

# The Black Dwarf

Established 1817 Vol 13 No. 12

28th February 1969

Fortnightly 1/6d.

**STRIKE  
ISSUE**

# TELL US,

# WHO'S MAD?

- Days lost through lock-outs and strikes: **less than 5 million**
- Days lost through influenza: **13 million**
- Days lost through bronchitis: **33 million**
- Days lost through accidents: **43 million**
- Total lost through sickness & accidents: **311 million**

## **DWARF PAGE ONE COMMENT**

We are fed up, Mrs. Castle! Fed up with filthy factories. With dangerous workshops. Squalid housing. Decaying towns. And most of all – with low wages. Fed up with the conditions responsible for seventy times as much loss of output as all strikes and lockouts put together.

These appalling figures – and the suffering they reveal – reflect the true state of Britain today.

It's the same old story. Workers who fight back are branded as wreckers. As traitors. Like the LSE students, they are labelled as thugs, a minority motivated by political interest. But...

"In major disputes union members are very often more militant than their leaders, and are likely to be less closely in touch with the progress and prospects of the negotiations.

"If the union leaders were always obliged to hold a ballot when using the strike threat in negotiations, they may well find their hands tied by a vote to strike in support of a claim intended merely as a bargaining move. . ."

In plain English, they are saying that democracy is good when the workers oppose strikes, but bad when they support them.

The truth of the matter is that the Labour Government is making a last-ditch attempt to shore up a rotten and out-dated capitalism which should have been swept away long ago. To this end it will use all means, fair or foul, right or far right.

That is why workers will be striking on February 27, and on many future occasions.



# INDUSTRIAL TACTICS

THE BBC'S LAST WEDNESDAY PLAY THE BIG FLAME BLEW UP A STORM OF CONTROVERSY. PRODUCED BY TONY GARNETT, AND KEN LOACH, AND WRITTEN BY JIM ALLEN, AN EX-DOCKER, IT SHOWED HOW STRIKES COULD BE MADE EFFECTIVE IN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY.

AN IMPORTANT SCENE SHOWED THE STRIKE COMMITTEE SITTING FORLORNLY IN A PUB; THE STRIKE HAS BEEN ON FOR FIVE AND A HALF WEEKS AND IS GETTING NOWHERE. THEY CALL IN AN OLD FRIEND, REGAN, WHO HAS FOUGHT MANY STRIKES, TO GIVE THEM SOME ADVICE. HE TELLS THEM THAT, ALL HIS LIFE, HE'S PERHAPS BEEN FIGHTING FOR THE WRONG THINGS.

"We fought for a penny here, penny there, new washbasins and lavatory seats. Our demands were economic. We allus fought for the cash and democracy within the unions, but not one of us could see any further than that dock gate. We never tumbled that a strike's political and it's only a small part of the big picture and so the result was we kept bouncing off them rocks like a yo-yo."

Danny: "All the same, we had them wetting their pants..."

Regan: "Again it was the wrong fight, Danny. I mean your change packet's made up of politics. So all this economic horse-trading isn't worth a carrot. You win a few bob more, they put up the price of bread so you're right back where you started.

When it suits their purpose we get two lumps of sugar instead of the one. The nosebag or the knackers yard, either way they decide cos they're calling the tune.

Danny: "Never been any different, Regan. Always been the same ever since I can remember."

etc. and along with seamen, tugboat men, crane-drivers and what have you. The entire operation is carried out by the men that do the graft, that spend their working lives on them docks. Why shouldn't they take over the docks and have workers' control now...

You're in motion, Danny, on wheels, you either go forward or back. Try and mark time and the men will go as cold as beer. Of course, an idea like this takes some getting used to. It's like walking in church with your hat on. But when you've thought about it as long as I have it seems so obvious and so simple that you wondered why you never figured it out before."

Regan: "Up to now it has, yeh. But look, I'm the fellow that woke up late in the day as far as politics went. And when them early morning risers were spouting socialism, I was too busy fighting for peanuts down the ship. But not any more. Now I want to see the big flame, Danny. One big solid mass of us that'll point a finger at these raiders and say 'You failed in your management of society so pack your traps, think yourselves lucky, and Go'."

I mean why allow this riff-raff to walk the land like as if they had some special mandate from God Almighty giving them the right to squeeze people: Take bread from out of the mouths of people, cause wars and provoke crises. How much longer are we going to tolerate these drones?

I mean things aren't just ripe for change, they're rotten ripe and all we've got to do is shake the tree and let the bad fruit drop to the ground.

You either carry on with this hit and run policy or the dockers take over the ports. Now's the time we start sorting the men out from the boys, Danny."

Danny: "Are you serious?"

Regan: Why not? Docking's a simple business really, made complicated by all them hands grabbing a piece of the cake.

“

For many factory workers, tied to a machine that's belching heat, in a factory that's being broiled by sun on the roof, it's like being in that car all day and every day.

Can anyone doubt that this has a dramatic effect on production and profit?

Next to the cash incentive, environment is the major influence on a worker's efficiency. If the temperature falls below 60°F, accidents start to happen (take a look at the accident statistics). Above

“

And in case there are any Stoics around, who still believe that a well chilled factory is just the thing to get the workers on the go, let us refer you to the statistics on accidents. For research has shown that the human machine is only really efficient at around 60°-72°F. And that if the temperature is allowed to

72°F and you get lethargy, and the plain bloody-mindedness. Either way production suffers.

At this time in particular - with wages frozen - improving the working conditions becomes a significant means of soothing industrial relations and encouraging productivity. It is one of the few things that you can state unequivocally works in everyone's good - better conditions for the workers - greater productivity for the country; and an increased profit for the company that everyone can benefit from.

drop below this, accident rates increase dramatically.

It's just a simple fact of life; if you want increased productivity, then you have a vested interest in using efficient heating, and ventilation, to provide a controlled environment for your workers.

People work better in Colt conditions.

Unusual tactics are creeping into industrial struggles; tactics quite different from those of the conventional strike. They have implications which bear on the questions of occupations, sit-ins, and workers control. Ignored by the unfree press, they are worth thinking about.

SEPTEMBER 1968 - CHEMICO G.B., ELLESMERE PORT, CHESHIRE. WORKERS LOCKED OUT. MASS PICKETING. POLICE TRY AND BREAK UP PICKET. WORKERS RETALIATE WITH SIT-DOWN AND REFUSE TO MOVE.

NOVEMBER 1968 - FORDS, DAGENHAM. AFTER TEN-WEEK OVERTIME BAN WORKERS LAYED OFF AS A RESULT OF GIRLING BRAKE STRIKE IN CHESHIRE. 1000 ASSEMBLY LINE WORKERS MARCH INTO ADMINISTRATIVE BLOCK OF MAIN PLANT. BLOCK ALL ACCESS TO BUILDING. DEMAND FULL PAYMENT WHEN THEY ARE MADE REDUNDANT. THREATEN TO BREAK UP MACHINERY. OCCUPATION FOR ONE HOUR.

JANUARY 1969 - HALL RUSSEL'S SHIPYARD, ABERDEEN. MANAGEMENT TRYING TO

PROVOKE STRIKES TO 'TAKE THE STEAM OUT OF THE MEN'. WORKERS DECIDE AGAINST WALKING OUT AND ONE DAY STRIKE A WEEK. INSTEAD THEY HOLD MASS 'STRIKE' MEETINGS TWICE A WEEK WHICH LAST ALL AFTERNOON AND AT WHICH THE DECISION TO STRIKE IS NEVER TAKEN. PRODUCTION TIME IS THEREFORE LOST WITHOUT AN ACTUAL STRIKE.

JANUARY 1969 - CENTRAL LONDON BUS CONFERENCE. TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION, LOBBIED BY BUS CONDUCTRESSES.

DELEGATES VOTE BY 35 - 33 AGAINST ALLOWING THEM INTO MEETING. WOMEN OCCUPY THE BUILDING DURING THE LUNCH BREAK.

IVY BRIDGE SITE, ISLEWORTH, MIDDLESEX. MEN LOCKED OUT BY TURRIFF MANAGEMENT FOR 15 WEEKS. BLOCKS OF COUNCIL FLATS LEFT HALF-COMPLETED. AREA ONE OF ACUTE HOUSING SHORTAGE. MEN PLAN TO TAKE OVER SITE AND MOVE IN HOMELESS FAMILIES.

## REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST STUDENTS FEDERATION

The RSSF was formed as an organisation within which all student revolutionaries can work to coordinate and focus student revolutionary action. It was founded after the French events and in anticipation of future conflicts in this country. The rapid escalation by the university authorities and the Government against British students has created such a conflict. And as reported in the last "Dwarf", nationwide actions took place after January 24 in solidarity with LSE students, and in opposition to the closing down of the School, by actions taken against the local university bosses.

RSSF got its office - 59 Fleet Street, E.C.4, and its telephone - 01-353 5735, only two weeks before the LSE crisis. But chaotic as it was, it managed to warn comrades in other universities and colleges in advance that the LSE was moving to a crunch. It sent them full information after the LSE was closed on what had happened, distributed leaflets and slogans and drew up a news bulletin on the struggles throughout the country. The RSSF assisted the Thursday march on LSE and organised the Monday February 3rd demonstration, which was called by the emergency National Committee (to which a member from each university and college is entitled to go) on the Sunday after the LSE was closed. It was the first national event organised by the RSSF. The march left ULU at 4 p.m. through the rush hour to Short's DES in Mayfair and then through Piccadilly to the Aldwych, stopping London's traffic on the way. The beating-up that followed the march and the emergency N.C. that met at the Essex Revolutionary 'Festival', so called, showed that student action is really hotting up. At the N.C. there was a serious debate about political organisation and vigorous and effective criticism of the

to strategic problems - the enemy's next moves, how to smash the isolation of bourgeois universities and colleges and reveal the class nature of higher education, how to effectively unite students and workers.

And in each sector, there are special problems. By the time this is printed RSSF will have held a conference at Hemel Hempstead for Techs, polys and colleges of further ed. The latter have special problems of their own as the most isolated, backward and repressed sector of higher education. And the art students, already the most advanced in terms of action in their own field, are badly needed by the students as a whole. Apprentices are especially important as future links between colleges and factories, but there is still very little experience in working with them. And the blossoming of revolutionary actions in the schools is being given every possible encouragement.

All these are areas for future action, no current balance sheet can be drawn up for Dwarf readers. At the LSE students are entering a new stage in the most advanced struggle the universities have seen. And groups of militants up and down the country are discussing tactics and strategy for the first time. The pace of revolutionary activity has radically quickened. At the last RSSF conference in November students who had experienced struggles on their own campus were still privileged, now, those who have not are merely backward.

RSSF is the arena within which the problem of our revolutionary actions can be discussed and



# CENTRE POINT

In the businessman's paradise of post war Britain many fortunes have been made but it is the property business where the profits have been the quickest and the biggest. And they don't come any bigger or quicker than Harry Hyams, the bookmaker's son, who built Centre Point.

Harry John Hyams is the son of a bookmaker. In 1945 at the age of 17 he joined a firm of estate agents to spend fourteen valuable years learning the business, and mixing with the right people in the right restaurants.

In 1959 Hyams was ready to go it alone. He bought a run down property company, Oldham Estate and used this as a spring board to launch a series of deals that sent Oldham Estates' capital rocketing upwards.

His method was very simple. Buy some old buildings; pull them down; build a new one, usually an office block; keep it empty for as long as possible while rents rise; then sell a lease for an enormous profit. The building contractors were usually George Wimpey who also owns 40% of the company. Other finance came from the Westminster Bank and the Co-operative Insurance Company with 10% of the share capital. Yes, the Co-op own 10% of Centre Point.

Hyams' personal fortune is now close to thirty million pounds. His home in Wiltshire, Ramsbury Manor, cost well over half a million and with its priceless furniture, pictures, collection of Georgian silver, guard dogs, security men and Rolls Royce number HJH 1 in the driveway, it makes the Beatles' houses look like prefabs.

Hyams blocks are dotted all over London but the most controversial of them all is the one that looks like becoming the most profitable single building ever promoted in this country: Centre Point.

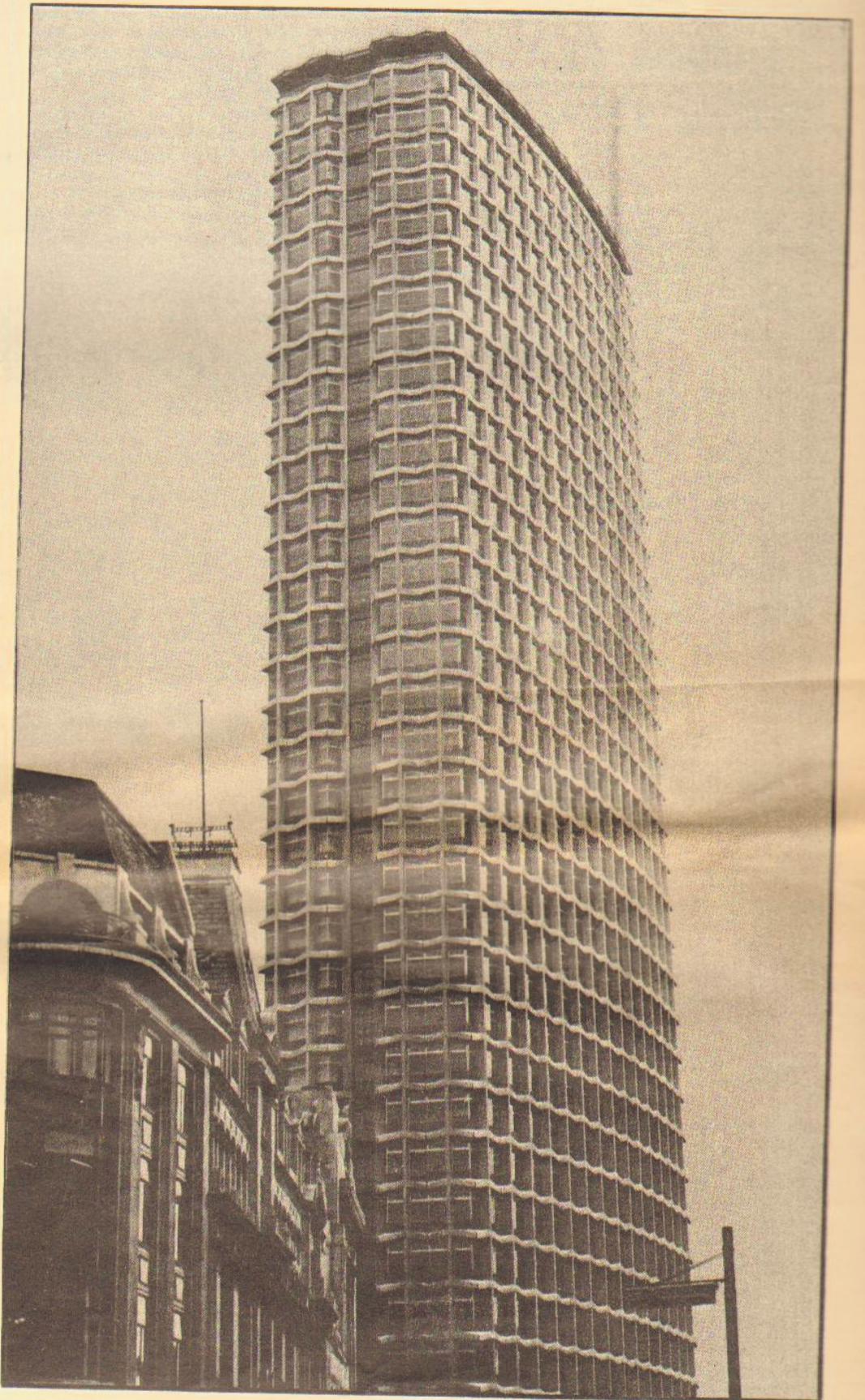
It is a high handsome office block located at the junction of Charing Cross Road and Oxford Street. The circumstances surrounding its completion are complicated and in some respects scandalous. The L.C.C., as it was then, wanted to build a roundabout but could not afford to buy the property around the crossroads. So through an introduction made by Lord Goodman (friend of Harold Wilson and now tinpot dictator of the ridiculous Arts Council) a deal was made between Hyams and the L.C.C. whereby in return for getting the land for its roundabout (which was never built) Hyams got planning permission to build Centre Point. Of course the people who sold their land to Hyams had no idea that he'd got permission to build a skyscraper and some of them sold ridiculously cheaply. But then we traditionally don't care when big gangsters carve little gangsters up.

By March 1962 Hyams had bought all the property in the area: given the L.C.C. the bits they wanted: and signed a lease for 150 years at a rent of £18,500 a year. This was Harry's biggest stroke for the rent was FIXED. The absolutely normal provision for rent reviews every few years that we all have to face and that is usually present in all L.C.C. contracts was MISSING. This omission has been described by the financial editor of The Times as "scandalously unbusinesslike" and he has calculated that the loss to the London Authority is something in the region of 13 million pounds.

The total cost of building Centre Point was five million.  
In 1966 when it was finished it was worth eleven million.  
Now after carefully keeping it empty for three years its value is more like nineteen million. Profit:  
Fourteen million pounds.

When historians look back at these last ten years it won't be the Harold Wilsons they'll be writing about but the Harry Hyams. These super secret businessmen with their yachts and planes and fear of publicity are the men who characterise our age. When all the lonely perverts and sappy film stars that fill the pages of the un-free press have been forgotten these are the men who will be remembered. The present is in their hands and unless we do something about it so is the future. Nine million people live in slums. Nearly two out of every ten households live below the poverty level. Ten thousand families are homeless. Cathy come to Centre Point ..... IT'S EMPTY.

.PETER LOVE



## Odham Estate's Property

1959	..	..	£22,328
1960	..	..	£152,163
1961	..	..	£6,482,579
1962	..	..	£7,571,645
1963	..	..	£11,829,602
1964	..	..	£23,364,503
1965	..	..	£31,597,748
1966	..	..	£38,978,403
1967	..	..	£46,201,053



## TANIA AND THE C.I.A

*Dwarfs will have read in The Observer the CIA planted story on Tania the guerrilla who died in Bolivia. Richard Gott the Latin American correspondent of The Guardian who is based in Chile and knows the Bolivian scene well wrote a letter to The Observer which, characteristically, they refused to print. We publish it below as a service to readers who may have been mystified by the Unfree Press.*

Dear Sir,  
I was surprised to see the Observer giving space to printing Daniel James's sensational and almost wholly inaccurate article about Tania, the girl involved in Che Guevara's guerrilla campaign in Bolivia. The story is not new and appears to have been concocted by United States intelligence, for reasons which are not immediately apparent. It was first released to a New York Times Washington correspondent, Benjamin Welles, and published in that paper on July 15, 1968. Welles was not the paper's Latin American correspondent and consequently was not personally familiar with the Bolivian guerrilla eisode. His story was full of inaccuracies. But Daniel James's tale goes even further and appears to be a pack of lies from beginning to end.

First, what are Mr James's credentials? He is well-known as a fanatical anti-Communist, who, before editing the CIA/Bolivian Army version of Chevara's Bolivian diaries (described absurdly by the Observer as the "non-propaganda translation"), wrote books with such stimulating titles as "Red Design for the Americas - Guatemalan Prelude", and "Cuba: the first soviet satellite in the Americas".

Secondly, where does Mr James's information come from? Chiefly it seems from his fertile imagination and from the CIA. Only this agency can have provided him with an interview with the East German agent Gunther Mannel, who allegedly recruited Tania for the Russian KGB and then promptly defected to the West. Normal journalists do not secure interviews with Communist defectors. And how can Mannel claim to know anything about the details of Tania's relationship with Guevara or her activities in Bolivia if he defected in 1961, five or six years before these events took place. How also is Mr James able to reconstruct the sexual dances allegedly performed by two Cuban guerrillas, Joaquim and Braulio, when the only survivor of their group - Jose Carillo (Paco) - was a perjured witness at the trial of Regis Debray who would have told any story that would have got him out of prison. He refers to a notebook kept by Tania, but none but he has seen it.

The only source that Mr James quotes is a copy of the long interview a CIA agent had with the Argentinian Ciro Roberto Bustos in April 1967 in which Bustos - under threat of reprisals against his family - revealed much information about the guerrilla group, drew portraits from memory of the leading guerrillas and confirmed

the presence of Che Guevara in Bolivia. It would be possible to argue, therefore, that Bustos, more than any other single character in the story, was responsible for the guerrillas' downfall. Others have chosen other culprits: Time magazine believes it was Debray; the Chinese Communists think it was Fidel; most people with a superficial knowledge of Bolivia believe (incorrectly too) that it was the peasants. The CIA, for reasons of their own, have decided it was Tania, and they have used Mr James to tart up their squalid little story with a veneer of verisimilitude.

The facts are as follows:  
(1) There is no evidence that Tania was anything other than a Cuban agent operating in Bolivia and Argentina for the purpose of promoting the continental revolution.  
(2) There is no evidence that she loved, betrayed, or was responsible for the death of Guevara.

(3) Cuba has not given up "glorifying" her as a martyr. On January 9 Fidel Castro opened a new clinic in Jaruco, outside Havana, which bears her name.

(4) "Andres", the man who met Debray and Bustos outside the Sucre Palace in La Paz, does not exist. He was invented by Debray to muddle his captors.

(5) The discovery of Tania's jeep by the army was in no way crucial to the fate of the guerrilla band. The military authorities were already fully aware of what was happening.

Since the story is so often misrepresented in the British press, it is worth briefly recapitulating how Guevara's guerrilla foco was discovered.

In February 1967, a police spy arrived at the camp of Mancahuazu. At that time Guevara was absent, on a route march with the bulk of his guerrillas. The spy had been recruited as a bona-fide guerrilla. On March 11, the spy deserted, together with another erstwhile guerrilla, and gave himself up to the authorities in Camiri. On March 14, he wrote a detailed account for the Bolivian military intelligence about the organisation of the guerrilla force, their numbers, nationalities and their ways of coming and going. He provided maps of their trails and caves, and confirmed the presence of Che Guevara. On March 16, (not on March 13 as Mr James suggests) the army captured the farm that had been used by the guerrillas and found Tania's jeep.

A week later, while trying to penetrate a ravine that led to the guerrillas principal encampment, an army detachment fell into an ambush that had been ordered expressly by Che Guevara, at a time when other guerrillas had thought it wiser to retreat without offering assistance. Guevara, it seems, was thus not wholly unprepared for the guerrilla foco to move so swiftly out of clandestinity.

The idea of the Observer that "more may never be known" could hardly be further from the truth. There were at least half a dozen British journalists covering events in Bolivia in 1967, and each one of them could have written a better, more informative, and more accurate article than the one you printed by Daniel James.

Yours sincerely,

Richard Gott.

## SUPPORT THE FIREMAN

Dear Sir,  
I am a fireman in the London Fire Brigade and appeal to your readers to use their influence in the campaign about pay and conditions in the Service. My hours of duty in an average week are as follows:

Monday, nine hours night duty.

Tuesday, leave.

Wednesday, nine hours day duty.

Thursday, nine hours day duty.

Friday, six hours night duty.

Saturday, 15 hours night duty.

Sunday, nine hours night duty.

I take home less than £16 per week, which includes the Council's help with my fares from Chelmsford.

Any additional qualifications that I earn to enable me to be more proficient in my work are in no way recognised by monetary reward and I am expected to work overtime when required on the above hours, at only the flat rate. I am expected to work on Christmas Day, Boxing Day and all other public holidays as normal days, and as compensation I am allowed a day off for each, to be taken later in the year. However, due to undermanning, I can only take it at the Brigade's convenience. My summer annual leave is selected for me and I am required to start on a Saturday, on which I may well have performed a nine-hour duty and I am expected to return to duty the following Saturday week.

Housing (which, under the Fire Services Act, may be provided) is insufficient to meet the need and in consequence I, and others like me, must go far afield to rent or purchase a house within my income and I am further burdened with increased travelling time and costs. After nearly three years with the Brigade I feel that my financial position is driving me to find more remunerative employment, but I hope that my feeling for the work I do and your readers' appreciation of that work will cause the tide to turn.

They may argue that on night duty trestles are provided so that rest may be taken, but a good "turnout" is inconsistent with a good rest and successive nights of half-sleep makes sleep imperative in time-off duty. On night shift of 15 hours, and indeed on day shifts, too, no provision is made for meals, other than cooking facilities. Any such meals also have to be provided for out of my take-home pay. Time spent on travelling at weekends is sometimes nearly double that normally required and no assistance is given for travelling when public transport is not available, such as Christmas Day.

I feel that some token of appreciation by way of a pay increase should be offered, for the dangers that I, as a fireman, undertake. Recently qualified in Breathing Apparatus, I am expected, without reward, to approach closer to a fire in a breathing apparatus set, operated on pure oxygen, which as we know, recently caused the deaths of two firemen. Is not this and the many other aspects of a fireman's job worthy of considerably more pay?

FIREMAN

J.T.F. UPSON, "Ipswood," Main-road, Woodham Ferrers, Chelmsford, Essex.

## A GRIEVOUS WRONG

Dear Sir,  
I feel impelled to write to you in view of a grievous wrong that has been committed to myself and a friend in the Troubadour (Revolutionary cafe, London SW7) on Tuesday 28th Jan, 8.30pm.

Upon entering the Troubadour with its posters 'promoting' equality, freedom, forbearance etc, and incidentally a retail outlet for The Black Dwarf, we proceeded to the counter where we obtained a coffee and chocolate. We then sat down to read an article on 'The Ulster Upsurge' in The Black Dwarf. A quarter of an hour later we decided to obtain a yoghurt and soup and bread. Shortly after consuming the latter one of the assistants at the counter enquired in an implying manner where we had obtained our copy of The Black Dwarf? I replied that I had obtained it previously 'from this very place', in the accompaniment of my girl friend. At this point the kitchen assistant sitting behind the counter burst forth into the discussion. My friend who had up to then remained quiet came to my assistance. As I seemed to have been found guilty until proven innocent, and he assured them that upon his word we had not obtained our copy of The Black Dwarf (1/6) from this establishment in an illegal manner. The reply he received to this was quote 'Your word is not worth a shit' before letting him finish his explanation. My friend being taken aback by such an intolerant attitude from a person in such an establishment told the gentleman concerned 'in a temper', to mind his own business. The reaction of the 'gentleman' was immediate: he shouted 'Get out', and got himself involved in a row with my friend who pointed out to him that we were not exactly getting an impartial hearing. I myself explained to the other assistant that I had bought the Black Dwarf the previous evening at the Troubadour's special price of 1/-, but before I could go on I was again told to leave, and seeing that my words were falling on less than attentive ears we obeyed the marching orders and left with the abusive words of 'Powellites' ringing in our ears.

I am writing this letter to try to bring to your attention that not all revolutionaries or revolutionary establishments, partly or fully promoting their cause are beyond rebuke themselves, especially when failing to tolerate or at least hear out, even fellow sympathisers. I can prove beyond doubt with witnesses that I did not steal my copy of The Black Dwarf. As a matter of fact the Jan 27th copy was obtained on the very day it came out, and on Tuesday I debated some of its articles with fellow students in Bromley Tech. College, Kent, before I went into the Troubadour in the evening, but this is really incidental to the fact that people who should know better take such an attitude of intolerance towards their fellow men. However since my experience yesterday I am beginning to have my doubts as to whether or not you would have the honesty (or guts) to publish such a letter of 'self-criticism' of the Revolutionary movement.

Yours,  
B. Lindquist  
4 Thurloe St  
SW7.

Student at Bromley Technical College, Bromley, Kent.

## LOUGHBOROUGH UNIVERSITY

Dear Comrade,

Congratulations on the article 'Capitalism and the Universities' (Dwarf 14 Feb) which completely exposed the role of the university in a capitalist society. I should like to point out that 'co-operation' between industry and universities has grown over the past decade. This practice has furthermore now obtained official approval from Whitehall. I refer now to the establishment of the Technological University. Thus the Vice-Chancellor of Loughborough University of Technology could write in a pamphlet entitled 'Loughborough, Industry's Own University'.

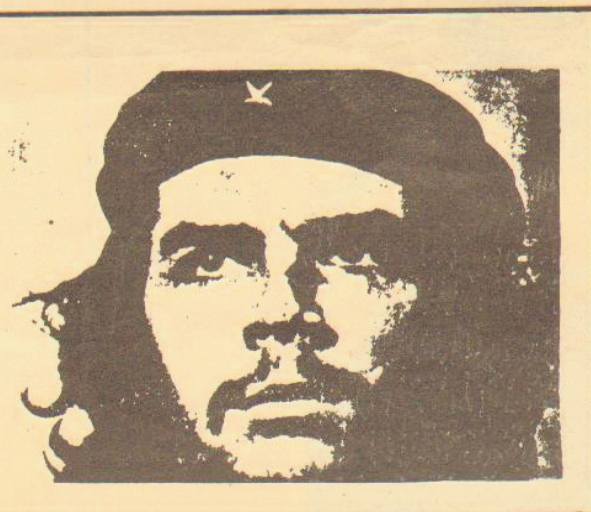
"Stated simply, our aim is to build on our past tradition of service to industry by developing along the lines which industry itself requires and we have resolved to avoid the temptation of moving towards the academic pattern established in the conventional universities...we undertake to train the manpower they need, and continue in every way to justify our claim to be 'Industry's Own University'.

I feel it is unnecessary to comment further as the quote speaks for itself.  
Yours,

1969 catalogue available soon. Send for free copy Pamphlets from the works of Mao Tse-tung now available in most languages. Recordings of Chinese music. Folk. Instrumental. Traditional. Modern Revolutionary Music.

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## FOREIGN THUGS

Tariq Ali,  
As you are so fond of organising demonstrations why do you not go back to your own country of Pakistan where they are demonstrating against their government? Can it be that you are frightened to face the Pakistan police who, unlike the tolerant British police, might beat you up or shoot you? Your friend, the German Rudi is frightened to stay in Germany in case he is shot again. How brave to run away in case you get hurt.

The British people are getting tired of the antics of you foreign thugs and will demand that our police hit back hard and that all foreign trouble makers be deported to their own country and people like you will have their British passports taken away.

You should read history and read what happened to other rabble rousers, to name some, Danton, Robespierre, Marat, St. Just, Hitler, Mussolini, Trotsky. It will happen to you.

L. Jennings.  
Tiverton  
North Devon.



# POLISH PHILOSOPHY.

WARSAW, February 1 1969 - In Poland, discontent has by no means been suppressed. Certainly, after the demonstrations of March, when the students took to the streets, the forces of repression moved into action; and for a period of months, heavy sentences were inflicted on those who took part. But, below the surface, trouble still brews.

Secretly, with government permission, sociologists investigated the attitude of young workers in Silesia, Poland's industrial belt. The results were far from what the government had hoped. The brutality and cynicism of the government's policy had had an important effect, in causing disillusion - even demoralisation among these young men. They had realised that reports in the press were not to be trusted, that phrases about 'total support' for the government's policies were quite clearly false. They had not moved during March; and, in the wake of the reprisals that followed, and having no organisations completely their own, they had decided to give nominal support to the party, or, to withdraw from all political action. Not usually apathetic about political events, they were uncertain what the present circumstances required. They had decided, therefore, to wait.

The Communist Party has done everything to separate the workers from the students. It has made contact impossible; for it has been very worried indeed that 'revisionism' would be spread amongst the working class itself. Students have continued to build upon the foundation laid by the demonstrations last March; the party attempted to infiltrate the movement, to split it up into groups, and to intimidate by a series of political trials. Kuron and Modzelewski, lecturers at the University of Warsaw, originally imprisoned four years ago but released before the demonstrations, were re-arrested in March and sentenced under the 36th clause of the law against political crimes, directed against people participating in organisations whose existence, formation or aim is concealed from the state.

The two sentences were driven through, of course, without the safeguards built into the law, but the effect was counter-productive. Kuron and Modzelewski have become the acknowledged leaders of the intellectual left. The 'Open Letter' they wrote came to reflect the views of the majority of this part of the left.

The truth of the criticisms levelled in this letter has been proved by events which have

been occurring of late. Gomulka, the first Secretary of the Communist Party, acting under the influence of General Moczar, chief of security, sought to cure the headache by removing the head. The failure of this therapy has been revealed by the hard line still being taken, and by the fact that the terms bandied by the Moczar-Gomulka clique - 'imperialism', 'capitalism', 'revisionism' - have been completely devalued. The language is understood not even by the party itself. Official lack of willingness to debate with young people has always been known, but the time-server, Gomulka, fearful of the signs of unrest, took preventive and repressive measures first tested in the era of Stalin. The young people understood this to be a confession of weakness: for how could the party educate those outside its ranks if it were still so badly divided inside?

Who supports the government at present? The trouble has given a chance to all sorts of careerists who, displaying an attitude which the government requires, have taken up important posts - particularly in the universities, where many teachers were fired. If the careerists are vocal at present, the rest are not: terrorised by the government's repression, discussion is limited to contacts small and informal. And even this is not safe, for government agents have infiltrated student hostels, institutions indeed of all kinds. One of the demands made by the students last March was that spies should not be permitted in the hostels; to which the leading Warsaw newspaper replied that, since the students were unable to give assurances as to their conduct, such infiltration would not be curtailed. Scholarships now coming under stricter control, those who can least afford to pay for themselves are compelled to make the most open expression of loyalty.

This state of affairs lowers morale. Cynicism and nihilism become wider spread. Lacking proper information about events in Poland and abroad, rumours begin and become greatly inflated. Many believe that the party is all-powerful. Yet intellectuals and students, who have more access to the facts, have no avenue of communication left save to protest. Jerzy Andrzejewski, author of 'Ashes and Diamonds', addressed a letter of protest against the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact powers. The letter was published in *Kultura* with hostile comments; the government's most effective reply, however, was the story spread by the government that

the intervention was directed against a German invasion. After a significant meeting of the Warsaw branch of the Polish Writers' union twelve months ago, organised to protest against the banning of a nineteenth century Mickiewicz play, the works of those who took part were withdrawn from libraries and shops. Again, in reply, the party organised meetings in factories to condemn 'political hooligans', e.g. the philosopher Kolakowski, Kuron, Modzelewski, and others. By coincidence, those who stood by the government were the least respected as writers, economists, and so on, but had once come to prominence during the period of Stalin's excesses.

'The worse, the better' - this proverb expresses the feeling that, the more fierce the repression, the more people will realise the limitations of the party.

Since the period 1960-1962, a political basis has been laid by students in creating an anti-party left. The Philosophy Department of the University of Warsaw, which included many outstanding intellectuals, became the centre of criticism and research on socialist thought - on Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Marcuse. Scholastic Marxism was ended; and theory was made closer to practice. The party leaders, afraid of all change, in whatever direction, gradually expelled from the party thinkers like these; and thereby created an opposition outside. The Gomulka group, anxious to retain its power, was compelled to renege on the promises made in 1956, to undertake a hard-line policy which they themselves had criticised then.

Kuron, Modzelewski, Michnik, Gorecki, Dajczewand, are all now in prison, but the young people are not lacking a sense of direction. The consciousness of individuals after the events of last March was greatly increased. Tension increased between conscious, active students, and 'petty bourgeois' elements: the crisis is clearly deepening. The working class, however, unsatisfied with their standards of life, with the shortage of housing, with rising prices, is ready to join students and intellectuals though not yet. This, the party realises, and therefore tries to deceive them, to spread false informations. The clearest indication of the links that may yet be forged comes from Czechoslovakia; and the students, secure with this knowledge gain thereby the strength to survive the present reaction.

## SHORT HAIR AND GREY SOCKS

### TUDOR GRANGE ACTION COMMITTEE

As everybody knows there are a lot of petty and stupid rules in this school. It is about time they were changed, and the boys given more freedom in the school. It is our school! Since the present senior master came to the school, a lot more petty rules have been introduced.

Who does he think he is? The following things are examples of the old fashioned regime, e.g. the senior master, and the headmaster.

1. Compulsory wear of caps.
  - Of grey socks.
  - Of short hair.
  - Of black regulation shoes.
  - Of white shirts.

Rules like. Must not eat out of school in school time, and uniform.

Cannot enter school during break and dinnertime.

Certain activities outside school time where the boys have to put on "false faces".

Having to play certain games to impress the right people e.g. rugby. When obviously the majority of the boys would prefer a more modern sport. e.g. football.

There are many more complaints as all of you will know.

In general we are discontented with the dictatorship of the senior master.

A last thought where do the school subscriptions go? Think and Act!

### REVOLUTIONARY FESTIVAL

Essex had its revolutionary festival in a kafkaesque glass case and invited the world. The world came in dribbles and wandered confusedly into somebody's else's dream. In the festival of 'freedom' a car burned students fought amiably hostile building workers in a snow battle (twice came back the next day to talk) patient university employees cleaned up 'spontaneous' writing on wanking and the revolution eternally, workmen, looking at their watches, shovelled up the snow and shivered - and nothing happened.

Desperately the people still there tried to make things which would stick together and make sense so people could hear each other and learn and work out how to act. A meeting on women's situation in relation to the revolutionary struggle started in an electric atmosphere but with a great determination that it was going to happen. The family, sex, equal pay were discussed but the main emphasis was on the problem of women who were also revolutionary militants fighting not only capitalism but the attitudes towards them, seen as secondary, regarded as belongings, actual within the movement. At a meeting later women decided to initiate a campaign, write the leaflet invite men to help set up a work group, study things that interested them, invite men to listen and discuss. A work study group has also been set up in London.

Things were being made in a little room buried away. ESSEX HAS GOT ITS OWN POSTER WORKSHOP. The first posters have appeared, people in the town are interested in using it. The posters were a symbol of something more. This was the tacit decision to stop trying to politicise the general loon, get on with political thinking and to strengthen contacts with the Trades Council and the left in the town.

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# SOUL ON ICE

## ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

### Chickens and Goats.....

Every city has its police department. No city would be complete without one. It would be sheer madness to try operating an American city without the heat, the fuzz, the man. Americans are too far gone, or else they haven't arrived yet; the center does not exist, only the extremes. Take away the cops and Americans would have a coast-to-coast free-for-all. There are, of course, a few citizens who carry their own private cops around with them, built into their souls. But there is robbery in the land, and larceny, murder, rape, burglary, theft, swindles, all brands of crime, profit, rent, interest and these blase descendants of Pilgrims are at each other's throats. To complicate matters, there are also rich people and poor people in America. There are Negroes and whites, Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Jews, Chinese, Arabs, Japanese all with equal rights but unequal possessions. Some are haves and some are have-nots. All have been taught to worship at the shrine of General Motors. The whites are on top in America and they want to stay there, up there. They are also on top in the world, on the international level, and they want to stay up there, too. Everywhere there are those who want to smash this precious toy clock of a system, they want ever so much to change it, to rearrange things, to pull the whites down off their high horse and make them equal. Every-where the whites are fighting to prolong their status, to retard the erosion of their position. In America, when everything else fails, they call out the police. On the international level, when everything else fails, they call out the armed forces.

A strange thing happened in Watts, in 1965, August. The blacks, who in this land of private property have all private and no property, got excited into an uproar because they noticed a cop before he had a chance to wash the blood off his hands. Usually the police department can handle such flare-ups. But this time it was different. Things got out of hand. The blacks were running amok, burning, shooting, breaking. The police department was powerless to control them; the chief called for reinforcements. Out came the National Guard, that ambiguous hybrid from the twilight zone where the domestic army merges with the international; that hypocritical force poised within America and capable of action on either level, capable of backing up either the police or the armed forces. Unleashing their formidable firepower, they crushed the blacks. But things will never be the same again. Too many people saw that those who turned the other cheek in Watts got their whole head blown off. At the same time, heads were being blown off in Vietnam. America was embarrassed, not by the quality of her deeds but by the surplus of publicity focused upon her negative selling points, and a little frightened because of what all those dead bodies, on two fronts, implied. Those corpses spoke eloquently of potential allies and alliances. A community of interest began to emerge, dripping with blood, out of the ashes of Watts. The blacks in Watts and all over America could now see the Viet Cong's point: both were on the receiving end of what the armed forces were dishing out.

So now the blacks, stung by the new knowledge they have unearthed, cry out: "POLICE BRUTALITY!" From one end of the country to the other, the new war cry is raised. The youth, those nodes of compulsive energy who are all fuel and muscle, race their motors, itch to do something. The Uncle Toms, no longer willing to get down on their knees to lick boots, do so from a squatting position. The black bourgeoisie call for Citizens' Review Boards, to assert civilian control over the activity of the police. In back rooms, in dark stinking corners of the ghettos, self-conscious black men curse their own cowardice and stare at their rifles and pistols and shotguns laid out on tables before them, trembling as they wish for a manly impulse to course through their bodies and send them screaming mad into the streets shooting from the hip. Black women look at their men as if they are bugs, curious growths of flesh playing an inscrutable waiting game. Violence becomes a homing pigeon floating through the ghettos seeking a black

that the police are only an instrument for the implementation of the policies of those who make the decisions. Police brutality is only one facet of the crystal of terror and oppression. Behind police brutality there is social brutality, economic brutality, and political brutality. From the perspective of the ghetto, this is not easy to discern: the TV newscaster and the radio announcer and the editorialists of the newspapers are wizards of the smoke screen and the show job.

What is true on the international level is true at home: except that the ace up the sleeve is easier to detect in the international arena. Who would maintain that American soldiers are in Vietnam on their own motion? They were conscripted into the armed forces and taught the wisdom of obeying orders. They were sent to Vietnam by orders of the generals in the Pentagon, who receive them from the Secretary of Defense, who receives them from the President, who is shrouded in mystery. The soldier in the field in Vietnam, the man who lies in the grass and squeezes the trigger when a little half-starved, trembling Vietnamese peasant crosses his sights, is only following orders, carrying out a policy and a plan. He hardly knows what it is all about. They have him wired-up tight with the slogans of TV and the World Series. All he knows is that he has been assigned to carry out a certain ritual of duties. He is well trained and does the best he can. He does a good job. He may want to please those above him with the quality of his performance. He may want to make sergeant, or better. This man is from some hicky farm in Smit Creek, Georgia. He only knew whom to kill after passing through boot camp. He could just as well come out ready to kill Swedes. He will kill a Swede dead, if he is ordered to do so.

Same for the policeman in Watts. He is not there on his own. They have all been assigned. They have been told what to do and what not to do. They have also been told what they better not do. So when they continually do something in every filthy getto in this shitty land, it means only that they are following orders.

It's no secret that in America the blacks are in total rebellion against the System. They want to get their nuts out of the sand. They don't like the way America is run, from top to bottom. In America, everything is owned. Everything is held as private property. Someone has a brand on everything. There is nothing left over. Until recently, the blacks themselves were counted as part of somebody's private property, along with the chickens and goats. The blacks have not forgotten this, principally because they are still treated as if they are part of someone's inventory of assets—or perhaps, in this day of rage against the costs of welfare, blacks are listed among the nation's liabilities. On any account, however, blacks are in no position to respect or help maintain the institution of private property. What they want is to figure out a way to get some of that property for themselves, to divert it to their own needs. This is what it is all about, and this is the brutality involved. This is the source of all brutality.

The police are the armed guardians of the social order. The blacks are the chief domestic victims of the American social order. A conflict of interest exists, therefore, between the black and the police. It is not American social order. A conflict of interest exists, therefore, between the black and the police. It is not them. It pays good. And there are numerous fringe benefits. The real problem is a trigger-happy social order.

The Black Muslims raised the cry, "WE MUST HAVE SOME LAND!" "SOME LAND OF OUR OWN OR ELSE!" Blacks in America shrink from the colossus of General Motors. They can't see how to wade through that thicket of common stocks, preferred stocks, bonds and debentures. They only know that General Motors is huge, that it has billions of dollars under its control, that it owns land, that its subsidiaries are legion, that it is a repository of vast powers. The blacks want to crack the nut of General Motors. They are meditating on it. Meanwhile, they must learn that the police take orders from General Motors. And that the



accounts, only bills to pay. The only way they know of making withdrawals from the bank is at the point of a gun. The shiny fronts of skyscrapers intimidate them. They do not own them. They feel alienated from the very sidewalks on which they walk. This white man's country, this white man's world. Overflowing with men of color. An economy consecrated to the succor of the whites. Blacks are incidental. The war on poverty, that monstrous insult to the rippling muscles in a black man's arms, is an index of how men actually sit down and plot each other's deaths, actually sit down with slide rules and calculate how to hide bread from the hungry. And the black bourgeoisie greedily sopping up what crumbs are tossed into their dark corner.

There are 20,000,000 of these blacks in America, probably more. Today they repeat, in awe, this magic number to themselves: there are 20,000,000 of us! They shout this to each other in humiliated astonishment. No one need tell them that there is vast power latent in their mass. They know that 20,000,000 of anything is enough to get some recognition and consideration. They know also that they must harness their number and hone it into a sword with a sharp cutting edge. White General Motors also knows that the unity of these 20,000,000 ragamuffins will spell the death of the system of its being. At all costs, then, they will seek to keep these blacks from uniting, from becoming bold and revolutionary. These white property owners know that they must keep the blacks cowardly and intimidated. By a

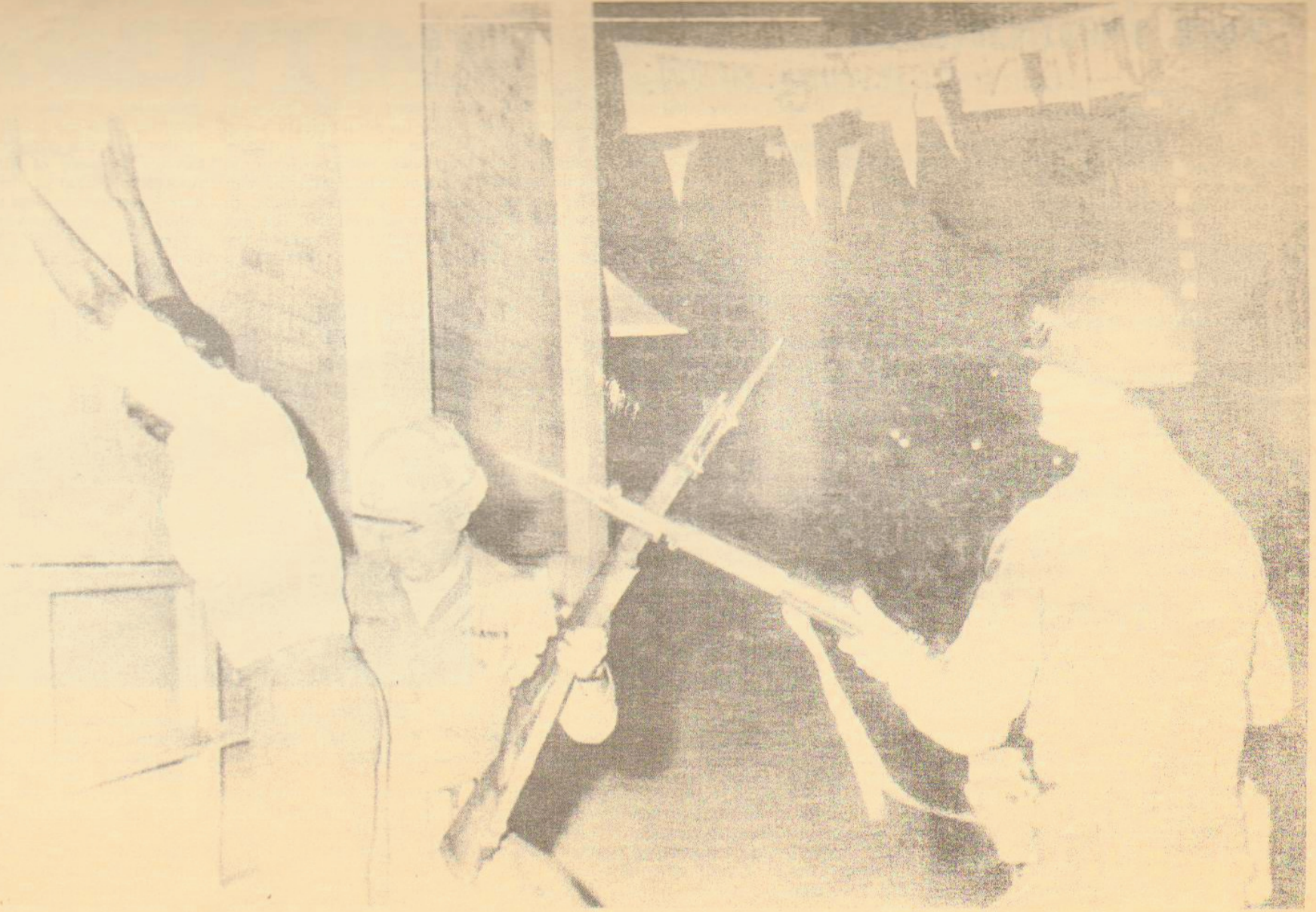
the ghetto.

We experience this system of control as madness. So that Leonard Deadwyler, one of these 20,000,000 blacks, is rushing his pregnant wife to the hospital and is shot dead by a policeman. An accident. That the sun rises in the east and sets in the west is also an accident, by design. The blacks are up in arms. From one end of America to the other, blacks are outraged at this accident, this latest evidence of what an accident-prone people they are, of the cruelty and pain of their lives, these blacks at the mercy of trigger-happy Yankees and Rebs in coalition against their skin. They want the policeman's blood as a sign that the Viet Cong is not the only answer. A sign to save them from the deaths they must die, and inflict. The power structure, without so much as blinking an eye, wouldn't mind tossing Bova to the mob, to restore law and order, but it knows in the vaults of its strength that at all costs the blacks must be kept at bay, that it must uphold the police department, its Guardian. Nothing must be allowed to threaten the set-up. Justice is secondary. Security is the byword.

Meanwhile, blacks are looking on and asking tactical questions. They are asked to die for the System in Vietnam. In Watts they are killed by it. Now—NOW!—they are asking each other in dead earnest: Why not die right here in Babylon fighting for a better life, like the Viet Cong? If those little cats can do it, what's wrong with big studs like us?

A mood sets in, spreads across America, across the face of Babylon, jells in black hearts





**" Behind police brutality there is social brutality, economic brutality, and political brutality "**

**"White General Motors knows that the unity of these 20m ragamuffins will spell the death of the system"**

**"The only way they know of making withdrawals from the bank is at the point of a gun"**

**"Why not die right here in Babylon fighting for a better life, like the Viet Cong? If those little cats can do it, what's wrong with big studs like us?"**

# LEFT DEBATE

On Thursday February 13, Tony Cliff of International Socialism and Gerry Healey of the Socialist Labour League met in public debate.

Tony Cliff began. First, he pointed out that the SLL had no theoretical work to its credit - it had failed to analyse the changes in international capitalism, and it had failed to produce original work on the Soviet Union. He then pointed out various aberrations in Gerry Healey's political past - he had made a volte-face on Yugoslavia in 1948, had worked with Bessie Braddock on *Socialist Outlook* in the late 40s, and had helped sell *Tribune* in the middle fifties. His organisation permitted no internal debate. Thirdly, he said that in spite of all this the time had come for united action and he repeated the appeal made by IS over the last few months for a united left.

Gerry Healey did not care to reply to the detailed accusations about his political past, accusing Cliff of "peddling bits of gossip". "It is necessary to take up a firm class position this evening", he said. He attacked the IS for allowing anyone to enter their organisations provided they subscribed to a minimal four-point programme; the IS relied, he said, "on middle-class moods". In contrast, the SLL gave its members a political training in Marxism. Membership of an organisation had to be conditional. The IS position on the USSR, the theory of state capitalism, was, he said, totally false: it ignored the fundamental change in property relations brought about by the Russian revolution. He also defended his position on the unions and the Labour Party: they were the organisations of the working class although at present controlled by traitorous bureaucracies. He ended up with a virulent attack on the appeal for unity launched by IS. The only reason for wanting unity with the IS was to smash them. The left needed a Marxist party with a Marxist theory which was able to fight: "We are not in the unity-mongers list" he emphasised.

The contributions from the floor were short and mostly polemical. IS champions Chris Harman, John Palmer and Stephen Marks defended the position on state capitalism, on the IS position on the Americans in Korea, and on unity. Among SLL spokesmen were Mike Banda and Cyril Smith. Robin Blackburn attacked both groups for ignoring the liberation struggle in the third world. He said he wanted to see that the left was not

political questions that are of general importance. Both must be criticised for the orientation they gave to the evening's discussion. Neither discussed the central political problems of the British left to-day: the crisis of the Labour Party, the future of the left, the significance of the student movement, the possible forms of contact between students and workers, the relation between the proletarian and national liberation movements, racism. Vietnam was ignored. In trying to establish their positions on the historically central issue raised by Trotsky - the nature of the Soviet Union and of the communist parties dependent on it - they failed to come to terms with the situation in which the left now finds itself; and by leading their followers off into these areas they are stifling a necessary discussion of new problems.

The nature of the Soviet Union and Marxist theory are of utmost relevance to the present struggle; but if they are not related to them, and if the question of the Soviet Union is put forward at the expense of the questions the left is now facing, they cease to be theoretical positions of a political nature and become fetishes. Both IS and SLL have published reams of material on the Soviet Union. What they have tended to ignore and what they should have debated and discussed, are the problems of strategy that the left now faces. That is what they should have debated; anyone who wants to know what they think about Russia can read that up elsewhere.

This raises the more general problem of how far existing groups are capable of leading the left. Insofar as their whole orientation is defined by the debates of ten or more years ago they will be incapable of building the left that the present situation makes possible and requires: and the mistake made by many of their followers is that they devote more energy to spirited and ill-informed attacks on all other tendencies than on trying to apply Marxism creatively to the British and international crises we now face. Many people appeared to have gone along to the meeting in the hope of witnessing a joust, and of seeing their respective champion carry the day. A frivolous and fundamentally anti-political ambience that characterises so much of left discussion pervaded the audience. This is part of the malaise of the British left - political differences have ceased to be political and have become fetishised.

The only way to repoliticise this is to stop organising formalised debates of this kind which only confirm the



# ON BEING HOMELESS THE PRISONERS

The Black Dwarf 28th Feb 1969

Page 8

My family and I became homeless last June. We entered the L.B.G. reception centre, at 188 Shooters Hill. Three weeks later we were transferred to the Homeless Families Unit in Plumstead. On entering the temporary accommodation provided by the L.B.G. we were given to understand that it was temporary, and that, should we pay our rent regularly for eight weeks, we should be considered favourably for re-housing by the L.B.G. Housing Department.

We have paid our rent and still have no prospect of being re-housed.

The "temporary accommodation" theory has, after some seven months, been discarded by us. The accommodation is not a "half way house" in the sense of being somewhere half way between one permanent address and another. It is more a kind of scrap yard for those who fall by the wayside in the rat race. Length of one's stay is determined by the whims of a faceless bureaucracy. The present record holders have been in "temporary accommodation" waiting to be re-housed for three years.

Having discarded the first official theory one moves on to the next. This official theory is the theory of rehabilitation. Any family coming into the Homeless Families Unit is considered a "problem family" - as distinct from a family with simply a housing problem. A problem family needs to be sheltered from the pressures of the outside world. It needs trained social/psychiatric social workers to prevent it from breaking up. Once this is done then the social workers, with the help of a secure supporting environment, can help the family become a responsible, self governing, cohesive unit in society once more.

Once rehabilitated the family can return once more to the world "outside".

My own theory, born out by constant observation and experience, differs somewhat from the official version. I believe that the function of the Homeless Families Unit is to inflict punishment for social deviation.

To substantiate my punishment theory I should like first to outline how one enters the Homeless Families Unit, what one finds "inside" and finally to look at some of the crimes that bring a family to the hostel at Plumstead.

## THE PRISON

To get into "temporary accommodation" as provided by the L.B.G. under the National Assistance Act, 1948, a family has literally to be on the street.

Becoming homeless is a traumatic experience, particularly for young children and their mothers. It causes complete and utter bewilderment for the child to see bits and pieces of furniture that are so familiar get dumped on the roadside with their own toys and bundles of clothes. The small amount of security that is possible in an insecure world has gone.

The "Welfare Department" of the London Borough of Greenwich will not, however, make arrangements in advance to take in families who are to become homeless: arrangements can only be made when the family is on the street.

"... To leave the accommodation when called upon to do so by the Council's representative."

This rule is further emphasised in the final paragraph of the document:-

"... To leave the "Temporary accommodation" at ANY time."

In many instances a home collected over many years is lost in one day. Rule 1. states:-  
"Not to bring any large furniture into the unit ..."

## SHOCK THERAPY - MAIN BLOCK STYLE.

All families are supposed to spend at least three weeks in the Main Block, though many spend years there. In this block, as in the other two blocks, all but the largest families have only one room in which to eat, sleep, and sit. They share a kitchen with 3 or 4 other families. A toilet with as many as six other families. There are also baths shared by many. In one case some 50 men women and children share one bath. To add to the chronic overcrowding, and the inevitably high noise level, there have been plagues of cockroaches as well as of rats and of mice.

Once accepted into "temporary accommodation" the insecurity is by no means over. The head of the family has before being admitted to sign an interesting document entitled "Conditions of Residence", rule 11 of which compels him

## PENTHOUSE ACCOMMODATION

The two remaining blocks, namely the S.E. Block and the Annexe, have conditions a little better than those of the main block. Each family has its own bathroom/toilet and kitchen. However the majority of the walls consist of one thickness of plaster board or chip board. The usual one room is smaller than in the Main Block. These factors make the noise level and the overcrowding in these blocks intolerable. One woman has an extra room in which she has to cram three sons of 16, 14 & 6 years and a daughter of twelve years. In this tiny room all four youngsters are supposed to spend their leisure time and do their homework. Despite this being designated "superior" accommodation by the council, problems such as power failures leaving families in total darkness sometimes all night and the constant failure of the central heating system, are shared with those living in the Main Block. (There is no official provision should the central heating break down as part of rule 1 prohibits any kind of electric, gas or oil heater being brought into the premises. There are no grates for coal fires.)

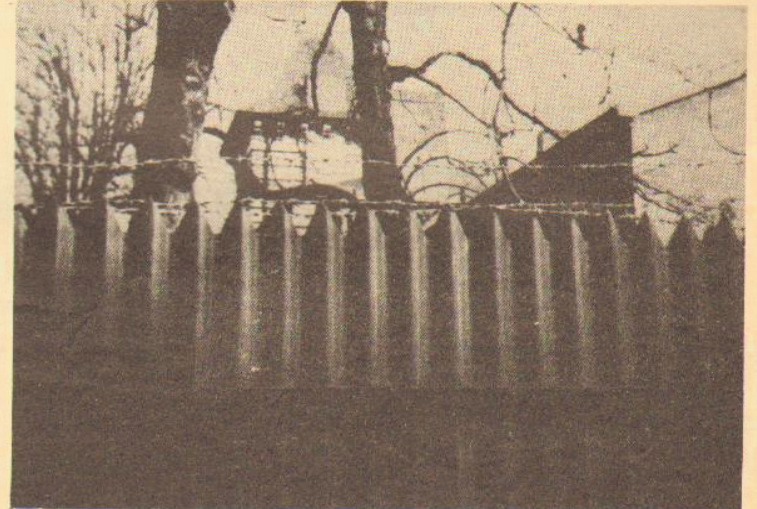
**These conditions provide the secure stable environment which the social workers consider so necessary to "rehabilitation".**

This is the theory. In practice, within a short time, many stable families start to break up. Formerly stable people make suicide attempts. Pat Woodhouse has tried twice in one day, first with sleeping pills and then with a razor blade across the wrists. Only the timely intervention of her husband, Kevin, saved her. Pat is one of many. Mothers who before becoming homeless were patient and understanding with their children get enraged at the least provocation. Bright, intelligent children become nervous, sullen, and apathetic.

Nora Sheaf committed a crime. She spent money that should have paid the rent on

feeding and clothing her five children. Her family had been tenants of their house in Rochester Way S.E.3. for some twenty years. Her husband had been the tenant for twelve years since her father died. For the first time in all those years they were behind with the rent. The Labour controlled authority made an example of them. They were evicted. The cost of the furniture that they lost far exceeds the amount of the arrears. The cost of the suffering, is inestimable.

This we have started to do. Since forming an association we have been able to resist evictions from the hostel. Both families had a mother who was crippled, in the first instance through a disease of the legs, in the second through a disease of the spine. Eviction had been threatened because they would not accept re-housing in accommodation which would be injurious to their health. (From the hostel they have only one choice of dwelling when being re-housed. Therefore the more vulnera



Nora and her family have served one year of their sentence. There seems little prospect of their release for some considerable time.

Kevin and Pat Woodhouse, both intelligent sensitive young people, were living in a flat for a little over two years before they were evicted. Their crime was that Pat became pregnant.

They have served 20 months of their sentence. They may be released in the next three months.

Anne Woods has served three years. Her crime was that she was separated from her husband. She had to walk the streets with two young children. She now has a fourth child on the way. She is a diabetic. Her marriage has been patched up several times since living in the hostel. It has soon broken up again. The "Welfare" say that they have done all they can for Anne. Recently she found that she could not cope. Her daughter Pauline six years old was sent to her sister in law in Edinburgh. Julie, 19 months, went into care. She kept Gary, aged three, with her. Recently, she found that with a great deal of effort she could cope once again. Did the social workers give every encouragement to their "client" who was trying so hard? No. She was refused a travel warrant by the powers that be. Five trucks and one cold snowy night later she arrived in Edinburgh to retrieve her young daughter.

There are many families in homeless hostels whose only crime is that one of their members has a severe mental or physical disability. To add to their other misfortunes they become incarcerated in slums called "Welfare" accommodation.

## JAIL BREAK

Within the last month some of the inmates have formed a residents' association. The purpose of this association is: To fight. To take back from "them" what they have taken from "us". Homelessness leads one to abdicate all decisions.

families get put into slums owned by the L.B. ("Normal" people "outside" the hostel have t or more choices.) Both evictions w RESISTED. One family has now b re-housed to their satisfaction. The other fam will be re-housed in the near future.

There have also been promising developments amongst those inmates who have not joined an association to date. In their usual bureaucratic way the council staff decided that it would be better for Nancy Simmons, a widow with five children, to be transferred back to the reception at Shooters Hill. Nancy was not consulted. She did not want to go. She was given notice that she was going to be moved, midday, for that afternoon. She was not going. The other woman along the landing where she has her one overcrowded room joined with Nancy and prevented her removal. She is staying with us. She is going to STAY.

We are fighting to improve the sanitation conditions in the hostel. We are also fighting for a second choice, and we are going to speed up the machinery by which families are re-housed.

**WE ARE GOING TO HAVE THE CHOICE OF AT LEAST TWO DWELLINGS WHEN BEING RE-HOUSED. NO ONE IS GOING TO BE IN THE HOSTEL FOR MORE THAN THREE MONTHS. NO ONE IS GOING TO BE FORCED BY INTIMIDATION INTO COUNCIL OWNED SLUMS. WE ARE GOING TO CONTROL OUR OWN ENVIRONMENT WHILST IN THE HOSTEL.**

Finally we are making solid links with the London Squatters, the Tenants and Owners Occupiers, the Trade Union and socialist students. We shall be linking up with homeless hostels in London and throughout the country.

We extend our hands to all those who are fighting on the housing front.

## EDUCATION AND THE WORKING CLASS

In 1867 with the passing of the second reform bill the great middle class woke up and trembled to its toes. Something strange had got inside what they saw as politics. The something might grow into a shape and become the government. Horrors. Somehow the working class had got itself into the constitution. Unless precautionary measures were taken it might change the rules. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE ABOUT IT???? Domesticated it, defumigate it, dehydrate it, integrate it. Tame it, train it, teach it to speak nice. With a good scrub you could even take it out to tea.

## HOW?

Educate it. Send it to school. Teach it three R's. Let it learn about OUR great traditions. Make sure it doesn't learn about its own. Let it recite the rivers of England and how to put the H on And education became synonymous

So they built red brick fortifications to keep it in. And filled them with passages that never met. They labelled the entrances BOYS or GIRLS And tried to make sure that they never met. And the boys went into the boys doorway and the girls went into the girls And they all went up and up through the grades higher and higher learning more names for things and how to talk proper And grew up and passed out and left. And most of them remained bewildered, confused, cheated and most of them became narrow, bitter, disenchanting. But most of them were tamed And education became synonymous

It is a quality of youth to be receptive, to be warm-hearted, to glow with enthusiasm.

It is characteristic of age to become opinionated, dictatorial, slow to adapt oneself to the changing times.

If taunted about your youth, don't worry, the future of the world belongs to the youth of the world, and it is from the young men and not from the old that the fire of life will warm & enlighten the world.

Go forth & achieve

TOM MANN DIED IN 1941 AGED 85 HIS LAST WORDS WERE:

Tell the comrades to have good courage. Go on with the work. There will be set-backs, partial success and final success. The young people will have a lot to go through, but they will succeed in the end.



## Little black-heads

In 1966 Argentinians witnessed a coup d'état which swept away the feeble democratic structures of their country. This coup, like that of 1962, was the result of elections; which, on the previous occasion leading to a victory for Peronism, were threatening to do the same again.

In 1945 a new, numerous working class took to the streets of Buenos Aires and called for the release of their leader from his gaol. From this moment, Peron had established his identity with the working class, which was to form henceforward the basis of his power.

This new class had but recently arisen, and had come from the interior of the country. It was without ties with the old trade union organisations – whether communist, socialist, or anarchist – which were largely based on immigrants who had arrived from Europe between the wars; and the high degree of politicisation among the old organisations had led them into many errors, the chief of which was to analyse Argentine society as analogous to the world struggle between the Allies and the Axis.

Peronism, on the other hand, used the opportunity of the Second World War to smash the yoke of a Britain weakened by the war, and it began a transformation of the economic structure towards economic independence.

This was the point of departure of the movement's policy of anti-imperialist internationalism. Externally, it looked for a third position between the great capitalist and socialist powers; and internally for a class alliance between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, whose common objective was the industrialisation of the country and the simultaneous development of each class as a class.

This policy was explicitly aimed against the partition which the great powers had worked out in Yalta, a partition which allowed the growth of the industrialised countries at the expense of all the rest. At the same time, it created the basis for a common identity with the other third world countries, or at least those which through lack of industry were unable to produce goods at a competitive price for the world market. The Peronist economic policy, therefore, was based on nationalisation, a strict control on imports and foreign investment, and on the growth of local production for the domestic market.

This was how things went up to 1950. It was feasible because of the absence of a yankee imperialism preoccupied with investments in Western Europe in order to create a barrier to communism; but from 1950 onwards pressure grew on the Argentinian government.

US investment began to attract the national bourgeois, and the class struggle became more acute: this struggle took on a racial form because the majority of the new working class were referred to by the oligarchy as "little black-heads" (*cabecitas negras*) as a result of their mixed origins.

These contradictions exploded in 1955. The counter-revolution surprised the workers who were without adequate organisation. In 1956 the army suppressed a rebellion by an alliance of workers and soldiers. In 1958 elections were held from which Peronists were excluded; they were won by Arturo Frondizi with Peronist support. Under his rule, the trade union leaders were gradually integrated into the system; but it is not the trade union bureaucrats or those of the party which represent a threat to the regime, it is the class composition of the movement itself which forces overthrow of a Government whose only fault was to allow Peronists to win governorship elections. In recent years the only massive opposition to the capitalist system has been the occupation of factories, the continual strikes which, often in opposition to the trade union leaders and at times sold out by them, have combatted the exploitative system blow by blow.

The 1966 coup showed how far the regime's powers had declined: politically it was unable to integrate Peronism through the liberal and corporatist currents that were trying to achieve this; economically it was unable to control the inflationary process, the inevitable result of massive US investments which produced an external debt of \$11,500,000 and a consequent dependence on US imperialism. The trade union bureaucracy had also come to the limits of its capacity, cut off as it was from its basis by its anti-worker policies. Four political forces now confront the regime.

At the beginning of 1968 the trade union bureaucrats, in agreement with the party bureaucrats, agreed to formalise a division which had existed for some time; on one side there was the "participationist" or "collaborationist" CGT, and on the other the "oppositionist" CGT. As Peron himself supports the CGT the division has rapidly spread to the other Peronist organisations.

The oppositionist CGT has its main support in the branches of the interior and in those of the capital which have been most attacked by the government's policies. Most of its leaders are young and have emerged in recent years with a fundamentally anti-imperialist position; some are older militants from the revolutionary sectors of the movement. The left CGT's secretary, Ongaro, has been accused of being a communist by the Argentinian unions, because of the position on Cuba which he has recently adopted.

### STUDENTS

The new left has been active mainly in the university and consists mainly of students. When the coup of 1966 took place these groups confronted military intervention on the campus; the autonomy of the University was over. The intense politicisation that then took place appeared to be the converse of the tribute which the university had traditionally paid for its autonomy: the ideological expression of this tribute was liberalism, and its practical expression was weakness.

In Cordoba university, which used to be a base of right-wing Catholic students, the radicalisation of certain sections of Latin American Catholicism, and direct contact with workers' struggle, had converted the students to militant positions. These students waged a violent struggle against the intervention of the military and were immediately supported by the local CGT. A student of working class origins, Santiago Pampillon, was killed in this struggle and he has become the symbol of the student struggle against the regime.

The participation by students in the latest actions of the CGT, and the fact that CGT has set up a special student committee and has set aside a part of its daily paper for student affairs, show that for the first time there is a co-operation between workers and students which will become stronger with the passage of time.

### FOTIA

FOTIA is a grouping that unites the workers in the sugar industry in the northern province of Tucuman. Recently unemployment has risen considerably and FOTIA has organised occupations, strikes and demonstrations. A climate of agitation is spreading throughout the northern provinces.

### PERONIST YOUTH

A Pro-Cuban youth movement, it works underground in unions and working class sections of town. Many have been tortured and killed: in October of last year fourteen members of the youth movement were arrested after starting a guerrilla movement in Tucuman.

### PROSPECTS

It is neither easy nor immediately possible to create a revolutionary movement in a country the size of Argentina. The Tucuman guerrillas were only a preparatory stage. An urban guerrilla movement is also urgently required.

The acts of terrorism that take place every day in the cities, the bank raids carried out by revolutionary organisations, the rise of guerrilla groups in Tucuman in the north and Rio Gallegos in the south, and the recent worker-student demonstrations in the midst of violent repression – all these signify a new stage of violence in the revolutionary struggle, which will carry the Argentinian people with it until imperialism has been eradicated from their country.

## THE DEATH OF EDUARDO MONDLANE

According to the latest reports the bomb that killed Eduardo Mondlane, president of FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) arrived with a book posted from Western Germany. This will doubtless be bad news to many journalists and politicians here who looked to splits in FRELIMO and "extremist Splinter groups" to explain the murder. For those who would like to see FRELIMO crippled by this blow there is yet worse news. For, although shocked and horrified FRELIMO has not stopped still. It is carrying on with its work while choosing a new leader according to the party's democratic procedure.

The executive committee immediately appointed Vice President Uria Simango as acting president and the whole Central Committee will shortly be convening inside Mozambique officially to elect the new President. This committee was expanded at the July Congress, and is made up of representatives of the people and army working inside Mozambique; we can be sure that the man they choose will, as Mondlane did, have the full confidence of the party and the majority of people of Mozambique.

These events raise some questions about the concept of leadership in this type of struggle. It was often implied here that Mondlane was moderate, academic and distant from the military struggle. These theories appear to stem from mistaken expectations rather than from the facts. That Mondlane was an intellectual, in the sense that he had had a long formal education, and that he had not physically fought with the army are incidental. What is relevant is that he had a mind capable of grasping the many aspects of the movement's work and that his own job, although deeply concerned with the military struggle, was essentially political. He was not in fact distanced from the army but worked closely with the military leaders and made frequent visits to Mozambique to see for himself what the problems were. On these visits he was often acclaimed as a hero but himself fiercely

This is bound up with other aspects of FRELIMO's political philosophy. It is similar to that of other radical liberation movements in that it goes well beyond simple nationalism: colonialism is seen in terms of economic exploitation; the action of the immediate enemy, Portugal, is seen as linked with a world imperialist alliance; as a result the avowed aim of the struggle is not simply that of ejecting the Portuguese but of building a new social structure in which exploitation of all types will be eliminated and true progress for the whole population will become a possibility. In the specific tactics of the struggle, however, there are differences with some schools of revolutionary thought. From the beginning was involvement of the population was seen as a necessary condition to the launching and to the success of the struggle. Thus after the movement was formed in 1962 two whole years were spent preparing the people before the first military strike was made. Subsequent events confirmed the value of this preparatory work, for initially the population suffered from Portuguese reprisals and from the disruption of trade and services caused by the war. In areas where the political work had been done thoroughly this did not prevent them continuing to support the army with supplies and information and new recruits whereas considerable problems had to be overcome in other areas where the work had been less thorough and the people had an inadequate understanding of the struggle.

The importance of planning for a prolonged struggle has always been recognised by FRELIMO and as a result a certain amount of effort is diverted to developing liberated areas while fighting continues around them. Great demands are thrown on the population of these liberated areas, and education, both political and general, is seen as the most effective tool in achieving progress. They must form their own administration, organise production, assist FRELIMO in organising social services and above all assist FRELIMO members in the fighting areas by providing supplies and

means also that civilian and military units must be able to take responsibility to act on their own initiative under general directives of the party. As the areas of activity become larger and good communications become increasingly difficult to maintain this becomes progressively more important.

The policy decision of FRELIMO are taken collectively by the Central Committee and military tactics are decided in the context of the whole struggle. The leaders must be able to guide the struggle on all fronts and in all areas, and this cannot be done effectively by one man. Unity and co-operation remain essential conditions for success. Hence the importance of the structure of the party, the new enlarged Central Committee, and the machinery through which decisions can be communicated to all branches.

The recent disaster has only reinforced the correctness of this approach. For had Eduardo Mondlane made himself into the type of messianic hero which journalists and some romantic would-be revolutionaries look for in such a struggle, the enemies of FRELIMO would have been able to claim a partial victory in his assassination. As it is they have robbed the movement of one dynamic and brilliant leader and they have caused enormous grief to many individuals, but they have not beheaded the movement or stopped the revolution.

N.B. It is now more important than ever to give positive support to the Mozambique struggle. Offers of help and enquiries should go to

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## Ernest Mandel

*Roger Garaudy, one of the French CP's leading intellectuals, visited Brussels University on November 5. He had been invited to lecture on 'May 1968' by the Communist Student Union. Various factions on the left effectively broke up the lecture; and Ernest Mandel—whose important Marxist Economic Theory has recently been published by Merlin Press—was moved to write the following rebuke.*

Workers democracy has always been a basic tenet of the proletarian movement. It was a tradition in the socialist and communist movement to firmly support this principle in the time of Marx and Engels as well as of Lenin and Trotsky. It took the Stalinist dictatorship in the USSR to shake this tradition. The temporary victory of fascism in West and Central Europe also helped to undermine it. However, the origins of this challenge to workers democracy are deeper and older; they lie in the bureaucratization of the large workers organizations.

### Bureaucracy Against Workers Democracy

The Social Democratic and trade-union bureaucrats were the first to begin to undermine the principles of workers democracy. They started calling general membership meetings at infrequent intervals. Then they began to rig them, or often to do away with them altogether. They began likewise to restrict or abolish freedom of discussion and criticism within their organizations. They did not hesitate even to appeal to the police (including the secret police) for help in fighting revolutionary minorities. At the time of the first world war, the German Social Democracy set a dismal example of collusion with the state repressive forces. In subsequent years, the Social Democrats everywhere followed this example.

The Soviet bureaucracy first and then the bureaucrats in the Stalinist Communist parties (or in trade unions under Stalinist leadership) simply followed the pattern established by the Social Democrats, extending it further and further. They abolished freedom of discussion and of tendencies. Slander and lies replaced argument and debate with opponent tendencies. They made massive use of physical force to prevent their opponents from "causing any harm". Thus, the entire Bolshevik old guard which led the October Revolution and the majority of the members of Lenin's Central Committee were exterminated by Stalin during the dark years of the Great Purge (1935-38).

The young generation of anti-imperialist and anticapitalist militants now developing a revolutionary consciousness are spontaneously returning to the traditions of workers democracy. This was apparent in France in May and June when freedom of speech for all tendencies was jealously safeguarded in the assemblies of students and revolutionary workers and students. But this new generation is not always conscious of all the principled and practical reasons for workers democracy.

This is why the youth can be vulnerable to a kind of Stalinist-derived demagoguery being spread by certain pro-Chinese sects, which seek to make people believe that workers democracy is contrary to "the interests of the revolution." Therefore, it is necessary to reaffirm these reasons strongly.

The workers movement fights for the emancipation of the proletariat. But this emancipation requires the abolition of all forms of exploitation to which the workers are subjected. Rejecting workers democracy means quite simply that you want to maintain a situation like the one today in which the masses of workers are unable to make their opinions heard.

The Marxist critique of bourgeois democracy starts from the idea that this democracy is only formal because the workers do not have the material means to exercise the rights which the bourgeois constitutions formally grant all citizens. Freedom of the press is just a formality when only the capitalists and their agents are able to get together the millions of pounds needed to establish a daily newspaper.

But the conclusion that follows from this critique of bourgeois democracy, obviously, is that means must be created enabling all the workers to have access to the media for disseminating ideas (printing presses, meeting halls, radio and television, posters, etc.). If, on the contrary, you conclude from this that only a self-proclaimed "leading party of the proletariat" — or even a little sect which declares that it alone is "genuinely revolutionary" — has the right to speak, to use the press, or to propagate its ideas, then you risk increasing the political oppression of the workers rather than abolishing it.

The Stalinists often reply that abolition of the capitalist system equals emancipation of the workers. We agree that abolition of private ownership of the means of production, of the profit economy, and of the bourgeois state are essential conditions for the emancipation of the workers. But saying that these are "essential" conditions does not mean that they are "sufficient". Because as soon as the capitalist system is abolished, the question arises of who is going to run the factories, the economy, the municipalities, the state, the schools and universities.

If a single party claims the right to administer the state and the society; if it imposes a monopoly of power by terror; if it does not permit the mass of workers to express their opinions, their criticisms, their worries, and their demands; if it excludes the workers from administration — then it is inevitable that a widening gulf will develop between this omnipotent bureaucracy and the mass of workers. Then, emancipation of the workers is only a deception. And without real workers democracy in all areas, including freedom of organization and press, real emancipation of the workers is impossible.

### Workers Democracy Required for Unity in Action

These principled reasons are re-inforced by practical ones. Like all social classes in history, the working class is not homogeneous. It has common class interests, both immediate interests and historical interest. But this community of interests is interwoven with differences which have various origins — immediate special interests (professional, group, regional, craft interests, etc.) and different levels of consciousness. Many strata of the working class have not yet become conscious of their historical interests. Others have been influenced by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies. Still others are weighed down by the burden of past defeats and failures, of scepticism, or of the degradation caused by capitalist society, etc.

However, the capitalist system cannot be overthrown unless the entire working class is mobilized in action against it. And this unity in action can only be obtained if these various special interests and levels of consciousness can be expressed in, and little by little neutralized through, debate and persuasion. Denying this diversity can only result in a breakdown of unity in action and in driving successive groups of workers into passivity or into the camp of the enemy.

Anyone with experience in strikes has been able to see in practice that the most successful actions are prepared and conducted through numerous assemblies, first of the unionized workers and later of all the workers concerned. In these assemblies, all the reasons in favour of the strike can be developed, all opinions can be expressed, and all the class enemy's arguments can be exposed. If a strike is launched without the benefit of such democracy, there is much more risk that many workers will observe it halfheartedly, if at all.

If this is true for an isolated strike, it holds all the more for a general strike or for a revolution. All the great revolutionary mobilizations of the workers — from the Russian revolution to the revolutionary upsurge of May and June 1968 in France and including the German and Spanish revolutions, to cite only these examples — have been characterized by veritable explosions of workers democracy. In these instances, many working-class tendencies coexisted, expressed themselves freely in speeches and in the press, and debated before the entire class.

The word "soviet" — council of workers delegates — expresses this unity of opposites — the unity of the workers in the diversity of their tendencies. In the Second Congress of Russian Soviets, which took power in the October Revolution, there were a dozen different tendencies and parties. Every attempt to repress this workers democracy — by the Social Democracy in Germany, the the Stalinists in Spain — has presaged, if not expressed, a setback or defeat for the revolution.

### Without Workers Democracy No Correct Political Line

The absence of workers democracy not only hampers unity in action, it also obstructs working out a correct political line. It is true that the workers movement has an excellent theoretical instrument to guide it in the often extremely complicated twists and turns of economic, social, and political struggles — revolutionary Marxism. But this tool must still be used correctly. And no one person has a monopoly on its correct application.

Without any doubt, Marx and Lenin were geniuses. But life and history ceaselessly pose new problems which cannot be solved simply by turning to the scriptures. Stalin, who was considered by many honest Communists before his death to be "infallible," in reality committed many errors, to say nothing of crimes, some of which — as in agricultural policy — have had pernicious consequences for three decades for the entire Soviet people. Mao Tse-tung, whom other naive souls also consider "infallible," endorsed the policy of Aidit, the leader of the Indonesian CP, up until the eve of the military coup d'etat. This policy was at least partially responsible for the deaths of 500,000 Indonesian Communists and workers.

As for the myth that the Central Committee of a party is "always right," or that the majority of this committee is "always right," Mao himself rejected it in the famous resolution passed to the CC of the CCP [Chinese Communist party] on the "cultural revolution" in April 1967.

But if no person or group has a monopoly on truth and wisdom, then discussion is indispensable to determine a correct political line. Rejection of discussion under any pretext (and the pretext that a political opponent is "counter revolutionary" or an "enemy agent" is as old as bureaucracy), or substituting epithets or physical violence for debate, means condemning oneself to remain the victim of false ideas, inadequate analyses, and errors with debilitating if not catastrophic consequences.

Marxism is a guide to action, they often say. That is true. But Marxism is distinguished from utopian socialism by its appeal to scientific analysis. It does not focus on action per se. It focuses on action which can influence historical reality, which can change it in a given direction — in the direction of socialist revolution, toward the emancipation of the workers.



is condemned to certain failure. It can only result, in the case of small groups, in the disillusionment and demoralization of individuals; in the case of unions or larger parties, in defeats for the class; and where the mass of the workers is concerned, in defeats with a long train of humiliations, privations, and impoverishment, if not casualties.

Often these arguments in favour of the principles and practice of workers democracy are countered in Stalinist circles by the assertion that workers democracy cannot be extended to the "enemies of socialism" inside the workers movement. Curiously, certain groups which claim to be antibureaucratic and very left take a similar line to justify booing and hissing or resorting to physical violence as a substitute for debate with their political opponents.

Both the Stalinists and the ultraleftists cry: "You don't argue with the revisionists, capitalist forces, and the representatives of the enemy". In practice, the Stalinists try to replace debate by repression, if not murder and the use of tanks against the workers (from the Moscow Trials to the intervention in Hungary and Czechoslovakia). The ultraleftists limit themselves more modestly to preventing Garaudy from speaking, doubtless until the dreamed-of day when they can use more "effective" means modeled on the Stalinist ones.

### No Democracy for the "Revisionists"

The defense of these inadmissible practices on alleged revolutionary grounds arises from a threefold confusion. First of all, free debate is not a "privilege" which revolutionary Marxists are free to either grant or not grant to "revisionists." It is a right which Marxists demand for themselves.

One would have to be blind not to see that in the great majority of cases it is the Social Democratic and Khrushchevite "revisionists" who hold the positions of power in the unions and the other workers organizations. It is the Marxists and the revolutionists who are in the minority and demand the right for free discussion (which is too often denied them).

It is not evident that if the "revisionists" are prevented from speaking, in those rare cases when they are in a minority position, this weakens the struggle for workers democracy wherever the bureaucracy still decides the rules of the game?

Very often during the May days, the PCF [Parti Communiste Français - French Communist Party] leaders prevented students and representatives of revolutionary groups from speaking in workers' assemblies, sometimes even using physical violence. The Marxists responded vigorously to this and tried, not without success, to convince the workers that these practices were harmful to the interests of the working class. But if they in turn had resorted to the same methods, their argument would have lost all validity. The workers would have condemned them as hypocrites and fakers.

Moreover, to talk about "revisionists," overlooking the little detail that these class collaborationists still enjoy relative confidence and a following among the majority of organized workers - as the events in France have just confirmed - is obviously self-defeating. It means hamstringing yourself beforehand in the struggle to win these sectors of workers away from their baneful influence.

It is impossible to succeed in this task, which is one of the most difficult faced by Marxists in Western Europe, without raising the workers' level of consciousness and political understanding. And this requires ever more convincing debate and ideological confrontations. Denunciation, epithets, or blows will not convince the workers still under the control of the Social Democracy nor those who follow the Khrushchevite CP: because they think it is, despite everything, still Communist. Those who use these methods will only convince those already convinced, that is, a tiny minority.

Finally, it must be carefully explained that calling the "revisionist" Social Democrats or Khrushchevites "capitalists," or "capitalist agents" shows a dangerous theoretical confusion.

### Revisionists Are Not Capitalists

Of course, the working-class bureaucracies objectively act in the interests of capital, primarily by channeling the workers' periodic revolutionary explosions toward reformist outlets and thereby blocking opportunities to overthrow capitalism. They play the same role by influencing the workers on a day-to-day basis in favor of class collaboration, undermining their class consciousness with ideas taken from the bourgeois world.

But the objective function and role of these bureaucracies is not confined to maintaining class peace. In pursuing their routine reformist activities, they come in conflict with the everyday interests of capitalism. The wage increases and social welfare laws won by the reformists - in exchange for their pledge to keep the workers' demands within limits that do not threaten the bases of the system - reduce the capitalists' profits somewhat. The trade-union organizations which they lead inject the collective power of labour into the daily relationships between the bosses and the workers. And as a result, these conflicts have an altogether different outcome from the past century, when the strength of the trade unions was slight or nonexistent.

When the capitalist economy is flourishing, the bourgeoisie is willing to pay the price represented by these concessions in return for "social peace." But when the capitalist economy is in a bad way, these same concessions rapidly become unacceptable to the bourgeoisie. Then, it is in the capitalists' interest to eliminate these organizations completely, even the most moderate and reformist ones. The very existence of the unions becomes incompatible with the survival of the system.

This shows the real nature of the reformist bureaucracy in the workers movement. This bureaucracy is not composed of owners of capital who buy labour power in order to appropriate surplus value. It is composed of salaried employees (of the workers organizations of the state) who vacillate and waver between the camp of capital and of the proletariat, sometimes leading toward one, sometimes toward the other, depending on their particular interests and the pressures to which they are subjected. And, in facing the class enemy, the vanguard workers have every reason to do their utmost to force these bureaucrats to return to their camp. Otherwise, the common defense would be greatly weakened.

### Contradictions Among the People And Contradictions Between Capital and Labor

Overlooking these elementary truths leads to the worst of catastrophes. The workers movement learned this to its cost during the rise of fascism. At that time, the "genius" Stalin invented the theory of "Social Fascism." According to this theory there was no difference between the "revisionist" Social Democrats and fascists. It was even proclaimed that the Social Democracy had to be defeated **before** the struggle against the Nazis could be won.

While the Social Democratic and Communist workers were happily bashing each other's heads in - the reformist leaders shared the responsibility this time equally with their Stalinist counterparts - Hitler came to power, massacred thousand of worker militants, and dissolved all the workers organizations. Thus, he made possible a temporary, if somewhat embittered, reconciliation between the Social Democrats and the Communists. . . in the concentration camps. Would it not have been better, while not making any concessions in the ideological struggle against revisionism, to fight together against the Nazis and prevent them from taking power?

On an infinitely smaller and less tragic scale, the situation in the university can lead to a dilemma of the same type overnight. All the left tendencies are fighting to gain recognition of their right to carry on "political activities" on the campus. But it is quite possible that the administration will take the incidents surrounding Garaudy's visit as a pretext for banning any more political lectures. What other course, then, is there but to fight together to win minimum political freedom in the university? Would it not be preferable to respect the rules of workers democracy from now on, since they conform to the common interests of the workers movement and the student confrontation movement?

**In 1957, in response to the official revelation of Stalin's crimes made at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist party (which he approved of at the time), Mao Tse-tung stressed the necessity of distinguishing carefully between how to settle differences among the people - by persuasion, debate, practical experience - and how to proceed in conflicts with the class enemy. Here he was only implicitly reaffirming the need to uphold workers democracy "among the people."**

But this distinction has meaning only if it is based on **objective** criteria. The capitalists (and in less industrialized countries, the landlords) are the enemy. The people are the mass of producers, white-collar workers, and, in semicolonial countries, the poor peasants. If subjective criteria ("Anybody who doesn't support every one of my tactical turns is a capitalist and a counter-revolutionary, even if he served as president of the People's Republic of China and vice-chairman of the Chinese Communist party for twenty years!") are substituted for these objective criteria, then you fall into complete arbitrariness. You end, of course, by wiping out the distinction between "contradictions among the people" and "conflicts with the class enemy," treating the former more and more like the latter.

Of course, it is impossible to make an absolute and total separation between the two. Marginal cases are possible. We advocate frank debate in meetings of strikers. We do not think that we need restrict ourselves to polite discussion with strike-breakers.

In every marginal case, however, we must distinguish acts (or crimes) from opinions and ideological tendencies. Acts must be proved and judged according to clearly established, well-defined criteria of the workers' interest (or after the overthrow of capitalism, of socialist legality) so as to prevent arbitrariness. Failure to distinguish between acts and opinions can only result in extinguishing workers democracy, lowering the level of consciousness and mobilization of the workers, and progressively robbing the revolutionists themselves of their ability to orient themselves politically.

### Does This Involve Relationship of Forces Or Is It a Question of Principle?

Some persons peremptorily declare that the question of democracy is only a question of the relationship of forces! When the bureaucrats are stronger they suppress us. When we are stronger why not suppress them?

That is at once cynical and naive. And when groups calling themselves "anarchist," "libertarian" or "antiorganizational" apply such maxims, they display the most aberrant illogicality. It is impossible to inspire the least confidence, to gain the least credit among the broader masses if you trample on your own principles.

**In the last analysis, this question is a very simple one. If you have confidence in your ideas, if you are convinced that you are right, you will not fear to debate with anyone. We strengthen ourselves by defending our ideas against all comers. We increase our strength by developing consciousness in at least a part of the audience. (Only an audience composed exclusively of people whose social and material interest present an insuperable barrier to their understanding may be unmovable - and even then!) Garaudy was handed an easy victory when he was prevented from speaking. Demolishing him in a debate, showing the emptiness of his argument and the pernicious role his party played during the May-June events would have dealt him a smashing defeat.**

From the psychological standpoint, to refuse to discuss and to resort to insults or "arguments of force" reflects a lack of confidence, an unhealthy timidity and inferiority (or guilt) complex.



# DWARF DIARY

## POSTER WORKSHOPS

Poster Workshops exist now at Oxford, Essex, Warwick, Cardiff, Sheffield & Canterbury. If you want help in setting up your poster workshop / agitation centre contact POSTER WORKSHOP 61 Camden Road London. Camden Poster Workshop & Agit Prop have to move. If you have premises to rent or know of a place TELL US.

## 'FREE' EXCHANGE OF IDEAS

Teachers from a Hackney school surrounded a comrade giving out leaflets which put the case of the L.S.E. students. They formed a determined circle round him. Wherever he went they went too. Presumably they protect their students equally assiduously from all other contaminating information. The perils of the printed word! Funny kind of education, isn't it?

## BRISTOL STUDENT CONFERENCE

Bristol students from a wide range of schools & colleges, beside the University, the Technical College, the Art College, British Aircraft Corporation Technical College, St. Mithias Teacher Training College, The College of Commerce & Bristol 6th Form Alliance, have created an organisational structure to co-ordinate future action and to develop an intensified theoretical offensive. They have cut across the binary system because the sit-in issue was reciprocal membership of the University union for all Bristol students. The aim of the conference was to consolidate the contacts which have developed. The need for a more formalised set-up was recognised because a small group had been left talking to itself after the sit-in with no way of making contact with all the other people who had taken part.

On February 8th and 9th, the need to find out exactly what the educational situation is now; to relate these to a general revolutionary theory and strategy: were the main subjects of discussion. There are very different problems and very different ways of seeing a united students' movement. People from the Bristol 6th form alliance pointed out that they were not only more vulnerable but that their emphasis tended to be more on getting reforms within the system than exposing its contradictions in a revolutionary way. They wondered if the movement wanted them. Revolutionaries hastily assured them the point was most definitely to get as many reforms as possible, but to be aware of what was going on as well. A small girl at the front stood up and said, 'What about young workers, aren't they to be included?' The meeting wondered if they had got anyone. They were told rather grimly - yes they had. She immediately became a co-ordinator. The importance of keeping the spontaneous thing while making a workable movement was clear all the time. A problem of more than local significance.

This is simply to inform Dwarf readers (in case they missed it in the unfree press) that Robert Pitman, the racist columnist on the Daily Express has died. Messages of condolence to Tribune (which launched him as a journalist) and the Beaverbrook press, who will have to find another smoothy racist. Renee Short, perhaps, Sir Max!

Chief Inspector Leonard Powell of Scotland Yard is a remarkable man. Dwarfs should expect to hear much more of him in the ensuing years, if not months. Because given his political views he is ideally suited to be a police officer in the Britain of Enoch Powell, Edward Heath and Bob Mellish. The Chief Inspector visited Chicago some months ago at the invitation of his Chicago counterparts. He came back full of enthusiasm and sympathy for the Chicago fuzzi.

"You must remember that when the British police force was formed against the comparatively civilized Victorian background, the Americans were still fighting Indians." But what about the background of England now, Chief Inspector? There are increasing numbers of Indians in this country ... and Pakistanis too ... and some of them are even red ...

Cubmaster of the 14th Stirlingshire (Falkirk) Cub Troup arrives late at hall to find 70 cubs chanting HO-HO-HO Chi Minh. A group of the 10 year olds say: 'we want the Vietcong to win'. Whereupon the rest of the cubs from 7 to 10 years of age cheer loudly. EXIT bewildered cubmaster.

Last weekend's RSSF Conference at Hemel Hempstead College of Further Education was the subject of a minor furor. Pete Fowler, who teaches liberal studies, there, was hauled over the mat. Was he sponsoring the conference, the Principal asked? If so, he should watch his step; for bureaucrats as far distant as Ipswich had rung up to complain. And Phil Bates, who attends Northwest Poly, was also 'interviewed' by his Principal about the part he was playing.

Socialists in Higher Education, whose address is Old School House, Swine, Hull, are organising support for staff victimised during the present university and educational troubles. They suggest that members of the AVT, ATT, and ATCDE pass motions in their various branches condemning the actions of the LSE governors and opposing all victimisation. Letters of support for staff presently threatened should be sent to Dr Walter Adams and Lord Robbins.

Recently, police visited Bristol TV studios and, despite union protests, spent three hours going through film material on students. Television employees have also been warned to more security conscious, and not talk to people outside.

There are schools action union groups in Cardiff, Dover, Fife, Leeds, Leicester, Manchester, Regiate, Stevenage, Stoke-on-Trent, Tunbridge Wells. In the London Region, the north London schools are especially active, but there is an attempt at the moment to organise east London schools.

The Schools Action Union works with the Free Schools Campaign. For details about who to contact, write to: School Section, The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ.

The Observer prides itself on being a paper of liberal inclination and accurate reporting. This is a load of bullshit.

In a recent article criticising student theoreticians the paper quoted from the Black Dwarf an example of student idiocy. Bert Scrivener, who wrote the article and who can hardly be described as a typical student, (he is 69 and an old age pensioner) would like to make it known that this offends him.

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CHE GUEVARA'S BOLIVIAN DIARIES, 5s. post free from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ.

**RANK AND FILE:** militant teachers' journal. Available quarterly from: 87 Brooke Road, London N.16. single copy 1/2; 9/- per dozen. Annual subscription: 4/8.

**CHRISTOPHER LOGUE,** "Smash Capital Now" poster. 5/- post free from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ.

Brezhnev, Kosygin open a counterattack in Czechoslovakia: The quickening struggles in Spain: Latest INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, sample copy 2s.4d. from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee St., London E1.

## DIARY OF EVENTS

**THURS FEB 27th:** and every Thursday and Monday, 7pm onwards - work night for March 16th mobilisation at 120 Commercial Road, E.1. 480-6789.

**SAT MARCH 1st-SUN MAR 2nd:** RSSF Scientist Conference. Small Hall, University of Manchester, Institute of Science and Technology, Students' Union Building. Open to all students, staff and technical workers. Correspondence to Soc-Soc, University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology, P.O. Box 88, Sackville Street, Manchester 1.

**SAT MARCH 1st:** FIND OUT ABOUT ULSTER - PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY SHOW UP ULSTER'S SHAM ELECTION. London meeting to plan further action in solidarity with the People's Democracy. Speakers include Michael Farrell (leader of the Belfast to Derry march). Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1. 10.30am-4pm. For further details on going over to N. Ireland yourself, contact Alan Morrison, 211 Ladbroke Grove, London W.10. tel: 01-969-0915.

**LEFT CONVENTION MEETING** - 11am-4pm at Toc H Pembroke Gardens Notting Hill London.

**SUN MARCH 2nd:** Schools Action Union demonstration. Assemble 2pm Speakers Corner, march to ILEA. Simultaneous demo in Manchester by SAU there. Contact Steve Bond, 31 Holmesdale Road, London N6. tel: 340-4680, for more information on SAU.

**SAT 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: Laurence Daly (NUM), Tariq Ali (VSC), Jack Jones (T&GWU). Details from Rick Osborne, 159a Rustlings Road, Sheffield 11.

**TUES MARCH 4th:** CAMDEN IS public meeting: The Situation in Greece. 8pm, 'The Laurel Tree', Camden Town. (Camden Town station).

**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.

**SUN MAR 9th:** Britain Vietnam Solidarity Front: demo: solidarity with NLF. For those who want to go to Grosvenor Square.

**FRI MARCH 14th - SUN MARCH 16th:** International Biafra Conference. Details from Save Biafra Campaign, 13 Goodwin St, N4. tel: 272-5524.

**SUN MAR 16th:** MOBILISATION: Heathrow 11am to welcome student delegation from NLF. Mass rally Trafalgar Square 3pm. stickers (2/- for 100); posters, leaflets from M.V.M.C., 120 Commercial Road, E1. 480-6789.

The diary of events can't be comprehensive unless you or your organisation tells us of events taking place outside London. The next Dwarf covers March 10th to March 28th so please send us details of meetings and demos by March 3rd. IT'S FREE.

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