

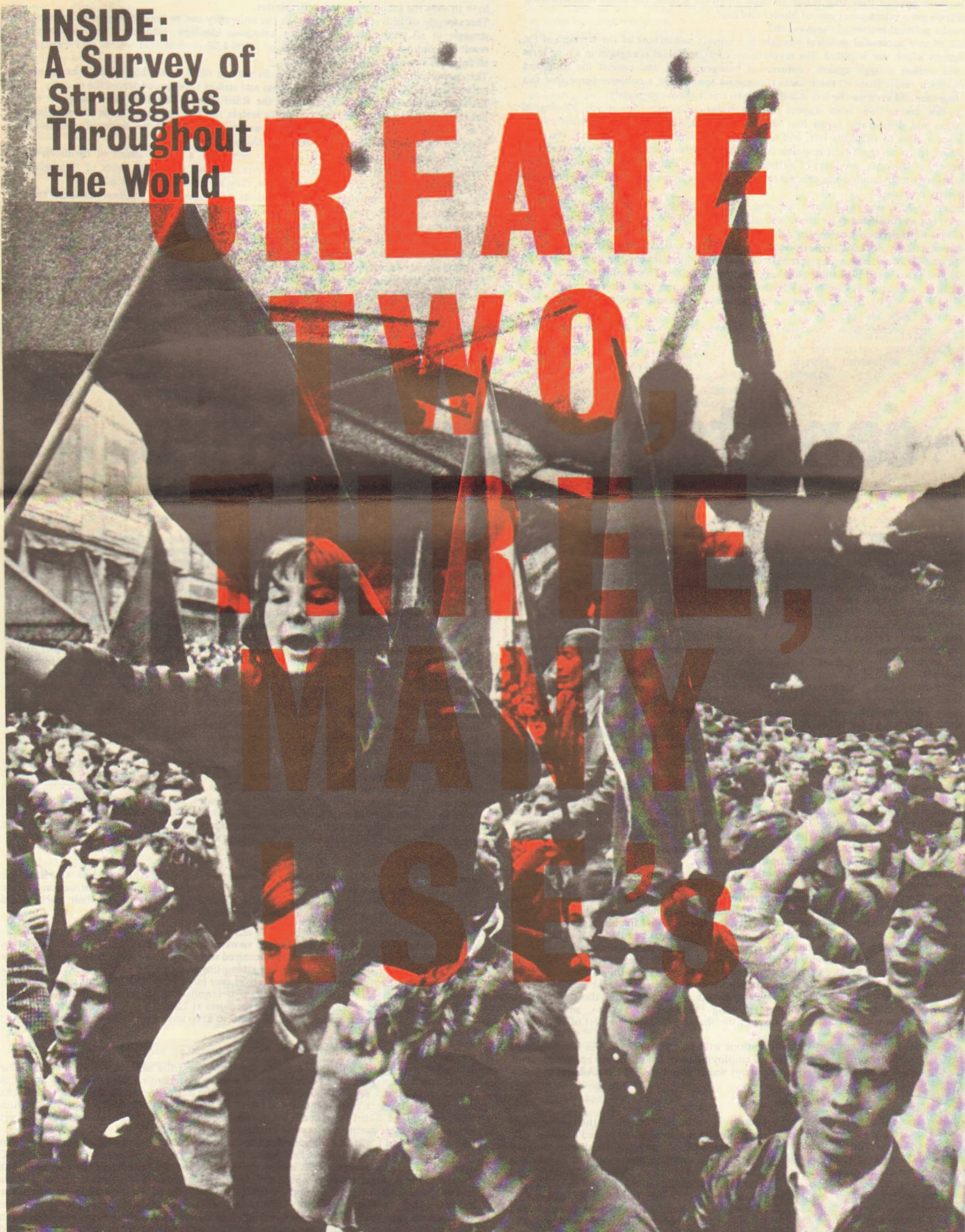
The Black Dwarf

Est 1817 Vol. 13 No. 11

14th February 1969

Fortnightly 1s. 6d.

**INSIDE:
A Survey of
Struggles
Throughout
the World**



**TO CREATE
TWO
IMMEDIATE,
USERS**

A single spark - - - -

The students at LSE wanted to discuss and criticise the ideas they were learning; they wanted to run the school democratically. These two very simple demands presented such a threat to the bourgeois state that it had to close down the school, call in the fuzz and whip the bourgeois press into a paroxysm of bluster and rage.

What are the political lessons of these events?

The basis of any successful political struggle is a correct assessment of the strength of the forces against which one is pitted. The revolutionary left in Britain is engaged in a long-term and as yet unclear struggle against centuries of bourgeois rule, and against the ideas and manners which result from it; these ideas ("common sense") are a cohesive force that ties society together and even on the left it is difficult to reject them completely.

Fighting this enemy we must expect the capitalist university to attack ideological contestation and democratic forms that would weaken capitalist control. We must expect the bourgeois press to vilify the left, and reproduce the lies of Adams and Short. We must expect there to be no significant response from other sectors of British life. We must expect vast numbers of students, products of authoritarian families and of capitalist education, to hesitate before understanding the process to which they are being submitted and joining the revolutionary movement.

The closure of LSE was the natural response of a ruling class threatened by a left-wing movement, but so confident of its power and of the loyalty of the media that it could accuse the students of violence when it was Adams who put up the gates and the students who voted democratically to take them down; and who could call student protesters "thugs" when Wilson, Short and other gangsters have backed the US in Vietnam, humoured Smith in Rhodesia and introduced legislation attacking the working class. This confidence can also be seen in Ulster, where the fascist Paisley is sentenced to gaol and then allowed out to lead a mob of howling bigots round Belfast on a Saturday afternoon and in the anti-worker legislation that Castle has brought in.

These are the people who shut the LSE because they were afraid of discussion

("hooliganism") and tried to turn the school into a fortified camp ("academic community"). The aim of all students is to keep the university open - so that the allegedly liberal rulers have to shut the school to protect themselves.

This struggle of LSE students to liberate the university and to keep it open must become the struggle of all students: to challenge bourgeois ideology, campaign for democracy and resolutely oppose - as the mass meeting of 1,700 LSE students did oppose on February 3 - all forms of repression and victimisation.

This perspective has already started to become a reality: the LSE closure has created a national student movement. Protests, sit-ins and strikes have spread across the country. More than 30 universities sent delegations to the RSSF demo. The LSE gates were part of the nation-wide strategy by vice-chancellors to isolate the left just as the trade union legislation is an attempt to quell the militants; LSE was the test case, but the response of the student body throughout the country has shattered this plot.

This development has shown that students now have a consciousness of themselves as a national social group in a struggle for power; students no longer think of themselves as scarf-wearing members of a single institution, they are members of a social group.

This new student consciousness can find its expression in a militant national student movement, in RSSF: the RSSF manifesto called for the establishment of red bases in the universities, as a means of combatting capitalism and radicalising a significant sector of youth. The aim of all students must be to generalise the struggle of LSE, to challenge the bourgeois domination of the university and to call for a transformation of the university so that it is run on democratic and critical lines.

Faced with the concerted onslaught of the bourgeois state, the students have stood firm. Their university has been closed in an attempt to smash them. It must be re-opened: the struggle must become nation-wide. We must create two, three, many LSEs, - two, three, many centres of critical knowledge and study where capitalism can be undermined and a revolutionary intelligentsia created.

- - can start a prairie fire.

DAVE FERNBACH

MYTH AND REALITY

Capitalism - a system of mystification as well as exploitation. Under capitalism all institutions have two faces; the official face, - and the reality, something quite different, but which is hidden a long way under the surface, and takes a lot of work to extract.

The university myth is the myth of the academic community. We're all here together to learn. Some of us have been learning a bit longer (the teachers). Every community has to have rules that govern the behaviour of its members; the rules of the university are in everybody's interest. They protect academic freedom.

LSE also shares in the social science myth. Kids come to LSE to study sociology, economics, politics, because they're worried by the society they see around them. They hope to learn to understand the problems and even to help solve some of them. But instead they're taught a lot of crap which is just the same old justifications for inequality and exploitation, dressed up in academic jargon. No discussion of real social problems. No discussion of Vietnam, of racialism, no mention of revolution.

Prof. Day gives the 1st. year economics lectures. Unemployment is good, he says. It's necessary. It's the cure for inflation, and inflation is the worst thing that can happen. This makes lots of the kids very sore. Some of them ask questions; they want an explanation. But Prof. Day reminds them that interruptions aren't allowed in lectures. They can discuss it with their class teachers, but his lectures are the gospel, and not to be questioned. Prof. Day also sets the exams at the end of the year.

LSE has also got its own myth. The myth of radicalism - the Fabian tradition. The school was founded by Sidney Webb, along with Wells, Shaw, & Co.. The money was provided for an educational institution that would be of service to the Labour movement. Tawney and Laski were its 'red' professors. The myth of Red LSE is still trotted out by the more out-of-touch of the gutter press. The truth about LSE and the Fabian tradition is buried a long way under the surface. We had to do a lot of research to find out what these people really were and what they did. And the truth really stinks.

From 1900 onwards the Fabians consistently supported British imperialism explicitly in the hope of getting a few sops to feed to the working-class. Their ideological centre, LSE, became a breeding-ground of social-imperialism and social-fascism. The School's first director wrote his 'Autobiography of an Imperialist'. The Director of LSE up to 1956, Carr-Saunders, was active in the Eugenics Society and believed that the black people and the white-working-class were innately inferior. (Therefore, they must be ruled by the paternalist despotism that Carr-Saunders was taught to wield in the colonial administration.)

As the universities were brought increasingly into line with the needs of monopoly capitalism, the governing board of LSE became ever more top-heavy with company directors - a complete cross-section of the British ruling class. These people make sure, via their creature the Director, that the courses, syllabi, exams at LSE turn out the personnel to administer their corporations without questioning the capitalist system, and also the system's ideologists who explain in the mass media that capitalism is the best of all possible worlds.

LSE is particularly tied up with the corporations with heavy investments in Rhodesia and South Africa, which reap vast profits out of employing slave labour under apartheid. So it was no surprise that in Oct. '67 the appointment was announced of Walter Adams, as LSE's new Director.

UPSURGE

The student movement at LSE was born when we questioned the right of the Governors to appoint whoever they like as Director, especially when this person had played a shabby role as Director of University College Rhodesia after UDI. A meeting to discuss Adams' suitability as Director of LSE was banned. We held the meeting. Adelstein and Bloom, our elected representatives, were victimised. We held the first sit-in, in March '67, and we won. Out of the sit-in came all our discoveries about LSE and what it stood for. We realised that a few reforms weren't enough - the question was power! If the Governors controlled LSE then it would serve the needs of Capital. If it was controlled by the students, teachers, and everyone else who works there, then LSE could serve the needs of the people, could become a centre of free social enquiry and criticism, and really be of use in changing society.

of their own lives. In October, the week-end of Vietnam demonstration, we felt strong enough to take over LSE for three days and make it, temporarily, into the sort of institution we would like to see. Adams felt too weak to call the police to evict us, but he began getting these gates put up all around. Even the students who'd been against the Vietnam occupation began to see what we were on about when the gates went up.

When the issue of racialism and LSE's connections with Southern Africa came up again in December, we had gone full circle. But the students were far stronger and far more sure of their ideas than two years before. The Fearless talks made it clear that Wilson was hand in glove with the Smith regime. Sanctions were meaningless because the monopolies who supplied the Rhodesian economy's essential needs found an open road through South Africa. The men who controlled these monopolies were Governors of LSE, and they were planning to send teams to the School after Christmas to recruit personnel to manage their firms. We came back after Xmas to find the complete set of 9 gates, ('to protect valuable property at the School'.

We decided to attack on all fronts. The Governors - not to be allowed on the premises, those with business interests in Southern Africa to resign. LSE's own holdings in S. Africa to go immediately. Recruitment - no firms involved in the Vietnam war or in Southern Africa to be allowed to recruit on the campus. An end to the gates.

Mass meetings were held at which the Director was given ultimatums about the gates and the Schools' investments in S. Africa. His response was the new set of regulations for teachers. They must be prepared to spy on their students and denounce 'trouble-makers' to the Director. He said he would negotiate about the gates, but negotiations were exposed as a 'trick to gain time. Finally, after the decision of a mass Union meeting on Friday Jan. 24th., came the glorious moment when, with sledgehammers, pickaxes and crowbars, we went from one gate to another and removed them painlessly, efficiently and by mass action.

REPRESSION

Three hours later the Director used the pretext of 'uncontrollable violence' to call in the fuzz. The School was closed, 40 comrades were arrested, (mainly for obstruction outside LSE and outside Bow Street) but only on two comrades, denounced by their teachers, did they even attempt to pin charges of malicious damage.

But the next week victimisation began in earnest. 13 students received high court writs - not for taking down the gates, but for the views they expressed at Union meetings and even more circumstantial evidence. 3 teachers received summonses to appear before a disciplinary committee. Clearly the administration are attempting to crush the LSE students by silencing our main spokesman. But in vain! At the largest ever meeting of LSE students union (Friends House, Feb 3rd.), 1500 students voted their determination to resist victimisation and to continue the campaign against all repressive measures at LSE.

Meanwhile, 100 cops are permanently on guard to keep us out of LSE and protect academic freedom.

SOLIDARITY

Adams' move to turn LSE into a police university isn't the isolated act of a maniac. The ruling class have shown their preparedness to crush the student movement when it threatens their vital interests. The new authoritarian policy the universities is parallel with the attacks on the working-class movement put forward in Barbara Castle's White Paper. Education Minister Edward Short attacked LSE students as 'academic thugs' in the most vicious McCarthyite smear campaign since the seamen's strike.

LSE students can't win in isolation. But they are not isolated. Solidarity actions have taken place in more than 20 universities. Student pressure on any Vice-Chancellor means VC pressure on Adams to open LSE and drop victimisation. For the first time this last week Britain has a national student movement, fighting together for a common demand - no repressive measures on the campus - that has been fused by the LSE struggle. The Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation, which some people said was a paper organisation, has been able to play a vital role in co-ordinating action, and keeping a constant flow of information between universities and colleges. If we are to struggle, and

How Cunard exploits the workers

The QE 2 scandal

BY KEN MURRAY

QE2, by computer, aftdeck, called ship, large, luxurious, for cruises to places exploited by the same passengers, is in the dock at Southampton. Buried under abuse and contorted by weird reportage from the "Times" to "Private Eye". The turbines are fucking it up! Cunard won't take it! Lord Muck of Clabber Castle says the workers are idle, thieving bastards! Why? Why not? Greed and lies go well.

The workers slave on and the consultants grow with an abundance that would compliment weeds. These ubiquitous consultants talk more crap than 57 cans. Workers on the Clyde feel cheated. They are driven into narrow parochial rationalisations. Shipyard workers off the Clyde are lulled into some sense of superiority. Their Clydeside comrades are cheated by a Scot's press that kisses sentiment's arsehole and by the whole system they live under that denies them any viable say in their dignity, far less in their skills.

CONSIDER... Turbines normally are bed-tested in the machine shops before they are ever installed on ships. The time given for these tests is 200 hours per turbine. They are tested for gas leaks and then flushed with oil to clean out the scaling and detritus accumulated during construction. This oil is filtered out with great care every two hours, replaced and repeated until the turbine activates perfectly. On QE2 the

turbines, (The supposed "Root" of the problem) were installed in a frenzy. One was not tested at all. The other was, for ten hours and no oil was used to clean out the particles of steel etc., that were piping and pumps. The ship develops turbine trouble... christ is it any wonder? The turbine props are damaged and the consultants can't decide how. Is it not too clear how?

Bosses and their mimics spout crap that the workers fucked up the ship and although it might be fine if they had (For who sails in her?) it is not the case. When the oil shipyard that conned the order from the Govt. in the name of jobs in a heavily depressed area, when it amalgamated with it's smaller, but equally greedy, associates, the destination of the order was hard cash. Cash for them. As much as possible.

Embalmed as ever under sentimental lies. Joining this array of greedy hands together brought talk of "New Methods". These "New Methods" are common. They are based on the bourgeois assumption that working men are idiots and that managers in lum hats are charismatic wizards who can transform the world by sitting on their arses and staring at blue prints of their latest spell. Pretentious people are abhorred by human beings for humanity toils in a real world of long hours and insane directives. Managers, especially the Clydeside variety, are pretentious people. Shop stewards, even those facing Transport House of worse, grew more and more amazed by the demands of these wizards from their Union members. More and more

new schedules, new delivery dates to meet the greed of Cunard's directors, new untried methods were imposed with the finesse of a clown selling tickets for a circus whose tents had long since burnt down.

Seven foremen were asked to oversee two to three hundred workmen.

The foreman were asked to fill in meaningless bits of paper and the wizards based the effectiveness of their spells on this gibberish.

Men were left on the one job and never advised where to move to next.

The workers were left to their own devices and the administration that was supposed to be the device that co-ordinated all fumed, burped and redrew new words for newer spells.

At Amalgamation, the U.C.S. abolished overtime on a ship that was being hustled from the yards as quickly as possible.

Finishing trades were paid off when the work they specialised in was half-completed. Tradesmen from other shipyards with no experience of the job were hired to replace them. Non-Union labour was tried on by the bosses to intimidate.

Sub-contractors arsed around in their usual parasitical fashion.

Stoppages were blamed on the men and the management drunk itself into abusive verbiage that increased the already hideous relations between bosses and workers.

Verbal tape blamed all on the workers and the workers were more and more dismayed by the permutations of labour these wizards inflicted.

The trials were a fuck up. The hugely publicised voyage around Christmas was a farce. Workers were sent like obedient slaves back to the ship that they had miraculously created from inanity and confusion. They were messed about even then and Cunard fumed about the bread they had lost and rich, bored idiots had to re-route their boredom for several months when the maiden voyage was cancelled. Goons from the employers side announced one contradiction after another and unemployment swamped the yards as a result of the lies offered to the press that blamed the workers to a man.

So now, Cunard, a company dying on it's feet, is saying that this ship is a fuck up. Clever alects say the workers ensured the ship would be a fuck up. The system absolves it's priests and the slaves that maintain that system are excommunicated. Capitalism at it's wildest reigned in the Clyde when the ship was being built. Capitalism at it's nastiest shovelled all blame onto the men who created something out of insanity and greed. The ship itself built by these working men will furnish idle hours for the same class of people who decry that men can be human in spite of their oppressive bungling of their working lives and their leisure. Dying capitalism has to have it's lies so that it's servants can crawl to a ledge and sit sunning themselves with other men's labours.

Burn yourself by all means but leave property alone

One of the loudest forms of reaction is the revenge taken in court against anyone brought to trial who shows the least spark of courage or idealism. For doing what his conscience and beliefs dictated, 'arch-criminal' Tim Daly, the 20-year old poet who set fire to the Imperial War Museum, was given a prison sentence of four years.

Before the prosecution had been speaking ten minutes, and was mentioning Tim's distress at children being exposed to the horrors of war at the museum, Justice Thesiger had interrupted him with the following revolting comment: 'This shows a curious twist of mind. The horrors of war exposed to young children... a very curious twist of mind'. The judge was to harp on this theme again, with an astonishingly malicious interest. Prosecution continued by quoting a statement that Tim voluntarily wrote himself. 'I was solely responsible for my actions, and I alone took the decision and the action. I belong to no faction or society, although I am in deep sympathy with the VSC and other organisations. I am not ashamed of what I have done, for it was an act of conscience. I know I risk social disapproval and ostracism, but this is necessary. I know that in doing this I am true to what I am and what I believe'. But prosecution was really more interested in listing the large collection of jobs Tim had had in order to suggest that he was unstable, unreliable, and largely unsuitable. It was left to the defence counsel to point out that Tim had left one factory, for example, because he discovered they were part of the Vickers group - the armaments firm. And that it was his mother who forced him to become a boy soldier, another obviously unsuitable activity.

Then came the medical report. It stated that Tim had smoked hash and had had various heterosexual experiences. The defence sprang up in indignation. 'This has no relevance except to malign and to be prejudicial to the accused and I demand it be disregarded!'

Justice Thesiger cut in: 'I always ask for very detailed medical reports owing to the often present element of insanity in the accused. Also, perhaps the accused gained sexual satisfaction from his actions. Strange though it may seem, this is possible'. For an officially 'impartial' judge to suggest this, especially so early in the trial, is the most disgusting falsehood imaginable. It was obvious that his mind was already made up, and in fact he showed himself more prejudiced than the prosecution.

Counsel for the defence fought this to get only reluctant admission that perhaps in this case, insanity did not apply. The defence continued to outline Tim's beliefs more fully. The function of the museum had been abused, it should show the absurd self destruction and crass adult mismanagement which is the true reality of war, not the nostalgia and glorification of it.

He pointed out Tim's concern that no one be hurt, and the precautions he took on the night. The judge interrupted again: 'Those putting out the fire would be in danger, guards and warders as well as the brigade. There is always danger in a fire of this kind'. But he did not seem interested in Tim's concern to avoid hurting anyone while throwing the petrol bombs, or Tim's relief at the end of the fire when he knew none was hurt.

Defence continued. Tim had no ambition - an attitude always condemned by society - because he was genuinely seeking and ready to reject whatever offended his conscience. The prosecution and the judge were attempting in their different ways to label Tim mad or non-conformist, whereas Tim's only interest was to appear as ordinary as possible and be publicised as such, so that people throughout Britain would view his gesture more sympathetically. This was labelled 'arrogance' or 'exhibitionism' by the prosecution.

But Justice Thesiger had the last word. Added to his previous uncalled for remarks, he spoke of 'the personal revenge motive' often present in cases of this kind. He spoke of unstable people needing to satisfy instincts in an abnormal way. And he spoke again of concealed insanity. He never actually stated that Tim did it for revenge, or was insane, but to mention it was enough. Borstal was quite unsuitable for him - 'it would be like putting gelignite in an unlocked fuel store'. He needed the longest possible period of rehabilitation. 'One who dangers other people's property is a very, very dangerous person'.

THE BALLAD OF AN ANTI-WAR CRIMINAL OR VICE VERSA

The two fanatic demons of honesty and love
Held me against emotion while the sky grew mad above
I myself determined to see my mission through
As the will to free all children from the sins of parents grew.

Memories of soldiers dead for causes true and just
Their killing long forgotten as was the soldiers' lust
Then on the night's horizon my frantic eyes did find
A building almost beautiful but there the war enshrined.

So I made myself two molotovs a result of what I planned
For this travesty of beauty I could no longer stand
On a Sunday night as half past eight its dome I made
Then threw down my freedom where were documents displayed.

Now in my cell my freedom I yearn for friends I knew
My strength is getting smaller where before it only grew
And yet I know with all my heart atonement for my act

For my heart believed in what I did
And can man say more than that?

Tim, 2nd Nov 68.
(Written in Ashford Remand Home)



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Bai-Ley



LETTERS

TRIBUNE vs DWARF

Dear Comrades:

OK so we smashed the Tribunes on Jan 24th. It was a nice, gratifying occasion, but I hope that having made our point we will no longer provide a platform to discredited social-democrats to mouth the stale, snide platitudes. Let's face it - without the Dwarf they wouldn't have got a quarter of Friday night's audience, so let's forget them and move forward to setting up an alternative organisation.

fraternally,
JOHN BARRETT
S.E.7.

P.S. Incidentally I'm a 55 year old trade-unionist fed up with Tribune crap which I've been reading for the last 30 years.

SELF-CRITICISM

Dear Comrades,

I am fascinated by all this aimless, meandering self-criticism on the purpose and effect of demonstrations. It seems to me that we are jumping to the tune of the liberals, and like everything we do for the benefit of liberals, it is all pretty irrelevant. A few hundred people made a mess of South Africa House. Result: an abject apology by the Government to the South Africans (I bet they didn't like that!) Not exactly a startling success in concrete terms.

BUT, SO BLOODY WHAT! Who the hell ever said that demonstrations in London ever changed anything in Cape Town, or even in London for that matter. To demonstrate means to show one's opinions, anger, frustration, etc in public. This is particularly true of internationalist demonstrations.

Occasionally, demonstrations appear to change domestic policies. This was true of the 19th Century. But it was only true because of the presence of two other factors: a dividend ruling-class and the danger of mass revolt (or fear of the same). These two factors translate demonstrations from acts of symbolic defiance into agents of reform. Look at Northern Ireland now, look at Paris last year.

We do not have mass support, and the ruling-class is fundamentally united at the moment. So abuse is heaped on our heads and nothing happens.

But, comrades, let us not wail and gnash our teeth. The masses must be mobilized and the ruling-class divided. This is the real problem, on whatever issue we are demonstrating.

Question: how? Answer: grass roots propaganda. Duplicators and printing presses must whirr and hum. We must leaflet the streets, the town centres and the houses. We must hold public meetings, in the open air if necessary. We must argue on the issues.

If this is done successfully, then the questions of the effect and purpose of demonstrations, of the rights and wrongs of violent and non-violent demonstrations, will automatically be put in the process of solution.

It takes a long time. There is no romance attached to it. No coppers get their heads bashed in. Nobody gets imprisoned. No windows get broken. But, correct me if I'm wrong, I always thought revolutions were made by the masses. And the problem is therefore: how do we do it?

Yours fraternally,
Martin Bashforth,
11 Kyndhurst Road,
Wolverhampton,
Staffs.

LOST GLOVES

Dear Sir,

I lost a pair of black gloves in the balcony of the Central Hall Methodist Church at Friday's debate. They were not found by the cleaner or in the caretaker's possession on Saturday.

If a reader did find them, I live at 35 Chesham Road, St. Albans, Herts. and would be

BIAFRA

Dear Comrades,

I think it's time that a socialist view of the situation in Biafra was presented in your columns. I could easily write a long article about this, but let me just make a few points.

I have found any revolutionary socialists quite astonishingly misinformed or uninformed about Biafra. People who rightly question everything they see or read in the rotten mass media swallow whole all the Nigerian and British government propaganda about Biafra which is churned out. And then, to my horror, they regurgitate in the exact manner of the more stupid members of the bourgeoisie. For some reason they just don't want to know about Biafra. I wonder how many of your readers know the true facts about the 1966 events in Nigeria? How many of your readers have read the true and complete versions of Col. Ojukwu's statements about the nature of the Biafran revolution (which have never been reproduced in any public circulation paper in this country)? How many of your readers realise the true part played by British and Russian imperialism in Nigeria?

Apart from anything else, Biafra should be studied in great depth by all revolutionary socialists because it is the first African revolution. (Katanga, which incidentally can in no way be compared with Biafra, was, of course, an imperialist planned and financed affair). I want to quote the last part of a recent announcement by the Biafran government. I hope you, comrades, will end your boycott of Biafran information by publishing it:

'Biafrans are fighting against inhuman forces, the apostles of which are holding the instruments of oppression in order to exterminate us. We are fighting against the most reactionary primitive institutions of feudalism as practised by the Northern Nigerian oligarchy. We are fighting against British colonialism and economic imperialism. We are fighting against the naked economic imperialism of Royal Dutch Shell, British Petroleum and Unilever, organisations that aid the Gowon Military Junta. We are fighting against the most reactionary socialist doctrines of the Soviet Union. We are fighting against the United States attempt to destroy the dignity of the African man. We are fighting to uphold the ideals of freedom. Above all we are fighting to achieve humanity's most cherished ambitions - man's quest to live and survive as a biological species. We fight against genocide. Biafrans are the Number One Freedom Fighters in Africa. Biafrans are the only people in Africa fighting militarily to defeat American decadence and Anglo-Soviet revisionism in the continent.'

If any comrade should find himself dismissing this (I would guess on account of this ignorant prejudices, of which no socialist should ever allow himself to be accused then I suggest they get themselves correctly informed about Biafra. If they don't know how to do this, I could help them.

Nigel Wright,
1 Colville Houses,
London, W.11.

SOCIALIST POETRY

Sir,

I am editing, for Penguin Books, an anthology of Socialist poetry. This will be completely international, in English and English translation, and will include poets from the 1830's to the present day. In many cases extant translations of Socialist poems are inadequate: crippled by archaisms and inversions and unlikely to appeal to a modern reader. I would, therefore, be delighted to hear from the poets among your readers who have translated Socialist poems of any language into English. A stamp-addressed envelope would be appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

FAMILY PLANNING

Dear Sir,

I have just read with some interest your article in the issue of 10 January entitled "Some Advice". However, I would like to point out that the Brook Advisory Centres and the Marie Stopes clinics charge for consultation as well as supplies; indeed the charges of these other organisations do exceed those made by the FPA.

Also, I would like to mention the fact that we are called the "Family Planning Association" and not Family Planning

Organisation, and that we have nearly nine hundred clinics, a considerable proportion of which do see all women regardless of marital status.

Yours sincerely,
Pamela Howard (Miss)
Information Officer,
Family Planning Association,
Margaret Pyke House,
27-35 Mortimer Street,
London W1N 8BQ.

COMMUNIST-CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE

To the Editor:

I am presently writing my doctoral dissertation on the attitudes of the Methodist and Anglican churches toward the trade union movement and toward the Communist Party, between 1914 and 1968. I would appreciate hearing from any of your readers who remember actions or statements made by these churches, their members or their clergy, especially with regard to

1. General Strike, 1926.
 2. World War II strikes.
 3. London Busmen's strike, 1958.
 4. Episode of the "Zinoviev Letter."
 5. Investigations with regard to Internal Security.
 6. Communists in the Trade Unions.
- Nancy van Vuuren,
History Department,
University of Pittsburgh,
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. 15213.

EQUAL PAY

Dear Sir,

The issue of equal pay is more complicated than you seem to suggest.

"Equal pay would cost British Capitalism up to £600 million a year". What makes you think so? Over the past 20 odd years, the share of wages in National Income has proved remarkably constant on the basis of this I suggest equal pay would cost British Capitalism nothing. If the share of Income going to profit remains constant, and we assume the share going capital does too (it is hard to see how its being reduced could benefit the worker), then the only people to suffer would be the male workers, who would effectively be paying the women via increased prices and reduced real wages. Perhaps it is men and not big business who are exploiting the women and are "so determined to prevent women from getting equal pay".

To avoid this conclusion you must demonstrate how the share of profit can be reduced - an issue which you did not touch on at all.

Is this analysis accurate?, or is it a load of unsound bourgeois economics? (Perhaps that is sound in the context of an unsound bourgeois economy).

Yours,
Jonathan Chiswell Jones,
12 Yarrell Mansions,
Queen's Club Gardens,
London W.14.

ON BEING AN APPRENTICE

ON BEING AN APPRENTICE : TONY REYNOLDS

It is well known that for successful profits London Electricity Board staff must be to a certain degree anti-working class. What is not so well known is the deliberate way in which they are selected.

Let us first consider student apprentices. 'A' level students are deliberately selected by the L.E.B. in preference to those who have only C.S.E. but have obtained good grades, or 'O' level G.C.E.. The latter group will normally have left school at 16 and gone straight to a technical college. Here they will have met a wide cross-section of the working class youth on various craft and technician apprentices. Most G.C.E. 'O' level students are technical high school or secondary modern products. In contrast most 'A' level students will have been sheltered in the prefect, head boy, presentation cricket bat atmosphere of a grammar school sixth form.

Having passed the selection test the student is then called for an interview. He is put through the 'class test' what is your father's job? etc and generally inspected for dress, manners, accent and attitude. If he passes this, our new member of the boss class is admitted to the training centre. He is paid nearly twice as much as the craft apprentices - they know it and so does he. The student-apprentice is placed above the other apprentices in the training centre. He is usually exempt from chores such as fetching cable and metal and running errands. His work will be singled out for comment and used as an example to the craft apprentices. He will be heavily indoctrinated in the policies of the boss class. Courses on measured - day work, copies of the Donovan Report on the trade unions and similar literature, deliberately designed to set up the 'correct' attitude towards workers, are freely supplied. He is encouraged to consider the craft-apprentice as a lower being. The student apprentice must always keep his superior attitude right down to the last detail - one apprentice who was reprimanded for going around dressed like a 'tramp' and refused to cut his hair. He was told that being a student-apprentice meant that he must always set an example to the others. This student-apprentice selection system is foolproof because if someone manages to slip through the interviewing net he will soon get rejected by the other students if he has the wrong attitude.

A student apprentice was sacked because he was the father of an illegitimate child and also being absent. He was absent two days. The first when the mothers parents found out and the second time when the baby was born. He was told he was setting a bad example to the others, and should be ashamed of what he had done. Unfortunately no action was taken as

1) there is no real action apprentices can take and

2) most of the other apprentices were scared of the consequences if they had taken action. The craft apprentices are just as bad off as the other apprentices. They have no authority over what is said or done. During the training course they are taught many things that are irrelevant to their jobs such as welding, forging, machining, and metal work. Where time, which we are told is valuable, is wasted on these lessons the apprentices could be taught lessons more relevant to the course.



Tribune vs. DWARF Debate: Report

Two thousand, three hundred people packed the hall (not 700 as Ian Aitken wrote in the Guardian). These summaries give only a bare indication of the content of the speeches. Necessary because no one else had done so. We hope to produce a pamphlet in the next two weeks which will give all the speeches in full.

Bob Rowthorne is an economics don on the editorial board of the Dwarf. He talked in a concentrated way packing in lots of ideas. The audience listened hard and quietly. He began by pointing out that all the Labour government's main actions had been an attempt to streamline capitalism or as they put it to 'rationalise it'. The Labour left's failure was their lack of any coherent analysis of what the government is doing. At every stage when there have been signs of a working class opposition in the form of strikes the Labour left has always said 'Goodness me' the government must meet this or that demand because if it doesn't industrial relations will get worse. 'I would have thought any socialist would want industrial relations to get worse'.

Unity and Respectability

The two basic elements of the Labour Party are as they always have been: the idea that unity must be preserved at all costs and the desperate desire to be respectable and acceptable to all reasonable men. The Labour left should be encouraging and organising a revolutionary movement based on the class struggle but once it did that it could not be contained within the Labour Party.

Eric Heffer is now, a Labour M.P. He was once a revolutionary socialist. He started by saying 'my colleagues and I have been fighting shoulder to shoulder in Parliament on socialist matters'. The reaction (uproar and laughter) surprised Heffer who thrust out his chin and went on the attack using every hoary old 'common man' cliché he could lay his mind on... 'I'm not making any apologies here tonight for anything we have done. I was a worker at the bench. I'm not ashamed of that because I'm from the working class. The Labour Left has consistently opposed every anti socialist government measure'. We have fought for peace in Vietnam (cries of 'Victory', 'Have you fought for Victory?').

'It is very simple for people who have never been involved in the class struggle to come along and tell us how simple it all is. I am not suggesting that everything is wonderful as far as Parliament is concerned (laughter) But when a joiner finds his tool isn't working he doesn't throw it away he tries to sharpen it up (cries of 'Hear, Hear', and someone shouted 'You get a new one').

France

The real hope in France was the working class but the workers were not prepared to go beyond economic demands (cries of 'Rubbish'). If it was rubbish Heffer countered then why did de Gaulle get a bigger majority in the election than before. I've probably had more experience of the class struggle than 90% of the audience sitting in this hall (Both Heffer and Foot made references to the audiences political inexperience, a paternalist trick that is going to be less and less easy to pull as political consciousness grows). I've been in strike after strike. As long as the working class give their support to the Labour Party it is an abdication of revolutionary responsibility to go outside the Party.

I believe that I am a revolutionary socialist (uproar). If ever I thought socialism could not be achieved through the Labour Party I would say get out. Your job is to join us and strengthen the movement. Don't move into some sectarian position but join with us and the struggle for real socialism.

Tariq Ali is the editor of this newspaper. He started fast but kept up the pace. He began by taking up Heffer's point on Parliament saying that the revolutionary left had never said that parliament was completely irrelevant. It can be used as a base for socialist propaganda. He went on... 'There are two different kinds of social democrat sitting on this platform tonight. Comrade Heffer is regarded by the revolutionary left essentially as a renegade from the revolutionary movement who is helping to sustain the most corrupt form of social democracy we have seen in this country for a long time (applause). Comrade Foot belongs to a completely different tradition for which we have a great deal of respect: the old Victorian tradition of the radical reformer. As Lenin once said when you have to choose who is more dangerous: an honest priest or a dishonest priest the answer is an honest priest. We view Comrade Foot in the same light. He is far more dangerous than Comrade Heffer'.

The whole history of social democracy is a history of betrayal of the worker's interests time and time again. The proponents of the parliamentary road to socialism were Utopian Defeatists. To say that simply to bring more and

more Left Labour M.P.'s into parliament would bring about socialism was ridiculous.

France

For socialists in Western Europe the events in May last year are of crucial importance. After the French working class had been betrayed by French social democracy, that is to say the Communist Party, the French workers were completely disillusioned... The result of betrayals like this always leads to a swing to the right.

Democracy

We are not opposed to democratic institutions but we want democracy where it really matters - in the factories. We want workers councils - general assemblies of workers. We don't want a democracy run by management committees of the local Labour parties.

It was the social democrats that bureaucratized the class struggle. You can't be in the middle of this struggle. You must be on one side or the other. We on the on the Black Dwarf are on the side of the workers. Tariq emphasised the need to struggle against those who believe in class collaboration - the Labour left... 'We believe that the time is ripe hot for a revolution in this country, we have never said that, but to completely destroy and discredit social democracy as far as the workers movements are concerned and to build a revolutionary party. All those of you who have come here who do not

belong to any revolutionary group look at the groups that exist make up your mind and join them. Social Democracy is dead - let us bury it together'.

Michael Foot began his speech carefully getting the feel of a difficult audience. He dismissed the idea of being either a Victorian or a Utopian defeatist. He mentioned Czechoslovakia, Greece, Vietnam and South Africa by saying that he had 'thought about' them as strongly and as persistently as anyone else in the hall.

Presumably taking exception to Tariq's description of Heffer as a 'renegade' Foot spent some time describing the value of using words like 'traitor'.

Everything Tariq had said about workers control in industry he agreed with but socialists must ask themselves who is going to run the state? Different factories will have different ideas which must be reconciled by some form of central representative assembly and if you admit that you admit the need for elections and some form of party organisation. So anyone engaged in a programme of destroying social democracy must make it very clear that he's not also helping to destroy democratic institutions themselves. It would be stupid for socialists in Britain to destroy or help to destroy democratic institutions at the very moment that Socialists in Prague are fighting to get them back. (applause) He then talked at length about the U.N. (groans) attacking Tariq's description of the 'mealy mouthed' U Thant.

Power of the vote

Of course, it would be quite wrong for an M.P. to say that he would never take a vote that would destroy the Labour government but it would lead to a general election in which the party would be shattered throughout the country. Furthermore it would mean handling the party over to the right wing and that would be treachery.

We have got to rebuild and revitalise the Labour movement. To change its course, to make it into a party that does not recognise the reality of the class struggle. At this point Foot listed some personalities in the movement as examples of a left wing trend. They included Jack Jones and Will Paynter. He finished with an appeal similar to Eric Heffer's... All those who wish to see Britain leading Socialism in the world - come into the Labour party and join us'.

There followed contributions from the floor including a brilliant tirade from John Palmer. Significantly the only speaker to defend the Labour Left was Monty Johnston of the C.P.

BY DWARF REPORTERS

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★
MR. FREEDOM
 ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★
IS A YANKEE, LOVES
 ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★
CORNFLAKES, HATES
 ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★
FROGS, HAS THE BIG
 ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★
ONE, WILL KILL YOU!
 ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

And he beats up beautiful birds.
Mr. Freedom 'X' in colour, at Cinecenta 3.
 William Klein's wild political satire. The U.S.A. is represented by the title character; he's a brutal, ridiculous astronaut/football player/superman, looking like a cross between the American flag and a Cadillac. Extremely original visually and a scathing comment on America.

At Cinecenta 1: Wonderwall 'X', in colour,
 Cinecenta 2: Les Biches 'X', in colour,
 Cinecenta 4: The Red Mantle 'X', in colour.
 Performance times at all theatres:
 10.00, 12.00, 2.00, 4.00, 6.00, 8.00, 10.00.
 (Friday and Saturday extra midnight performance)
 Sunday at 2.00, 4.00, 6.00, 8.00, 10.00.
 Cinecenta, Pantons Street, Leicester Square.



Across Five In More Than Students Have Invade

As the British student movement enters a new phase and students across the world are in revolt as agents of protest. The campus has become a centre of conflict. The diverse political positions and functions: some student struggles are plainly reactionary, some are directed against repressive government-directed political and social process. In some cases allied with progressive staff (UK, USA, Mexico, Poland, Spain, Italy Greece, Czechoslovakia, Japan . . .); in others they are helping peasant struggles (Vietnam, Palestine, Venezuela . . .). Colleges in the USA, Spain, France, Italy, Germany, Greece invaded by police and closed down for periods of time. But over the past five years. In spite of the variety of the political movements, their action is of utmost importance for the present the student movement in its world-wide perspective. (The intention has been mainly to include material on student movements, some historical material has been added. Sources: *The Times*, *Der Spiegel*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Peking Review*.)

CANADA

Jan 29 - temporary occupation of Sir George Williams University, Montreal, by 500 militants in protest at the discrimination against five negro students at the university; students called for Black Power and Student Power.

USA

Numerous campuses in the US in crisis during January. At San Francisco State University 483 people, staff and students, were arrested on January 23 during a protest meeting. Students had been on strike since November 6 calling for more negro admissions to the college. At UCLA two negro militants were assassinated on Jan 17. At Brandeis, Mass., negro students seized the administration building to demand the setting up of a Department of Afro-American Studies and the appointment of black professors. In

Chicago Jan 30 more than 200 students invaded the administration buildings to demand the reinstatement of Marlene Dixon, a lecturer who had been sacked for taking part in demonstrations. On a more hopeful note: the Students Union at Stanford decided to pay Joan Robinson \$5,000 to be their first ASSU (Associated Students of Stanford University) professor next term, as part of a campaign by students to appoint their own staff as opponents of the reactionary social science taught in the university.

MEXICO

Student agitation last summer was smashed by the massacre of 273 people in the Three Cultures Square October 2. In December Mexico City University was reopened but more than a thousand staff and students were arrested after protest meetings. Jan 30 - students at the university and at the polytechnic institute went on a 24 hour strike to protest the wave of arrests.

CUBA

Cuban students played vital role in the revolutionary struggle, 1956-59; 1957 - students executed after attempt to assassinate Batista. Many fought in the mountains. Now playing a leading role in economic activity, giving up forty days a year of productive work. Within Havana university, students play an important role in administration and fixing courses.

VENEZUELA

Students at Caracas University used the campus for storing arms and training cadres for the FALN guerrillas; but government finally invaded in 1964.

ARGENTINA

The student protest movement in Cordoba 1918 led to the Cordoba Manifesto, the first important statement of the need for student power. The Manifesto proposed a triple division of power between staff, graduates, and undergraduates. Its implementation was increasingly successful and led to a rise in academic standards. Following the military coup in 1966 police and fascists invaded the campus. Students have subsequently demonstrated, struck and given aid to the guerrilla movement in Tucuman province, and to the left-wing part of the Argentinian CGT which has refused to work with the government.

BRAZIL

Students in constant activity since CIA coup in 1964. Demonstrations in spring 1968 resulted in several deaths. Following dissolution of puppet parliament in December severe repression has temporarily quietened activity.

IRELAND

Students in occupied Ireland continued their role in the struggle against the bourgeois-Protestant ruling class, calling for a people's democracy. Students establish crucial ties with homeless, unemployed and disenfranchised.

ENGLAND

Following the repressive closure of LSE, students in a score of universities struck and occupied. History continues.

NORWAY

Students at Oslo's philosophy faculty carried out a week-long occupation in mid-January after the authorities refused to grant them parity on the government body. The students ran their own seminars and banned all lecturers from speaking. Students from other parts of the university participated, and carried out a critique of the methods and content of teaching and of the structure of the university.

GERMANY

SDS has maintained a constant struggle for two years. In January police invaded Berlin campus several times; were called in Cologne University; arrested 70 students who occupied the Social Research Institute in Frankfurt; and were constantly on the alert in Heidelberg after arresting and beating up student leaders. In Munich students occupied the rector's office; in Heidelberg they renamed the political science faculty after Rosa Luxembourg Embassies and legations of the Greek, American, Spanish, Portuguese and Iranian governments under constant attack.

FRANCE

Few of the joint-worker-student committees of May survive; but around Nanterre student work is continuing in four factories. The monetary crisis of November has re-awakened awareness of the weakness of French capitalism. In the lycées the CALs are making rapid headway, one issue of conflict being the refusal by authorities to allow the showing of films on the May events. This has led to police invading several lycées, which sparked the re-occupation of the Sorbonne and Vincennes on January 23 before police cleared them out. In attempting to quell student action the government has set up student-staff committees in each institution, but the left has boycotted the elections for them which have been going on for the past fortnight. At Vincennes the students attacked these comités paritaires because their powers "are reduced within the scope of the law to ratifying what is acceptable to capital, the minister of education, and his representatives, the rectors". Agitation continues on and off the campus.

AUSTRIA

Jan 27 - 100 students went on permanent strike in Vienna protest against activities of the Persian secret police SAVAK, in Austria and at the arrival of Austrian authorities of a Persian militant, Esmail Salem.

ITALY

On New Year's Eve, several hundred students and workers demonstrated in Viareggio outside a night-club shouting slogans like "Your fur coat cost more than a building worker earns in a year". Moved in, one 18 year-old student severely wounded in the shooting. This led to a series of strikes throughout Italy. The movement of last year continues: young workers in the communist party have been influenced by the direct action of students; in Turin students and factory workers have formed joint committees. In January there were occupations of the faculty in Rome, of the architecture faculty in Florence and of the mathematics faculty in Bologna in protest at the government project for university reform. Students, workers and intellectuals organised a protest counter-festival during the San Remo song contest in opposition to social conditions in Italy. In Naples Jan 24 the university was closed following a battle between left and right-wing students. In Rome on Jan 27 Italian and Persian students occupied the Persian Embassy and rang up the Persian Prime Minister in Tehran.

GREECE

Jan 23 - five students on trial for subversive activity in Athens claimed to have been tortured by the security police. They pleaded guilty to being communists. Two were given 16 years; the other three given lighter sentences. Jan 28 - Greek dictators publish new statement on student discipline: students banned from holding meetings, from criticising professors, spreading ideas that undermine social order. Athens university a centre of opposition.

SPAIN

Spain is the European country with the most advanced student-workers relations; they form joint commissions of students and workers and joint student-worker commandos for urban guerrilla activity. Occupations, strikes, closures and street-battles have been going on for four years. The present wave followed the death under arrest of a student, Enrique Ruano, on Jan 17. Students demanded a public enquiry and the punishment of police. Barricades were put up in the main street of Madrid. On Jan 22 four students were given prison sentences of between 12 and 25 years. After four days of street fighting the government declared a state of emergency Friday Jan 24. Madrid and Barcelona universities closed. Lecturers banished to remote villages. Jan 28 - police invaded Saragossa university to break up worker-student occupation. Thousands of arrests after

Continents Thirty Countries The Political Arena

are brought onto the campus for the first time, as participants in revolutionary transformation. Many of their actions arise out of a set of different single-issue movements of university protest, some of which see the social system as a whole, some are parts of a larger movement; in some they are politically isolated; in some they are united with workers (USA, Kenya, Argentina...); and in others they are aiding

Kenya, England, Pakistan, Mexico have been the movement will grow and expand as it has done in other forms and content contained in these student movements and revolutionary movement at this time. Here we

struggles in January 1969; but where relevant see *Guardian*, *Observer*, *Sunday Times*, *Le Monde*.

POLAND

Demonstrations in March 1968 led to repression and anti-semitic attacks in Poland. Jan 15 - two lecturers at Warsaw University (33) and Karol Modzelewski sentenced to jail for backing the demonstrations, and for attacking government bureaucracy in their "Letter to the United Polish Party".

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Students played a leading role in forcing changes from the government before the Russian invasion. Now play a leading role in demanding resistance from Dubcek and elections. Mass protests followed the death of Jan Palach, January 19.

TURKEY

Istanbul and Ankara universities occupied last year. Jan 17 - students in Istanbul burn the American flag and portrait of new US ambassador, supporter of Vietnamese pacification programmes. Previously students in Ankara had burnt the ambassador's car.

IRAN

Students have been active opponents of the shah since CIA coup 1953. In 1961 they forced a change of government. In 1966 five graduates of British universities imprisoned on faked charges of trying to shoot the shah. 14 graduates now on trial on charges of subversion. SAVAK, secret police, has own forces on the campus; active among Persian students in Europe and America.

LEBANON

Last year militant Beirut students disrupted talk by Foreign Minister of South Vietnam; later organised protest at Hussein's attacks on Palestine guerrillas. Government claimed it was a Jewish-communist plot organised by... Cohn-Bendit. Since December 31st students in all Beirut universities on strike demanding punishment for those responsible for defense of Beirut airport and the release of all guerrillas imprisoned by the Lebanese authorities.

PALESTINE

Since Israeli occupation Arab students involved in demonstrations almost every week. Dec 1967 - Israelis arrested three student leaders involved in political resistance. Palestinian students abroad have enlisted in the guerrilla organisations.

NEPAL

Jan 19 - Government decision to postpone examinations led to violent street-fighting in Katmandu between students and police. All shops closed. Students burnt the Minister of Education's car.

PAKISTAN

Students have played leading role in riots and occupations over the last two months in opposition to Ayub Khan's dictatorship. Many followers of Bhutto. All schools and universities closed since October 1968. Previously, thirty students were injured in Dacca, East Pakistan, when barricades raised near the university and 5,000 marched to mosque to mourn comrade shot by police. Police shooting demonstrators throughout Pakistan.

INDIA

Jan 28 - One student killed and two injured when police fired on student demo in Nalgonda, south of Hyderabad. Students were calling for separation of Telengana area, where four million peasants ran a communist republic 1946-48. In Hyderabad itself high school students struck in support of Telengana movement. In subsequent demonstrations more students killed and the army called in by the Andhra Pradesh State government. All schools in Hyderabad closed Jan 30.

SOUTH AFRICA

NUSAS has waged a constant fight against apartheid for several years. Last year students occupied Pretoria and other universities. Government has now brought in legislation making occupation a crime.

JAPAN

On January 19 8,500 riot police attacked the central buildings of Toyko University as helicopters poured liquid gas out of the skies. 200 militant Maoist students and workers who had controlled the campus since June were finally dislodged after 36 hours of heroic resistance. The occupation began in June when police were brought onto the campus to crush a protest against authoritarian discipline. The spring entrance exams for Tokyo University have been cancelled. In Kyoto Maoists who tried to hold a meeting of solidarity with the Tokyo occupation were attacked by revisionists - 163 people were hurt. Militant students are building up for the 1970 debate on renewing the Treaty with the USA. Militants in power on 60 campuses.

CHINA

The Chinese Communist Party itself arose out of the student protest movement of May 4 1919 against Japanese imperialism. The Great Cultural Revolution began at Peking University. Throughout China students in the fore of revolutionary and productive activity. Jan 25 - a new revolutionary committee of staff and students was set up in Peking.

VIETNAM

In Democratic Vietnam students have played a crucial role in building a socialist economy; thousands are continuing their studies in preparation for reconstructions after the defeat of imperialism. In the South thousands of students have left Saigon to join the NLF.

PHILLIPINES

Jan 20 - all schools closed as 9,000 teachers struck in Manila. Jan 27 - students injured when hundreds clashed with police in protest against the dismissal of four of their comrades. On another demonstration 10,000 students and small shopkeepers protested peacefully against social and academic conditions.

EGYPT

Nov 1968 - student demonstrations in Cairo, Alexandria and other Egyptian cities. Students occupy Alexandria School of Engineering and arrest the major. Many arrests - 493 in Alexandria alone. Government closed all schools and universities until further notice. Main issues - opposition to peaceful settlement of Palestine; demand for freedom of expression; demand for solution to unemployment of school and university graduates.

KENYA

Jan 24 - Students at Nairobi University went on strike in protest at a government ban on lecture by left-wing opposition leader Oginga Odinga. Jan 28 - government closed the campus and 1,200 students living there thrown out.

CAPITALISM, AND THE UNIVERSITIES

RAYMOND CHALLINOR

Colleges and universities, like most other capitalist institutions, have illusions about their role in society. It facilitates smooth, easy working, acting as a buttress against subversive influences. Places of higher learning - - at least according to the myth—operate with complete academic freedom in their research for knowledge; without let or hindrance, widely conflicting views are expressed and, from their clash, the Truth (capital T) emerges.

GRAVE OBJECTIONS

This position is open to grave objection. First, because the contestants do not start on the basis of equality. The dice is heavily loaded in favour of the big boys. For instance, a small group of highly skilled engineers, capable of producing a car infinitely superior to those of British Leyland, would still stand no chance in a competition with the giants of the motor industry. Likewise in politics: revolutionaries, having to rely on journals such as this, with a small circulation, are at a distinct disadvantage compared to The Establishment politicians, who have easy access to the mass media. But a second objection to the liberal position is that the contest of economic forces and political ideas, far from taking place in conditions of freedom, operates within the coercive context of capitalism. Anything that endangers the system is liable to be crushed: besides Adam Smith's 'hidden hand' is another hand with a knife! Of course, apologists for capitalism quietly try to forget these two crucial reservations. It is important to them to preserve the illusion that those who have come to the top, economically and politically, have done so because of merit. Thus, it provides a reason for retaining the status quo. They argue that a company like I.C.I. must have been efficient, as well as pleasing the public, to have beaten all its competitors and emerged as sole producer of chemicals. Ergo, it is best left in its present state. Similarly with politics: Labour and Conservative leaders rule because they have proved to the satisfaction of the electorate that they are sound, right thinking individuals.

PILLARS OF ESTABLISHMENT

The same principle applies in the academic world. Professors are supposed to be appointed on merit. They are presumably supposed to be wiser, more intelligent and learned than their lesser brethren. Once appointed, if not before they usually become pillars of the university establishment, making reactionary pronouncements. They help to stem the tide of progress by sitting on Royal Commissions, helping the Prices & Incomes Board to keep down wages, and by generally serving the ruling class with a steady flow of articles and speeches. Always, and this has been so throughout history, the generally prevailing ideas in the universities have helped to bolster the existing social system. It is comforting for the ruling class to believe that this has happened through a free expression of ideas, conducted by people who are only seekers after truth. It makes the ruling class appear as if it is the highest embodiment of truth in society. Maxists dispute this and rightly so. I intend to outline what restrictions have been played on free expression and, moreover, to show the coercive way by which state and industry attempt to impose conformity.

ECONOMIC

The first, and most important, is economic. Universities are financially dependent; the need for large funds from outside bodies are likely to influence their whole orientation. In the last analysis, the person who pays the piper calls the tune. When there was trouble at Sussex University last summer, Professor Asa Briggs denied this. Defending the University's right to accept money from an American firm manufacturing weapons of mass destruction for use in Vietnam, he pointed out that the firm had given the money for pure research and had placed no restrictions on its use. Hence it did not constitute a threat to academic freedom nor was it tantamount to complicity in the war. But Professor Briggs overlooks the dangers inherent in such grants. In American universities the process has gone much further than in Britain. What it has meant was clearly revealed by General Eisenhower in his farewell address ending his term as President of the United States in 1961. In that speech he made his famous warning about the military-industrial complex that was dominating all aspects of American life, including the allocation of intellectual resources. The following year a survey showed that 84 per cent of all research activity was related to military activities. Subsequently, the American Council on Education stated that, if these funds dried up, 'the whole character of many universities' research programs (and in consequence, of their instructional programs) would be affected.

MILITARY LINK

Universities were under considerable pressure to succumb to blandishments from firms with military connections. Growth, promotion, prestige might all be tied up with answering 'Yes'. Moreover, the economic prosperity of the region in some instances were involved by their decisions: often arms plants would only be located in a town if the neighbouring university was cooperative. But once the military link had been established, a drastic transformation was wrought. Even McGeorge Bundy, when Dean of Harvard, recognised the 'essential atmosphere of a university can easily be contaminated... by classified research contracts.' It meant, as another writer put it, bringing 'into the university the same security apparatus that is operative in laboratories like those at Los Alamos or Oak Ridge.' Gone was the freedom to publish the fruits of research. Gone was the university's right to appoint the best man to a post since non-academic criteria—his political beliefs—became an overriding consideration. Instead there was the security man, prying into all aspects of the individual's personal and intellectual activities.

ARMS FACTORIES

If Professor Briggs or anybody else questions whether the same trends are discernible here, then let him examine the facts. With a military budget of £2,300 million a year, the British Government is concerned, vitally concerned, about the cost-effectiveness of its military research projects. It has already made overtures to the universities, asking them to curtail traditional academic freedom so that more work on classified projects. As Professor Bernal has already pointed out, the type of changes in procedures envisaged would make universities adjuncts of arms factories.

Nor is it any longer possible to envisage leading international scientists collaborating on a problem of theoretical physics, as happened in the Cavendish laboratories at Cambridge in the inter-war years. As C.P. Snow pointed out, it would be impossible to have a prominent Russian as a member of the team for fear something with military application were discovered: 'The Kapitzka phenomenon couldn't take place now.'

PROFESSORS/ENTREPRENEURS

The link with militarism is but one facet of the growing connection between universities and capitalist industry as a whole. This has been more closely studied in America than in this country. A survey revealed that 20 per cent of American college presidents are members of one or more boards of directors; 40 per cent of the colleges participate with industry in work-study programmes; 50 per cent of the industrialists were members of one or more college boards; and that 65 per cent of the companies support college research programmes.

Not surprisingly, Clark Kerr, ex-head of the University of California, declared: 'The university and segments of industry are becoming more and more alike. As a result of the companies support college research programmes.'

Not surprisingly, Clark Kerr, ex-head of the University of California, declared: 'The university and segments of industry are becoming more and more alike. As the university becomes tied to the world of work, the professor—at least in the natural and some of the social sciences—takes on the characteristics of an entrepreneur... The two worlds are merging physically and psychologically... The university is a mechanism held together by administrative rules and powered by money. Civilian government since Finance often influences decisions in a hidden, subtle way. However, occasionally the authorities blatantly admit that their whole policy was conditioned by monetary considerations. This was the case at the University of Keele in its earlier years. A belief that it could attract considerable funds from business magnates in the Potteries resulted in the University authorities

students were forbidden to form left-wing clubs; a lecturer's appointment was revoked when it was discovered he was a CPer; and a course on 'Communism', to be run by the Political Institutions department, was discontinued because it might be liable to misinterpretation. Only when it was clear finance would not be forthcoming from North Staffordshire industrialists was a limited degree of liberalisation allowed to take place.

A more recent example of the power of money comes from Lancaster University. Nobody within the university took violent exception to Dr. David Craig's views on morality when he first propounded them. It was only when the University was in danger of losing £200,000 as a consequence that Dr. Craig was asked for his resignation.

To sum up about finance: higher education's dependency on outside aid makes it highly vulnerable to influence from capitalist institutions, both state and private; makes it ultra-cautious, appointing stolid and safe men to key posts; and it places university authorities on the side of The Establishment, a fact that students clearly saw during their protests earlier this year.

RECENT UNREST

The recent wave of student unrest has also helped to reveal another unsavoury development—university-sponsored spying on students. The hall porters at Leeds had, as one of their official duties, to investigate people's political activities. The students' union there reacted strongly. It called for a public inquiry into the issue, backing up this demand by staging a sit-in at the main university buildings.

M.I.5

Although most people do not seem to be aware of it, spying in universities has quite a long ancestry. In May 1957, Lord Chorley sparked off a public controversy by his revelation that M.I.5 was collecting reports on the personal habits, reading habits and outside activities. 'Some of the things I have heard,' he told the House of Lords, 'have really been almost unbelievable. A university teacher has been asked, in effect, what documents a colleague has in his room, which, in fact, means that a teacher has been asked to find a way into his colleague's study. This is not a thing which happens now and then: it is going on all the time. Numerous colleagues of mine who work in London University have told me in the last month that they have been asked to report not only on their students but on their own colleagues.'

Lord Chorley's speech led others to make startling disclosures about the conduct of the security service. Amid the hubbub, a top-rank member of M.I.5 admitted: 'We have members reporting from every university and college in the British Isles.'

In the discussions of the Association of University Teachers, some members, like Professor J.L. Montrose, argued for a policy of non-cooperation with the security service. Others advocated that the A.U.T. institute its own inquiry into how far M.I.5's influence had penetrated the universities. All that appears to have been done, however, was that the A.U.T. wrote for a clarification of Government policy. The reply, couched in tones designed to dispel disquiet, claimed that investigations were only conducted on a small number of students. It ended:

'The information was sought from tutors because it was felt they had a unique opportunity of seeing cross check the information obtained from them. There was nothing surreptitious about the inquiry, which was considered essential to the security of the state.'

Confronted with the Government's determination to give nothing away except bland assurances, the 1957 controversy fizzled out.

There is, however, today good reason for supposing that the investigation of staff and students is conducted in a much more thorough-going fashion than in 1957. Behind it lies the needs of British capitalism: First it must vet carefully appointments to many posts in the state and private industry. This is not merely as a precaution against secret information getting passed on to the Russians, but, probably more important, to prevent the employment of people who they would call 'troublemakers' and we would call 'good trade unionists'. Second, as part of the nation's defence strategy

a whole. It would be strange if the universities, bodies which contain some of the most vociferous protesters, were omitted. In Greece, the military junta had the most detailed personal information on everybody from pale pink leftwards. To impose its regime, the Greek army used a NATO contingency plan, with breath-taking efficiency arresting all its potential opponents. Surely it is reasonable to assume that Britain, also a NATO country, has her contingency plan, too.

Third, the need of the university authorities, in order to preserve its own stability as a capitalist institution, to keep a careful check on all disruptive influences among its ranks.

POWERLESS INTELLECTUALS

Revolt among intellectuals is likely to spread. In part, due to the general reasons outlined by the late Professor C. Wright Mills: the centralisation of decision-making leaves intellectuals powerless and with a feeling of frustration; they see the need to act, with growing urgency, at the same time as the existing social system shuts all effective institutionalised channels for action to them. Inevitably, they are compelled to go outside, and operate against, the system. But this trend among intellectuals in Britain is reinforced by factors that are peculiar to this country, most of which are associated with the failure of social democracy. On a whole host of issues (incomes policy, Vietnam, germ warfare, etc.), the Government's political bankruptcy is increasingly apparent. As the questioning grows more angry, so the answers become more unconvincing. For instance, how can a Labour politician justify the Government breaking every one of the ten election promises... education made before the 1964 general election? They were merely modest reforms. Failure to implement them is indefensible on educational grounds, in terms of their own reformist philosophy as well as violating the alleged principles of parliamentary democracy, where the electorate is supposed to determine, in broad outline, the course the country is going to adopt.

TOTALITARIANISM

At this point to there being a tendency towards totalitarianism in Britain today. For when the powers-that-be cannot answer their critics, they resort to other means. It is in this context that spying at universities and elsewhere has to be viewed. It is simply hypocritical for university authorities to pose as the custodians of academic freedom while doing nothing to stop, or even protest, against it. How can one talk of 'free expression of opinion' when, if a student really speaks his mind, he will ruin his chances of getting a whole range of jobs, render himself liable to police harassment, and probable arrest in any national emergency?

Besides the two groups of restrictions imposed by finance and spying, places of higher learning are subjected to a third type of curtailment—to the sphere of investigation. We have already touched on how this operates in the sciences, where research might have military significance. What is not so well known is that research into a lot of social and historical problems is impeded by official obstructionism, the failure to make many important state papers freely available at the Public Records Office.

It is possible to do research into the British capitalist state's dirty dealing in foreign policy, but it is impossible to investigate, in the same way, how the ruling class dealt with its enemy at home. If we are unable to say what the security forces were doing in 1868, if that is still shrouded in secrecy, what hope have we of discovering what they are doing today? The truth is that we will have to wait for capitalism's Judgment Day—the coming of the British socialist revolution—before these facts are revealed.

STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

In the meantime, in the struggle for socialism we must necessarily defend those rights of democratic freedom which the authorities espouse at the same time as they attack. And let us recall the remarks of Rudi Dutschke, the German student leader, who said 'The most conscious and active opposition to the democratisation of society originates in the university. The removal of student opposition through police terror and through punishment of so-called agitators must be seen by us as an attack on the most significant beginning of democratic consciousness in Germany since the end of World War Two, which must be answered

Report From Berlin by Fred Halliday

Berlin, Monday January 27, 1967.

Throughout Western Europe, students are confronting governments, police and academic authorities. Spain declares a state of emergency; in Italy students capture the Iranian embassy and give a press conference on the situation in Tehran; in France the CRS assault the Sorbonne; in London, the LSE lockout raises the British student struggle to a new state of nation-wide combativity. Everywhere there are police, and repression on the campus.

ROVING INSURGENCY

Berlin has been in a state of crisis for over a year. On January 19th 500 students marched on the HQ of the Social-Democratic Party, protesting at the fiftieth anniversary of the assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and at the fifty and more years of social treachery which that party has carried out against the German workers. Blocked by police from approaching the SPD building, the students turned on bourgeois property, smashing all the windows of the shops and banks nearby. On January 24, a Friday, 14,000 workers marched on the town hall to protest at the closing down of their factory as part of the economic withdrawal by German capital from Berlin which has been going on since 1961. In the university the student masses are in permanent movement. On January 23, they sacked the offices of some repressive administrators and burnt their files after two students were relegated for a term: the student reply 'Relegation produces Revolution'. Over the weekend the Berlin authorities tried to expel from the city a Persian militant, Bahman Nirumand (32), who had played a leading role in the Berlin movement. The response to this was overwhelming: on this Monday alone, there was a meeting of 4,000 students in the auditorium of the Free University (FU) at which Nirumand spoke, pointing out that his own victimisation was part of the general academic and authoritarian counter-offensive going on throughout Western Europe. The subsequent debate in which the German equivalents of Crouch, Martin and Fisk made a feeble attempt to mislead the students masses terminated in praxis - the auditorium was deserted, the masses looted the offices of another counter-revolutionary administrator and then launched a stone-throwing assault on the Persian consulate. Elsewhere in the city demonstrators attacked the Greek legation and as night fell the Kurfurstendamm was clogged with police cars and trucks rushing from one flash-point to another, vainly attempting to counter the roving insurgency of the Berlin students. Berlin, the city of the Spartakists, which became the capital of Hitler's Reich and the counter-revolutionary symbol of the cold war, has rediscovered its revolutionary destiny.

POLITICAL CRISES

Yet, the APO - extra - parliamentary opposition - is in crisis.

The shooting of Dutschke in April 1968 was followed by a fortnight of unparalleled militancy: Springer's buildings and vans were attacked, hundreds were arrested, thousands of students paralysed a score of German cities. But this paroxysm of the APO was followed by a lull: the response of the proletariat was almost nil, it seemed that the attempt by students to implement their strategy even given the positive example of France, had failed. The crises of the APO now is a result of this history and the attempts now being made to resolve the contradictions of that development.

The movement had remained unified while it concentrated on definite national issues such as Springer or Vietnam: the lull led to disunity - geographic disunity in that groups in different towns were confronted with different political perspectives, and political disunity in that the orthodox communists and their followers were opposed to the 'petit-bourgeois anarchism', the lack of 'order and discipline' on the part of the student radicals; at the Sofia Youth Festival these communists aided the Bulgarian police in their repression against the proposed anti-American demonstration and the conflict between the orthodox and the anti-authoritarian wing within SDS was played out at the Frankfurt and Hannover conferences of the SDS. The orthodox are in a minority but they are by no means confined to old communists. Many students follow them: and the communist party has formally refounded itself as the DKD in order to get round the ban of 1956. It has a youth group, the German Socialist Workers' Youth, SDAJ, which has a following among apprentices.

The issues on which the split is based are Czechoslovakia - the German Communists backed the invasion; Parliamentarism - the communists want to take a critical part in the elections of 1969 while the APO wants to combat them altogether; violence - the communists are constantly reiterating the dangers of a Nazi resurgence while the APO is prepared to use counter-violence against police, Springer and other agents of capitalist violence; and (as before 1914) Revisionism - the relation of students to workers and the relation between economist demands are political strategy. Maoists are rarer than in France or Scandinavia and are concerned with carrying out their cultural revolution not with stressing anti-imperialism as they are in this country. Trotskyites are also rare and do not play a central role in the divisions within the left.

Relations between students and workers are almost non-existent until 1968. One problem is that the kind of connection that can exist in England between students and workers who are members of a left grouping is not possible in Germany where there is not a proliferation of

sects. Relations between workers and students in the communist party did go on, but on a clandestine level. The anti-communism and reformism of the unions impeded contact on that level; and the equivalents of shop-stewards, the *Vertrauensleute*, were much more integrated

into the union bureaucracy than their British counterparts. Problems of making contact with the workers, problems of the level of communication once this contact was made - these problems have been attacked over the last year. A movement of base-groups has spread to a number of towns: centred on particular factories, or on districts of a town, they have consisted of students and workers united on a programme of revolutionary factory work. In some cases they have organised factory newspapers; a lot of leafletting has been done and many of the problems which abstract leafletting has encountered in England are being gradually confronted in Berlin as well. The response to the impasse of last spring has been to try to go outside the university into the factory; but the political obstacles to this excursion have prevented it from becoming so far more than a sporadic and at times naively populist development. The absence above all of a revolutionary party in which workers and students could meet and co-operate has meant that the only mediation has been one of individual contact. The base-group movement has only a year of history; and the experience of British socialists with factorygate activity and other forms of worker-student contact, and that of the UJC-ML in France, could be of importance in this respect.

SEXUAL EMANCIPATION

Parallel with this movement into the factories there has also been a movement into the university and into schools. A group of red guards, aged between eight and thirteen, have taken the revolutionary road in Berlin, demanding an end to repressive school discipline. In the secondary schools students have taken and increasing role in demonstrations and have organised a high-school movement, AUSS; AUSS has campaigned on the platform of sexual emancipation and the availability of contraceptives for all German school children; and has denounced religious instruction in schools.

The situation in the universities is complex. On the one hand the authorities have made a token concession to the students of one-third representation on the syllabus committees in some universities; on the other hand they have taken stronger disciplinary action against progressive students and have threatened to stop student grants. The students and left-wing staff have tried to put forward a programme of internal transformation, involving the use of the intellectual productive forces of the university for critical purposes. In Berlin's political science Otto-Suhr-Institute students in June launched a campaign for a critical social science after professors there had taken no stand at all on the introduction of emergency legislation into West Germany. The students were granted one-third representation on syllabus committees, and there are now official seminars on the Marxist theory of imperialism. In the chemistry department in Berlin, revolutionary students have developed a programme of revolutionary chemistry - involving research into ways of neutralising American gases and chemicals in Vietnam. The film institute has been using its facilities to make left-wing documentaries on students and worker movements.

The general slogan has been one for the 'autonomous zone' - an area of free research where students can use a certain % of the institution's research funds for their own anti-capitalist ends. The success of this slogan among the students has led to some industrial concerns moving their funds out of the university and setting up their own private research centres. Another problem that has arisen is that in some places the students have not had the capability to use their newly-won opportunities, and this given authoritarian professors the occasion to announce the intellectual validity of student power. The great influx of new support into SDS after the June 67 shooting and the Dutschke attack have created problems of the political maturity of students, and while the ideological strength of the leadership is very high and that of the mass of students much higher than in Britain, there have been problems of educating the new forces.

ANTI PARLIAMENTARISM

As demands are radicalised, and as political confrontation on and off the campus continues the leaders of the APO are trying to reform their forces for a new campaign in 1969: in March, the Federal President will be elected and in the autumn there will be Parliamentary elections. Various concrete issues are being highlighted in several main cities - on Greece, Spain and Portugal students and foreign workers from these countries have been in constant battle with police over the past few months; but the central theme of 1969 will be Parliamentarism. On March 1-4 the Berlin SDS is organising a European Conference on parliamentarism and the need for extra-parliamentary oppositions; they want as many foreign comrades to come in order to plan an international struggle against bourgeois democratic charades. (Anyone interested should write to the Republikanischer Klub, 27 Wielandstr. 1 Berlin 15.)

ATTENTION: SCHOOL STUDENTS!



We demand

- 1) Freedom of speech and assembly, and the right to organise inside schools; no censorship of school magazines, clubs and societies.
- 2) Effective democratic control of the school by an elected School Council, subject to instant recall, made up of representatives of students and staff.
- 3) The abolition of all exams in their present form.
- 4) The abolition of corporal and all arbitrary forms of punishment and of the prefect system.
- 5) A free, non-segregated (by class, race, or sex), comprehensive education system.
- 6) Educational establishments to become local evening centres of educational and cultural activity and discussion.
- 7) Full maintenance grants to all receiving full-time education over school leaving age. This Action Programme will be revised at the next National Conference.

All interested School Students should write to:

School Section,
The Black Dwarf,
7, Carlisle St,
London W.1.A 4PZ

THE NEW BRAZILIAN COUP: a case for optimism

MANUELA SANCHEZ
(OUR LATIN AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT)

'How sharper than a serpent's tooth'

The men in Washington who almost fear to open their morning newspapers these days are the policy makers, both civilian and military, Armed Forces who are connected with the various F.B.I., C.I.A. and Army training programs for Latin American military personnel. In the last three months, many a bead of sweat has formed on the brow of the American military specialist, forced to contemplate the handiwork of one of his own former students.

On October 3rd, for example, a military junta seized power from the 'U.S. approved' Peruvian President, Fernando Belaunde Terry, and, before the week was out, had expropriated and nationalized the American owned International Petroleum Company whose value has been estimated in the hundreds of millions of dollars. Of the 14 member junta, 11 have received a U.S. military education, and the leader of the new military government, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, was, in 1945, a proud graduate of the Command and General Staff School at Fort Gulik, Panama Canal Zone.

Several top leaders of the Panamanian National Guard which ousted the 'legally elected' government of Arnulfo Arias, are, likewise, products of the best in American Military education. Cols. Torrijos and Martinez were trained close to their home, in the American controlled Canal Zone. Lieut. Col. Frederico Boyde is an alumnus of the F.B.I. Academy at Quantico, Virginia. 'Since 1950, the United States has trained 21,000 Latin officers and noncoms in United States military schools; 25,000 more in the Panama Canal Zone'. (The New York Times, December 22, 1968).

Dictatorship Brazilian Style

If the Peruvian and Panamanian coups were the cause of a good number of sweaty brows, the mid-December assumption of 'emergency powers' by the leadership of Brazil was undoubtedly sufficient to induce a full sized perspiration ring on many a high level Washington shirt sleeve. On December 13th, Arthur da Costa e Silva, President of the military backed Brazilian government since his victory in the 'unopposed election' of 1966, declared a state of siege and took on a series of related 'emergency powers'. These emergency powers, drafted by the Minister of Justice, Antonio Gama e Silva, include the power to suspend the constitution, to dissolve the National Congress and state legislatures, to replace governors or mayors with his own appointees, to impose censorship, to make arrests for 'offenses to the national security' (denying the right of appeal to a civil court), to suspend habeas corpus in the case of crimes determined by the president to be of a political nature, to suspend the political rights of individuals (more precisely, to deny to an individual during a period of ten years the right to vote, run for public office, write for a newspaper, or make a political statement in public), to confiscate the property of any public employee determined by the president to have enriched himself at public cost, to remove public employees without legal process, to appoint 'interveners' for state government, and to annul the mandates and political rights of legislators.

Censorship, according to international press dispatches, went into effect immediately. Army personnel occupied every newspaper, radio and television station in the country as well as telegraph offices handling international press cables. Included in the category of censored material were coverage of criticism of the new political situation, coverage of the arrests, and any indication that censorship was in effect.

Extensive arrests also began on the 13th. The list, still growing rapidly at this writing, is long and impressive. Two former Brazilian presidents, Juscelino Kubitschek, and Janio Quadros; sometime conservative politician and former governor of the State of Guanabara, Carlos Lacerda; Chief of Cabinet under ousted president Joao Goulart, Darci Ribeiro; former Brazilian delegate to the United Nations, Jose de Sette Camara, (later released); prestigious political commentators Carlos Castelo Branco, Otacylio Lopes, Paulo Frances, Antonio Calado; newspaper director Osvaldo Peralva; and an undetermined number of federal deputies. These people are being held in military prison. The number of arrests acknowledged by official Brazilian government sources is 'close to 200'. However, various informants writing from Brazil say that the number of arrests reached 1,000 during the first week of the 'new coup', as the events of December 13th have come to be called, and the pace of the arrests has not slackened since that time. In addition to those held in military prisons, hundred of people have been deprived of their political rights, including 94 deputies of the official party.

Although the Constitution of 1967 was declared still in effect, Costa e Silva closed the National Congress, arresting deputies of his own party as well as those of the Opposition, and sending scores more into exile, or hiding. Pressured by conservative military backers of his regime, Costa e Silva shut down the legislature stating, 'The entire nation understands that the military does not accept criticism and abuse covered by cowardly immunity'. (The New York Times, December 17)

The 'criticisms, and abuse' referred to were the remarks of Opposition deputy Marcio Moreira Alves who, in two speeches delivered from the floor of congress, called for a boycott of the annual military parade commemorating the Brazilian independence, and urged Brazilian mothers not to permit their daughters to date military men. The slur on the military by this member of congress was viewed by powerful elements within the military sector as an opportunity to force the issue of whether military or civilian rule would hold sway in Brazil. Moreira Alves was accessed by the army chiefs of 'an offense to the national security' and when his fellow deputies, voting 216 to 141 to affirm his congressional immunity, refused to turn Moreira Alves over to a military court, tremendous pressure was applied by the army generals to force Costa e Silva to close the legislature completely.

A History of Gentle Repression

'The Brazilian ruling class,' one exile of the 1964 coup explained, 'has always been one of the cleverest of all Latin America. Many of these families have been in power for

generations, and they are skillful at ruling with out seeming to oppress. Membership in the ruling group has altered slightly with the development of an industrial elite and a growing bourgeoisie. But the rules of the game remained the same. Not only have those in power moved cautiously and intelligently to maintain their position, but the workers, lacking class consciousness, have allowed them to do it.

'You have to remember that so much of Brazil is covered by luxuriant tropical vegetation that in these areas the peasant, and even the marginal city dweller, suffers neither from cold, nor chronic hunger, as all the shelter and food he needs to survive are provided by the lush, wild growth of the forest. The great exception, of course, are the dry desolate wastelands of the Northeastern sertao.

What rebellion or revolutionary spirit has emerged to challenge the Brazilian government has come mostly from the drought ridden, poverty stricken Northeast. Since colonial times large groups of Northeasterners have periodically rallied behind powerful protectors, religious leaders of bandit chiefs. Often these movements developed sufficient strength to require violent repression by government forces. For example, the Prestes Column, 800 communists led by a rebellious army officer, gained such a large following in the Northeast, where it operated as a guerrilla troop between 1925 and 1927, that thousands of government troops were needed to smash the movement. The cause of the Ligas Camponesas, or Peasant Leagues, founded in the Northeastern state of Pernambuco in 1955, and based in the Northeast throughout their nine year period of expansion, is the most recent evidence of the potential revolutionary importance of the region.

However, despite the periodic need to repress some Northeastern movement, the Brazilian ruling class was always proud to be able to maintain itself without resort to naked dictatorship, large scale terror, or fascist repression. Military rule was completely unknown. The military throughout Brazilian history, was regarded as a nationalistic and, above all, a progressive element in the political structure. In addition, the option of political exile - a semi-dignified withdrawal of ones person from the national scene, was always open to those who fell from power. Indeed, it was not uncommon, as in the case of Vargas in 1945, for a politician to be ousted from power, sent into exile, and return a few years later to be re-elected to his old office.

The Coup of April 1964 - The Vel is Gradually Dropped

Those responsible for the coup of 1964 adhered, to some extent, to the tradition of apparent moderation and non-violence in Brazilian politics. Once the American Embassy had given the nod, the vaguely leftist government of Joao Goulart was out, and the military, headed by Marshall Humberto Castelo Branco, in. Constitutional forms were conspicuously observed. Neither Congress nor the independent Supreme Court ceased to function. The Supreme Court justices were not removed, but the court was 'packed' with additional appointees in whom the military had confidence. The Army's trust, however, turned out to be misplaced as some of the appointees moved against their benefactors when they joined with their judicial colleagues in handing down decisions which freed several opposition figures imprisoned by the new regime.

The 16 legally registered political parties existing in Brazil at the time of the coup were abolished by the military regime. However, the new government, anxious to maintain constitutional appearances, set up an official majority party, the National Renovating Party, and a tolerated opposition, the Brazilian Democratic

Movement. Thus the trappings of a democratic system were preserved.

In the first year of the new regime there was even a kind of moderation in the number of arrests, and the length of imprisonment. Some of the most logical candidates for arrest were not taken. Many political enemies of the regime were permitted to seek exile abroad. For some of these people the suggestion that they seek asylum in a foreign embassy came in a broad hint from a representative of the government itself.

'However within two years' reported on exiled Northeastern 'the veil was off, and all Brazilians could see the naked dictatorship for what it was. In this time there had been thousands of arrests, imprisonments, expulsions, deportations, people deprived of their political rights, etc. all by arbitrary decree or on the basis of false accusation. By the end of 1964 the new regime had virtually liquidated the entire pantheon of civilian political leadership. Naturally, moderate and conservative leaders like Kubitschek and Lacerda had to come forward and denounce the regime for what it was a fascist dictatorship. The newspapers became so outspoken that one might confuse the *Jornal do Brasil* or the *Comunicado da Manha* with the pre-coup Communist Party paper. The people were becoming politically conscious. What we could not do in ten years of meetings, rallies, and laborious political education, the military had done for us in one year. Before the coup, who understood the word 'fascist'? Now the people were coming to understand this, and many other political facts of life. Even the Church placed itself in opposition to the regime.'

Costa e Silva, upon assuming the presidency in 1966, of necessity began to talk of 'humanizing the revolution'. The atmosphere was liberalized perceptibly, and many of the political exiles of 1964 began to return to Brazil. Indeed, the government encouraged them to return, as their reappearance reinforced the pretensions of the 'liberalization campaign'. Many of them were even found high paying jobs within the government bureaucracy, and came to be known popularly as the 'remunerated left'. The returned exiles posed no political threat to the regime as the charges against them were still pending and, in effect, they could be imprisoned at any moment.

Business as Usual?

This then is the situation at the end of December.

In a political system based on 'clientele' the legislature has been closed, and 89 million people have been left without their 'protector'. As the vast majority of those 89 million people are living the most marginal of lives either in the countryside or in the favelas (urban slums), the loss of their protector, their agent in the government, can only be regarded as serious blow.

AP, UPI, and New York Times correspondents in Rio have reported the Brazilian people to be adopting a 'business as usual' attitude. Montgomery and Browne of the Times, asserted, 'Brazilians appeared indifferent today to the new order laid down by President Arthur da Costa e Silva over the weekend.' They went on to say that the weather was hot, 'the beaches were crowded, and business seemed to go on as usual'. (NYT, Dec. 16) However, the word from informants in Brazil is that the process of 'concientizacao' as the Brazilians call it, that is, the process of making people conscious of their oppression, of the political world around them, of their rights, and of the possibilities of concerted political action, has been incalculably forwarded by the events of December. If it is true that business has gone on as usual, it is probably the business of *concientizacao* that has advanced most rapidly in the last few weeks.

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IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

SUNDAY FEBRUARY 23rd

Benefit Night for LSE students

Defence Fund featuring:

THE WHO, other groups and a

Light Show!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

ROUND HOUSE 8.30.....12.30 pm

PLATFORM OF THE POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

introduction

FRED HALLIDAY

The following is a shortened version of a proposed political programme for the Arab Nationalist Movement which was published in the ANM's weekly magazine *al-horria* (freedom) printed in Beirut. The ANM was founded in 1948 by Palestinian refugees and now has followers in most Arab countries. Its South Yemeni section, the NLF of South Yemen, drove British imperialism out of the area in 1967. Its Palestinian military section, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, is one of the main guerrilla groups, and the only one with a class stand, since Al-Fatah and the Palestine Liberation Organisation have refused to go beyond nationalist positions. The ANM is not supported by any Arab government; the Syrians imprisoned four ANM leaders last year.

This document was a draft programme submitted by the left Lebanese section of the party to a recent congress, at which it was voted down. It is however of considerable interest in that it is an attempt to think through the Marxist implications of the Palestine liberation movement, and represents a significant advance on previous Arab political thought. Nevertheless, there are certain criticisms that can be made of it.

First, its adoption of the concept of people's war, and reference to Vietnam show that it has been inspired by the Chinese and Vietnamese struggles and is tending to try to apply these models to the Palestinian situation, which is completely different. Palestine is occupied by one and a half million Israelis who represent a completely different political enemy. In addition, it is geographically impossible to establish a liberated base, or even to maintain a foco in the area of Israel which is very small, without any cover and densely populated.

Secondly, their analysis of the Arab states is too schematic, in that it is not simply a pro-imperialist bourgeoisie that is in power. In Egypt there is a temporarily anti-imperialist petit-bourgeoisie in power; in Jordan a pro-imperialist monarchy backed by a tribal army. A correct analysis of the Arab states would have to think through the specific structures of each Arab country and not reduce them all to the simple model of the early Comintern days. Without this it will be impossible to work out a

political strategy for the Arab states, or the relation between the Palestinian revolution and the Arab revolutionary movement in general.

1. Conventional War is the War of the Bourgeoisie. Revolutionary War is People's War.

The Arab bourgeoisie has developed armies which are not prepared to sacrifice their own interests or to risk their privileges. Arab militarism has become an apparatus for oppressing revolutionary socialist movements within the Arab states, while at the same time it claims to be staunchly anti-imperialist. Under the guise of the national question, the bourgeoisie has used its armies to strengthen its bureaucratic power over the masses, and to prevent the workers and peasants from acquiring political power. So far it has demanded the help of the workers and peasants without organising them or without developing a proletarian ideology. The national bourgeoisie usually comes to power through military coups and without any activity on the part of the masses, as soon as it has captured power it reinforces its bureaucratic position. Through widespread application of terror it is able to talk about revolution while at the same time it suppresses all the revolutionary movements and arrests everyone who tries to advocate revolutionary action.

The Arab bourgeoisie has used the question of Palestine to divert the Arab masses from realising their own interests and their own domestic problems. The bourgeoisie always concentrated hopes on a victory outside the state's boundaries, in Palestine, and in this way they were able to preserve their class interests and their bureaucratic positions.

The war of June 1967 disproved the bourgeois theory of conventional war. The best strategy for Israel is to strike rapidly. The enemy is not able to mobilise its armies for a long period of time because this would intensify its economic crisis. It gets complete support from US imperialism and for these reasons it needs quick wars. Therefore for our poor people the best strategy in the long run is a people's war. Our people must overcome their weaknesses and exploit the weaknesses of the enemy by mobilising the Palestinian and Arab peoples. The weakening of imperialism and Zionism in the Arab world demands revolutionary war as the means to confront them.

2. Guerrilla Struggle as a Form of Pressure for the "Peaceful Solution".

The Palestinian struggle is a part of the whole Arab liberation movement and of the world liberation movement. The Arab bourgeoisie and world imperialism are trying to impose a peaceful solution on this Palestinian problem but this suggestion merely promotes the interests of imperialism and of Zionism, doubt in the efficacy of people's war as a means of liberation and the preservation of the relations of the Arab bourgeoisie with the imperialist world market.

The Arab bourgeoisie is afraid of being isolated from this market and of losing its role as a mediator of world capitalism. That is why the Arab oil-producing countries broke off the boycott against the west (instituted during the June war) and for this reason MacNamara, as head of the World Bank, was ready to offer credits to them.

When the Arab bourgeoisie strive for a peaceful solution, they are in fact striving for the profit which they can get from their role as mediator between the imperialist market and the internal market. The Arab bourgeoisie are not yet opposed to the activity of the guerrillas, and sometimes they even help them; but this is because the presence of the guerrillas is a means of pressure for a peaceful solution. As long as the guerrillas don't have a clear class affiliation and a clear political stand they are unable to resist the implications of such a peaceful solution; but the conflict between the guerrillas and those who strive for a peaceful solution is unavoidable. Therefore the guerrillas must take steps to transform their actions into a people's war with clear goals.

3. No Revolutionary War Without a Revolutionary Theory.

The basic weakness of the guerrilla movement is the absence of a revolutionary ideology, which could illuminate the horizons of the Palestinian fighters and would incarnate the stages of a militant political programme. Without a revolutionary ideology the national struggle will remain imprisoned within its immediate practical and material needs. The Arab bourgeoisie is quite prepared for a limited satisfaction of the needs of the national struggle, as long as it respects the limits that the bourgeoisie sets. A clear illustration of this is the material help that Saudi Arabia offers Al-Fatah while Al-Fatah declares that she will not interfere in the internal affairs of any Arab countries.

Since most of the guerrilla movement have no ideological weapons, the Arab bourgeoisie can decide their fate. Therefore, the struggle of the Palestinian people must be supported by the workers and peasants, who will fight against any form of domination by imperialism, Zionism or the Arab bourgeoisie.

4. The War of Liberation is a Class War Guided by a Revolutionary Ideology

We must not be satisfied with ignoring the problems of our struggle, saying that our struggle is a national one and not a class struggle. The national struggle reflects the class struggle. The national struggle is a struggle for land and those who struggle for it are the peasants who were driven away from their land. The bourgeoisie is always ready to lead such a movement, hoping to gain control of the internal market. If the

bourgeoisie succeeds in bringing the national movement under its control, which strengthens its position, it can lead the movement under the guide of a peaceful solution into compromises with imperialism and Zionism.

Therefore, the fact that the liberation struggle is mainly a class struggle emphasises the necessity for the workers and peasants to play a leading role in the national liberation movement. If the small bourgeoisie take the leading role, the national revolution will fall as a victim of the class interests of this leadership. It is a great mistake to start by saying that the Zionist challenge demands national unity for this shows that one does not understand the real class structure of Zionism.

The struggle against Israel is first of all a class struggle. Therefore the oppressed class is the only class which is able to face a confrontation with Zionism.

5. The Main Field of Our Revolutionary Struggle is Palestine

The decisive battle must be in Palestine. The armed people's struggle in Palestine can help itself with the simplest weapons in order to ruin the economies and the war machinery of their Zionist enemy. The moving of the people's struggle into Palestine depends upon agitating and organising the masses, more than depending upon border actions in the Jordan valley, although these actions are of importance for the struggle in Palestine.

When guerrilla organisations began their actions in the occupied areas, they were faced with a brutal military repression by the armed forces of Zionism. Because these organisations had no revolutionary ideology and so no programme, they gave in to demands of self-preservation and retreated into eastern Jordan. All their activity turned into border actions. This presence of the guerrilla organisations in Jordan enables the Jordanian bourgeoisie and their secret agents to crush these organisations when they are no longer useful as pressure for a peaceful solution.

6. Revolution in both regions of Jordan.

We must not neglect the struggle in east Jordan for this land is connected with Palestine more than with the other Arab countries. The problem of the revolution in Palestine is dialectically connected with the problem of the revolution in Jordan. A chain of plots between the Jordanian monarchy, imperialism and Zionism have proved this connection.

The struggle in east Jordan must take the correct path, that of class struggle. The Palestinian struggle must not be used as a means of propping up the Jordanian monarchy, under the mask of national unity, and the main problem in Jordan is the creation of a Marxist-Leninist party with a clear action programme according to which it can organise the masses and enable them to carry out the national and class struggle. The harmony of the struggle in the two regions must be realised through co-ordinating organs whose tasks will be to guarantee reserves inside Palestine and to mobilise the peasants and soldiers in the border-territories.

This is the only way in which Amman can become an Arab Hanoi: - a base for the revolutionaries fighting inside Palestine.

Is There a Zionist Who Will Oppose This?

We must stop addressing appeals to the United States.
We must stop saying: "Help us and prevent dangers to Israel!"

We must tell the U.S.:

Israel is the last bastion of the U.S. in the Middle East.
If you don't support us unreservedly,
if you don't deter the Russians vigorously,

It is you who will suffer,
you will be driven from the Middle East,
the Russian threat to the U.S. will grow."



We must stop regarding U.S. Jews merely as a source of contributions. They constitute an enormous political force, which has not been exploited properly, properly, because of our Government's lack of vision.

We must tell U.S. Jewry:

"You are not just a source of money.
We see you as brothers in our struggle,
as full partners in our effort.

Your political task in the U.S.
is no less important
than ours in Israel."

If given guidance from here,
American Jewry will act and succeed.

THE ANTI-RETREAT MOVEMENT

P.O.B. 6484 Tel Aviv.



ROSA LUXEMBURG commemoration poster: black on red 4s, black on white 4s. Karl Liebknecht black on white 4s 6d. Prices include post and cardboard tube. Still available: French revolution posters 2s each. Socialist Worker, Paxton Works, Paxton Road, N17.

The African Communist

Quarterly Journal of the South African Communist Party

No. 36

First Quarter 1969

Price 2s. 6d.

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DWARF DIARY

WILL PAYNTER---AN OBITUARY

We regret to announce the death of Mr William Paynter, onetime General Secretary of the National Union of Miners and the British Communist Party's leading trade-unionist. Mr Paynter fought in the Spanish Civil War (against Franco) and was also active in some of the early miner's struggles. He joined the Communist Party at the age of 14 and remained a member till December 1968 when he let his 'membership lapse'. The unfree press reported that Mr Paynter was always a rather 'independent' communist and did not always follow the party line. Lest our readers be in any doubt it should be pointed out that Mr Paynter's differences with the C.P. were from the Right. Over the last few years Mr Paynter's political health had been rapidly deteriorating. He pleased the Labour establishment by attacking miners for absenteeism and for not working hard enough, but Mr Paynter could also be kind and human as far as the ordinary miners were concerned. A Dwarf reader in Cardiff who works as a coal-miner tells us of how at one Miner's Gala Mr Paynter offered to buy him and three other miners a drink. They accepted, but just then Mr Paynter was summoned by a Coal

Board bureaucrat and he hurried away leaving one of the miners a pound note to buy 'four pints'. The miners bought the drinks and one of them took Mr Paynter's pint to the great man himself with the change. 'Thank you lad', said Mr Paynter, 'you can keep the change.' The miner overcome temporarily was too shy to accept. 'Stuff it up your arse' was the only thanks Mr Paynter got. Even today miners in South Wales recall similar instances of Mr Paynter's generosity and kindness. At the Dwarf/Tribune debate Mr Michael Foot declared that: 'Will Paynter is an ideal communist trade-union leader' and implied that the Labour movement needed more like him.

Mr Paynter's death was announced by a statement from 10, Downing Street in collusion with the new Commission for Industrial Relations where Mr Paynter's corpse will lie in state for the next few years of the Labour government's life. The corpse will be paid £6,500 a year, considerably more than the retirement pension the NUM could afford to pay. Messages of condolence to: Bert Ramelson, CPGP, King Street, W.C.1.

TRIBUNE/DWARF ENCOUNTER

We never advertised it as the 'debate of the decade' and we did not expect it to be one, but all said and done it was a worthwhile occasion. But surely **Tribune** should have had a detailed report on the 'debate of the decade' instead of the snide, innuendo ridden report written by a Ben Mallalieu. Mallalieu has quite obviously never read this newspaper because if he had he would not attribute to us views which we do not hold. As for **Tribune** and the Dwarf believing in the 'same things' we would advise Mr Mallalieu to read Chris Harman's article in the last Dwarf. It might clear his mind a bit.

As for the reports in the **New Statesman** and **The Listener** they were really exercises in self-indulgence though to be fair D.A.N. Jones was not really writing about the debate. Alan Brien was probably restricted from reporting the debate by the politics of the journal for which he writes. We understand. After all a detailed report would probably have meant hurting Paul Johnson in some form or the other and Alan Brien is not to be blamed for ignoring the real arguments which differentiate the reformists from revolutionary socialists. We would like to take this opportunity of thanking all Dwarf supporters who turned up to the debate and helped us organise our literature stall. Dwarfs will be pleased to know that we sold 1000 copies at the debate alone! Venceremos.

IN DEFENCE OF PERRY ANDERSON

In the 50th number of the **New Left Review** there appeared a lengthy and comprehensive article by Comrade Perry Anderson. The article entitled: **Components of The National Culture** was a well-argued critique of the structures of bourgeois culture in Britain. In this article Perry Anderson pointed out the complete paucity of a coherent bourgeois ideology by native Britons and showed the influence of the 'White emigres'. He compared the influx of emigres to Britain to the influx in the rest of the continent and maintained that Britain was destined to have only the second-rate emigres in the 20th century. Some of the names mentioned were Karl Popper, Isiah Berlin, Lewis Namier. Since the article appeared there have been many snide comments about it. A well-meaning Indian economist at Oxford thought it was anti-foreign. He obviously did not understand what Comrade Anderson was writing about. But by far the most 'serious' rebuttal has come from Sir Isiah Berlin. A private rebuttal, needless to add. Berlin maintains that Perry Anderson is anti-semitic and cites as evidence the fact that all the emigres he attacks are Jewish. This drivel is being repeated by Berlin's acolytes, notable among whom is Mrs Jean Floud of Nuffield College, Oxford. What Professor Berlin and his cohorts fail to mention is that Anderson was arguing that in 'liberal democratic' England the most distinguished and undoubtedly the most brilliant of the emigres was one Isaac Deutscher (also a Jew, Professor Berlin!) and that he was ignored by the academic establishment because he was a Marxist.

There are good reasons why Berlin prefers to ignore this. It was Berlin who was responsible for Deutscher being refused a university post at Sussex. He justified it by saying: 'You can't have a Marxist teaching Russian history.' And of course Berlin was fully aware that Isaac Deutscher was not a person who could be integrated into the system. With a record such as his own Professor Berlin should think twice before he accuses Perry Anderson of being an

managed to escape to Bechuanaland but was captured and brought back to Capetown. A strong defence effort on his behalf got him released and he was given asylum in Zambia. In November 1968 the Kaunda regime declared him an undesirable alien and an expulsion order was issued. He defied it and went underground. Newspaper reports in Zambia have been contradicting each other regarding Dr Abrahams whereabouts but no one has yet given any reasons for the expulsion order. **The Standard** of Dares Salaam stated in its issue of Jan.1,1969 that Abrahams had been arrested trying to flee to Tanzania. Police headquarters in Lusaka refuse to confirm this and Dr Abrahams whereabouts remain a mystery. A possibility is that Dr Abrahams had some material evidence of talks between Kaunda and Vorster's representatives. Whatever the case the Zambian government owes the world an explanation. Dwarf readers should send protests to President Kenneth K. Kaunda, Lusaka, Zambia.

MARCH 16TH AT HEATHROW

A demonstration at Heathrow Airport on Sunday, March 16 is being planned by an Ad Hoc Committee which includes the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. Purpose: To welcome a student delegation from the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and try and get them into London where they are scheduled to address a mass public meeting. Up till now the British government has consistently refused to allow representatives of the NLF visas to enter Britain. It is up to us to show what we think of this decision. The NLF are allowed into France, Scandinavia and Canada. Britain alone prefers to scrape the bottom of the U.S. President whoever he happens to be. It is quite possible that if the NLF delegates are not allowed in there might be an effort made to immobilise London Airport and prevent passengers from leaving or arriving by a mass sit-in on the tarmac. The onus for this, however, is on British social-democracy. For further details please get in touch with VSC, 120 Commercial Road, London E.1. or ring 01-480-6789. Posters, leaflets and stickers available. The demonstration at Heathrow could take many different forms. Imaginative and practical suggestions will be printed in the Dwarf in forthcoming issues so ideas, help etc very welcome starting from now. Comrades outside London should start booking coaches for the airport now because they might find that all coaches have been mysteriously booked by unknown agencies nearer the date. Any comrade with information about brass bands should get in touch with us immediately.

KAUNDA, ZAMBIA AND A MISSING MARXIST

For some time now various Dwarf contacts in Africa have been bringing us stories of secret negotiations between Zambia and South Africa. As we are still not convinced of their authenticity we have decided not to publish them, but what the Zambian government should be forced to explain is its victimisation of a coloured exile from S. Africa, Dr Kenneth Abrahams. Abrahams was active in founding the Yu Chi Chan Club in South Africa - a political discussion group that studied Marxist theory and revolutionary history. The club was smashed in 1963 and ten of its leading members arrested by the S.S. Abrahams

DIARY OF EVENTS

WEDNESDAY FEB 12th: "ANY QUESTIONS ON CHINA?"

Answered by Isaac Ascher, Derek Bryan, Frida Knight. All lived in or visited China. Porchester Hall, Queensway, W2. 7.30pm. Society for Anglo-Chinese Understandings, 24 Warren Street, W1. tel: 387 0074.

SATURDAY FEB 15th: Eisenstein's 'BATTLESHIP POTEMKIN'

Showing 8 pm at Matrix, Northgate Youth Centre, Crawley. Ring Crawley 27275 for details.

MONDAY FEB 17th:

Ad-hoc Meeting March Vietnam Mobilisation Committee Club Room, Conway Hall 8.00pm.

Every Thursday and Monday 7.00pm onwards - work night for March 16th mobilisation at 120, Commercial Road E.1. 480-6789.

MONDAY FEB 17th:

Powell going to University College, London, Conservative Association. Left to be out in force.

TUESDAY FEB 18th: MALCOLM X COMMEMORATION.

Speakers include Obi Egbuna and Mike Zamorra. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1, 7.30pm. Admission 2/6. sponsored by International Marxist Group.

WEDNESDAY FEB 19th: "CHINA AND U.S. RELATIONS".

Speakers: Premen Addy, Chairman: Ronald Berger. Holborn Central Library, Theobalds Road, WC1. 7.30pm.

SUNDAY FEB 23rd: CIVIL RIGHTS IN N. IRELAND.

All day at NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields, off Theobalds Road, WC1. Further details ring 607-0465.

SATURDAY MARCH 1st: YORKSHIRE - VIETNAM 1969: SPRING MOBILISATION IN SHEFFIELD.

Assemble 2pm, Tinsley Wire Works (Come off Motorway M1, Tinsley, Sheffield). March in to City Hall. Speakers: Laurance Daly (NUM), Tariq Ali (VSC) Jack Jones (T&GWU). Details from Rick Osborn, 159a Rustlings Road, Sheffield 11.

FRIDAY MARCH 7th: RANK AND FILE TEACHERS MEETING: THE HEAD, THE TEACHER, THE CHILD.

All teachers and pupils welcome, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1. 7.30pm.

SUNDAY MARCH 16th: MOBILISATION

Stickers (2/- for 100); Posters; leaflets from M.V.M.C. 120, Commercial Road E.1. 480-6789

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Published by the Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ.

The BLACK DWARF, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ.

Telephone: 01-734 4827.

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