forced Britain to borrow an enormous
sum in order to avoid a devaluation
of the pound. The country's indebted-
ness gave its creditors, mostly central
bankers and the IMF, some control
over its economic policy. Those credi-
tors posed conditions with their loans.
It was some months, however, before
this power was really used. The famous
'incomes policy with teeth' of
1965 was the result of foreign pres-
sure, as even Aubrey Jones has ac-
knowledged. But that was a minor
affair. It was not until 1966 that the
tull weight of foreign influence was
felt. In July of that year the Prime
Minister and the Cabinet finally decid-
ed to abandon the policy of full em-
ployment to which the Labour Party
had always been committed. But the
redeployment exercise of 1966 did not
work. The balance of payments prob-
lem was not solved. Government
policy led fairly quickly and predict-
ably to devaluation, further debt and
the loss of economic sovereignty.

In the last two years the central
bankers have used the hold to force
the Government to abandon any sem-
blance of a 'progressive' policy. This
is one reason why the Government are
now pursuing the most reactionary set
of policies anyone has seen in thirty
years. At the same time the central
bankers have got the Government to
agree that they will not use the only
exit which could get us out of a deep
ening crisis. The Government have
foresworn, as the famous Letter of

people in the Government see the
situation clearly. It probably doesn't
matter. For most of them are not
really committed to socialism in any
meaningful sense at all. They are in-
terested in power. And if getting it
means working the controls of a rotten
society, they are willing enough to
perform the necessary errands. So the
central bankers have not had a hard
task. Most members of the Govern-
ment have probably co-operated with
them quite willingly. They may have
been surprised at the outcome of
adopting the policies urged on them,
but, for most of them, it is too late
to think about that. They know now
that Britain has become a client state
in an international capitalist system.
But they are neither willing or able
to do much about it.

He might . . .

All this is a necessary background to
the present political turmoil. No one
is surprised that there is so much
disaffection in the Labour Party. Nor
is it surprising that some Conservatives
should be trying desperately to precipi-
tate a general election. (But has no
one told them that they would have a
much harder time managing capitalism
than the Labour Party?) What is sur-
prising, at first, is that com-
rades Gunter, Robens, Albu and
others, should be going for the Prime
Minister's jugular. They seem in a
terrible hurry to get Roy Jenkins in
the number one seat. That is rather
paradoxical, since *they* are the tough-
est exponents of the policies which
have created the crisis. But it is only
a paradox. For the first time it is in
Wilson's own interest to move to the
Left. He might, by breaking dramati-
cally with past policies, rescue himself
and others and assume the leadership
of the Labour movement. It would
mean a real battle with the press, the
City, etc., but he could certainly
mobilise the unions and a good many
others behind him. This is probably
the move which the Right wing of the
Party are trying to make impossible.

Only alternatives

Whatever happens, one thing is cer-
tain: we are moving into a new stage
of political struggle. The only alterna-
tives for this country now are radical
ones. Britain will either move to the
Right as the Conservatives confront
the reaction to an increasingly des-
perate economic situation. Or it will
move to the Left sharply—by some
miracle. It will have to be a miracle.
For the Left at the moment lacks
energy, brains, imagination, determi-
nation and organisation. Only a new
alliance can overcome those weak-
nesses.

SEAN GERVASI.

purely economic demands, but the
important result was an authentic blow
against De Gaulle which found echoes
on every side.

Ironically, the fact that the French
unions represent so few workers ac-
celerated the movement. Because a
traditional loyalty to their own union
was lacking, when the moment for
action came the workers acted on a
factory basis without going to the
union first for guidance. At ENV, more
often than not, we acted directly
through our own factory stewards
committee, and not through the AEU
who were no help at all. The way the
movement accelerated makes it seem
that much more sudden. There had
been some demonstrations over the
Algerian war, but otherwise not much
militant action over the past decade.

Unlike France, in Britain today the
climate is still one in which much of
the working class sees salvation through
the Labour Party and trade unions.
There are cases—as for example the
busmen—where workers have found
the unions hostile to their demands,
but these are still few and far between.
If in the coming period the union
leadership commits itself more com-
pletely to the Government and its in-
comes policy, then there may be a
period when British workers also sink
back into their shells. But even so
they will be thinking and learning.
'There is a kind of dialectical pro-
cess in the union and the factory
in the development of conscious-
ness. Political experiences are not
immediately reflected on the sur-
face, in what people say about why
they are doing things. For exam-
ple, in recent British elections,
the abstentions were unconsciously
conscious, if you see what I mean.
People did not say they thought
the Labour Party no longer repre-
sented their interests. They said
they could not be bothered to vote;

They were acting individually,
but they were also acting as a
class. In fact with all the forces
like the press and other mass
media that there are against them
it is amazing that the British work-
ing class is as solid as it is. Bad
as the *Worker* and the *Herald* were
they at least put things in class
terms, and seeing such things in
print meant something. We have
been without this for twenty years.

The French events will probably not
affect the British scene immediately.
The French did not call specifically
for solidarity action by British work-
ers—say on cross-channel ships. But,
if I was still at ENV we would prob-
ably have held a meeting. There would
have been a few cheers. We might
have announced a march to the French
embassy, but only a few of the most
militant would have gone. But in
places like the motor industry they
are probably talking, thinking that in
the next strike they will have a sit-in.

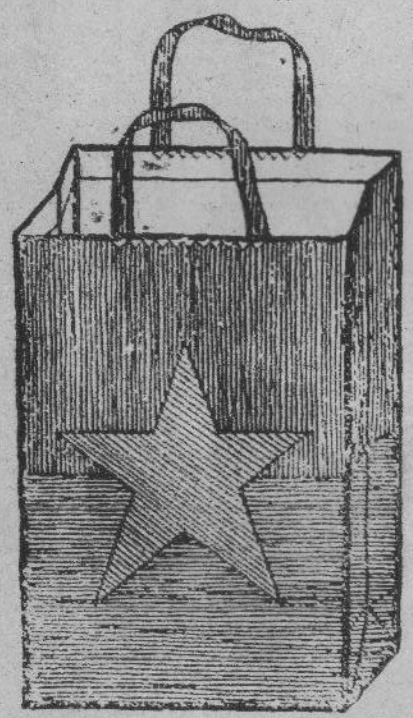
whole localities, there has already
to be contact between factories in
the area. If workers have learnt
over the years that a certain fac-
tory gives them a good lead in par-
ticular struggles, such as in oppo-
sition to redundancies, then at the
critical moment they will follow its
lead to develop district workers'
councils.

Without organisation it is possible
for workers to seize power in localities
but it would have happened within a
matter of days if it was really spon-
taneous. In general, factory organisa-
tions do not just link up overnight.
Without a clear organisational lead,
everyone would get their own idea of
what was important—they would take
over the pubs for a start! It is a dream
world to think of things being run at
once by people with no experience or
central co-ordination. A modern econ-
omy does have mysteries which must
be understood. It is only in time that
every cook will be running the State,
though they certainly will in time.

But though the movement will depend
on intellectuals for this, the workers
will still prefer to follow someone who
deals in 2d. an hour rather than in per-
centages. There has to be some sort of
organisational structure to link them
all together. But so long as the organ-
isation really is part of the working
class, that is working on the shop floor
—more like a federation of stewards'
committees than a union—there is little
danger of it becoming so cut off from
the rank and file that it will set out.
If contact with the rank and file is
the first priority then bureaucratisation
can be minimised.

In practice the lead comes from those
factories already best organised and
with the most militant tradition.
ENV was admired by other factories
in the area for its level of organisation
and militancy, but sometimes this ad-
miration was tinged with a degree of
envy among less successful militants.
As a result, when the final battle was
joined by the management at ENV,
some local militants said that it
served the ENV stewards right.

But ENV's case is peculiar in that the
political differences between the stew-
ards there are those in most of the
other militant factories in the area,
which were CP organised, tended to
foster this feeling of envy. When there
really exists a revolutionary mood, as
there was in France, petty backbitings
tend to disappear in most cases. All the
same, the existence of this mood will
not solve everything like some magic
amulet unless there is some organisa-
tion to crystallize and clarify the
demands. And this must be increas-
ingly and international organisation.
Because of the need for the British
economy to tie itself to Europe,
and the growth of the international
monopoly companies, there is a
corresponding need for workers to
have links across national bound-
aries so that reciprocal action can
be taken at any time. When we
have that, we are well on the way
to socialism.



ROSALIND DEASE

flag bags

NLF bags, red, blue & yellow, size 17" x 11 1/2" x 5 1/2"

Carry your message to and from the shop floor
2s. each + 6d. postage
10 or more post free

Get yours and help the NLF

Cash with orders to Wild Enterprises, 20 Chalcot Rd., N.W. 1



STEAD

Last year Mrs Winifred Ewing became the first Scottish National Party MP after the by-election at Hamilton. In the municipal elections in May the SNP captured 100 out of the 500-odd seats contested. In Glasgow 13 SNP members now hold the balance of power, breaking a monopoly by the Labour Party which lasted, with one short break, for more than 30 years. In the recent election for the new town council at Cumbernauld the SNP took 18 out of 21 seats. The figures shown below for votes cast in municipal elec-

	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Labour	128,213 (50%)	102,567	88,916	81,020	68,538 (26%)
Progressive					
Conservative	106,525	112,056	107,180	108,875	93,513
SNP	4,127 (2%)	9,719	18,253	60,034	96,505 (36%)
Others	15,617	14,601	12,359	10,490	10,075

tions in Glasgow over the last five years demonstrate the phenomenal rise of the party—they are duplicated all over Scotland. Electorally the SNP is a threat primarily to the Labour Party. A General Election held now would finish Labour

in Scotland. This is all the more serious because the Scottish working class have traditionally been the party's most loyal supporters.

Some right-wingers in the Party have even taken up and supported a fatuous piece of witch hunting by the ultra-reactionary *Glasgow Herald* which sought to prove the existence of sinister links between certain Nationalists and the tiny Maoist Workers Party of Scotland because both were involved in the John MacLean Society.

a body set up to perpetuate the memory and works of that great Scottish revolutionary.

Others in the Labour Party have suggested adopting some form of decentralisation in order to try and cash in on the SNP's success. John Mackintosh,

MP for Berwick and East Lothian has been prominent in this attempt.

Others suggest that the SNP has taken on the character of a crusading campaign against the government with which many Scots have readily identified. It is suggested that the Nationalists have fallen heir to the need for identification with an ideal. There is some truth in this! The party appeals particularly to young people; a poll amongst my students indicated 57 per cent in favour. In one sense the Nationalists can be labelled as one of the most successful manifestations of the tradition of 'protest' politics.

All of these explanations have a partial validity. They all help to explain how conditions became ripe for the emergence of the SNP but none of them show why it has expanded with such force at this precise point in time. To find this out we have to do what none of the Labour Party leaders are willing to and go back to the record of their own government. The rise of the SNP has taken place precisely in the period from 1964 on-

wards, and particularly since the 1966 election. After 13 years of Tory rule the Scottish working class hoped for a new deal under Labour. Instead they got the wages policy, rising rents, cuts in social services, increases in the cost of living and in unemployment.

Thus we are confronted with a phenomenon which has both positive and negative features. The rise of a movement of protest against aspects of government policy which is involving numbers of working class youth in politics is a positive aspect. The nature of the movement they are brought into is often entirely negative. It is narrowly based, chauvinistic, petty bourgeois in composition; in many cases profoundly reactionary with a marked tendency towards anti-Trade Unionism. The attempts of some SNPs to draft 'Mad Mitch', commander of the Argylls, butcher of the Adeni people and hero of the *Scottish Daily Express* into a parliamentary candidacy illustrates the depths to which their opportunism takes them.

Confronted with this phenomenon socialists in Scotland must maintain a flexible approach. It should be characterised by:

1. Unremitting attack on government policies which cut the living standards of the Scottish working class and consistent support for principled alternatives, the struggle for these to be carried on continuously with the Labour movement.
2. A non-sectarian approach towards Scottish Nationalists, seeking to involve the youth especially in united front activity in e.g. VSC, RSSF, etc.
3. The production of propaganda designed to link the issues raised by the SNP to the struggle of the British working class and to the struggle against imperialism on a world scale and to show that these can only be effectively prosecuted through the organs of a strong socialist movement.
4. Continually placing responsibility for the rise of the SNP where it actually lies—at the door of the Labour leaders.

TONY SOUTHALL

The Black Dwarf 6,
7 Coal
Isle St,
LONDON W.1.

TO BE IN AT THE BIRTH of a new religion can be exciting, and even allowing for the as yet uncertain influence of your newspaper Ken Coates' apotheosis of Che Guevara is surely an attempt to establish here the Christ figure of the cult. The appealing naïveté and unquestioning commitment of the writer suggests that he clearly understands why death is a prerequisite: 'men of Che's vision are beyond corruption. Indeed!

And belief in Che is to sustain the faith of the new generation of socialist revolutionaries against the massive historical evidence of betrayal. So that, presumably, they will the more readily cast aside the checks and balances against abuse of power that generations of tough-minded liberals have laboriously raised? If Mr Coates' article is anything it is an appeal for faith, for blind trust. Of course, the revolution must have leaders, and it may even, unprecedentedly, be blessed with incorruptible leaders; but how can we know how can we be sure?

But your newspaper is addressed to the new generation. Young people are not awed by history or discouraged by the failure of preceding generations. Young idealists are sometimes reluctant even to acknowledge a continuity between their struggles and the struggles of their parents' generation. They are exultantly conscious of a strength their elders lack; they are unsullied by compromise; they are—above all— independent, freed from parental control, not yet bound by ties to families of their own.

And that is why despite the assertions of your leading article, their conflict is essentially a generation conflict. Mr Coates simplifies when he implies that the corruption of socialism in this country arises from the distorting influence of the market. The rot begins when the generalised idealism of the independent young becomes focused and particularised by marriage and parenthood. For the great majority, a family is a mere extension of the self. For the altruistic few, it is an ineluctable claim on time, effort and thought. A man will accept privations for himself that he would not visit on a wife and children.

So the established hierarchies of the prosperous nations do not tremble at the mention of Guevara. The short-sighted 'respectable men' may be outraged; the long-sighted are not. They know that they are faced only by an evaporating army whose sporadic violence and attacks on liberal institutions ultimately strengthen authoritarianism. The new moral man is needed to create the revolution without which he cannot be born. Gradualism really is inevitable.

BRIAN T OVERALL

To a new level

THE PRESENT and past failures to change Western society, in a socialist direction, to bring into participation fully worker's and trade unionists is

If all those people working on production agreed to work harder and longer hours and could actually produce twice as much as they are doing at present—what would be the result? Their employers would make more money for a time but then the goods would pile up in the shops and warehouses and factories would have to be closed down as they could not sell the stuff. It would only mean that thousands more would be unemployed. Before Christmas they were talking of closing more pits in this district and there were many protests from the miners. Mr Marsh then Minister of Fuel and Power said on IV that there were 29 million tons of coal then on hand in the country which could not be sold. I expect there will be much more now.

There is also the rubbish we are told about the balance of payments. If some country or a group of countries were to agree to send all our imports free of charge we would be much worse off than we are. In fact, under Capitalism it would pay our Government to put all the present unemployed to work producing something and dump the goods they make in the North Sea. Everybody was much better off when the war was on and they were making munitions and blowing them up. Can you imagine what would happen if someone invented a pill to take the place of food. Would everybody be better off or worse? Work it out.

NORMAN WILSON

Equalness

I THINK THE STUDENT RIOTS of all kinds are a good thing, after all, the students, the young people will be running this country so they should be listened to and not smashed on the head for what they believe in. So let's have free love, a hippy Government, no war, no bombs, freedom of speech, and above all things, equal rights for Man and Man, Woman and Woman and then we call all live in a good world of equalness. Mr A has a Rolls Royce, a £10,000 a year income a Chair-man who works two hours a day at about £50 an hour.

Mr B has a small car he bought second-hand and works eight hours a day as a foreman in a sweet factory saving to keep his children at school. Mr C has been out of work for three months since they closed the coal mine, his wife works 12 hours a day to try to earn some money to feed the children, who now have school dinners on tick.

Then lastly, Mr D, who is said to be a tramp, he walks the streets all day begging and sleeps on park benches. Why should there be four types of people, after all we're all human and why can't Mr A and Mr B be the same?

TONY HARTE, London.

the area of their environment, noise, pollution, what-not. However, any mention of emotionally loaded ideological terms seems to me a mistake (Freedom did not print an article for me on this subject, but a few weeks later I noticed that a number of French and Italian comrades had quietly dropped the label anarchist). This will sound apolitical, but it all depends what you mean by politics. I see politics as the structures that affect ME. The only place where I can have any effect is where I live and where I work. This is where politics is, or should be, and where I can hope to get at it, and also where it is most difficult, most personalised. What happens in Vietnam is outrageous but it is the product of structures which I can only get my teeth into here, and rely on other teeth in other places. This is the real situation, and emotionally loaded terms which individuals have built personal mystologies around serve only as a barrier to communication. I feel with a number of anarchists, there is more preoccupation with spreading acceptance of a label than with the reality. If they can get someone to say that they are anarchist, then they are happy. This seems slightly different from actually achieving something; like a syndicalist organisation in a factory, without a label, or even a commune with internal libertarian structures. The failure of the electorate to vote is partly a distrust of all politics.

The revolution carries within it womb the seeds of the old regime. Or some such expression.

DESMOND JEFFREY

Burnt Oak,
East Bergholt,
Suffolk.

[Editor's notes: Red Paper No. is available from the above address.

I am very pleased to see the Black Dwarf give attention to the burden of illness and injury which capitalism imposes on its working population. It symbolises not only the humanity inherent in treating people as commodities, so that to the employer it is irrelevant if workers suffer so long as the profit comes, but also the sheer stupidity of the system. Each lost time accident costs £300, yet they are admitted to the Factory Inspectorate to be largely preventable by sensible running of factory.

The figures you give are only part of the story. Total accidents against deaths have risen 50% since 1963 to over 300,000, and this factories alone covering only million workers. One man in over 60 has chronic bronchitis, 30,000 a year die from it, and it is largely a working class disease which dust at work plays a considerable part.

Why did the dockers strike?

WHEN THE DOCKERS MARCHED down to the House of Commons in support of Enoch Powell they marked the nadir of the history of the British Labour movement. While the political limelight has irresistibly moved across the Channel to France the embarrassing question remains—why did the dockers march?

A classical explanation of working class authorisation, combined with situational factors, such as the traditional solidarity of the dockers and their propensity to take a nice day off, does not adequately explain the localised character of the protest. Why London docks and not Liverpool? Why certain wharves within the London docks and not others? And why for

tured interviews which ran for an hour to an hour and a half, they seemed less substantial than the general ones. The dockers accepted change in the docks as necessary, even as desirable and what fears they had were handled rationally.

It's got to come, common sense ain't it' (Mr W.) 'It's all so much easier with palletisation and containerisation,

time, how much a year is that? It's less than a year's pay. (Mr D.)

Jack Dash talked about £5,000 and everybody laughed, but £5,000 doesn't seem too much after 40 years work.' (Mr K.)

I'm 57, what chance have I got of getting another job, I've got another ten years, that's a lot of money at £25 a week. It would pay them to give us £5,000. (Mr C.)

But 'they can't get rid of us,' again limited the dimensions of anxiety, and the new awareness of concealed over-manning of the docks, in the past, suggested that in practice the volun-

it, safely insulated by the ecology of the area. What Cable Street has, however, done is to reinforce their stereotype of the 'lazy coloured man living off prostitutes.' Yet the stereotype is not systematically applied. A distinction was made between long-term coloured residents and the newcomers; speaking of coloured neighbours, Mr E. said 'oh they are alright, they are black English, like English Jews, not immigrants.' Several dockers pointed out there were coloured members of the local social club, but these—like coloured tenants in the council flats—were a small minority and there-

the Powellite marches was that when some students outside the House of Commons called the dockers 'fascist' and 'racist' the dockers hit them. Talking about this one docker maintained that although he was anti-coloured immigration, he was not in favour of the colour bar and angrily recalled that he had stood up with the dockers alongside the Jews in Cable Street. While it would be wrong to pretend romantically that all the dockers supported the Jews—it does indicate the very real confusion of attitudes and incompatible stereotypes which simultaneously exist. A man would say 'they look like family

We thought that the local situation might explain both the localised involvement and also the nature of the march. To test this we decided to interview some dozen or so dockers drawn from one area—Wapping. It symbolises the problems of the working class, wage freeze, cuts in the social services and a generalised disillusionment with the Labour Government; and the dockers as a whole—post Devlin decasualisation, modernisation moving the industry from labour—to capital—intensive, and a powerful closed shop tradition. Together with the special localised factors of being the first docks for actual closure (Wapping is earmarked to shut down in September), the proximity of Cable Street, and the future development of 'Riverside' which will profoundly affect the physical and social character of Wapping.

How important were these localised fears? In the focussed but unstruc-

you're away (Mr F.) I'm in favour of automation, fork lift trucks and all that, it takes the sweat out of it, docking's very hard you know (Mr C.) They were the reverse of Luddites in that they were critical of the London docks employers for being 'slow to catch on—other than Olsen's.'

The question of job security was more difficult, the anxiety was contained but not eliminated by the dockers' knowledge that their jobs were guaranteed by the post-Devlin agreements.

We know we have got job security, it's been guaranteed by Ray Gunter in the House . . . but it may mean we haven't got any work and you can't live off £17 a week fall back money—the rent's £4 13s. a week, and that only the start.' (Mr F.) But redundancy was seen masked in the current discussions of voluntary severance, they spoke of the (then unannounced) figure of £1,500 and dismissed it with, 'that's peanuts.' I'm earning £35 a week with over-

brothers; they're choked, they've been sent down to Tilbury and they have to catch the nine minutes past seven. It's a long day.' It would also cost 50s more a week on fares, but these were seen as deficits on what was otherwise unanimously seen as an improved situation.

The prospective redevelopment of the area, (which might be considered as discipline to the community) held promise rather than threat, even though they expressed caution about the speed at which the local administration might be capable of achieving this. 'It'll be a green belt stretching from Tower Bridge to Poplar—wide open spaces green frontage all along, a garden city—pleasure gardens, tea gardens. It will destroy the old community, part is going already because it was a community of grief and of poverty—it's only making it a bit quicker.' On Cable Street, they simply said 'It had been there for years, why should it worry us.' They coexist with

Having thus modified—even though they raised those fundamental to the whole working class situation. In this context immigrants were seen, despite their very slight numbers in Wapping, as a threat. 'We haven't even got enough work and housing for our own people.' Particularly where housing was concerned immigrants and to some extent homeless and problem families were seen as 'living in places a cat wouldn't live in,' which then forced the local authorities to rehouse them. Although not unsympathetic to the needs of working people, 'they have to follow the work,' they were hostile that their rehousing was to be carried out on the backs of the working class. 'I've been on the waiting list for 13 years. (Mr A.)

Implicitly and sometimes explicitly they rejected the view that the labour party is exclusive the party of the underdog. Conscious of both the personal and collective strength of the dockers 'we can stop the whole country—the employers can only push us around so far, they were antagonistic for example towards the new look social security Mr S spoke angrily of 'Judith Hart that Minister of Social Security, said on television the other night that anyone making more than £25 a week is privileged, it makes me mad. She makes about £125 a week, I suppose she's five times privileged. Incomes policy mattered less to the dockers than Devlin, but there was little support for the unions. The union official compared the docker/union relationship to marriage. 'some-days you're not talking but the next day you've got to because you've got shared problems.' In parenthesis it should be added that Wapping dockers are predominantly of Irish Catholic origin which explained the force of the marriage analogy, and also explained why in their frustration Wapping dockers hadn't turned to the Communists despite Tower Hamlets having three CP councillors. As Mr C. said 'no, not communist, no, not even if they was to offer me a place with free rent. He might be a good man but no. But the Labour Party and the union were sceptically viewed; They seem to have coupled up and left the worker out of it.' (Mr K.)

It took the war to really get us out of poverty, and it looks like it will take a Labour government to put us back in.' (Mr A.)

'And we always thought that because we worked in a labour force, like laboriously, other than as a white collar worker, you had to vote for them . . . I don't vote now. As long as they are in, that's all they are concerned about. . . It may be true for the union delegates too. (Mr C.) They don't bother . . . when did we last see our MP? I never set eyes on him except on television. (Mr C.) 'We've got a Labour MP, Peter Shore, I've never seen him—not once. You could put an idiot up in Wapping and he would get in with the Labour tag. (Mr K.)

But these factors are common or potentially common to the whole working class. What is needed is some factor over and above these which explains why only the East End dockers and East End porters crystallised an anti-immigrant feeling into a hostile and blatant display of racism. But one of the curious things about

the dockers . . . they symbolise all too faithfully the ambivalences of the society and the Labour Government itself. Thus when Mr F was asked:

How many blacks do you think there are in Britain,

Pause:

About eight million'

long pause

and how many do you think there are?

Something under a million.'

Very long pause:

That's what THEY SAY.'

Yet the counter attack on racialism emphasising that there are only 800,000 is in itself an implicit temperate racism, accepting as it does that there would be a real problem if there were more.

The distinguished feature seems to be the fact that Wapping exemplifies, even caricatures, the ideal of the old style working-class 'community,' intensely loyal, inter-knit familiarly, stable socially, intensely militant on specific local economic issues, but essentially 'corporate' in character: self-contained, not seeking to impose its norms on the rest of society, asking to be left alone to continue its way of life undisturbed by social change, but accepting some change provided its essential interests are catered for in the process.

What is happening now is that the elements which—within this 'sense of community' are the very antithesis of 'socialism—have been brought to a head by the events of the last 10 years. For what Labour governments and intellectuals alike have never faced is the contradiction between the intense parochial solidarity of the labour movement and anything resembling a transcendence of these ties in a socialist movement. But the nub of the case against the Labour Government is that in their policies (1965 White Paper, 1968 Immigration Act) and in their delegated legislation (Customs treatment of immigrants) they have adopted and thereby fostered implicit racist doctrines; and in their strategy (vilifying strikers, eroding unions, wage freeze, calls on Dunkirk spirit, the rhetoric of inertia and passivity on every front save 'productivity'—which is more purely a question of appalling management than anything else) they have reinforced and relied on the inert and sheep-like support of the faithful Labour masses.

The defence of traditional working class culture reflects an essentially conservative nostalgia to quote the dockers 'a community of grief and of poverty. The belief that class consciousness continues to be derived from this culture meshed in kin and neighbourhood is the antithesis of the ideology of socialism it purports to generate. The strengths of the culture have become dysfunctional for the people they were designed to protect. The 'corporatism' has been threatened and has lashed out at a classic scapegoat—the poorest and most vulnerable section of society. Ironies abound: the dockers who were the scapegoats of 1967, for 'wrecking' the economy, etc, become the scapegoaters. HILARY ROSE CHRIS DOWNES

socialist economic system would work and plan. The question of what goods, quantities of goods and services are to be produced on the basis of people's real human needs.

The new 'post-war' capitalism, the changing from a free market economy to one of long-term consumer planning, state intervention and control, technological advance, has taken over many of the collectivist forms, which were advocated in the past. But without any of the Human contents and social priorities of socialism.

This has caused confusion, eg remarks like 'stumbling into socialism' and leads to a slackening of rank and file trade union pressures to produce a living realisation of the necessity of social change.

Therefore the pressing need is for a radical paper: to cause real discussion on socialist philosophy and economic theory and 'The public ownership of the means of production and distribution of the Labour Party's Clause IV. To organise together the many radical group into political—social response and analysis of productive resources: To estimate what results in terms of quantities of goods and services, these resources would produce on the basis of planned production for human needs and use. Demonstrating how a planned economy would work and plan.

THE BLACK DWARF should and has to raise the activity, militancy and political consciousness to an entirely new level, until this is accomplished no permanent success can be achieved. For problems will become soluble when sufficient (people) numbers engage on serious persistent struggle against every aspect of the capitalist methods of production.

While Labour movements possess enormous literature and traditions of socialism, its weakness has always been economic analysis—to fit the needs of the times. Therefore economic theory and social history are required, not empty denunciations of the evils of capitalism. For if no practical alternative is shown, people will put up with the existing system, no matter how unjust and catastrophic its results may be.

H. G. TAYLOR

McWilson's Price

Tarie AJ missed a great opportunity when Peregrine Worsthorne was talking about our democracy on a recent TV programme. He might have told him that we have never had any such thing in this country. We generally have to wait 5 years in order to record our votes and then about half the population votes for Socialism. We get a majority of 300 Labour Party MPs voted into power, people who all profess to be Socialist before the election but we find that there are very few Socialists amongst them and most of them are more Tory than Churchill. They are trying to control wages but allow prices to go up and up. They give £600 millions of public money to the owners and shareholders of the Steel Industry and leave the same people in charge and they are now under no obligation to run their businesses efficiently to make a profit. In my opinion Harold Wilson is worse than Ramsay MacDonald who received 30,000 shares in McVitie and Price Limited for betraying the working class. It annoys me to see and hear the rubbish that is given out by this Government: 'There must be an increase in production before the workers can expect an increase in wages'. There are only comparatively few workers who are actually employed in producing anything and they keep all the rest of the population. How can postmen, bus drivers or railwaymen increase produc-

Thomas Paine. It was interesting to see that Adrian Mitchell praised his article on the monarchy in the second issue of THE BLACK DWARF with a quotation from Thomas Paine. I do wish, however, that a writer I assume is not to be included among Paine's many detractors, past and present, would give Paine his full first name—Thomas—rather than the abbreviated version.

The shortened version was used by Paine's political enemies as a sneer against him and it seems rather a pity that writers in a paper such as THE BLACK DWARF should, perhaps unwittingly, echo this.

ROBERT MORRELL

Secretary, Thomas Paine Society. (Editors Note: We thank Comrade Bob Morrell for his apt rebuke and assure him that the mistake will not be repeated.)

Red Paint, Red Paper

For while an anarchist sympathiser, I feel the only operative form of power which matters is the power over the gut, referred to as economic. I do not see another form of power which does not depend on it, at this moment.

The second issue of BD seems to have a lot of words in it, many of them of an ideological nature. I feel this to be a mistake. The spread with the fist on it is fine, it is direct and simple, and I feel this is good for two reasons.

The young (I wish it wasn't always 'students') are indeed the revolutionary vanguard, but I feel this is largely for emotional reasons, they are rarely ideologically equipped, but they look into a future run by 'business' and the tedium of the prospect makes them feel ill, but it is only recently that I have understood that that was what moved us.

Secondly, for the elderly as well, ideology and reason seem like a clever trap, a course or argument which allows a CP member to refer to anarchists as reactionary after the revolution, for not liking political police, etc. (Spain) and also to refer in the same piece of writing to the revolution as a fixed moment in time and as a continuing process.

Ideology seems to me to compartmentalize thought round separate issues in such a way as to guarantee inconsistency. I think the general feeling among the young is anarchic, to an extent that they don't have to do with the 'official' anarchist movement, and is largely intuitive and emotional and to do with the senses as opposed to reason (which is suspect anyway). Therefore, in my opinion, which may be wrong, a page like the one with the fist, or the cover of the first BD is worth pages and pages of theory. After red paper, I feel that somewhere, between advertising graphics and concrete poetry lies an area of mosaic communication which will not only meet the needs of the young, or kindle a fart or something but will also enable one to say, poemwise, things which if said in running text would get you locked right up. My appeal for a study group in communications is partly to do with this, and I imagine it will go unanswered. If there isn't any local response I shall make it into a small occasional organ *vedi* for the communist movement. I don't expect people like you, with your pre-occupation and advertising (snide-snide) to see the commune movement as useful, but they are intended as bases. The other reason is connected with older people (the greys). They exist, and I feel the point at which they are to be reached is in

is a vital element in the struggle for socialism. It demonstrates the relation between a personal matter like health and the society we live in, and it raises the question of control of that society. Only workers safety committees can provide the basis for a real improvement in health and safety at work.

We would be glad to hear from anyone who can help us in our campaign.

G. RICHMAN

Hon Sec., Socialist Medical Association, 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, London W8.

THE STUDENT/WORKER LIAISON COMMITTEE against Racism has recently launched an appeal to both black and white militant students and workers to unite in order to combat racism. After explaining the background of exploitation the Committee proposes that any anti racist organisation must include the following aims in its programme:

- 1 To reveal the economic roots of racism; racism being the product of the economic system of exploitation, and to show that it is directed against the interests of all working people.
- 2 To expose fully the part played by successive governments in spreading racism.
- 3 To unite all Students and Workers, Black and White in opposition to racism.
- 4 To give active support to all people victimised on grounds of race.
- 5 To oppose discrimination on grounds of colour, language, culture or country of origin—all of which are essentially different manifestations of racism.

The address of the Committee is: SWLCA, The Polytechnic Students Union, Emsley Court, 20 Great Titchfield Street, London W1.

BULLETIN OF MARXIST STUDIES, editors Ken Tarbuck, Chris Arthur. First issue contains articles on *Cadres or Sect* a discussion of Lenin and Gramsci's concepts of a revolutionary party. *The Idea of the Fourth International* the theory and practice of internationalism. Also Cuba, Vietnam, Workers Control, etc. Single copies 2/5d from - BMS, 4, Norwood House, Peakes Rd., Etchingham, Rugeley, Staffs.

LENIN ON IMPERIALISM THE EVE OF THE PROLETARIAN SOCIAL REVOLUTION
The Works of Marx Lenin Engels Stalin Mao Tse-Tung available from
BAI-LEY CHINA CULTURAL COMPANY LTD.
54 Mill Road, Cambridge
Send for free catalogue.

OPEN DAY AT PORTON

These bottles are being filled with madness,
A kind of liquid madness concentrate
Which can be drooled across the land
Leaving behind a shuddering human highway...

A welder trying to eat his arm.

Children pushing stale food into their eyes

To try to stop the ohemical spectaculars

Cinemascopeing inside their hardening skulls.

A health visitor throwing herself downstairs,

Climbing the stairs, throwing herself down again

Shouting: Take the nails out of my head.

There is no damage to property.

Now, nobody likes manufacturing madness,
But if we didn't make madness in bottles
We wouldn't know how to deal with bottled madness.

We don't know how to deal with bottled madness.

We all really hate manufacturing madness
But if we didn't make madness in bottles
We wouldn't know how to be sane.

Responsible madness experts assure us
Britain would never be the first
To uncork such a global brainquake.

But suppose some foreign nut sprayed Kent

With his insanity aerosol:::

Well, there's only an answer to madness:

ADRIAN MITCHELL



Che's last two years of struggle

The French publishing house of Seuil was scheduled to release a book about Ernesto 'Che' Guevara in the middle of May written by Ricardo Rojo, who is closely associated with the Montevideo weekly, "Marcha."

The final chapter of this book was published in the original Spanish in the 10 May issue of Marcha. It contains information of extraordinary interest about Che Guevara's activities in the two-year period of 1965-67.

'IN 1959, WHEN CASTRO took power, Guevara invited Masetti to Havana and entrusted him with the task of organising Prensa Latina, whose principal function was to disseminate Cuban news.

'But in 1963 Jorge Masetti was to attempt a bold revolutionary operation which I heard him discuss with Che many times: the establishment of a guerrilla focus on Argentinian territory from a base developed in Bolivia. (Emphasis in original.)

'In June 1963, Jorge Masetti was in Bolivia with three Cuban officials

leather belt, and sunglasses. Three guerrillas made up a firing squad and Captain Hermes finished him off with his Luger. Was this the kind of guerrilla warfare that Guevara and Masetti had dreamed of to transform Argentina? I doubt it.

In the meantime, the secret services had infiltrated two of their agents among the young recruits of the EGP. They intrigued to create incidents, and once they had been successfully infiltrated it can be said that the guerrilla action was finished. In the following days many guerrillas were captured

During this period, his mother Celia wrote him a letter from Buenos Aires which showed the ties of esteem and frankness that united them. Rojo quotes this interesting letter as follows:—

Buenos Aires, 14 April, 1965.
My Dear,

Do my letters seem strange to you? I don't know. If we have lost the freedom we used to have in our relations or whether we never had it and we have always spoken to each other in that mildly ironic tone indulged in by inhabitants of oaks of the Plata, aggravated still more by our own family code, which is still more withdrawn.

A serious concern however makes me drop this ironic tone to speak more directly. It seems then that my letters become incomprehensible and you find them strange

rules had been set by Guevara himself in agreement with Castro. These rules must have had an absolute rigor since they were not even violated for Celia's death.

'In June 1965, still during Guevara's isolation, Ben Bella, the head of the Algerian revolution, was ousted by Colonel Boumedienne. The Cubans thought that the African revolution was in danger, undermined by neo-colonialism and anarchy. Then Guevara accepted the grave responsibility of going to the heart of the black continent to offer his personal aid to

lese adventure was tinged with a certain bitterness. He was convinced that his departure from Africa had been forced by a Soviet diplomatic manoeuvre, and that Moscow and Washington were in secret agreement as to the main lines of their African policies. Clearly an agitator like Guevara had no place in this programme.

Then Che returned to his old dream of rousing the peoples of Latin America to rebellion from Bolivia and northern Argentina. The operation was to be essentially the same as Jorge Masetti's expedition two years

imperialist domination has been effaced. It is better to die than live as a slave. Death to Yankee imperialism and its military camarilla. Long live the guerrillas.'

For all practical purposes this proclamation did not circulate in Bolivia, except in restricted political circles. It crossed the frontiers and was printed in various countries. But this did nothing to change the general impression of the most penetrating observers: the guerrillas had fallen into a trap.

I arrived in La Paz on 12 July as defence attorney for Cyrus Bustos in his trial before the military tribunal.

FOR

THE CLIMATE IS WARM, sunny, tropical, the sea turquoise, the earth dark brown coffee. The girls are beautiful, black, mulatto, fair, with an easy sensuality of movement.

The arts are in a ferment of revolutionary fervour, eclectic and international in flavour, free of bureaucratic social realism and folk lore. I remember driving in a jeep into the Sierra Maestra along narrow dirt tracks, through streams that meandered into the sea, along a rocky and pebbled beach that was fringed by lush vegetation, to a small village called Ulvero, which was no more than a collection of small prefabricated houses and a bar, and in the bar we discussed the revolution with the local people, for it was in this village that the first successful attack was made on Batista's forces. They pointed to where Che attacked, where Camillo advanced, where Fidel commanded the battle from a hill. In front of us in the square was a model of the old hated barracks, a model only, for after the victory of the revolution the people tore it down with their bare hands. And from the radio blared Day Tripper by the Beatles, which was an interesting reminder to us about a lot of things.

As I travel about the country I see the material benefits of the people, particularly the peasants, of full employment, of free and available education, of free health service, of low rents, of sometimes no rents, or maximum of ten per cent of income, of free public telephones, cheap transport, or free recreational facilities. In nine years. And I think of Bolivia, Brazil, Africa, even England.

In Havana, where the once privileged

power resources, few natural rivers, no coal in the earth, no oil, though prospecting goes on and some deposits have been found. And I cannot but marvel at the determination of this small island to win, to construct socialism. Everything that Cuba needs so desperately has to be imported, the machinery, the tractors, so vital for the mechanisation of agriculture, plant that is so necessary to be installed.

And yet the answer to this is found in the people, in their enthusiasm and work. The Che Guevara brigade is ploughing the length and breadth of the island with bulldozers recovering millions of acres of hitherto unproductive land. At weekends thousands voluntarily leave the cities to plant coffee with a gaiety that transforms work into a carnival.

And it is this theory of work that the comrades of Western Europe seem so incapable of understanding, when they denounce Cuba as a petit-bourgeois revolution, and at the same time reveal their paternalism towards the third world. It is in voluntary work that the profound links are made between people, that the student understands his real identity with the people, the very nature of his society, the very structure and interdependence of it. It is here that all the artificial distinctions are ironed out. It is here that the very notion of work is transformed from a dehumanising alienating process to the creative force of construction. It is a demonstrable breakdown of any hierarchical tendencies. It is the theory of egalitarianism in and through action.

gentian border, the first gathered who formed the EGP (Ejército Guerrillero del Pueblo—Peoples Guerrilla Army). The emblem of the guerrilla movement was a sun on a red and black background: "Red for the blood of the revolution and black as a symbol of mourning for the sufferings of the people," Masetti explained to me.

But the political situation did not develop as hoped for and Masetti came to realise that the Cuban model would not be repeated in Argentina.

At the end of September, Masetti led his small force crossed over the Bolivian frontier into Argentine territory. An open letter to President Illia, published in Buenos Aires by the press of the Peronist left wing, drew attention to the EGP. In any case Masetti's voice seemed strikingly loud.

Although the former journalist had early evaluated the situation, he did not give up. In reality, he felt caught in a trap but he did not want to break his promises to Guevara. He could have pointed to unfavourable changes in the situation, but he did not. He wanted to stay "second in command," a title which constantly reminded him that there was another commander-in-chief, for the moment absent, Che.

Life in the virgin jungle of Bolivia did not afterwards in the Argentine province of Salta turned out to be much easier than expected. Some Cuban veterans of the Sierra Maestra discovered this when they ate wild fruit similar in appearance to the Cuban langa. In the Argentine jungle this fruit is extremely poisonous and produces violent convulsions. Some of the guerrillas who tried it were made invalids for the rest of their lives.

The rigorous discipline which Masetti imposed was heightened in inverse proportion to the demoralisation of his men. When a 24-year-old draftee, Adolfo Rotblat, called Masetti, talked about deserting, he was not only condemned to death, and executed.

Nevertheless the volunteers remained: students, construction workers, mechanics, and bank employees arrived in Buenos Aires after passing through a thousand adventures. Even the nephew of an admiral who had commanded the capital police force and a merchant sailor barely eighteen years old joined the guerrilla movement.

The Cuban captain Hermes was engaged with the military training of a motley force. But in February 1964, the growing demoralisation among the members of the expedition shed off another crisis. Groszwald, named "Nardo," one of the volunteers from Buenos Aires, was fired for insubordination, lack of revolutionary morale, and carelessness in handling of weapons. Nardo, a former bank employee, was one of those who came to the guerrillas full of enthusiasm. He was so confident that he tore out his toenails to keep them from becoming embedded in his feet during the long marches through the wild jungle. In any case, he was sentenced to death.

His youth, scarcely nineteen years old, asked that he be shot in his guerrilla uniform, the black beret; the

by the paramilitary border police guarding the Argentinian-Bolivian frontier. Three guerrillas died of hunger after trying to live off wild plants.

The only real encounter took place in the middle of April 1964. On that day Captain Hermes and one of his comrades attacked an advanced police post and killed a soldier. The same day the guerrillas were spotted, surrounded, and killed.

Fourteen men from the EGP were already in the hands of the police. They were tortured in the most blood-thirsty way. Dragged by the hair, five of them were suffocated in the opened bellies of those already dead.

In the meantime, Masetti wandered deeper into the dense wild jungle of Yuto, an inferno of disease and ferocious animals, an oppressive and tortuous labyrinth of high thick vegetation where the sun cannot be seen the whole day long. Jorge Masetti did not return. The primitive jungle devoured him.

Ricardo Rojo speculates over the conclusions Guevara might have drawn from this experience, in regard to his theory of the 'revolutionary focus.' But Rojo notes that the tragedy was the most veiled in the whole history of Latin-American guerrilla struggles.

The Argentine press mentioned it only in passing. The great urban masses were not even aware of the existence of the EGP. The peasants to whom the guerrillas' appeal was directed did not learn of it.

But, on the other hand, the Argentine adventure of the Masetti column did show that an insurrectionary group could roam for months through the south of Bolivia and northern Argentina with impunity. Masetti had to send an open letter to the Argentinian government for the security services to admit the existence of the guerrilla movement. Doubtless this was one of the positive features of the tragedy of the Masetti group in Guevara's eyes.

Rojo then describes Che's political tour of Africa in 1965, which made him into the emissary of the third world revolution.

He returned to Havana on 14 March, 1965, being met by the entire general staff but without great circumstance. Later he talked in private with Fidel Castro for almost four hours running.

Did they have a dispute? Guevara never made the slightest allusion to a conflict. But a little later he wrote a letter to his mother in Buenos Aires in which he told her that he intended to give up his post as a revolutionary leader in Cuba.

He was going to work for a month in the sugar-cane fields and then spend five years in a factory to study from the inside the functioning of one of the many industries which he had commanded from the top. The letter held furthermore an important element for anyone interested in this most obscure and decisive period in Che's life. In fact, he told his mother not to come to Havana under any circumstances.

With the political discipline characteristic of him, he went into "seclusion" in Havana from 20 March to late July 1965. He did not communicate with anyone and was virtually incognito.

This diplomatic tone which you have adopted (by 04) corresponds to the hidden meaning. I read your last letter like reading the news in *La Prensa* or *La Nación*, picking out or trying to pick out the real meaning and implication of every sentence.

Today I am plunged in a sea of uncertainty and seized by a still greater anxiety. I am not going to use diplomatic language. I am going to be very frank. It seems madness to me for the few individuals capable of taking on the task of organisation in Cuba to spend an entire month cutting sugar cane when there are so many good cane cutters among the people. If they do it as voluntary work in the hours they normally devote to rest or amusement, that is another matter. It also makes sense to do it a whole day to demonstrate conclusively the advantages and the need for using machines to cut cane. For, the foreign exchange that Cuba needs will come from the harvest and the sugar tonnage obtained.

A month is a lot of time. There must be other reasons I don't know about. Let's take your personal situation. If you really intend after this month to devote yourself to running a factory—a task which Castellanos and Villegas are carrying out quite successfully—it seems to me that this madness borders on absurdity, above all if you want to take on this work for five years and with the intention of becoming a real specialist.

Since you know your mania about not missing a single day in the ministry, and when I saw your trip abroad stretch out so, I wondered: Will Ernesto still be the minister of industries when he returns to Cuba? Who was upheld, who won the argument on the questions which motivated this decision? I half-guessed the answers. If you are going to head an enterprise, it is because you are no longer the minister. I only need know who they are appointing in your place to know if the quarrel was solved with the wisdom of Solomon. In any case, your spending five years running a factory is too much of a loss of time for someone like you. And I do not say this as your mother. I say it as an old woman who hopes to see the whole world socialist. I think that if you stick to your decision you will not be serving the cause of world socialism.

If for one reason or another, your path is blocked in Cuba, Ben Bella in Algeria would be very happy to have you come to organise his country's economy and contribute your advice to this task, and the same for Nkrumah in Ghana. Yes, you will be a foreigner. This seems to be your destiny forever.

What a letter! A regular sermon. I wanted to tear it up, but the same thing kept coming out. I was delighted to get the pictures of your family. All your children are adorable, although not one reminds me of your features or your expression. I am glad you decided to stop production. I was very worried during Aleida's latest difficulty.

Yes, I am disconsolate that I can't go to Cuba today. I would be so happy to be near you, if only to say to you every morning, "Have a good day, old boy," and "So long, old boy." Such words said every day would have some value. I would like to meet Celia and little Ernesto and listen to Aleida's baby chatter. Another time it will be.

An embrace, a big embrace for you and yours.—Celia.

Shortly after this, the health of Guevara's mother took a turn for the worse.

On 16 May the doctors considered her death imminent. I called Havana, but I could not locate Guevara. On the eighteenth, I sent a telegram: "Comandante Guevara. Minister of Industries. Havana. Your mother is gravely ill and wants to see you. An embrace.—Ricardo Rojo."

There was no answer and on 19 May Celia de la Serna de Guevara died in Buenos Aires. At the burial, relatives and friends cast wondering glances at each other: "Where in the devil is Guevara?" Since he had not answered his mother's last call, it was apparent that he knew nothing of what had happened. It was clear that wherever he was there was not only no telephone but even no mail or newspapers.

I do not think, however, that Che was a prisoner. It was an act of political discipline, a long perfectly willing session of self-criticism, whose

the rebellion and to keep the revolution afloat.

On 3 October, of the same year, Fidel Castro publicly read the letters in which his comrade-in-arms renounced his Cuban nationality, his post of minister, and his grade of commander.

The reading of these letters revealed that Guevara very quickly gave up his idea of "returning to the source." Going to work in the sugar-cane fields and in the factories could not hide the ideological and tactical dispute which had broken out between himself and Castro. In disagreement with the latter over the direction to be given to the revolution, Che, like the old Bolsheviks, preferred finally to resign rather than oppose the socialist government. He came within an ace of becoming another Trotsky. Then, he followed the principle that when the fate of the revolutionary government is at stake, individual points of view take second place.

But after this he could not remain on the island, stripped of all his titles and functions and at the risk of causing grave harm to the revolution internationally. He had to leave. He had to choose a better moment.

His departure for Africa was carefully prepared by the G2, the Cuban political police. The G2 moved in such a way as to convince the foreigners that Che was in Santo Domingo during the military uprising and that he had been killed in a street battle in the sector controlled by Colonel Francisco Caamaño.

In the meantime, in the greatest secrecy, Guevara arrived in the Congo, where the armed groups of Mulele and Sumialot were fighting Moise Tshombe's white mercenaries. Tshombe, moreover, also had in his service a well-trained team of anti-Castro Cuban fliers.

Guevara met in Brazzaville with President Masemba-Debat. There were already some Castroite Cubans there who were training a military force to take on the neocolonialist mercenaries. In the following weeks, other Cubans joined their compatriots, but they never came up to the fantastic number of several thousand cited by journalists. In reality Cuba only sent about two hundred men to the Congo; the majority were paramilitary commando instructors.

After spending about nine months in the Congo and taking part in several battles against white mercenaries, Che returned to Cuba.

Rojo speculates that Che had to leave due to pressure from Peking, the Maoists wanting to get the Cubans out of the struggle in Africa. He indicates that others believe the pressure came from Moscow and was exerted on Castro. Still another version was that Che left because of local intrigues.

In the second week of September 1966 Guevara entered Bolivia. He had left Havana on a regular Iberia flight, stopped off in Madrid, and from there he went to Sao Paulo, Brazil. He continued his journey by train to Corumbá, crossing over into Bolivian territory.

Che's return to Cuba after his Congo-

experience of his "second in command."

In spite of important differences, Guevara's adventure is somewhat reminiscent of Lenin's in Poland. Both operations revealed not only an overly superficial political analysis but also grave failings in military preparation.

In any case, the organisation of the guerrilla movement was the joint work of Che and Castro. Lenin risked the Polish adventure so that capitalist Germany would have a common frontier with socialism. Guevara and Castro likewise sought a Latin American border for Cuba.

We know how this ambitious project ended. Che's guerrillas soon found themselves militarily and politically isolated. They were not able to attract the interest of the people, and the politicalised Bolivian cadres (CR and MNR) decided to abandon the guerrillas to their fate. Like Masetti two years before, Guevara and his men were alone in the jungle.

Nevertheless, they had some encounters with Barrientos' soldiers. On 10 April, 1967, the guerrilla column again confronted the army in Iripiti near Nanchahuazú. Eleven soldiers died in the clash, seven were wounded and eleven (including an officer) were taken prisoner.

After this battle Che decided to get his two friends, the Frenchman Régis Debray and the Argentinian Ciro Bustos, out of the sector. Debray, arriving from Havana, was in Nanchahuazú for essentially journalistic motives. He hoped to be able to spread the news of the existence of the Bolivian guerrillas in the European press and confirm that Che was their leader. Ciro Bustos, for his part, was invited to attend an important political meeting. He completely shared Che's ideas but disagreed with the way in which the expedition had been prepared. Since he respected and admired Guevara, the discussion was painful.

Guevara thought that he could get the Frenchman and Argentinian out of the threatened encirclement through the village of Muyupampa. We know now that this was imprudent. On 20 April, Debray, Bustos, and a third man, the English photographer George Andrew Roth, fell into the hands of the army and were on the point of being executed out of hand by the army.

Two weeks later, the guerrillas killed two men in Taperilla. Later they attacked a second time and killed three soldiers, one of them an officer.

At this point in the operations, Guevara and the Bolivian leader Roberto Peredo circulated the first declaration of the guerrillas to the Bolivian people, which said:

"We have lived like foreigners in our own country. Any Yankee imperialist has more rights than we on our national territory. Our lands do not belong to us. Our natural riches go to enrich foreigners. There are no schools, there are no hospitals for our children. We live like slaves, deprived of our rights and our conquests, oppressed and mocked by force.

The Army of National Liberation expresses its faith and confidence in the final victory against the Yankees, the invaders disguised as 'advisers'. We will not rest until the last trace of

The guerrillas had just occupied the local officials, and addressed the peasants in the plaza. This affair was much discussed in Camiri and the region but as something not directly concerning the population.

Nonetheless, the army and the government were made to look ridiculous. Spurred on by this atmosphere of daily mounting hostility, the army strove for revenge. From the month of August on it constantly held the initiative. Guevara's force suffered losses and on 26 September, after a long battle near La Higuera the guerrillas found themselves compelled to divide up into several small detachments. On 8 October, a peasant informed the soldiers that he had heard voices in the wild canyon of El Yuro. Around 1.30 pm, the rangers fell on a marching group and opened fire. The man in front was the Bolivian miner Simón Cuba, an exceptional marksman. Behind him was Che, who also answered the fire but was hit in the legs by several bullets.

Simón Cuba, in a heroic gesture, tried to carry the wounded man on his shoulders but another volley wounded Che again, carrying away his beret. Cuba put him on the ground and began firing.

In spite of his desperate situation, Guevara attempted a final resistance. Supporting himself against a tree with one hand, he used the other to fire his M2, but another bullet struck his right leg. Another knocked his gun out of his hands before burying itself in his upper arm. The rangers surrounded him and took him prisoner.

Ernesto Guevara was taken to La Higuera, twelve kilometers from the battle. Although he had several wounds, his life was not in danger. His fate depended on men: Captain Gary Prado Salgado, chief of the ranger company, Colonel Andrés Selnich, the commander of the Third Tactical Group and Prado's superior.

While Guevara was kept in a bare room in the village school, there were discussions for several hours. The atmosphere among the officers was tense. It is known that Major Nino Guzmán wanted to take Guevara to Vallegrande in his helicopter and fought over this with Selnich.

On 9 October, 1967, in the morning the discussions ended. It had been decided to execute Che immediately in the place where he was being held. He was seated on the floor, breathing with difficulty, and he did not see the men who entered immediately because of the darkness.

Captain Gary Prado Salgado approached from behind and fired a machine-gun volley in the prisoner's back. Four bullets passed through Che up and down his body. Colonel Andrés Selnich fired a single shot from his 9 mm. revolver. It passed through Che's heart and lung. Ernesto Che Guevara was dead.

When they brought the body out from the place where the crime was committed, the two murderers saw that Che had his eyes open and his expression was calm. On his lips could be read all his contempt for them and all the love which he felt for the rest of humanity.

homes of the bourgeoisie to the sons and daughters of peasants where the once exclusive club written about by Graham Greene in *Our Man in Havana*, where even Batista himself could not enter, now converted into an art school, where the beach clubs and yacht clubs where the rich idled with daiquiris while two-thirds of the country were hungry, now transformed into people's recreational centres. In Havana three miles out at sea I see the *USS Oxford* prowling backwards and forwards and I am reminded of the Yanqui blockade that still operates. And I see the signs in the streets, rationing, shortage, queues for essential items, food, clothes, the difficulties of obtaining simple things like bios, razor blades, the shortage of paper, paint, the sad emptiness of the shops. And I am reminded of the isolation of Cuba, the total reliance on Soviet petrol, for there are few natural

The so-called Marxist critics of Cuba are trying for history to match the abstractness of their theories. Fortunately history has passed them by. The Cuban revolution is a reality, the expression of the people. If it escapes European formulae, this may say more about European formulae. Maybe we observe in their denunciations a sclerosis, a rigidity of thinking that owes more to religion than an attention to the reality of situations. Theory based on abstractions is no more than ideology. Real theory derives from the analysis of the concrete.

European sectarians, who somehow have taken upon themselves the role of arbiters of revolutionary truth, avoid the remarkable exceptional quality of the Cuban revolution, the understanding that she is an undeveloped society feeling towards her problems dialectically. It avoids the visionary quality of that small struggling coun-



The writer must make his choice too

PETER WEISS, Havana, 1968

THE CUBANS

I DO NOT LIKE TO SPEAK ABOUT 'UNDERDEVELOPED' COUNTRIES. The expression 'Third World' is based on class-thinking, it denotes a third class of world, it does not express what this 'Third World' contains. It seems to be a world which is sort of hanging on to other worlds which in turn look upon themselves as more important.

But this 'Third World' makes us the most powerful world of our time. We have to choose a new expression for it; we would call it 'the revolutionary world' or the 'world of liberation struggle,' or call it by a name which shows the militant, the dynamic, the explosive character of this world. From it the great changes will issue, the changes we will have to live through during the following years. I do not want to call those countries which are now rising and which are struggling to build up their new societies, their new attitude towards life, underdeveloped countries; they are not underdeveloped in comparison to the so-called developed countries. They do not have, of course, the same level of industrialisation and technical equipment, but they have reached something which many of the so-called developed countries have not reached yet; they have dynamically changed or are on their way to changing their society in a more complete manner than that which changes have brought about in the Western societies. I mean of course, changes through revolution. I mean Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea, the liberated zones of Portuguese Guinea.

These nations have freed themselves from dominating classes, they have freed themselves from exploitation; they have established the dignity of man; and only this can be called development in our time. We should call the revolutionary countries, developed countries, and the Western countries which still adhere to a society which is based on class formation and exploitation, underdeveloped countries.

For example, Vietnam and the United States of America: in comparison to the USA, Vietnam is a developed country. The society of the United States contains atavistic, reactionary anti-humanitarian elements: racism is alive, powerful groups are ruling over the majority of the nation.

There are those who come from Western society to lend a helping hand to the so-called underdeveloped world. They often believe they find backwardness there. They forget what such backwardness is; they forget it is they who have won their power, their superiority, their technical developments through the exploitation of these countries.

Such being the case, the backwardness is not the fault of these countries. It is the fault of the Western ruling classes, who, colonialist oppression, and by exploiting the people of the 'Third World' to the marrow of their bones, built up their enormous power. This is very often an unconscious attitude on their part, though it is an attitude that carries weight in their relationship with the peoples of these countries. Often the visitor says he does not understand what is happening in these countries; he says the peoples of these countries speak a different language. With false superiority he looks down upon them from his high technical standards, looks down upon a country which is in the first phase of developing higher standards of dignity. How can a European intellectual find new means through which to manifest his solidarity with the revolutionary world?

Writing, in itself, can be a very potent activity. It is not only you who write; there are many elsewhere working for the same aims. All of them together make up one extensive front. This front is part of the active revolutionary struggle. Much in the same way as the guerrilla fighter uses his gun decisively, the writer ought clearly to define his standpoint. He must not hide anything. It is not enough to send to those who are fighting in the hills some warm words of

friendship; you have to show them your militant and political support.

Often the question is raised of what you can attain with a work of art, with a book, a poem, a painting, a play; and you ask yourself the question, if it could ever have the effect of the machine guns in the hills. Often I see the superiority of the guerrilla fighter over an intellectual who is content with voicing his solidarity.

But as the war is fought on many fronts, every front on which you fight the enemy can be a strategic point. There might arise situations which compel you to change your attitude and become directly militant. In many countries this is the only solution. In Western European countries there is still great value attached to writing. As far as I am concerned, writing has been a process in which I became conscious of myself and of the world I am living in. By writing I educated myself, by writing I developed my political thinking. By developing myself, I, as a writer, secure the possibility of influencing others.

In most of Europe, I see a great obstacle for revolution in the passive attitude of the workers. We do not reach the powerful masses of the workers, we are only in touch with groups of militant intellectuals, and that is not enough. This we felt very strongly: the lack of a revolutionary attitude on the part of the workers in the capitalist society, the lack of their direct protest, their direct participation in the struggle of the revolutionary world. Too often we see that the workers in the capitalist society only fight for their own immediate economic development.

Yes, they are fighting too; they are fighting to change their situation; they are not fighting to change their society, nor do they speak about the change of the entire world, in which all societies would have to change. They are still limited in their consciousness of the necessity of global revolution. (The recent events in France should not let us become over-optimistic!) As long as the intellectuals make up small elites without direct collaboration with the working masses the result of their work will be limited. EVERY

REVOLUTIONARY KNOWS THAT A REVOLUTION IS NOT WON BY AN ELITE; a revolution is won by the masses of workers and peasants in the country. To whom do I address myself in my plays? Is my audience made up of the bourgeoisie rather than the proletarians?

Of course, this differs from one case to another, as my plays have been played in both capitalist and socialist countries. In capitalist society, the theatre is mostly a form of the bourgeois world, the working class does not regard the theatre as its own form of art. They feel alienated in front of the stage. This turns out to be entirely different in socialist countries, where a quite new audience is attending the theatre, and where the theatre is owned by the populace. Hear the theatre is duly appreciated, the theatre belongs to the populace; it is not an institution which has been built up by a privileged class for the pleasure of the privileged class.

As a dramatist, I have the possibility of reaching both the population of a classless society, and of a bourgeois society, reaching it by being aggressive with it, by being provocative. Of course my goal is to address myself to a conscious audience, an audience which is made up of people who share my political standpoint and who wish to undertake a political analysis of their times, the times they are living in.

I do not know how it is for other writers. There are good plays which should be comprehensible for all societies, for everybody. But I am sure that I would write in a different way if I lived in a socialist society, where my writing would be part of a common constructive work, where I should deal with the problems and conflicts underlying a new attitude towards life.

The plays I have written until now are the result of my milieu, the result of the world in which I have grown up. The situation of a present-day socialist writer differs from that of the time in which Brecht lived. The fight going on then between fascism and communism was more simple than the fight going on today, in which the socialist world is a very complex world and contains many different aspects. There is the question of the

necessity of world revolution, there is the difference between the technically highly developed socialist society and the former colonised new world of the struggle for liberation. You have to analyse your own point of view, and indicate where you stand: whether you believe in the necessity of global revolution and whether you want to appeal to international solidarity.

To start with, you have to secure a great deal of knowledge and insight, and never lose sight of the historical aspects of the situation, and also never lose yourself in emotional reflections. Historically seen, socialism is going through a natural development. It is demonstrating that it is a force very much alive. It would not be alive if it had become stagnant within one closed block. The fact that it is open and developing many different aspects—even aspects which are in strong conflict with one another—make it dynamic—dynamic in a Marxist sense.

Cuba, Vietnam, and North Korea have already established a norm on present-day revolutionary socialism, which expounds a new viewpoint in the socialist world. In Cuba and Vietnam Marxism means Humanism. In these countries, Marxism is always subject to development, always subject to internal discussion, never afraid of criticising itself, and never afraid even of criticising the other socialist countries. I think this shows an enormous strength as these countries are fighting against the threat of imperialism. Many intellectuals in Europe today are very much concerned with Cuba's and Vietnam's fight. And when the revolution develops in other Latin-American countries, I think this will influence even those socialist countries which as of now are not yet in agreement with the absolute necessity of the armed struggle.

I think of the enormous difficulties, human difficulties, of the fact that it is very difficult to change oneself, to really change one's attitude, to change one's own past, to free oneself from the influence of the old society one has been brought up in, to free oneself

from the corruption of which almost every artist in the Western world partakes.

With a greater or lesser degree of consciousness, one is dependent upon the institutions of these countries. Even if you take liberties in expressing what you think, you still belong to the old Western society, and you have to work hard to break away from it. The revolutionary world is very, very different from the secure world I have grown up in, in spite of having lived through the period of German fascism, of emigration and war. All this is very different from the fight which is going on today.

I have to bring myself to fear my old European security, the security of having an audience, theatres, editors; I have to endanger my situation. The confrontation of the European artists, writers, intellectuals with a revolutionary country like Cuba is of great importance. Arriving in Cuba or Vietnam, we become directly involved in the war which is going on; we derive a strong physical experience from it. Being in Cuba teaches me every day, every hour almost, the danger facing the country. Being on an island which is surrounded, blockaded by the enemy, I get to know what it means to live and work confronted with the enemy, to construct, to build and not give way to the ominous threat of destruction. This is an experience of strength and courage which I have never had in Europe. In the midst of the political struggles going on in Europe, you are more safe, you can withdraw you can hide yourself; but here you are absolutely in the open, you can be attacked any minute; everything that is built is constantly threatened with destruction by the enemy, because the enemy has no other aim other than to destroy; he must destroy the revolution in order to keep alive his atavistic, brutal and reactionary values. This you feel strongly, and this makes your own point of view much clearer; it forces you to be even more consistent in your own back yard, because you realise that finally victory will be yours. You may not live to see it, but your children will!

[The trial of Anibal Escalante earlier this year was an event of great importance! Escalante was an old-time Stalinist hack whose expulsion from the Cuban Party should be seen essentially as a slap in the face for the 'socialist' countries who are in favour of preserving the status quo. However, there were undoubtedly various aspects of the 'trial' which have rightly raised doubts in socialist circles outside Cuba. This is why we are printing an article by Livio Maitan, an Italian Marxist and an authority on Latin America.]

The Trial of Escalante

impulse to the economy and the party leading bodies are not functioning smoothly.

Ernesto Che Guevara was a special target of the supporters of the 'micro-fracción' and it was particularly against him that they utilised the

There is no doubt that in a workers' state where a whole series of conditions existed which do not exist in Cuba, which was faced with loyal oppositional elements willing to accept certain rules of the game, and who, above all, were integrated in a system

at all to an abstract analogy—everyone knows what pressures are constantly exerted on the Cuban leaders; and, according to Raúl Castro's report, Escalante and his friends went so far as to wish that the USSR would undertake economic measures which

parties cannot be considered a crime; at most, under certain conditions, it could represent a violation of discipline. This would seem to hold all the more since it can hardly be thought that the articles or reports of a Corvalán or Codovilla are of a kind to

and aspiration, man working collectively, not instituted by acts of parliament but by acts of will. And the basic of this vision is the reality of struggle, of the fight. For the Cuban revolution has learned its experiences from the Sierra Maestra, when twelve isolated men began a fight which in two years overthrew one of the most oppressive, brutal tyrannical regimes in Latin America. The impossible being achieved characterises the ideology of the Cuban revolution. A struggle as a dialectical process, a revolution that responds constantly to the pressure and fluctuation of change, of the new replacing the old, because it is a vision of future man arrived at through a series of perpetual dialectical conflicts. It is the expression of the will of the people. This process of revolutionary growth and evolution is fundamental. And

with its structure, poses a mythical dream of the eventuality of communism of the dissolution of the state, but the state is still as formidable and sclerosed as ever. It exists to perpetuate itself. What is revolutionary in Cuban theory is that socialism and communism are twin realities that go hand in hand, that co-exist, that communism is created now, not waited for like the coming of the messiah out of heaven. Adventurists? Petit bourgeois? Romantics? Visionaries? Dreamers? I can only conclude with Lenin. 'Of this kind of dreaming there is unfortunately too little in our movement. And the people most responsible for this are those who boast of their sober views, their closeness to the concrete.'



and very close to the concepts maintained by the sector of the Communist movement under Soviet influence. What is striking, moreover, to those who recall other documents bearing similar accusations is that the report in question makes it possible to understand very clearly that the oppositionists had a rounded conception with its own internal logic and that they even set themselves quite concrete objectives and that the report avoids resorting to grotesque distortions and still less to describing the persons aimed at as monsters inspired by the most abominable designs. Here, very briefly, are the main points of the Escalante group's platform:

Everyone is well aware that relations between Cuba and the USSR, the same as relations between Cuba and the Communist parties of Latin America, have undergone manifold changes since the victory of Fidel Castro's movement. Conjunctural factors have swayed things this way or that, but the direction has been determined at bottom by the permanent contradiction consisting of the fact that while on the one hand Cuba, as the most advanced expression of the revolutionary tendencies of the sixties, necessarily come into conflict with the conservative bureaucratic system headed by the USSR, on the other hand, Cuba cannot do without the Soviet Union's economic and military aid and the USSR cannot contemplate a possible crushing of the revolutionary Cuban government without very unfavourable repercussions for itself both from the strategic and political standpoint.

The Tricontinental conference at the beginning of 1966 marked the greatest effort by both sides to reach an agreement, no matter how short-lived. But the rapid realisation by the Cuban leaders of the impossibility of bringing the Latin-American Communist parties to accept a strategy of revolutionary struggle, which to them represented a vital necessity, led to new confrontations and to new conflicts, the decisions of the OLAS (Organisation of Latin-American Solidarity) conference being the logical culmination of this.

Beginning with last October, the struggle entered a new stage—the death of Che Guevara and the serious setback suffered by the guerrillas in Bolivia were immediately cynically exploited by the bureaucrats of the Communist parties. Backed by Moscow, they launched a counter-attack up and down the line. While the main target of this offensive was obviously the strategy for Latin America and the conception of guerrilla war, domestic Cuban policies also came under fire, since the basic Castroist concepts have continued to diverge from the concepts in force in the USSR and the European people's bureaucracies (as well as from the Chinese concepts, moreover). The latter critique was partially facilitated by the difficulties which the Cuban economy has unquestionably experienced and is doubtless going to experience, as long as the present situation exists of blockade and isolation from the Latin-American continent.

The report presented to the Central Committee by Raúl Castro provides abundant information and documents, which, taken together, make up a coherent picture. One may question various details, or even hold that certain criticisms made by Escalante were not entirely unjustified; but it is indisputably evident from the document that Escalante and his friends were partisans of orientations completely opposed to those of the present leaders

of workers parties and states founded on genuinely democratic and internationalist relationships, crimes like those charged against Escalante would be inconceivable and no one would find it acceptable that the condemnation of a political orientation meant judicial proceedings. But what has occurred must be judged in a concrete context, one characterised by a war to the knife within the international Communist movement itself, where methods are currently being used that have nothing to do with democratic and revolutionary methods. It is sufficient to recall here, by way of example, the present employment of economic blackmail and extortion, which in the case of the conflict between China and the USSR brought with it extremely grave consequences for the Chinese people. The reference is not

(1) The present ruling group is following a line that is departing more and more from that of the USSR, which, as the country that has the greatest responsibilities, must normally play the leading role in the camp of the socialist countries. Criticisms levelled against the USSR must be rejected, for example, in connection with aid to Vietnam and its attitude on the occasion of the crisis in the Middle East, but also in connection with its orientation in Latin America. (Escalante criticised Fidel's speech of 26 July, 1966, on Soviet aid to Chile, Brazil, etc, and held that Soviet intervention in Latin America in this field in reality dealt blows to imperialism.)

(2) The strategy of armed struggle advanced by OLAS is adventurist and does not correspond to the existing objective and subjective situations. The Cuban CP, in fact, is following a 'Trotskyist line of exporting the Revolution.'

(3) Among the leaders, and particularly among some of them, a tendency clearly stands out of collaborating with French capitalism, whose policies are embellished. In connection with the alleged relations with French imperialism, the 'micro-fraccionistas' did not hesitate to slander Régis Debray in a foul way, attributing his expulsion from the French Communist party to links with the secret police of his country.

(4) With regard to domestic policy, the economy is suffering from inadequate planning. In agriculture, particularly in sugar production, objectives were set that cannot possibly be attained. Erroneous concepts are advanced particularly in putting the emphasis on moral stimulants that demand a level of consciousness among the masses much higher than the actually existing one. The unions are however, of which the Cuban leaders not fulfilling their function of giving

by having very grievous repercussions for the country, could lead to correct his attitude! Let me add, finally, that despite the caution and reticence of the report to the Central Committee, it is clear that Escalante and his group transmitted confidential texts and documents, the knowledge of which could be injurious to the interests of the revolutionary government, and it is not excluded that through their relations with the leaders of the Latin-American Communist parties they undertook actions prejudicial to the struggle of the revolutionists on the continent. It must not be forgotten that in this field, too, a ferocious battle continues to develop.

(4) In my opinion the circulation of the documents of other Communist

of workers parties and states founded on genuinely democratic and internationalist relationships, crimes like those charged against Escalante would be inconceivable and no one would find it acceptable that the condemnation of a political orientation meant judicial proceedings. But what has occurred must be judged in a concrete context, one characterised by a war to the knife within the international Communist movement itself, where methods are currently being used that have nothing to do with democratic and revolutionary methods. It is sufficient to recall here, by way of example, the present employment of economic blackmail and extortion, which in the case of the conflict between China and the USSR brought with it extremely grave consequences for the Chinese people. The reference is not

of workers parties and states founded on genuinely democratic and internationalist relationships, crimes like those charged against Escalante would be inconceivable and no one would find it acceptable that the condemnation of a political orientation meant judicial proceedings. But what has occurred must be judged in a concrete context, one characterised by a war to the knife within the international Communist movement itself, where methods are currently being used that have nothing to do with democratic and revolutionary methods. It is sufficient to recall here, by way of example, the present employment of economic blackmail and extortion, which in the case of the conflict between China and the USSR brought with it extremely grave consequences for the Chinese people. The reference is not

of workers parties and states founded on genuinely democratic and internationalist relationships, crimes like those charged against Escalante would be inconceivable and no one would find it acceptable that the condemnation of a political orientation meant judicial proceedings. But what has occurred must be judged in a concrete context, one characterised by a war to the knife within the international Communist movement itself, where methods are currently being used that have nothing to do with democratic and revolutionary methods. It is sufficient to recall here, by way of example, the present employment of economic blackmail and extortion, which in the case of the conflict between China and the USSR brought with it extremely grave consequences for the Chinese people. The reference is not

of workers parties and states founded on genuinely democratic and internationalist relationships, crimes like those charged against Escalante would be inconceivable and no one would find it acceptable that the condemnation of a political orientation meant judicial proceedings. But what has occurred must be judged in a concrete context, one characterised by a war to the knife within the international Communist movement itself, where methods are currently being used that have nothing to do with democratic and revolutionary methods. It is sufficient to recall here, by way of example, the present employment of economic blackmail and extortion, which in the case of the conflict between China and the USSR brought with it extremely grave consequences for the Chinese people. The reference is not

of workers parties and states founded on genuinely democratic and internationalist relationships, crimes like those charged against Escalante would be inconceivable and no one would find it acceptable that the condemnation of a political orientation meant judicial proceedings. But what has occurred must be judged in a concrete context, one characterised by a war to the knife within the international Communist movement itself, where methods are currently being used that have nothing to do with democratic and revolutionary methods. It is sufficient to recall here, by way of example, the present employment of economic blackmail and extortion, which in the case of the conflict between China and the USSR brought with it extremely grave consequences for the Chinese people. The reference is not

of workers parties and states founded on genuinely democratic and internationalist relationships, crimes like those charged against Escalante would be inconceivable and no one would find it acceptable that the condemnation of a political orientation meant judicial proceedings. But what has occurred must be judged in a concrete context, one characterised by a war to the knife within the international Communist movement itself, where methods are currently being used that have nothing to do with democratic and revolutionary methods. It is sufficient to recall here, by way of example, the present employment of economic blackmail and extortion, which in the case of the conflict between China and the USSR brought with it extremely grave consequences for the Chinese people. The reference is not

of workers parties and states founded on genuinely democratic and internationalist relationships, crimes like those charged against Escalante would be inconceivable and no one would find it acceptable that the condemnation of a political orientation meant judicial proceedings. But what has occurred must be judged in a concrete context, one characterised by a war to the knife within the international Communist movement itself, where methods are currently being used that have nothing to do with democratic and revolutionary methods. It is sufficient to recall here, by way of example, the present employment of economic blackmail and extortion, which in the case of the conflict between China and the USSR brought with it extremely grave consequences for the Chinese people. The reference is not

of workers parties and states founded on genuinely democratic and internationalist relationships, crimes like those charged against Escalante would be inconceivable and no one would find it acceptable that the condemnation of a political orientation meant judicial proceedings. But what has occurred must be judged in a concrete context, one characterised by a war to the knife within the international Communist movement itself, where methods are currently being used that have nothing to do with democratic and revolutionary methods. It is sufficient to recall here, by way of example, the present employment of economic blackmail and extortion, which in the case of the conflict between China and the USSR brought with it extremely grave consequences for the Chinese people. The reference is not



Que es la historia de Cuba sino la historia de América Latina

CUBASÍ

ARAB REVOLUTION AND CLASS STRUGGLE

A well-known Arab intellectual, Lotfallah Soliman began his political life in the International League Against Anti-Semitism in 1937. In 1946, he founded the Workers' and Students' Committee which participated in the struggle against the régime of King Farouk. Following the victory of the Algerian revolution over French imperialism in 1962, he worked on the paper 'El Moudjahid.' At present he lives in Paris where he writes for the magazine 'Trois Continents.'

Although you are Egyptian, you insist on speaking as an Arab militant. Why is that?

Never has the feeling of being Arab shown itself as strongly as since 5 June (1967). As a result of the June crisis, people from geographically distant places, who used to see questions in terms of their country's separate parochial development, found themselves to be Arabs.

For example, before June, Moroccan friends of mine spoke of Mehdi Ben Barka as a tricontinental hero, as a Third World martyr, a Moroccan martyr, but not as an Arab. Today this is no longer true. In Algeria, there used to be a lot of talk about 'Algeria's special character'. Today Algeria defines itself as Arab.

The consciousness, or rather this acquisition of consciousness, is becoming a reality today. I can cite examples of meetings in Paris, Aix-en-Provence, and elsewhere in France in which I have taken part. The participants in these meetings no longer felt themselves to be Egyptians, Yemenites, or Tunisians, etc., but Arabs, and they approached questions as Arabs. People used to talk about 'solidarity' with Palestine. Today that is a thing of the past! They can feel solidarity with the revolutionaries in Bolivia but the problem they feel in connection with Palestine is one of engaging in a fight. How can we be of use to El Fatah? That is how they pose the question.

Why do you believe that this Arabism must be accepted?

I accept Arabism because I accept the objectives of the Arab revolution. There are classes in the Arab

if not all of the Arab countries and their view of the Palestine problem. And this was true up to 5 June.

Before 5 June, El Fatah lost more men to the Arab security forces than to the Israeli security forces. And even as recently as March this year, King Hussein of Jordan tried to act against El Fatah. He was not able to do so because, in the eyes of the Arab masses, El Fatah represents the will not to capitulate. King Hussein's own apparatus did not respond to his orders.

After two months and a new aggression, the whole world could see that dual power existed in Jordan. On Friday March 22, it was the militants of El Fatah, armed and in uniform, who guarded the approaches to the Karameh camp and maintained security within it. That same Friday, it was also the commandos of El Fatah who carried the coffins of the Karameh victims to Amman. The dignitaries of the Hashemite régime, were obliged to follow the cortege; and changing his mind after an interval of only a few weeks, King Hussein found himself compelled to declare himself 'the first of the Fedayeen.' Has this also had repercussions in other Arab countries besides Jordan?

The development of the Arab resistance removed any inclinations toward the compromise which might otherwise have appeared in the other neighbouring countries and which did reveal itself fol-

American wing represented by Zakaria Mohieddine would have not been eliminated.

Lotfallah Soliman, you are the author of an essay entitled 'Transfer of Guilt' which deals with shifting on to the Arabs the responsibility for the Hitlerite genocide against the Jews.

This transfer of guilt is subjectively and ven unconsciously at the root of the sympathy which Israel has enjoyed in Europe, including in progressive circles.

Do you think that Israel's present reprisals and its attacks on the refugees can open their eyes today, open their conscience?

Israel cannot attack the resistance of the commandos without attacking the population and without incurring the guilt of genocide. But this fact is not new. Israel and the Zionist movement in general were always racist by nature. The

'We want a State that will remain overwhelmingly Jewish in character, composition, society, culture and spirit.'

ABBA EBAN, 28 January, 1968.

Zionist movement knew nothing of the Arabs' existence and when it discovered it, it realised that it could not live except by getting rid of them, that it is a question of them or us.

During what they call the 'war of independence', the Zionists and the embryonic state of Israel consciously pursued a policy which could be termed genocide. But instead of committing cold-blooded murder like Hitler, they forced an exodus.

From the outset, Israel pursued a policy of liquidation; but instead of making the Palestinian Arabs into soap it made them into refugees. There is not a great deal of difference. Sociologically speaking it is the same phenomenon. They kept 250,000 Arabs—whose activities were kept under close surveillance to assure their harmlessness—just as the Americans kept some

marily because they wanted this to be so. Such irresponsible statements have been made in every war. During the war against fascist Germany, Ilya Ehrenburg said 'The only good Germans are dead Germans.' Yet this was by no means a reason to give up supporting the Soviet Union against the Nazis.

We are agreed that Palestine will belong to all those who want to live there and are willing to share the fate of the country as Palestinians. But there few who accept this idea in Israel. The example of 'pieds noirs' in Algeria shows that those who do will not be numerous.

In your essay published in 'Les Temps Modernes' you wrote before the June war that victory by the Arab revolutionaries was becoming possible. You explained that the June war and the Pale-

stinian resistance can serve to speed this victory. But how do you conceive of the victory of the Arab revolution?

I must first define the objectives of the Arab revolution. I have an international view of revolution, a conception which flows from an analysis of the present stage of capitalist world market and the laws which govern it are a reality. These laws can only be combated and replaced on a world scale. Until these laws can be changed internationally, the immediate objective of the revolutionaries and revolutions is to strengthen those international forces which seek to replace these laws.

On the basis of this analysis, then I define the short- and intermediate term objectives of revolutionaries in the Arab countries not as building socialism—an objective I



CZECHS MATED

DAVID MERCER

CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS EMBARKED upon a scrupulous and public re-examination of its recent history, economy, political structure, the relations between the Communist Party and the State, industry, social institutions—every aspect of life in the country during the period 1948-1967. Everything is in question, and the papers, radio and television are playing a vital role in openly communicating what amounts to a running debate about the past and the future to the Czech people.

It is acknowledged that the economy has run down, the administration has relapsed into a petrifying bureaucracy, and the people—grown cynical and resigned—have come to turn their backs on a political system which they felt powerless to change. Despite a huge and positive achievement of socialisation, it is conceded there has been tragic oppression, waste, apathy, irrationality in handling the means of production and distribution. Power has been divorced from accountability and responsibility.

For those in power, responsibility was

deviously and mystifyingly evaded: for the objects of power—the people—to accept responsibility was often to become dangerously vulnerable to those exercising power, and best avoided. Above all the gulf between the 'reality' alleged by the Party and the actual reality experienced by the Czech people became as obvious as it was acute.

In April the Czech Communist Party published an Action Programme—a formidable document in which these questions are exhaustively analysed and remedies postulated. Separation of Party from State and social organisations; a new role for Party members as working for the aims and objectives of the Party by persuasion and example; rationalisation of industry—

rather preoccupied with what is happening here.' Understandably, it seems amazing to many of them that what they see as material affluence could have such a bloody and bloody-minded outcome. Cuba? 'That is not socialism.' China? 'They couldn't get away with that except in their own conditions of total and universal poverty...' Czechoslovakia? We have to proceed on a basis of material incentives. Egalitarianism is a futile myth. Don't come from Western Europe saying you are a Marxist, and criticise us for wanting things...

Indeed, the Action Programme itself says at one point: 'We are for the skilled, the talented, the hard-working.' At this point the Czech view begins to sound more like the technopoliicians of the West than anything else. Tough luck on the unskilled, the untalented and the 'lazy.' On the basis of public ownership—consumer Communism. The sense of demoralisation and failure seems to rest, not on some careful historical analysis of the perversion of revolutionary ideals and objectives, but rather on a weary recog-

inition that Socialism has not delivered the goods like Capitalism. Their system has not worked.' It must be made to 'work'—but the criteria of success appear to be not those of revolutionising human relationships, they are the values of technological efficiency operating under the *fait accompli* of public ownership in a climate of scepticism towards the humane fundamentals of revolution. This is curiously facilitated by the absence (due to ideological rigidity and dogma) of those very traditions of criticism which in the West have contributed to the undermining of public myths and mystifications, post-Freudian psychology, sociology, Marcusean pessimism and so on.

The revulsion of a minority of European youth for their world of gadgets, toys, the playground of the technocratic idiots and their time-serving to the profiteering patrons, the substitution of roles for lives and induced greeds for needs—this seems to be incomprehensible to the Czechs at this moment. There is no New Man, no new experience, no new vision—'We must breathe.'

France has just experi-

the objectives of the Arab revolution. There are classes in the Arab countries which live off the existing fragmentation, which want to maintain the status quo, and which profit from it. But taken separately our countries cannot be independent.

You mention El Fatah. Could you tell me what this organisation is? El Fatah is the reversed initials of 'Palestinian Liberation Movement' (HTF in Arabic).

El Fatah and its paramilitary organisation El Assifah were created well before the 5 June war with the aim of liberating occupied Palestine. As an organisation, El Fatah arose around 1963-64. El Assifah began its activities toward the end of 1964 or the beginning of 1965. Initially, its objective was to prevent the Palestinian problem from being forgotten or from being used simply as a political pawn by various Arab countries.

The instructions which were given to the commandos told them never to attack the Jewish population. At the beginning, El Fatah worked by infiltration, since the Arab population had largely been driven from the Israeli-occupied territory. Israel based itself on the principle that the Palestinian problem had been completely eliminated. Palestine was wiped off the map! It was replaced by Israel and Jordan,



Following the June war. More precisely, there was in my opinion a cause-and-effect relationship between the development of the re-

sistance movement and the radicalisation in the UAR and Syria. In the case of Syria, it is a clear Indians on reservations.

Today, the policy is the same but the situation is different because Israel had 'inherited' Arab-occupied territories. In these circumstances, the resistance cannot but be a popular phenomenon. The only way to eradicate it is to attack the people. Thus, this genocide will continue.

This year on 10 April 1968, we commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the massacre of Dmir Yassin, a Palestinian village where women, old people, and children were massacred along with able-bodied men. This Palestinian Oradour had the same objective as its historic predecessor in the rise of the term 'genocide', forcing the people to flee by a few such small operations.

Where will the struggle to liberate Palestine end? You know that in Europe this struggle has often been understood as a holy war to 'drive the Jews into the sea.' Certain statements by Palestinian leaders like Shukeiry have been quoted in this regard.

Many of us fought against Shu-

keiry. You know that today he no longer heads the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. It is true that these threats had a very great psychological role. But this is pricider impossible except on a world-wide basis—but as strengthening those forces which in power or position seek to combat these laws. Thus, in short—and mid-term, the objectives I attribute to the Arab revolution and to Arab revolutionaries are those of anti-imperialist struggle.

You must not simply declare yourself anti-imperialist. You must combat the economic and political interests of imperialism in the region in practice. It is impossible to call yourself anti-imperialist and at the same time defend or plead neutrality toward the oil interests or the Arab groups or social classes which profit from these imperialistic interests.

If the Arab feudalists and bourgeois layers could successfully lead the struggle against imperialism, I would be ready to consider them sincere and honest anti-imperialist forces. But they are incapable of this because their interests are bound up with those of the imperialists. Arab revolutionaries can-

combat imperialism effectively only by successfully struggling against the Arab allies of these interests.

Therefore, after defining the objectives of the Arab revolution, we can come back to the question of its nature, and say what its characteristics will be: that it will be Arab, because it will be a popular revolution; it will be unifying, because it will be opposed to the classes which live off the present fragmentation; and it will be socialist, because in opposing imperialism and the interests linked to it, it will challenge the laws governing the capitalist system and world market.

When I say that possibilities exist for the victory of the revolutionary forces in Egypt and Syria and in certain other Arab regions, this is precisely because in the historical development of the class struggle in these countries over the last twenty years the process of eliminating the Arab allies of the imperialist interests has been begun with a certain success. This success is still not complete, however, and that is why I have not spoken of victory but only of possible victory.

ample, rationalisation of industry—to be removed from the sphere of abstract directives and submitted to the actual necessities of interplaying economic forces; independence of the Judiciary; confinement of security operations to real questions of state security, and their debarring from issues of opinion and personal liberty in speech, writing and general cultural activities; Parliament to have a real and concrete function, being the ultimate responsible body and not a rubber-stamp fiction.

These and many other problems are submitted to a searching, honest and sophisticated reappraisal. There are relatively few lapses into disingenuousness, and if the terrors and failures of the past tend to be skimmed over, the document has none the less that strong flavour of being 'forward looking' and practical which is familiar in genuine reformist thinking.

From it one may conclude that Czechoslovakia is in for a huge increase in personal liberty, freedom of expression, and economic flexibility. The 'period of darkness' as the Czechs call it, has been flooded with light and exposed to judgment. A combination of economic disaster, intellectual dissent, student protest and Slovakian nationalism, has brought new men forward who seem to intend to stay. The 'conservatives' (ossified Old Guard, Stalinists, careerists, bureaucrats) by one of those paradoxes of Socialist countries, look to the workers for support. The workers, they contend, will soon come to realise they haven't had it so bad—and when the reorganisation and general upheaval begins, they had better look out. Also, they foment hostility towards 'Prague intellectuals' whom they accuse of preparing to sell out the achievements of the revolution, thus invoking suspicions and antagonisms with deep historical roots.

So far the conservatives are losing ground. The despised intellectuals have gone out to the factories to explain themselves; the ugly record of the past twenty years is aired for all to witness; week by week on television the tragic victims of police repression and the arbitrary violence of the Party, confront their former guards and prosecutors. This last is possibly the most moving and sombre indictment to which any communist party has exposed itself, and the proceedings display a dignity and humility rare enough on the part of officialdom in any society.

The difficulty is to relate events in Czechoslovakia to the evolution of revolutionary thought in Western Europe. At a reception in Karlovy Vary I heard a tired-looking woman official say to someone: 'But—I've been in France recently. They have everything they want. I don't understand what those students are on about.' Often, when asked about the May Barricades in Paris, Czechs will shrug wryly—and perhaps say: 'We are

France has just experi-

enced a crisis which has shaken the old bourgeois society from top to bottom. In the space of a few days the struggle of the students, then of the working class, has smashed to smithereens the 'stability' of a society that was said to be 'bourgeoisified' for ever.

In the space of a few days, the workers who were said to be satisfied by the consumer society, occupied their factories, locked up their bosses, and demonstrated for the overthrow of Gaullism. De Gaulle's 'strong' regime was paralysed and for three weeks unable to react.

It owed its survival only to the reformist political and trade union organisations which accepted elections as the solution to the crisis, while the real power was to be found in the factories and in the streets.

Work has been resumed, but the worker and student vanguard is refusing to capitulate and has decided to continue the fight.

After May 1968 things will never be the same, not only in France, but in all the countries of western Europe.

It has been proved that bourgeois society can and must be overthrown, not only in the 'underdeveloped' countries, but in the advanced capitalist countries.

To do that we must reinforce the vanguard, and notably the JEUNESSE COMMUNISTE REVOLUTIONNAIRE, which today kindles the revolutionary struggle while the traditional parties of the working class have failed.

We must immediately provide it with financial solidarity to permit it to cope with the repression which is being prepared, and to extend its activities.

Meet this appeal! Set up a fund! Send us the maximum aid possible!

Solidarity with the fighting students and workers of France!

9 June, 1968.

The National Committee of the JEUNESSE COMMUNISTE REVOLUTIONNAIRE
Send donations to:
RENATE PRINCE,
c/o BLACK DWARF, 7, Carlisle St, W1.

Heroin Heroes

SOME FUSS has been kicked up in a few (a very few) newspapers over a report that Vice-President Nguyen Cao Ky of South Vietnam, the erstwhile premier, once smuggled some opium from Laos to Saigon while working for the CIA.

The report, written by an American who was on the scene, was loaned to the Associated Press by a Senate subcommittee on foreign aid expenditures with the word that it is considered 'highly reliable.' It deals with the flying of saboteurs into North Vietnam in 1963 and 1964, an operation in which the CIA used some Vietnamese air crews.

Ky at the time was commander of the air force, and, the report says, 'Colonel Ky took advantage of his situation to fly opium from Laos to Saigon. Of course the CIA removed Colonel Ky. . . .

Sure they did. It's not easy to defend the swashbuckling admirer of Hitler and virtual dictator of South Vietnam, and of course two wrongs don't make a right—but if Ky didn't smuggle opium when he was flying for the CIA, there are a great many other pilots who do not share his scruples.

Opium is, and has been for years, the largest export item from Laos, where it is the principal cash crop of the Meo who migrated to northern Laos from China a century or so ago.

Back in the days when there was such

a thing as the Indochina Government General, about 15 per cent of its income came from the French near-monopoly in opium. Today the Meo operate a little differently, with fewer middlemen in Bangkok and Vientiane; instead, they use the CIA.

The South-east Asia drug traffickers are a heterogeneous lot. There's a band of old colonial Europeans who have somehow survived, they are headed by a Corsican pirate. There are Chinese merchants in Bangkok and in the north of Thailand. There is that notorious gang of old Kuomintang soldiers who took up residence in the area years ago, after an ill-fated CIA adventure in China's Yunnan province; these Chinese still maintain their own airstrips.

At least until recently, staff members of the International Control Commission in Laos (Canadians, Indians and Poles) were dealing themselves pieces of the opium action too, flying around in white helicopters without hindrance.

Today, though, the traffic is mostly American—to the disgust of Europeans and others in Vientiane and Bangkok who have been squeezed out.

Dotted about the hills of Laos are more than 150 'AID projects' so named because ostensibly it's the Agency for International Development that runs the operations. Rice is dropped—along with radio equipment, guns, ammunition, grenades and gold—by the CIA's Air America, or by

Continental Air Service, a subsidiary of Continental Airlines which is under contract to the CIA.

Many of the 'AID projects' are Meo villages—the Meo rarely live below 3,500 feet—and when CIA pilots bring in ammunition, they sometimes take out opium. Because a number of middlemen are eliminated, the pilots pay more than the Meo used to get (and that in turn, means bigger cut for Meo leaders and Lao officials). Payment is usually made in gold bars, sometimes in dollars or precious stones.

One hundred kilo barrels of raw opium are difficult to hide even for the CIA, but on an island in the Mekong River is a factory run by an Austrian where the opium is refined to the powdery morphine base which takes up only a tenth of the space. Air America flies it to the giant United States base at Nakhon Phanom in Thailand, to Chiang Mai, Bangkok, Danang, Saigon. It never leaves the loading area of the air base; the harmless-looking suitcases or crates move from one aircraft to another, shuttling toward their ultimate destination (with money changing hands at every step) via Taiwan or the Philippines to Hong Kong or Singapore, where it is turned into heroin.

There are reports that heroin itself is now being manufactured in Laos; if so, our heroes are making just that much more money.



ON FROM SUKARNO

Predictably, the massacre of communists and their sympathisers in Indonesia since the army coup in October 1965 has failed to extirpate communism. On the contrary. The Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), rudely and painfully disabused of its constitutionalist illusions, has turned and fought back. Since the major policy statement issued by the PKI Central Committee 'somewhere in Central Java' on 17 August, 1966 (21st anniversary of the Indonesian declaration of independence) Maoist armed struggle has been the official Party line.

Circumstances are not unpropitious. Indonesia is a huge archipelago, sprawling more than three thousand miles along the Equator. Logistical problems are immense. The inland reaches of the biggest islands, especially Kalimantan (Borneo) afford the kind of seclusion and inaccessibility required by base areas. The country has sound revolutionary traditions. Peasant uprisings were frequent during Dutch rule, culminating in the PKI-led revolts of 1926-7 in West Java and West Sumatra. The struggles against Japanese occupation and for independence against the Dutch after the war gave further valuable experience of guerrilla war.

Before its decimation, the PKI was estimated to have between 16 and 20 million supporters in Indonesia

time to time.

The economic situation has not improved significantly since the army take-over. Mass demonstrations against high rice prices and food shortages were staged in Jakarta in January and February this year. Hunger oedema has been reported as widespread in Java and neighbouring islands where population is dense and presses on the over-worked soil. Eighteen million urban and rural are unemployed. Aid from America and an international capitalist consortium has benefited the elites rather than the people. Foreign investors have moved back in; London Sumatra Plantations, for example, have resumed 70,000 acres. Naturally, renewed investment has its parallel in the greatly expanded American

thousands rendered homeless. Large numbers fled to the Chinese quarters of the main cities, but thousands were rounded up by the authorities and incarcerated in concentration camps in Nedan, Pontianak and other ports, allegedly for eventual repatriation to China. In Kalimantan, the Chinese were particularly militant, and on both sides of the border between the Indonesian and Malaysian parts of Borneo, left-wing armed groups have been active for years. Since the bloody pogrom conducted in November last year, in which at least 100 Chinese were slain and 40,000 driven from their homes, the entire Chinese population of Borneo—over a million altogether in Sarawak, Sabah and Kalimantan—must be regarded as potential opponents of the Suharto regime. Following violent repression in Java, local Chinese have been reported as fighting back, parading with Mao badges and Maoist slogans in Kediri, Malang, Probolinggo, Pasuruan, Bondowoso, Situbondo, Panarikan and Besuki, and attempting to seize arms from local detachments of the armed forces.

Piecing together the early history of a people's liberation war is not easy. News is naturally sparse and often unreliable. The official agencies suppress as much as possible.

won more votes than any other party in Central Java and came second in East Java. In most of the major towns the PKI emerged with absolute majorities—this was the case in Semarang, Surabaya Madiun, Magelang, Malang and Surakarta, for example. Attempts by the peasantry to enforce the paper provisions of the 1960 Sharecropping and Basic Agrarian Laws were also most persistent in this area, notably in the peasant rising in Djengkol, Kediri district. D N Aidit, former secretary of the PKI, was shot near Surakarta, Central Java, on the 22 November, 1965, having fled to this area in an attempt to set up a base area in the Klaton and Bojolar region.

With this in mind, one may better appraise the scattered reports of the PKI-led armed struggle in Java in the last two years. Armed actions to kidnap and execute local landlords and reactionary officials have been reported from the neighbourhoods of South Malang, South Blitar, Tulungagung, Bodjonegoro and Kediri. Clashes with security forces have occurred in addition in Ngawi, Malang and Banjuwangi, according to recent reports. It is assumed that the PKI is trying to establish a base area in the southern border region of East and Central Java.

ments have been continuously diverted to West Kalimantan, the focus of the rebellion, from elsewhere, notably from North Sumatra. According to official estimates, the number of armed guerrillas is small—somewhere between 700 and 2,000 it is claimed. But this has been quite enough to cause the authorities great trouble and concern. The crack Indonesian Siliwangi Division has been sent against guerrillas, and in March top military commanders met in Djakarta to discuss intensification of pacification. The American troops engaged in 'advising' and modernising the Indonesian armed forces clearly have a familiar role to play in all this.

The West Kalimantan fighting is apparently commanded by Sofian, a PKI leader, now said to have his base in the Mt. Slabu region. Clashes have been reported from Batu Hitam, Bengkajang, Sengkung, Melantjeu, Benua Martinus, Sambas Seluas, Sanggau, Singkawang and elsewhere. Preparation for the struggle appears to have been thorough. Rice supplies have been cached in a score or so of semi-permanent training areas in the region between and behind Sambas and Pontianak, centring on Mt. Niut, which is in a range which stretches over the border into Sarawak. Such supplies in remote and inaccessible places would seem to indicate support among the local peasantry. In the jungle the guerrillas have also been able themselves to clear land and to grow crops.

In contrast, the security forces encounter serious logistical problems. Roads are virtually non-existent, and there are too few Russian helicopters as yet to give the army the mobility it needs if it is to cope with the rebellion. Government troops may take many days to reach suspect areas, running short of food, medicine and other supplies on the way. Most of the regular troops dislike the Borneo jungle, which is unfamiliar to them. In carrying out reprisals against villages thought to be harbouring or supplying rebels, the government forces alienate the general population by burning down houses etc. To prevent the guerrillas making use of sanctuary in Sarawak, the Indonesian authorities try to work closely with Malaysian security forces across the border. After an ambush by 500 liberation fighters some 60 kilometres from Bengkajang town at the end of November, 1967, the security forces realised they were up against well-armed guerrillas equipped with automatic weapons, heavy mortars, and other sophisticated equipment, and well-entrenched in mountainous country advantageous to them. In a raid on Singkawang town, guerrillas got away with more than 200 new automatic weapons. Bases vacated by the rebels and occupied by security troops, invariably con-



ONE LESS MARINE, ONE MORE MAN

Terry Whitmore is one of a group of American soldiers who deserted from the US Army while in Japan. The organisation which helped them and others escape to Stockholm is BEHEIREN—understandably though it is loathed more than any other pro-deserter organisation by the US authorities.

My name is Terry Whitmore. I am 21 years of age. I was born in Memphis, Tennessee. Tennessee is in the Southern part of the State and I'm very proud of Memphis; until the early part of this year Memphis has never had any racial conflicts. I have an average size Negro American family, three brothers and two sisters.

From my Elementary School days, I was taught to honour and love my country. I must add here, that I was taught very well because I did and did do. High School was very much the same way, learning about our Government and its function, and our great and long glorious history, learning and reading also about her great wars, wars that my fathers and countrymen fought and died in, and it was all for my freedom. I enfranchise on the words 'freedom' used in this statement, because of the fact, that's just what was, my forefathers died bravely and sacrificed their lives for Our Nation, and all who opposed our freedom. Also in High School I played a very important part in the school NDCG programme (National Defence Cadet Corps). I was a company Commander, and wore proudly the rank of a Captain. Here I learned about my country's military tactics, learning that it was the most powerful the world had ever known.

My senior year was the best of my life. I played active parts in such organisations as the Student Council, senior debating team, players' side, art club, football team and NDCG Officer. Also that year I started to venture off and read and learn more about me, The Black Man. After learning my history and where I stood in American Society, I then began to realise that no longer did I walk on the grounds

of the so-called land of the free, but the grounds of the battlefield for me The Black Man.

During this time, I also read of another battlefield in the jungles of a foreign country named Viet-Nam. On the TV and newspapers the Government spoke loudly and protested that the aggressors (North Vietnamese) were opposing freedom.

Soon after graduation, I received a letter from my Selective Service, asking me to report for my physical. I received another long letter from the armed forces after this, which gave me the choice of volunteering now or being drafted later. So under these circumstances I was inducted voluntarily into the US Marines.

After receiving my orders to Vietnam, I felt it would be an honour to serve for my country, for I was told the war's for freedom and also on receiving orders, I did the way I was taught, do now and ask questions later.

With this kind of background, you may ask yourself the question, "Why did he desert?" Only by reading my experience in Vietnam you will find the answer.

For six long months, I fought in the fearsome jungles and hill-tops of Vietnam and during my stay I must admit, I killed and destroyed and burnt everything in my path. My unit of fighting men was composed of young men, around

the ages of 18 to 21. My Commanding officer was out for revenge after losing a brother in the conflict. After his arrival within a period of two weeks the young men were turned into a mob of blood hungry animals.

There was no time to think, for every day was filled with fearsome fighting, and at night the sky was filled with rockets and missiles searching out the enemy on both sides. From 1 October to 15 November, my unit moved north, battling its way from Quang Tyi to the DMZ. By 1 December we had earned the name Bouncing Bravo's murderers. Then came the big test for the unit, a 32 tour of Con Thien. During this time Con Thien was the most fearful spot known to the US Marines. Marines often referred to it as the God forsaken hill. I spent 27 days at Con Thien, 27 days I'll never forget. Every day the enemy hit with 100 to 200, 105 and 106 rounds. Every day we lost men. Some of the men got used to the bombing. Some didn't care whether they lived or died. But all the men, even me, had it in their hearts to kill.

Finally on 15 December my company was on patrol when we ran into a large force of NVA. Before we could move out the enemy spotted us, forcing us to fight. My Platoon was then cut off from the rest of company. The enemy laid a perfect ambush, which sent the men tumbling to the ground. Only two of us were able to get up. Afterwards I heard the cries of my Commanding Officer calling my name. Without thinking of the danger I rushed out in the open to his side. The enemy had a clear view of me and could have taken my life very easily, but he didn't. Why? After picking the wounded officer up, he was shot again by the enemy. Still never hitting me. Why? I managed to get him to safety. But the cries and pleas of other wounded men pinned down filled my ears. Three buddies and myself stood over one of the

wounded men when a vast enemy cut across us.

Again I was in perfect range for the enemy. All three men were hit. All three were white. I was not. I was not hit.

Why? But I didn't have time to think about it. I had to get the rest of the men to safety. A corpsman came up to help us with a wounded man who was hit bad and we had to get him out fast. A buddy helped me to pick him up. We had run about five feet when the enemy cut my buddy down. Again I was not hit. Why? Still no time to think for the cries of the rest were louder. With only a 45 pistol I started back in the action to get my wounded buddies. After going about 20 yards I found one very close buddy, but I was too late for him; he was dead. But there were still more and I had to get them. There was six more to get out, two of which were hit bad. Myself and a buddy went to get them. The enemy had them well pinned down. My buddies and I managed to get behind a large rock to focus the enemy's attention on us, while the six men got out. By this time help had come from Con Thien. Men and tanks were moving in and jets circled the air waiting the go sign to drop their bombs. A tank was spotted by the enemy, moving down to pick up the wounded. The enemy then started to open up with 60 and 82mm. mortar rounds trying to knock out the tank. But by this time the tank had picked up the wounded and was ready to move out. At this time a mortar round fell no more than four feet from me, picking me and slamming me into the rocks. I was unable to move. My buddy was hit too but not bad. He yelled for the tank to come and get us. But the tank pulled off and left. The jets were given the signal to bomb despite the fact that two of us were still down and wounded. For 45 minutes or so powerful bombs were dropped no more than

30 yards from us. While I laid praying I said to myself if I made it out of this one I would NEVER come back to another one. And thank God I did make it out after about three or four hours. A company of men came down to get us. I was rescued and transferred to a hospital. That was the last time I was on a battlefield and it will stay

To my fellow American Servicemen:

Some of you may label me a coward or some kind of 'ist.' Well I'm not any 'IST' and I'm not a coward. It takes more guts and balls to say no, NO! I've been there ONCE and I had to DESERT to keep from going back and listen to me fellows, I know what it's like. WAR IS HELL.

As yourself. Why are we fighting in the Nams. Vietnam is having a family problem, between the North and the South. When we had a family problem (the Civil War), Vietnam didn't come and interfere because it wasn't their business. Just like this, it's none of our business what Vietnam does.

The Government and military Leaders tell us that the war is for freedom. If the conflict was for our freedom, B52s would not drop more than one- and two-hundred pound bombs, and I wouldn't just carry an M16 but everything I could get my hands on, and you would too. If, the war was for our freedom! So I say if South Vietnam wants to fight, let them go ahead. If you had a friend that got into a fight with his brother, would you fight his battle? I wouldn't and you're crazy if you would.

Some of you have nothing to do with the war. But I know you have some relatives or buddies that do, that are right now laying in some mud hole or yelling for help. He's a long way off you can't help him but you can bring him home. I know that it is hard to take individual actions. But you can form groups and help the fellows in the Nams: bring them home. And for those of you that are engaged in activity on the battlefields, I would advise you to do 'likewise' and follow me and hundreds of others, and remember it takes guts TO GO but it takes balls to say NO. Anybody can have guts but only a man has balls.

the last.

On boarding the aircraft to Japan my heart tingled with joy on thinking I was leaving Vietnam, but better than that! I knew that I would never return.

While in the hospital at Cam Ranh Bay, President Johnson awarded me the Purple Heart and Bronze Star for my actions in battle. I was treated like a real hero, but deep

down me the big question WHY was still there. Why didn't the enemy shoot me when he had so many chances? Why? Why did he shoot my white buddies and let me go? Was it because he knows that the black man has as hard a time as he does? Did he know I was being forced to fight him, and did he know that when I got home, I

and the guerrillas have few channels to the outside world. What follows has been culled from Western official Indonesian, and PKI sources available to me.

In Java resistance has been strongest in the East and Central Regions. The PKI has solid roots here. Although the Party took an ambiguous stance at the time the army took power—hoping to be saved from extinction by President Sukarno's intercession—armed resistance did occur in East and Central Java as soon as persecution began. It was in this area that the 1948 communist rising had taken place, starting in Surakarta, and centering on Ngawi and Ponorogo, villages on the outskirts of Madiun. In the national elections of 1955 and the local elections of 1957 the PKI vote was heavily concentrated here; on the latter occasion the PKI

Incidents have also been reported from West Java, Sulawesi (Celebes) and Sumatra. In April this year, 52 members of the armed forces were arrested and charged with plotting to set up an underground communist cell in South Sumatra. But it is from the huge island of Kalimantan that reports of PKI armed struggle have been most persistent and substantial. Here great stretches of dense jungle and mountain favour the guerrillas. Both sides claim major victories in the fighting that has taken place, and the numbers involved indicate that this is one location where the situation is well developed and, for the government, serious. In October last year, four months after the struggle had officially been admitted to exist, a clash in which 150 guerrillas were reported killed took place on Merabu mountain, near Bengkajan town. Government troop reinforce-

ment would still be fighting a war? Did HE know this? I have often wondered!

After being in hospital for 71 days I had ample time to think what I had done and what I had been in. I knew by now that the man I had once hated, killed his people and burned his homes, I could never fight again.

What Andy Stapp remembers best about his Army career is his wedding (Dierdre Stapp is, and was before her marriage, editor of Partisan). The officer in charge of military intelligence at Fort Sill was on hand, and after the wedding was asked questions about why it took place. 'This is obviously,' the officer said, 'a political merger—like a marriage between a DuPont and a Ford.'

Workers and soldiers of the world unite!

Workers and soldiers of the world unite!

ANDY STAPP is a twenty-four-year-old New Yorker (originally from Philadelphia) who just did two years in the Army. Or, rather, he would have done two years, except that three weeks before his time was up they booted him out for violating AR604-10, which deals with 'subversion and disloyalty.'

They took Stapp into the Army despite the fact that he burned his draft card at Penn State University in 1965 and was busted in Washington during a peace demonstration the same year. Probably they didn't expect that once at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, he could do much. With the help of a few radical New Yorkers who went to Oklahoma to join him, Andy organised the American Servicemen's Union. He says the union 'has an unofficial membership of about two million, because that's how many guys are being pushed around in the Army.' More officially, the union now has organisers on 10 or 15 Army bases in addition to Fort Sill.

The union's demands are for a minimum wage, enlistees' control of courts-martial, election of officers, an end to racism in job training and job assignment, and the release of political prisoners now in the glass-house (there are at least 100 Army personnel being held for anti-war activities). They also demand recognition of the right to disobey an order unlawful under Nuremberg decisions—specifically, the

right to refuse orders to go to Vietnam.

As if that weren't enough, Stapp went around telling his fellow soldiers that he's a communist (he says he doesn't join the Communist Party because 'it's a liberal organisation'), and— even worse—convincing them that they ought to be radicals too. 'They had to move 15 guys out of one artillery unit because of political activity in June of 1967,' he reports.

With the economy continuing to stagnate and with millions of communists nursing vengeance against a regime which put so many of their comrades to death, President Sukarno cannot ignore the rising tide of armed resistance. In this context, the presence of an American 'defence liaison group' has sinister and foreboding connotations.

MALCOLM CALDWELL.

right to refuse orders to go to Vietnam.

What Andy Stapp remembers best about his Army career is his wedding (Dierdre Stapp is, and was before her marriage, editor of Partisan). The officer in charge of military intelligence at Fort Sill was on hand, and after the wedding was asked questions about why it took place. 'This is obviously,' the officer said, 'a political merger—like a marriage between a DuPont and a Ford.'

What Andy Stapp remembers best about his Army career is his wedding (Dierdre Stapp is, and was before her marriage, editor of Partisan). The officer in charge of military intelligence at Fort Sill was on hand, and after the wedding was asked questions about why it took place. 'This is obviously,' the officer said, 'a political merger—like a marriage between a DuPont and a Ford.'

What Andy Stapp remembers best about his Army career is his wedding (Dierdre Stapp is, and was before her marriage, editor of Partisan). The officer in charge of military intelligence at Fort Sill was on hand, and after the wedding was asked questions about why it took place. 'This is obviously,' the officer said, 'a political merger—like a marriage between a DuPont and a Ford.'

What Andy Stapp remembers best about his Army career is his wedding (Dierdre Stapp is, and was before her marriage, editor of Partisan). The officer in charge of military intelligence at Fort Sill was on hand, and after the wedding was asked questions about why it took place. 'This is obviously,' the officer said, 'a political merger—like a marriage between a DuPont and a Ford.'

A MAN OF MANY PARTS

The teeth are false, of course:
As is the nose and the right eye.
(The cornea for the left was donated by a Mrs. Bronowski, late of Brighton.)

The right arm, from the elbow joint down,
Is a beautiful piece of craftsmanship: Nickel alloy, swivel-jointed, safe
And almost soundless.
The left arm-well, Nobody really needs a left arm.

I lost both legs in the Second African War
But get about perfectly well
On my stainless steel runners;
And I have my blood completely changed
Once every twelve thousand miles.

The heart's original owner
Was a Mr. Mboko Nigerian chappie,
Lost a hand in a hovertrain crash
As good as dead when they brought him in
So, taking a tip from the Aztec priests, they
Tore his heart out, gave it to me.
(I was duly grateful)

The brain, I believe, at one time belonged
To a Soho strip-club owner;
And though, at times, I seem to recall
Somewhat bizarre events,
On the whole it serves me well.

The teeth, as I said, are false.
But the lips
And the tongue
Are mine.
And the authorities are building
A girl
For me to kiss.
Pete Roche.



THE UNFREE PRESS has excelled itself yet again: their reporting of Ray Gunter PFE and his antics has been full of errors and political distortions based on wishful thinking. This has been coupled with a nasty sense of pleasure that the capitalist press derives whenever H. Wilson is humiliated in public! However nauseous Wilson's consensus politics may be to THE BLACK DWARF we are in no doubt whatsoever where we stand on the question of Ray Gunter PFE.

As far as we are concerned he has always been a nasty, right-wing shi-bag renowned mainly for the evangelical zeal with which he has hounded 'trotskyite elements' out of the Labour Party. The same zeal has distinguished his tenure at the Ministry of Labour where he opposed all strikes on principle. His handling of the seamen's strike, in particular, brought him to the fore as an uncompromising and vicious enemy of the 'folk from whence he came.'

His attitude on race-relations has been disarmingly blantant—he is a strong sympathiser of the racialists. When the white settlers decided to 'go-it-alone' in Zimbabwe and when Wilson finally 'imposed' sanctions Mr Gunter PFE was quoted as saying: 'we shouldn't sacrifice our economy for a load of blacks.'

He is disliked by liberals for his attitude on race' and by the trade unions for his implacable hostility to them when in office. For him to pretend now that he opposes Wilson is enough to make one puke in disgust—he is a representative of a sick social-democracy at its lowest ebb.

THE BLACK DWARF is pleased that his fat ugly face will no longer be seen on the TV screens exhorting British workers to stop 'holding the country to ransom.' We believe that he is an obese lump of iniquity who will go down in the history of the Labour movement of this country as a SCAB EXTRAORDINARY.

out written material, and not permitted to see anyone except his lawyer and his wife. Members of the public (and it would obviously be an advantage to Cleaver if well-known names were included) are asked to write or, preferably, to wire their protest against his imprisonment under dubious conditions on obviously specious grounds, and to demand his release.

Address:—Henry W Kerr, Chairman, Adult Authority, 413 State Office Building No 1, Sacramento, California, USA.

— EIN VOLK EIN BRUNDAGE

1968 may yet see the military defeats being inflicted on the United States on the battlefields of Vietnam being extended to a gigantic sporting defeat at the Olympic Stadium in Mexico City, later this year. This is, of course, if most of the Afro-American athletes stick by their pledge and refuse to represent a 'white, racist, country. But, needless to say, this wouldn't worry Mr Avery Brundage too much. Mr Brundage is the Führer of the International Olympic Committee and as such was largely responsible for getting South Africa into the Games this year. He was, therefore, very upset when various Afro-Asian countries threatened to withdraw in protest and even more upset when the IOC bowed to the inevitable pressure and rescinded its earlier decision.

There used to be a similar problem in the 30s when Jewish organisations used to pressurise the IOC to exclude the Nazis and there was a strong Jewish lobby which argued that the United States should boycott the 1936 Olympic Games as they were being held in Nazi Berlin. At that stage a petty bureaucrat connected with the

Black Maria with gleeful remarks (eg 'We've got HIM at last!'). He is taken to Cannon Row cop-shop where he reveals his true identity. Crest-fallen faces and a few old-fashioned kicks are administered to Mr. Bannerji. Curtain.

You'll have to shave off your moustache Comrade!

NO COMMENT

THERE WERE MORE BRAWLS in Fleet Street as the Right-wingers straggled back to Smithfield. Then the leader of the anti-immigration group Mr Danny Harmston, a 36-year-old supporter of Sir Oswald Mosley, led his followers in three cheers for the police.

Daily Express, 8 July, 1968

I believe that nothing is more important than this struggle. It is to this that in direct and devious ways we should devote all our energy. For those who cannot do so the logical conclusion is suicide.

Let us be clear about why this is so. The present condition of the world, if accepted as it is, if approached with anything short of determined impatience to change it utterly, renders every value meaningless. Two-thirds of the people of the world are being robbed, exploited, deceived, constantly humiliated, condemned to the most abject and artificial poverty and denied as human beings. Furthermore, if this condition is accepted - or even more or less accepted with the qualification that there should be a few reforms, a little restraint and a little more foreign aid - it is quite clear from the evidence to date that the condition will become even more extreme. Imperialism is insatiable. It can modify its methods but never its appetite.

Yet the situation is not so new. The plundering has continued for centuries. Why must one's reaction to it now be so violent? Why speak of suicide?

(Continued from page 1)

Because we have reached the stage where no justification of the world status quo is possible. Even the concept of justification falls apart. If we now choose to live in the world as it is, we must deny every purpose and every value which, as social beings, we have inherited: not only those we have inherited from Europe which European hypocrisy has made in so many ways suspect, but also those which we might

REVOLUCION SI!

inherit today when, either with us of without us, history is about to become universalized.

It is those who accept the world as it is who are becoming the disinherited at the same time as the dispossessed are rediscovering their inheritance. Disinherited, each finds himself isolated and alone, face to face with a hell that only death can end. That hell is the present condition of the world - if one is not engaged in terminating that condition. The dimension of eternity which made the medieval vision of hell absolute is replaced in our terrestrial hell by the notion of the inevitable and absolute inequality of man.

This is an extract from "Art and Revolution" to be published by next January. Neidenfeld & Nicolson.

The torture within the absolute dimension of this inequality is not pain inflicted upon indestructible, always sentient bodies but the pain of totally denying our indestructible, always pressing need for the recognition of ourselves in others. The torture is the existence of the other as an unequal.

Frantz Fanon, although he had no pity for it, understood the nature of this torture very well:

Leave this Europe where they are never done talking of Man, yet murder men everywhere they find them, at the corner of every one of their own streets, in all the corners of the globe. For centuries they have stifled almost the whole of humanity in the name of a so-called spiritual experience. Look at them today swaying between atomic and spiritual disintegration.

And yet it may be said that she has attempted has succeeded.

Europe undertook the leadership of the world with ardour, cynicism and violence. Look at how the shadow of her palaces stretches out even further! Every one of her movements has burst the bounds of space and thought. Europe has declined all humility and all modesty; but she has also set her face against all solicitude and all tenderness.

Until comparatively recently the condition of the world was not intolerable. The conditions under which two-thirds of the world population lived were approximately the same as now. The degree of exploitation and enslavement was as great. The suffering involved was as intense

and as widespread. The waste was as colossal. But it was not globally intolerable because the full measure of the truth about the condition was unknown. Truths are not constantly evident in the circumstances to which they refer. They are born - sometimes late.

Earlier, Europeans were able to deceive themselves by believing that they represented man at his most civilized, that the native was as yet only half-developed: thus they were not forced to abandon a final belief in equality, for the issue could be deferred while they created and exploited inequality. Earlier, the native was unable to come to terms with the scale of the crimes perpetrated against him; he experienced a kind of agoraphobia in face of his continent of suffering. Earlier, the utilitarians could argue that the available scientific and productive means were not sufficient to benefit all five continents.

Today nobody can be deceived. The truth has been born. Many try to forget what they know, but they never entirely succeed. 'Civilized' Europeans have proved within Europe that they are capable of systematic genocide. As a result it was necessary to draw up the Declaration of Human Rights to apply in principle - everywhere. The world is now treated and considered as a single unit by military strategists, investors, intelligence services, scientists, philosophers; it is treated as a single unit for almost every purpose save the redistribution of wealth and the abolition of scarcity. Repercussions from events circle the world. (So do the images of these events: we cannot claim not to have seen the intolerable condition of the world.) Imperialism has become more concentrated and more blatant. The United States, which makes up six per

cent of the world population, controls or owns sixty per cent of the world's resources. The military expenditure of the United States, necessary for the defence of these interests, annually exceeds all the national revenues of Africa, Latin America and Asia added together.

Yet it is not directly from these developments that the truth was born. It was born of the determination of the exploited to fight not even to begin with, for economic justice, but for their identity: to rid themselves of the eternal foreigner, the other who had invented and imposed for centuries upon them his wretched doctrine of otherness, of hereditary human excommunication. The last need of imperialism is not far raw materials, exploited labour and controlled markets: it is for a mankind that counts for nothing.

The wars of national liberation already being fought and those that will be fought should not be idealized: they are wars of the utmost cruelty, inevitably involving a whole people without distinction between men and women, the old and the young; but we must understand what is involved.

Imperialism, despite its power and its resources, has become meaningless. It can no longer accommodate reality. Those who fight for it are kept nervous and energetic by the artificial development of 'pathological greeds - which is one of the reasons why they have little endurance. Those who do not fight for imperialism but acquiesce in it lead lives which become increasingly devoid of meaning - hence the spiritual decay of modern affluent societies. (I said that suicide was the logical conclusion of such acquiescence: but few behave logically.) By contrast, those who fight imperialism are fighting for all human meaning.

We have reached the stage of acquiring faculties - productive, scientific, cultural and spiritual faculties - which demand a world of equality. Either that demand is met or we deny our faculties and render our lives void.

The guerrilla is a social reformer. The guerrilla takes up weapons as the angry protest of the people against their oppressors; the guerrilla fights to change the social system that subjects his unarmed brothers to approbrium and poverty. He acts against the special conditions of the Establishment at a given moment. And he is determined to smash the Establishment's patterns with all the force that circumstances permit.—CHE.

And let us develop a true Proletarian Internationalism, with international armies. Let the flag under which we fight represent the sacred cause of redeeming humanity, so that to die under the flag of Vietnam, of Venezuela, of Guatemala, of Laos, of Guinea, of Colombia, of BOLIVIA, of Brazil—to name only the scenes of today's armed struggle — be equally glorious and desirable for an American, an Asian, an African, or even a

JULY 1968	1968
7 Sunday	Thursday 11
Bring Mokee	Dentist 2:15pm
8 Monday	Friday 12
Collect B.D.'s 2:00	Bring Sandra
Demo on Heath	Collect more B.D.'s
9 Tuesday	Saturday 13
Sold 60 B.D.'s	Go and dwarf Sandra
FINALS BOYCOTT	9:00 her place

FINALS BOYCOTT
meetings/students. 6.00.

Sandra?!*!
Bring Mother
Oh god why am I so BLOODY
miserable!

This diary of events is intended as a service to all militants and militant groups throughout the country. However, our sources of information are, as yet, not as complete as they should be. If you or your group know of, or are organising a meeting or demonstration or any other activity that you want people to know about, just let us know in good time and we shall try to give it publicity.

25 JULY:
"Not a Penny on the Rent." Tenants' Demonstration at County Hall. March from West Smithfield, 7.30 p.m.

26 JULY:
10th Anniversary of Cuban Revolution. Teach-in on Cuba and 'Rave'. Speakers: Tariq Ali, David Mercer, David Cooper, Michael X, Andrew Salkey; Music: The Koobas. Entrance 5s. - Roundhouse at 7.30 p.m. - British-Cuba Association.
"The Class Struggle" - Socialist Party of Great Britain. Woodside House, Wood Green. 8 p.m.

27 JULY:
"The French Revolution" - Speaker: Ernest Mandel, JCR Speaker. Conway Hall - 7.30 p.m. IMG/NLK.

27 - 28 JULY:
Fast in Canterbury Cathedral against Vietnam war.

BLACK DWARF AVAILABLE EVERYWHERE.
AS THERE ARE FEW MEETINGS DURING THIS PERIOD
WHY NOT SELL THE BLACK DWARF.
RING REG 4827 FOR INFORMATION.

THE BLACK DWARF CANNOT SURVIVE WITHOUT YOU. THERE ARE MANY WAYS YOU CAN HELP US

1. BUY IT
2. SELL IT
3. TALK ABOUT IT
4. ASK FOR IT

Help us to attack the system by asking for THE BLACK DWARF at every newsagent and bookshop you pass. If he knows nothing about it tell him what a marvellous newspaper it is and insist that he takes it. Then—if you have a moment—tell us.

Please send me (minimum 6) copies of THE BLACK DWARF every fortnight on sale or return terms.

Please send me THE BLACK DWARF for the next 3 months.
12

I enclose cheque/postal order for 15s
£3

Name

Address

.....

THE BLACK DWARF 7 Carlisle St. London W1. 01-734 4827

WE HAVE BEEN ASKED by friends in America for urgent help in an international support action for a leading member of the Militant Negro Civil Rights Movement whose life is in danger as a result of police action.

Eldridge Cleaver, a brilliant author (including the influential essay 'Soul on Ice'), a member of the editorial board of the opposition magazine 'Ramparts', and one of the leaders—Minister of Information—of the Black Panther Party, is seriously wounded, and is being held in Vacaville Prison (California) accused of the attempted murder of police officers.

We learn from dependable sources in California, that, after a street clash, some negroes had fled into a house in Oakland which the police then shot at with machine guns and tear gas grenades until it caught fire. **When negroes came out, unarmed and with their hands raised, the police shot and killed the 18 year old Bobby Hutton, and wounded Cleaver in the leg.**

On the grounds that Cleaver had broken parole for a previous political sentence, he is being kept in prison under special security conditions, unable to receive or send

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

WE ARE DELIGHTED to hear that *Socialist Worker* will be becoming a weekly in the autumn. There is an urgent need for a weekly shop-floor newspaper and we hope that *Socialist Worker* will be able to fill that need. There has, however, been some fuss over Paul Foot's column in *Socialist Worker* (the column with a photograph). This fuss has obscured the fact that a much more valuable column which is infinitely better written is already in existence—the FOOTNOTES section of a right-wing magazine called *Private Eye*.

MISTAKEN IDENTITY

SCENE: Outside Downing Street on the occasion of the anti-Racist demonstration on Sunday, 7 July. One of the participants, a Mr Jairus Bannerji from St John's College, Oxford. Mr Bannerji is coffee-coloured, wears a droopy moustache and has long hair. In fact he bears a resemblance to one of our Editors.

ACTION: A punch-up develops. Police sight Mr Bannerji in the thick of it all. Six brave policemen descend on Mr Bannerji and cart him off to a waiting

BLACK 'SELF-DEFENCE PARTOLS' IN CAMDEN

The Camden Branch of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination has decided to organise 'patrols' to defend the black community and to prove 'that organised self-defence is the only effective answer to racist violence.'

This decision follows a series of incidents in the Gower St, Euston area where there have been numerous cases of Pakistani workers being beaten up and robbed.

Camden CARD has tried to make these incidents public but so far the Unfree Press has refused to publish them and the police has ignored most requests for help. We print two of the cases below.

'On Saturday 25 May at 3.45 am Mr Abdul Khaliq, a night-shift worker at the ABC food factory near Camden Town was attacked on his way home from work a gang of six whites at the junction of Pilender St and Bayham St. He was robbed of £49 (his wages and holiday pay) and seriously injured with knife wounds. The police were informed.

'On Sunday 2 June, Mr N Udin, a CARD member who lives near Fitzroy Sq was attacked by two whites at 12.30 am in Cleveland St near the Middlesex hospital. He was robbed of £10, a rent book and his personal papers. Mr Udin was kicked savagely in the groin and received serious injuries necessitating hospital treatment. This attack was observed by a Camden CARD patrol which intervened. One of the attackers escaped with the money. The other was detained until the police arrived and handed to them.'

The Camden Branch of CARD would welcome help. Their address is: Camden CARD, 54A St Giles High St, London, WC2.

EDITORIAL GROUP: Clive Goodwin, Tariq Ali, Robin Fior, David Mercer, Adrian Mitchell, Mo Teitelbaum. Published by THE BLACK DWARF, 7 Carlisle Street, London W.1. Printed by J. C. Gregory (TU), 16 Dufferin Street, London E.C.1. Distributed by Moore Hargess Ltd., 11 Lever Street, E.C.1. 01-253 4286.

—be equally glorious and desirable for an American, an Asian, an African, or even European.
Each drop of blood spilled in a country under whose flag one has not been born constitutes experience for those who survive to apply later in the liberation struggle of their own countries and each nation liberated is a step toward victory in the battle for the liberation of one's own country.—CHE.

SURREY EDUCATION COMMITTEE

SOUTH WESTERN DIVISIONAL EXECUTIVE

Telephone No:
Guildford 2881.

Education Office,
Park Street,
Guildford.
26th June, 1968.

Dear
It has come to the notice of the Governors that certain members of the teaching and technical staff have been visiting the premises or curtilage of the Guildford School of Art, since it was closed on 21st June last, without the written permission of the Principal or Vice-principal.

In the circumstances at present prevailing at the School, every member of the teaching and technical staff will appreciate that such conduct must necessarily constitute a grave breach of discipline and the Governors wish it to be understood by all members of the teaching and technical staff that such conduct will, in the Governors' view, amount to a prima facie case for dismissal of the persons concerned. Further, such visits amount to acts of trespass upon the School premises and the Local Education Authority and the Governors will, if necessary, take all necessary steps open to them to prevent such wrongful acts.

The Governors also wish to emphasise that they intend, quite apart from the foregoing, to take the appropriate disciplinary action in respect of any other acts of misconduct by members of the staff in the present difficult situation.

The Governors appreciate that the above observations only apply to a small minority of the staff and wish to renew the expression of their gratitude to the other members of the staff, which was conveyed by the letter from the Principal, dated 21st June, 1968.

Yours faithfully,
E. INSTONE,
Clerk to the Governors.