

# The Black Dwarf

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**“The best way to help Vietnam is to make the revolution in your own country.”**

# HO CHI MINH

## and the Vietnamese Revolution

Ho Chi Minh struggled and fought for a free and independent Vietnam all his life. It is sad that he died at a time when the Vietnamese people are on the verge of inflicting one of the most crushing political and military defeats ever inflicted on an imperialist nation by a small country. We would have liked Comrade Ho to have witnessed the forces of the National Liberation Front marching into Saigon; to have seen the red flag flutter over Hue and over Danang; to have seen the first steps towards a reunification of Vietnam. This was his dream and it is tragic that he died just when this dream was being translated into a living reality by the heroism of the Vietnamese peasants and workers.

Ho's early life still remains shrouded in mystery but we know that he travelled a great deal in the first two decades of the twentieth century. He moved to London on the eve of World War 1 and worked as a cook at the Carlton; at the same time he was greatly inspired by the struggle taking place in Ireland and by working class struggles in Britain. It was in London that he understood the meaning of the word 'revolution'. Some days before the Bolsheviks seized state power in Petrograd, Ho made his way to Paris. Here he mingled freely with the revolutionary left and joined the Young Socialists. Like many others he was influenced by Lenin's theses on the colonial question and Ho himself wrote that:

"Initially it was patriotism, not Communism, which had prompted me to believe in Lenin and the Third International. Gradually, advancing step by step as the struggle developed, coupling a theoretical study of Marxism-Leninism with practical work, I had come to realise that only Socialism and Communism are capable of bringing freedom to the oppressed and to working people all over the world."

Ho participated in the founding conference of the French Communist

Party in Tours; he spoke on the Indo-Chinese question and appealed to the comrades to pay some attention to the struggle in the colonies. He visited Moscow and participated in the Fifth Congress of the Comintern where free ranging discussions could still take place. He wrote in *L'Humanite* in 1922: "The French party has taken on a particularly awkward task: its colonial policy runs counter to the indifference of the metropolitan proletariat vis-à-vis the colonies . . . and to the prejudices of the French worker, to whom the native is an inferior being, quite without importance, whilst to the native the French, of whatever sort and condition, are wicked exploiters . . ." The French party would in later years become completely Stalinised and abandon this awkward task. There were two members of the French party in the French government when France decided to resume the war against Vietnam after World War 2. In those days anyone who criticised the party as Ho had done in the twenties would be labelled a 'trotskyite'.

Like Mao, Ho laid great stress on the role of the peasantry and argued that peasant rebellions had been drowned in blood owing to lack of organisation and leadership. In Vietnam this leadership was provided by Ho and the rest of the central committee of the Vietnamese party. The struggle against the Japanese and the French was completely successful and though the Vietnamese did not realise it at that time it was a dress rehearsal for the struggle against United States imperialism. In the late 1930's it was impossible to be anti-Stalin and a member of the Comintern. Ho became a loyal Stalinist but how far this was mere expediency it is impossible to say. Certainly in 1939 Ho followed the Comintern line in appealing for a united front with the bourgeoisie, but "as for the Trotskyites - no alliances, no concessions. We must at all costs reveal their true role as pro-Fascist thugs." But despite this the struggle continued; efforts to get the French to withdraw

peaceably after the second world war were foiled by both British and French Imperialism. Ho returned from Fontainebleau in 1946 with nothing. The war continued and in 1954 the humiliating defeat inflicted on the French by General Giap convinced the French that there was no way out. Dienbienphu was a military as well as political victory for the Vietnamese.

Without doubt the struggle against United States imperialism marks the culmination of Ho's revolutionary career. This struggle is the most important and crucial struggle in the history of Vietnam because as the Prime Minister Pham van Dong said in Hanoi in 1967: "Tell the comrades in Europe that we are fighting for them as well. Internationalism is in our blood." The war in Vietnam exposed the bankruptcy of the theories of 'peaceful co-existence'. Peace with the capitalists at a time when the capital of a fraternal socialist country was being bombed? Even the left Khrushchevites seemed a bit perturbed. However the way to attack peaceful co-existence was to accept the Vietnamese plea for a united front against imperialism. This would have been a much more effective way of combating reformism than by pious sloganmongering or the waving of books. Because in this way those who refused to aid the Vietnamese would have been exposed for all the world to see, but despite Vietnamese, Korean and Cuban appeals for a united front they remained unanswered.

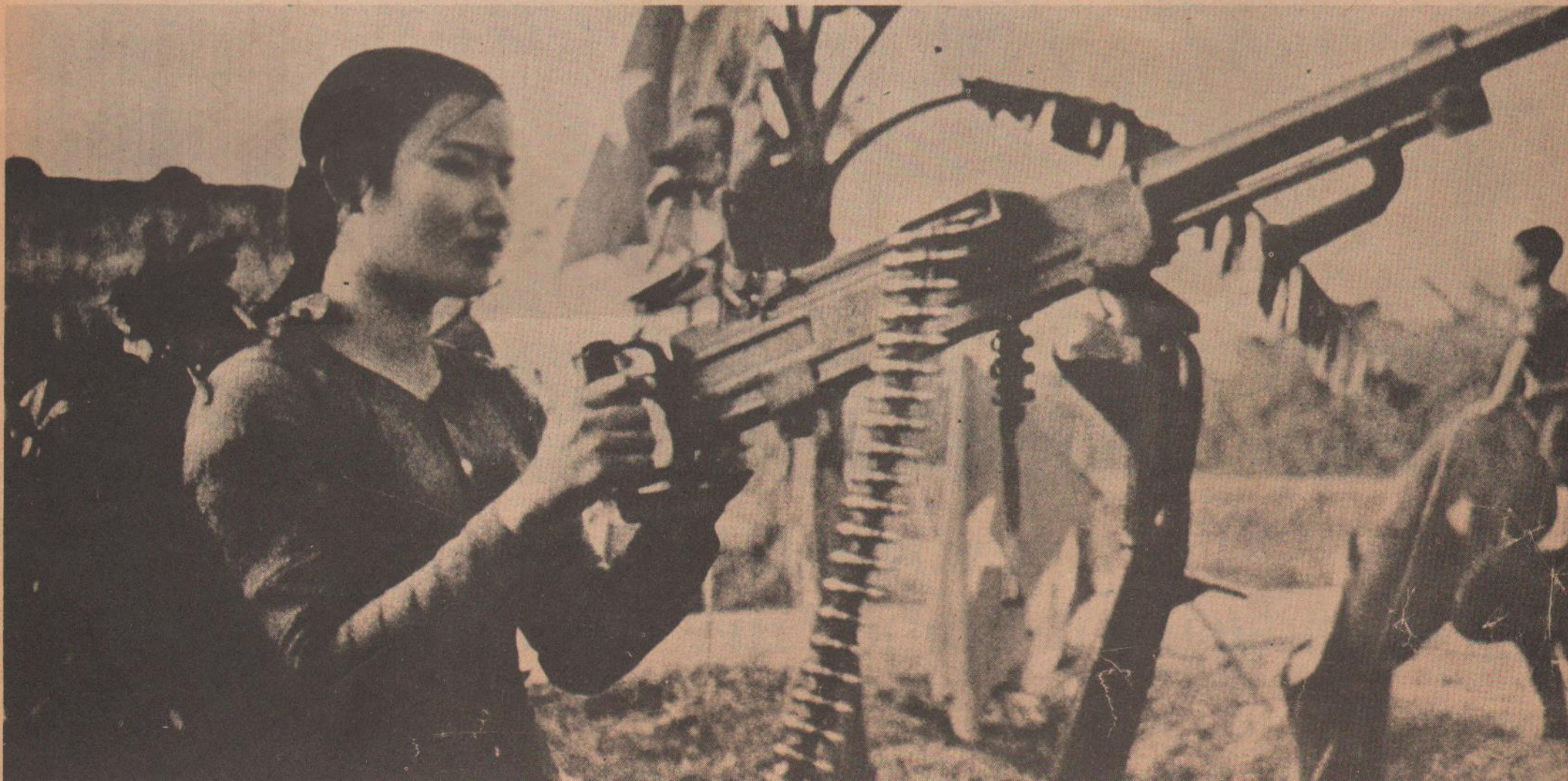
The importance of the Vietnamese struggle in Western Europe was/is that it broke through the cold war barriers, had a revolutionising effect on young people and resulted in a massive reawakening of socialist consciousness. The Vietnamese inspired many of those who had become disillusioned and cynical after the revelation of Stalin's crimes and misdeeds. The chant of Ho-Ho-Ho Chi Minh resounded in the streets of London, Berlin, Paris, Washington, Brussels and Rome. In Latin America,

Che Guevara issued his call for creating many Vietnams to extend and destroy American imperialism. Even today the Vietnamese struggle remains the highest form of struggle in the world. It has weakened world capitalism and has inspired urban rebellions in the very heart of the monster - America.

In expressing our sorrow at the death of Comrade Ho Chi Minh to our Vietnamese comrades we at the same time express our belief that the struggle will continue; that as Ho used to say the fighting will continue till the imperialists have been driven out of Vietnam by any means necessary. In saluting the memory of Ho we salute at the same time the Vietnamese Revolution and those who are waging it. Long live the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Long live a reunified VIETNAM.

*On Reading  
'Anthology of a Thousand Poets'.  
The ancients used to sing about  
natural beauty:  
Snow and flowers, moon and wind,  
mists, mountains and rivers.  
Today we should make poems including  
iron and steel,  
And the poet should also know how  
to lead an attack.*  
HO CHI MINH

"Unity of theory and practice is a fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism. Practice without the guidance of theory is blind practice. Theory without integration with practice is mere theory. For that reason while stressing theory, Lenin repeated over and over again that revolutionary theory is not dogma but a guide to revolutionary action; that it is not something rigid but of a rich creative nature; and that it must be constantly improved by new conclusions drawn from living practice."  
HO CHI MINH



# WHAT A GAS! GET YOUR CS REFILLS FROM THE PATHFINDERS



## Notes from Workers Control Institute

After more than a thousand trades unionists forgathered in Sheffield, last March, for the Workers Control Conference, the Institute for Workers' Control faced an organisational crisis. Everything was now too big, too busy, to be effectively serviced from a small voluntary centre. Only one decision could possibly follow from this: and accordingly the Council of the Institute agreed upon a strategy for the continuation of industry seminars throughout the winter months, during which the various industrial groups would become more and more organised to act independently. The Institute would continue its ambitious publishing programme, servicing the mushrooming groups that were springing up on all sides; and where it was asked to help, it would provide various organisational resources for particular groups.

Now the Autumn programme for the Institute has been fixed. It includes a series of industrial seminars throughout the months of September, October and November; among the industries to be covered will be old established bases of the Workers' Control movement: like Docks, Public Transport, Steel and Mines; but also a number of important new sectors, notably motors, computers and public services. Also scheduled for October is a weekend study conference on trade union democracy, from which it is hoped to commission a number of research papers, and, for November the General Meeting of the Institute's members and affiliates. During the same period, a conference is planned for the London area.

Opening the Autumn programme, on the weekend 13th and 14th September, will be a very important seminar of motor workers. Sponsored by conveners of more than half a dozen key plants, and by Labour M.P.s Stan Newens, Stan Orme and Norman Atkinson, the seminar will open to all workers in the motor industry, and will hear papers by Ernie Roberts,

the Engineering Workers' leader, and Moss Evans, of The Transport and General Workers' Union. The meeting will be held in Coventry. Already a number of European car workers have agreed to attend, and the Italian Metal Workers' Union, F.I.O.M. will be sending a Strong official delegation.

The problems of the motor industry demand a very serious struggle to extend the frontiers of control, and to limit managerial prerogatives. Mergers, takeovers, and the increasing internationalisation of the car industry are all pushing the shop stewards' movement to think ahead, and to abandon purely defensive trade union strategies for more far-sighted, aggressive forms of action for greater industrial democracy. Tony Topham has already shown in detail what could be done if the proposals of the Labour Party's NEC on Industrial Democracy were taken up by Stewards in response to the pressures towards various kinds of restrictive productivity bargains. He took the projected deal offered by the Rootes group, and analysed all its regressive clauses, calculated to strengthen arbitrary management power. Against this, he set a series of proposals for mutuality in determining working conditions, and for asserting work peoples' rights of veto and control over changing working conditions. He also spelt out the need for much greater accountability, drawing on the proposals in the Labour Party Report.

These suggestions have been widely discussed in the motor industry, and it is hoped that the Coventry meeting will mark out serious progress in the co-ordination and systematisation of the ideas of workers' control within what is a vital growth industry.

Further information about this important meeting can be obtained from the Motor Conference Organiser, IWC, 91 Goldsmith Street, Nottingham. Ken Coates

# POSTER WORKSHOP

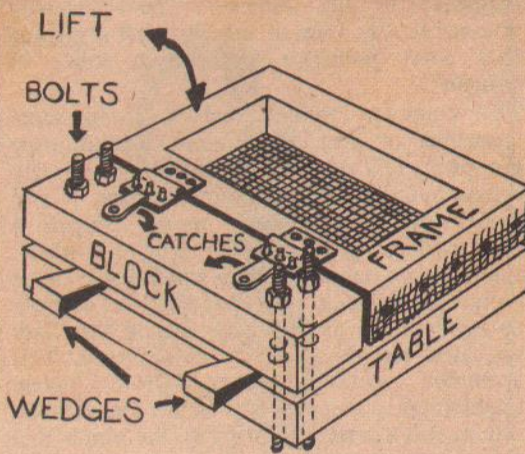
July Black Dwarf carried an article on Poster Workshop. Here we conclude with notes on how to make your own posters.

The following notes on the making of posters are based on the experience of the Poster Workshop, rather than on any serious study. There are various methods but below are only those we have used. We have not tried photostencils, and think they would only be worth going into after the other methods have been mastered. One must always bear in mind the relative difficulties and costs of the various techniques. We are interested in making political posters, and by the cheapest and quickest methods available.

### MATERIALS

**Screen:** never buy one. It is a waste of money. You don't have to be a trained carpenter to build one. Look at one in an art shop or college.

Most of our posters are 20" x 30". You should use a screen at least 6" larger all round



than your poster, to leave room for the ink. Thus most of our screens are 3' square.

1. Get 4 pieces of wood of about 3' x 2" x 2" and 4 angle brackets (ironmongers stock them).
2. Silk is too dear. Our screens are stretched with terylene, as sold for curtains, of the finest mesh available. It is strong and cheap, at about 9/- a yard. Buy a piece at least 6" all round larger than your screen. Nylon, or Organdie (not strong), can also be used.
3. Stretch in the same way as an artist's canvass. The easiest way to attach it to the screen is with a staple-gun, but tacks or nails can also be used.
4. Attach 2 hinges to one of the short ends of the screen in such a way that they fit the hinge spaces on the block of wood on the table on which the screen should be attached.

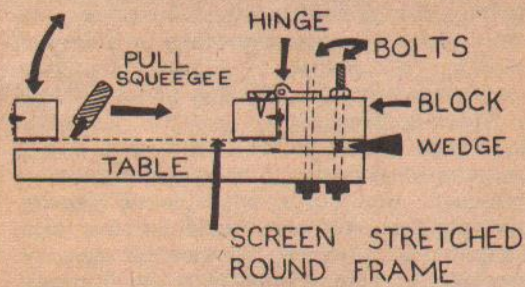
**Squeegees:** we buy them from the shops below. (see end).

**Stencil knives** are also sold, but we find cheaper ones such as Swan Morton craft tools or scalpels.

**Papers:** the best way to get this is to use your wits. Commercially it costs about £6 per cwt. **Ink:** We get it from various shops. It must be thinned with white spirit, by 20 to 50% of its volume depending on the absorbency of the paper. It must not run when you hang the prints to dry. Start with the ink too thick, if anything; you can always thin it later.

**Table:** this must be larger than your screens and solid. To one of the narrower ends of the table attach a block of wood of the same height as your screens. Into this set nails to take the hinges on the screens.

**Drying racks:** you can buy fancy expensive ones, but why incur unnecessary expenses? The easiest way is to hang prints in pairs, back to back, from a washing line with clothes pegs. We also have long struts of wood arranged parallel to each other on a framework. Nails at appropriate intervals along the struts hold the posters in pairs as before. The lines or struts need only be a few inches apart.



### STENCILS

**Paper stencils** are the best to start with.

1. Cut your design onto tracing or detail paper.
2. Put it right way up onto the table and the screen on top of it.
3. Paint little blobs of fast drying filler or glue onto those parts of the stencil which should block the screen.
4. Turn the screen over; the stencil is thus lifted onto the screen. Any parts of your design, or letters, which are loose can then be

1. Film is transparent. Place it on top of your design, shiny side up.
2. With a sharp knife, cut your design into the top part of the film, leaving the backing sheet intact.

3. Tear away the design which you have cut into the shiny side of the stencil; this will be the part through which the ink will go through the screen onto the paper.

4. Place the film stencil, shiny side up, on the table and the screen on top of it.

5. Iron the screen with an iron at 'silk heat' so that the whole film lifts onto the screen.

6. Turn the screen over and carefully tear away the backing paper.

**Green Film:** we have found this the best, but the screen must be washed with diluted caustic soda before ironing it on and then rinsed with detergent. Iron through a damp sheet of paper.

**Brown Film:** perhaps a little easier to iron on, but not as strong as green film. And it should be washed off the screen with meths.

**Blue Film:** our experience is that the backing paper is more difficult to tear off. Dampen the screen itself before ironing.

Wash green and blue films off with water. N.B. The manufacturers also provide their own instructions for films.

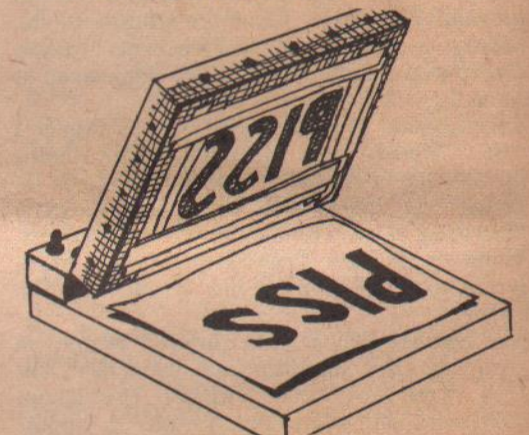
### MASKING

When you have stuck the stencil onto the screen, all the rest of the screen must be masked on both sides, so that the ink cannot come through in the wrong places. Ordinary brown gum strip of about 2" width is cheap and efficient, but must be allowed to dry before printing, otherwise it tends to come off.

Start along the edges of the stencil and work outwards, overlapping well. The last strips should stick well up the wooden frame.

### PRINTING

1. Hinge the screen onto the table.
2. Stick a single sheet of paper on the table in alignment with stencil. This acts as a 'register' for all further sheets.
3. Put 50 - 100 sheets of paper over this register (a pile about 1/2" high).
4. Let the screen fall on top of them. Pour an inch wide track of ink along the masked out area at the hinged end of the screen



Stand at the opposite end and pull a little of the ink with a squeegee towards you. Only sufficient ink to do one poster should be used each time, and each poster should be done in one sweep, with even pressure and the squeegee at an angle of 45° to the screen. If the ink is too thin it will smudge the print; if it is too thick it is a waste.

6. When all the ink is at one end, go to the other end and repeat the process.

If the screen leaks, patch up the under side with gum strip.

### CLEANING THE SCREEN

**A.** If you want to keep the stencil on the screen, don't allow the ink to dry. Dry ink will block the screen and is difficult to remove.

Place the screen stencil side down on a flat surface. Pour some screen cleaner onto a rag and wipe the screen with this until all the ink which is blocking the screen-mesh is removed.

**B.** To clean completely, do as in (A) and then tear off as much of the masking tape as possible. Hose down with water. Obstinate blockages can be removed by scrubbing. The water removes blue and green films and paper stencils.

Always clean rubber of squeegee with screen-cleaner or spirit while ink is wet.

N.B. Make contact with your local art colleges. If you read a book, pick the shortest one.

EXPERIENCE IS THE BEST TEACHER.

### OUR SUPPLIERS

1. John T. Keep and Sons, 15 Theobald's Road, London WC1. Tel: CHA 7578
  2. Selectasine (Screen Printing Supplies), 22 Bulstrode Street, London W1. Tel: WEL 0768/9.
  3. Screen Process Supplies, 24 Parsons Green Lane, London SW6. Tel: 736 8181.
- Obviously we cannot tell you all local suppliers. Of these 3, Screen Process Supplies is the biggest and probably does most extensive delivering.

### REMEMBER

WE NEED HELP, IDEAS, AND MUCH MORE MONEY. WE KNOW WE CAN DO GREATER THINGS.

Please send me the BLACK DWARF for the next 6/12 months. I enclose p.o./cheque for £1/£2.

Name .....

Address .....

I have a friend who would be interested in receiving a sample copy.

Name .....

Address .....

The BLACK DWARF, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ. Telephone: 01-734 4827.

Trade terms on application.

Foreign subs: Asia/Africa/N.&S. America/Australia: £5 per

# DWARF LETTERS

Dear Comrades,

Once communists openly called themselves communists. In his 1888 Preface to the English Edition of the COMMUNIST Manifesto, Engels explained that socialism was not a fighting word: "Socialism was 'respectable'; Communism was the very opposite... there could be no doubt as to which of the two names we must take". Is the spectre of the word communism no longer to haunt Europe? Marxism is communism. We are marxists, so why call ourselves socialists? Just as the Owenites and Fourierists in the nineteenth century took the name socialist, so modern bourgeois social-democracy sometimes uses the term. O.K., so we call ourselves REVOLUTIONARY socialists; but communism says it all in a single word - it IS revolutionary. The marxist movement has been betrayed and discredited by the mystifications and distortions of the stalinist C.P.'s; but surely one of our most important and immediate tasks is to reveal and explain these crimes; calling ourselves other names seems to me to be an avoidance of what is, in part, our own legacy.

Our aim as marxists is to bring about socialism, but this is only the first phase of the new order. Our revolution will achieve socialism, but this is not the end; socialism is only a transition stage in the historical movement which will inevitably lead to the higher stage of communism ("this dictatorship (of the proletariat) itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society" - remember!). Only this can bring about what is our aim - the liberation of mankind from the alienations and contradictions of bourgeois society.

Fraternally yours, Nigel Brown,  
44 The Deansway, Greenhill, Kidderminster, Worcs.

## SPANISH COMRADES

Comrade,

I am writing to inform you of the formation of the SPANISH WORKERS DEFENCE COMMITTEE. The Committee aims are to provide information about the struggle of the Spanish people against the Franco dictatorship and to assist the families of those imprisoned or on strike.

Twenty four years after the fall of Franco's allies, Hitler and Mussolini, the Franco dictatorship remains in power. Hundreds of people are imprisoned without trial, trade unions are illegal, civil liberties are non-existent. There is a rigid censorship of the press, prohibition of meetings and a ruthless police terror.

The Spanish people have suffered terribly in their fight for socialism and democracy, but they have not been crushed. The labour movement in this country has a duty to support their struggle.

We appeal to all readers of the BLACK DWARF to support our efforts. They could help by asking their trade union to affiliate to the Committee, to send a donation, and to invite a speaker to their trade union branch. The affiliation fee is 10s. for individuals and £2 for organizations.

Yours fraternally, The Secretary,  
Spanish Workers Defence Committee, 314 King Street, London W.6.

## PORTUGUESE FASCISM

Eduardo Cruzeiro, graduate of the Lisbon School of Fine Art, did his military service in Guine-Bissau. He was corporal in charge of the Commando Instruction Centre and took advantage of his leave to desert. In agreement with the principles of the Portuguese anti-fascist and anti-colonialist organisations, Eduardo Cruzeiro deserted in order not to take part in the war of repression and extermination of the people of the so-called "Portuguese" Guine.

Lead to Spain by his militant activity, Eduardo Cruzeiro was arrested and imprisoned by Franco's police on August 19th 1968. Tried by the fascist Spanish courts, he was condemned to 18 months in closed prison, for using a false identity and carrying arms illegally.

In December 1968 the Portuguese Government presented a plea for extradition to the Spanish Government on the grounds that Eduardo Cruzeiro was a military deserter. On the 9th April, 1969 the Madrid High Court accepted to deliver Eduardo Cruzeiro to the fascist Portuguese authorities. According to the existing fascist laws in Portugal Eduardo Cruzeiro risks the DEATH PENALTY for desertion.

This is not only a matter of concession to a demand for extradition of a political militant. It is also a decision by which Franco's Gov., which was unwillingly forced to recognise the right of so-called "Spanish" Guine to independence and which has just signed a treaty with Morocco concerning the decolonisation of Ifni territory, once more gives its support to the

Portuguese army, an army which is continuing a colonial war which has already been condemned several times by the Security Council of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The decision of the Madrid High Court constitutes a grave precedent; if such decisions were taken by other European Governments, it would put the life of thousands of young Portuguese in danger. It must not be forgotten that in the course of the single year 1967, 1200 young Portuguese did not present themselves to the draft board.

The assassins of General Humberto Delgado and student Daniel Teixeira must not be able to exercise their vengeance and their violence on the person of Eduardo Cruzeiro. Daniel Teixeira was already, in last October the fourth victim of the "new" Portuguese regime. Liberalisation follows its course.

London, May 1969

PORTUGUESE STUDENTS COMMITTEE  
45 Fairland House\*BR2 9JJ\*Bromley Kent

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Dear Comrade,

Your report of the Goldsmiths' "free" festival notes that the disrupting participation of the Women's Liberation Workshop was greeted with "a barrage of lewd sarcasm" from male members of the audience. Your reporter comments: "In view of this, it is not surprising that some women's groups aim solely at women".

This comment would seem to reveal some ignorance of past and present revolutionary groups. Even if capitalists were condescendingly sympathetic to the workers' struggle, it still would not be - and should not be - surprising that workers' groups appeal only to workers. Likewise, no one is surprised when Black Power groups are not only unenthusiastic, but actively antipathetic to proselytising among the "lash me, lash me for I am white" liberals. This attitude stems neither from plain uncharitableness nor from strategic ineptitude; rather, it is a correct response to the simple fact that some struggles must be waged alone by some groups of people and not others. However sympathetic those others may be, they must, because of their structural position, remain bystanders. This is quite aside from doubts about the relationship of sympathetic professions of support to actual practice.

It is no more than ignorant petulance to complain "this (aiming solely at women - TP) is not enough. The liberation of women demands the equal liberation of men". Marx always maintained that the capitalist as well as the worker is alienated; from which no one, to my knowledge, has deduced that there is needed a united worker-capitalist front against alienation. Similarly, it is true that men alienate themselves when, for example, they treat women as sexual objects only and encourage women so to treat themselves. Though, in the last analysis, they are oppressing themselves, they are nonetheless initiating and perpetuating the oppression. The "compensating advantages" of this self-alienating oppression are sufficiently clear in both cases not to need labouring, though one might add that capitalists and men should be grateful to workers and women for revealing their own situation in the world to them.

Even if the above analogy does not hold, the Women's movement is rightly suspicious of all radical men, however sycophantic they may seem. For, whatever their verbal professions, they are quite likely themselves to be perpetuating needless systems of oppression behind chintzy-chintzy curtains in North Oxford or Hampstead. (And Che Guevara on the walls may mystify the social reality within those walls as much as Che's picture does the Olivetti advertisements).

For your reporter to write "It cannot deny men's existence and simply reverse existing social values" is to add insult to ignorance. I do not know that the Women's Liberation Workshop has anywhere stated such a policy, nor have any of them crossed their legs against their lovers, to my limited knowledge. Though some women will no doubt come to the women's movement, as to any other, for reasons strictly reducible to half or sub-conscious psychological drives - though even then such drives are quite likely to be a perverse expression of the social position of women - that entails no consequences as to the objective policy and role of women's liberation.

As far as I can judge, such a role is not counter-revolutionary. I accept the women's movement not because of some watery principle that everyone should do their own thing, but because such a movement seems of necessity to have revolutionary implications. Those have no political sense who think women's liberation a political or worse, simply because its proponents do not base themselves exclusively upon Engels, F - The Origins of the Family....(nor even the "creative development" thereof) or merge themselves behind the manly struggles of RSSF.

Yours fraternally, Trevor Pateman, 154, Barnsbury Rd, N.1.

## WHAT'S IN A NAME

On behalf of DUREX (Dulwich Underground

term (begins in September).

However we would like to say that firstly you did not mention that several smoke bombs were let off on Founders Day, and the word ANARCHY was painted in several prominent places within the school buildings. Secondly you are wrong about a subversive magazine being suppressed, about 2 months ago we started a paper called VOICE which is still very much alive and has received much support. Our first issue was free (4 pages, 250 copies) and interest was shown throughout the school. The second issue was published a few weeks ago and although we are having difficulties with finance and printing, we managed to make VOICE 2 larger and of a higher standard than VOICE 1. I enclose a copy.

We will keep in touch with you about our activities at Dulwich College and we hope you will continue to give us your most welcome support.

Love from DUREX 5 Ardbeg Road, Herne Hill, London SE24.

## ILFORD SQUATTERS

Dear Comrades,

John Weal (Black Dwarf 20) rightly pointed out that "the British left has almost without exception refused any organisational support to the Ilford squatters", but he wrongly described the Freedom Press as being "very late on the scene". Members of the Freedom Press were among the many anarchists involved in the planning of the campaign, Freedom has reported every stage in the campaign since the first demonstration last December, a special squatters broadsheet was printed by the Freedom Press and published with Freedom on December 14 - in fact I would suggest that the Freedom Press has given more support in relation to its resources than any other group other than the East London Libertarian Group itself. Remember that it is a small organisation whose main function for 83 years has been to produce literature rather than to take part in activity; nevertheless its record in the squatters campaign cannot be faulted.

Incidentally, A. J. Dunn (Black Dwarf 16) described Gramsci as "perhaps the supreme example of the militant worker/intellectual". He was certainly an intellectual, and he played a militant part in the Italian labour movement, but he was never a worker. Like most socialist thinkers, he came from a petit-bourgeois family, and he went straight from school and university into full-time political agitation and journalism and a Fascist jail.

Nicolas Walter, 4 Vane Close, Harrow.

John Weal replies:

*Never has the entire left (SLL and Maoists apart) been more united than in their various attacks on my article on the Squatters in B.D.19. It now appears obvious that in fact the groups did put in some work in Ilford and the only real questions are: How much? and How effective was it? Collecting facts from militants either about themselves or about the activities of other militants has been shown to be an almost useless pastime and more than anything else, the article and the replies have pointed to this inability of groups or activists to evaluate each other's roles in some particular struggle. So though I checked out the 'facts' of the matter with as many squatters as I could, it is obviously necessary also to check them again with the various groups and tendencies.*

*It now seems that the squatters were very anxious to guard what they felt was 'their thing' from any outside encroachment. Yet at the same time they criticised the political groups for not helping them enough, thus succeeding in both discrediting the organisations and making out they were in the thick of the struggle all by themselves.*

*When self proclaimed Anarchists tell me that Freedom has done almost nothing, I tended to believe them. As for the Communist Party, I owe it an apology for not being aware of the hatred felt towards it by so many of the squatters. The membership figure in Redbridge is another matter. The C.P. claims 30,000 members in Britain, so 2000 in Redbridge seemed credible enough. The fact that the vast majority of those 30,000 are almost totally inactive and shouldn't even be in what claims to be a revolutionary organisation seemed to me to be consistent with the party's relative inactivity in Ilford on the basis of 2000 members which I now realise was a misleading figure.*

## AN OLD SKINHEAD

Dear Brother,

As a pin-head (and onetime skinhead) will you allow me to answer the diatribe against my kin by brother Hoyland? (B.D. Aug. 30th) He, with others in the violin stage of their growth, take unto their breasts all the virtues pertaining to the social revolts now taking place in the British Isles and elsewhere. They assume (and wear) laurels they didn't even run for - We want them to join in the race.

Sure we distrust and envy, (and despise) the mummies boys who play around with demos and easy girl friends.

Distrust because they are the sons of 2½d. clerks, shopwalkers, money lenders, parsons, doctors and others who helped break the 1926

I note also that in the same issue of 30th Aug. you run a story on strike-breaking at Punfield and Barstows in North London. 4 of the strike-breakers? Students! It would appear that our distrust of the long haired ones is not misplaced. Or are they just acting out Daddies student days of 1926? One of them has the excuse "I needed the bread" - Did he need it as much as the man on the picket line with 5 kids to keep? Today students are tomorrows bosses - or will they join us down the mines? On the building sites? In the foundries? On a trawler to the Arctic? The Dole maybe? The low class pubs? Perhaps even on the barricades? Won't you intellectual snobs realise that we are the revolution? That you must come down to us to join in? We can be the storm troops of the national front - or the guard dogs of a workers democracy - Choose.

This has all happened before you know. Mosley came down to the workers and was accepted. If you allow Jordan to do the same, by Virtue of the snotty attitude you now take, and he succeeds where Mosley failed, the blame will be with the Hoylands and the Hippies and the difficult prose of our own "Black Dwarf".

You know it's hard for a working lad to take in the contents of a paper which seems to be written solely for the perusal of a professor of English?

On a personal note of Distrust. Your own staff promised to run off a pamphlet for me. After waiting 3 weeks for this I receive the copy back with instructions to get it printed elsewhere. My admiration for what I thought was your involvement with us has nearly evaporated. Can we really trust any of you?

If that pamphlet had been printed a lot of houses would still be inhabited in Derry and Belfast today instead of being burnt out shells as they now are. A platoon of well trained "skinheads" were ready and rearing to go to Belfast and Derry it funds had been made available from the sale of the particular pamphlet mentioned. All ex-soldiers. All well versed in street and guerilla warfare. Would it not have been a nice change for the Paisley murder gangs and the "B" specials to meet men better trained than they were themselves, instead of bare headed kids armed with stones? Men more determined, more dedicated, more disciplined and much more ruthless?

What a change it would have been to see the funerals of "B" specials instead of 9 year old kiddies and old men.

We have 7 murderers on the loose in Ulster today. "B" specials and R.U.C. Why don't you run a campaign to bring these animals into the dock? Or are you, in your intellectual fastnesses more concerned with the poor yob P.C. Pulley? This last poor get, got orders from on high to do what he did. Give him a rest eh? or get after his gaffers - or are you frightened of them?

In closing I repeat that you are preaching to the converted as the B.D. is today. You must simplify it so that I don't have to explain every other paragraph to my mates. Or are you just kidding about to fill in time before you are all taken up by the B.B.C.?

The above constitutes the viewpoints of the inarticulate. A reaction from a class which Hoyland condemns. They were gathered together from the various people to whom I had supplied a B.D. I've tried to write them in the way in which they were given to me - with with anger and resentment.

I wish to be constructive however, having found in my too many years of class warfare that our ends are always defeated from within - Criticise and one makes enemies, praise and one gains receptive ears.

I am as one with the skinheads. I know how they can be organised to be the strong right arm of our movement and to accept hippies and Hoylands as men with the same ends in view. They want goals not jails. Will anybody in the area of Southport reading this letter get in touch with me so that we can provide these goals?

The Timid I reassure. ALL that I want from the students and the hippies is organizational ability in the first instance - later a cementing together of groups, to form a cohesive force for various form of constructive "trouble making" in this comparatively "trouble free" area.

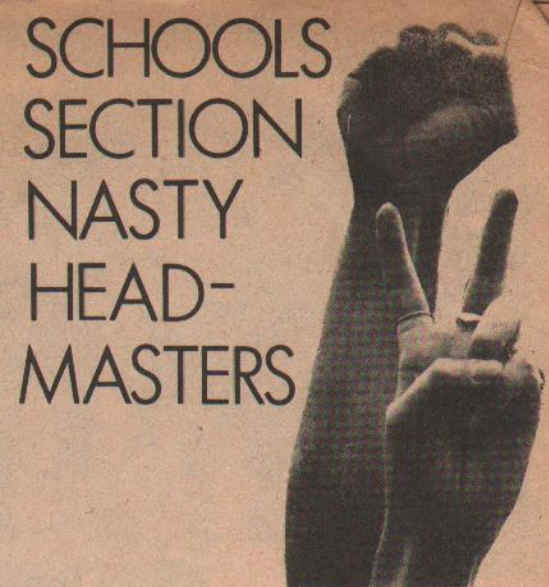
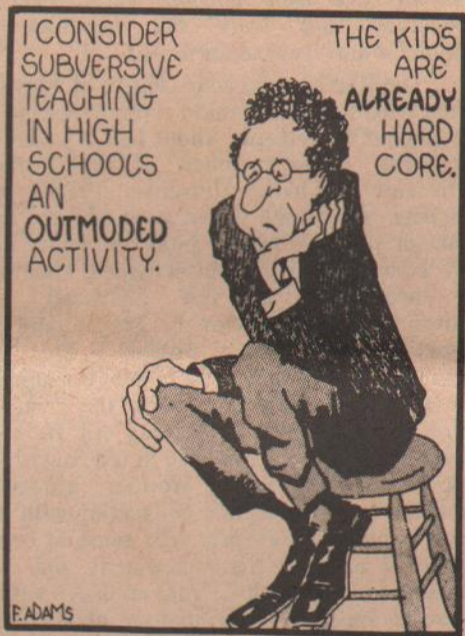
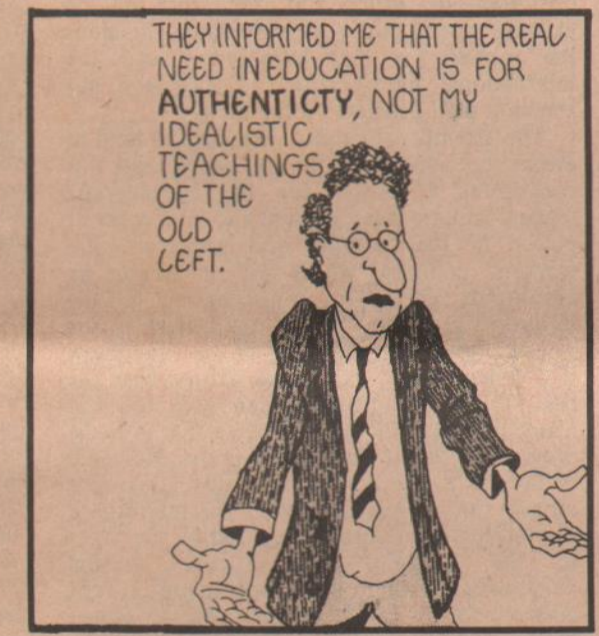
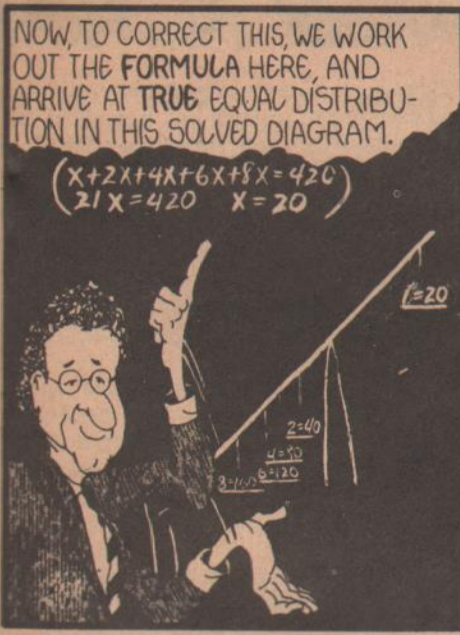
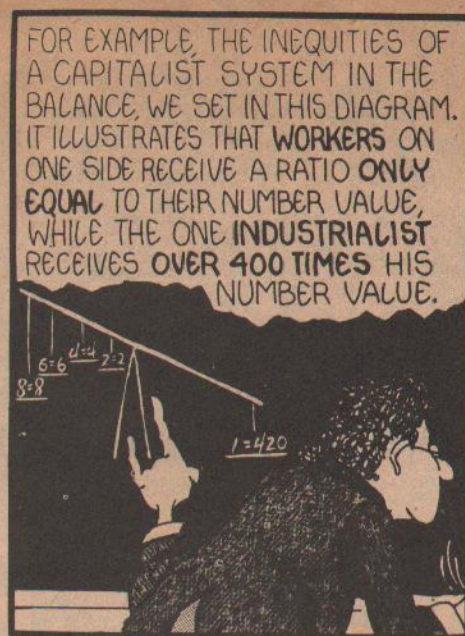
I am hopeful, for in 1967 when I held a demo here in support of the Vietnamese people in their war of liberation against the U.S.A. I had only one follower - my daughter (plus half the local fuzz).

In November 1968 when a similar protest was made on Remembrance Sunday I was supported by 12 stalwarts and this time was chaperoned by all the local fuzz.

In Feb. 1969 another protest at a cenotaph wreath laying by Lord Lonsdale. This time I led a sizeable force of 22, and was attended by all the local fuzz - plus a contingent from the Liverpool force.

I mention the above to bring home a point. All my supporters were skinheads - not one student or hippie or intellectual.

If any had supported us the nucleus of a politically active body would have been formed, for we need the brains of the intellectuals and cannot advance without them. I plead therefore for whole-hearted support and trust from all you clever people for we the oafs.



**SCHOOLS SECTION NASTY HEAD-MASTERS**

I was much interested in your 'nastiest headmaster' competition on page 10 of your last issue - I have a contender for the first prize, one Patrick William Martin by name, an MA, a JP, and a holder of the Territorial Decoration, who runs Warwick School, a second-rate public school. You can look up his life-story in Who's Who, but briefly it includes an Oxford 'education', an allegedly meteoric rise through the ranks of the Officer Corps, with Army service in India thrown in, and sojourns at various schools. All this damns him, but more is yet to come!

The school is run with the intention of attracting the sons of the local wealthy middle-class. Student's appearance is strictly controlled by the Headmaster (P.W.M.) and his trusted prefects. Hair must be short, well-brushed, with a parting appropriately placed; clothes must be neat, etc. At frequent intervals edicts from the Headmaster's study urge us to consider "the impression that we are making on the townspeople". Yet he is clever enough to appear liberal, by making minor changes in regulations about turn-ups, teacups and the hated cap.

However, on to more specific charges.

1. Some time during the academic year 1964/5 Steven Broughton (now in the Edgar Broughton Blues Band), who had won a council scholarship to the school on the results of his 11-plus exam, was suspended and later expelled for refusing to get his hair cut. You will find this documented in the files of the Daily (or possibly Sunday) Express.

2. One pupil, whilst under the influence, drove a car across the main cricket pitch, leaving large furrows. He was caught and (I think) caned, and also made to promise to work as a "groundsmans-help" during the next holidays. The matter was treated very seriously, with PWM wearing a thunderous frown. This pupil was later killed in a motor accident, whereupon the crocodile tears flowed in torrents from the eyes of Martin, who eulogised the dead boy's virtues in chapel (!), having recently struck and humiliated him.

3. There was an attempt to start a 'Free' School Magazine, the existing one being censored and dull. The new venture, which promised to be interesting and exciting, caught the eye of PWM, who instantly emasculated it. Now it is as boring as its stable-mate.

There are many other example of this man's bigotry, pomposity and hypocrisy, which I and a few other ex-Warwick School comrades hope to catalogue in the near future, along with a critique of the Public School system. The first blows have been struck. During my last term at school I and another militant managed to build a student-staff antagonism into a confrontation - and we won. This conflict featured the lobbying of a senior staff member with a petition, a bitter argument between 60 sixth-formers and staff, a lock-out and the organisation of a student teach-in in place of the cancelled lessons - all this one week before A-levels. If you think any of this might be of use to schools' militants, and want more details of this insurrection, I will willingly provide them.

Patrick Martin needs a Nuremberg trial. Yours fraternally, Steve Iliffe, Flat 3, 3 Guild Street, Stratford on Avon.

You want to know who can beat Dr. Allan Badcock (sic) as the worst headmaster in England? How about Charles Gardiner, head of Intake County Secondary School, Leeds. He can beat anyone, and frequently does. At a conservative estimate, he has given 1250 beatings this year, not counting the dozens each day given by other teachers. There are 600 kids at the school.

Charles Gardiner is a big name in amateur drama in Leeds - you can tell his productions, his name on the posters is in the biggest letters. At Intake, you're nobody unless you're a good actor in Mr Gardiner's prestigious school play. There's no Biology taught in the school, and no sex education. Spanish has just been abandoned in mid-stream.

Recently three girls skipped a very bad history lesson. For this they were refused permission on at school after 15, and have had to go to a tech to take exams. If you want a crippling education in a police-state school, go

**WORKER-STUDENT UNITY - HOW REAL ARE THE PROSPECTS?**

In order to try and assess the prospects for meaningful worker-student unity, it is necessary to say something about the nature and level of development of the student movement in this country. First of all, although we can be in no doubt that it is only the working class which can overthrow advanced capitalism, we should not make the crude error of thinking that the working class must therefore be the first social grouping to challenge the system. Other sections of society will form part of the anti-capitalist alliance which must develop - sections of the middleclass, the peasantry, national minorities - and of course, students. And just as some sections of the working class will be more advanced than others, will move into revolutionary action against the ruling class first, so non-proletarian layers may be radicalised before the working class as a whole has started to move. We see this in the case of black people in the USA (who are fighting the system not primarily as workers, but as blacks), national minorities (such as the Basques) - and, on an international scale, the students.

There is no doubt that in America, in Western Europe, in Japan, students as a social group have moved into revolutionary opposition to capitalism to a greater extent than the workers at present. This is borne out by the record of student struggles in all these countries over the past several years. With the exception of France (which is the classic testimony to the potential of student action to "detonate" revolutionary action by the working class), where else have workers occupied factories, raised demands for permanent control over them, fought the police - in other words challenged the whole authority of the capitalist state? And yet students have taken comparable action, raised comparable demands, moved from protest to an articulated challenge to the whole system, so

of revolutionary struggle, and very deep-rooted historical causes for the relative passivity of the working class.

It is not possible here to analyse the reasons for the tremendous radicalisation of students over the past few years. One also hopes that by now it is not necessary, since much excellent material on the subject has appeared over the last year. The essential thing is that students have become radicalised primarily because of changes in their position as students. As regards their future, they no longer have the certainty of becoming members of the ruling or upper middle classes. They are interested destined for the most part to be administrators, technicians, teachers and apologists for the system - to be, in fact, virtually a skilled section of the working class.

Thus they are no longer the apolitical defenders of the status quo that they were thirty years ago. They are more disposed to question, and to act against, the excrescences of late capitalist society, within the higher education system and without it. They protest against the authoritarian structure of higher education, against the stultifying garbage that passes for education in the social sciences, and the narrow compartmentalisation of all departments. They demand that adequate facilities be provided for their vastly inflated numbers. Increasingly, they oppose the integration of higher education into industry and defence. And by protesting against all these things, they are actually protesting against the role of higher education in a capitalist society. Because all that the ruling class wants is a steady output of students with certain necessary skills and an acceptance of the system. This contradiction is what gives the student movement its essentially revolutionary nature. The job of revolutionaries is to make the consciousness of students reflect this reality, to win red majorities and to turn the colleges into their revolutionary opposites - centres of education, agitation and mobilisation

the conflict laden situations within the universities, colleges and schools, to create red bases, is a big job, and one which has scarcely begun. It is the number one priority for student revolutionaries.

When we talk, therefore, about worker-student unity, we should be clear what we mean. We are talking, at present, not about unity of masses of workers and students in action, but about a rather artificial "unity" between a minority of students and an even smaller minority of workers. Because we have to face the reality that the revolutionary elements in the unions today are tiny. The workers' movement, in this country and elsewhere, is oppressed by the dead hand of bureaucracy - the Communist Party in France, the social democrat here. These people are quite incapable of answering the needs of the working class today. They are at best inadequate and at worst treacherous. Only a revolutionary movement in the unions can counter attacks on the living standards and working conditions of the workers, on their right to strike and organise themselves. This movement will have to transcend the ossified and undemocratic union structures. It will have to be not merely defensive, but to advance demands for workers' control and a socialist solution to the crisis of capitalism. The elements of such a movement are already present in the Worker's Control Campaign and the opposition to the Government's anti-union legislation. Its demands will have much in common with the demands of the student movement. But it will develop, as the student movement is doing, out of the actual conditions of struggle in the factories. The best thing that students who want to see such a movement develop can do, is not to try and build an artificial "unity" with it before it exists. They should rather build their own movement, developing forms of struggle which may influence the workers' movement in its

# CZECH REVOLUTION

The documents we print below are of some historic significance. They were brought back from Prague by a Czech-speaking Dwarf correspondent and translated by him. In this brief introduction our correspondent outlines the nature of the group which distributed the documents. Though they were distributed as a leaflet to mark a specific occasion they represent much more than merely propaganda documents — they are revolutionary socialist manifestos and proclaim the existence of the seeds of a left opposition in Czechoslovakia. Editor

## Introduction

The Revolutionary Socialist Party (Czechoslovakia) is the first definite organisation to have crystallised out of the numerous discussion circles and groups which formed inside and outside the party in Czechoslovakia in the 'Prague Spring' and thereafter. Before January 1968 opposition was confined to individuals or at most small groups, who might make criticisms which a few people heard sympathetically but who had no perspective for action and no thought of building an organisation outside dreams. From January to August and beyond, the figure of Dubcek, the slogan 'socialism with a human face', and the April Action Programme of the CPCz made the public at large see the CP as again a genuine popular organisation capable of leading the country through revolutionary change. Many present members of the RSP joined the CP in the Dubcek enrolment. The invasion, and especially the clandestine August plenum of the central committee in the first few days of the occupation, only increased the solidarity of the people behind the party leadership. It was only with the gradual concessions to Moscow, the reintroduction of censorship and the replacement of Dubcek by Husak in April that enough people started to listen to those who had been insisting all along that real change could not come from above. The RSP then formed is made up of the workers and students most active and conscious in the popular movement of 1968. They propose to continue the struggle of that period for workers' control of economic decisions, for freedom of the press, television and radio and for a truly socialist education. At the same time they seek to play a leading part in the development of new forms of struggle for national liberation and the eventual attainment of true workers' power after the overthrow of the Czech and international bureaucracy controlled from Moscow. They do not have a single party line (readers of the Proclamation and the appeal to the youth will note several differences, notably in the relative weight assigned to legal and illegal forms of struggle). Some of them reject the principle of democratic centralism, feeling that each base unit or individual should be free to hold its own opinions and act on its own initiative, and that orders should be replaced by co-ordination and mutual agreement, but the group is too new and still too small to have clearly worked out the practical organisational consequences of this. They are, however, producing a basic course in revolutionary socialism under the general title of BUREAUCRACY NO — REVOLUTION YES, of which the first volume THE BASIS OF THE SYSTEM has already been duplicated in about 1,000 copies. It contains summaries of Bukharin's 1918 programme for the Bolsheviks; Kollontai on THE FAMILY IN THE COMMUNIST STATE; Trotsky, THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED (extracts); Milovan Djilas, The New Class; Socialisme ou Barbarie, programme statement; demands of the Workers' Councils in Hungary and Poland, 1956; Kuron and Modzelewski, Open Letter to the Party; Theses to the 9th Congress of the

IVth International, 1968, one chapter; H. Weber, The Nature of the Soviet Bureaucracy; E. Mandel, Bureaucracy, Part III of the book; E. Mandel (Germain), The Cultural Revolution and Bureaucratic Degeneration; M. Barmann, Stalinism and Reformism; Serge Mallet, Bureaucracy and Technocracy in the socialist countries, extracts; Mihail Markovic, The possibilities of conquering bureaucracy in post capitalist society, extracts; Vladimir Skalsky, Czechoslovakia and Socialism; Dragoslav Slesjka, Views on the basis of the system in our Republic, extract from article; Josef Sykora, The State and Bureaucracy, a manuscript on the theme State and Revolution. The eclecticism is not haphazard, accidental or due to confusion; the RSP wishes to educate its members as conscious, confident, critically thinking revolutionaries. Their success in this hitherto is reflected in the fact that the members are among the few in Czechoslovakia who are free from illusions about Western democracy and from the extremes of nationalist anti-Russian sentiment.

The RSP has two main centres of activity, in the unofficial trade union committees and in the student movement. About half a dozen of the thirty or so members of the Student Parliament of Charles University, Prague, are members, with some dozen sympathisers, and although the rest take a more moderate line they co-operate readily in activities. Members are prominent in the unofficial TU co-ordinating committees in Prague and in factory committees, notably in the Metalworkers and university employees unions. The RSP has connections with the Printers' Union which enabled it to bring out 100,000 copies of the leaflet (described in the August 24 Observer articles, signed Workers, Students, Intellectuals). This organic connection with the broad popular movement, their sense of being merely a part of that movement and not possessors of an absolute truth endowed with a historical mission, their realism about their capabilities, their willingness to learn from the masses, their humility in the best sense, their freedom from dogmatism and sectarianism and the extent to which their ideas have been formed in struggle rather than being theoretical abstractions are their strengths, and distinguish them from many Western revolutionary groups. Their weaknesses are their isolation — they have few contacts in their own country outside Prague, none at all in other East European countries, and only very tenuous ones with the revolutionary movement in the West — and their organisational weakness, which is especially serious in face of the police terror which seems to be rapidly growing in Czechoslovakia. They are well aware of the first weakness, but have hitherto devoted all too little attention to the second, and have not yet acquired the habits of clandestinity which will be necessary to preserve them through a period of severe repression. But for the moment they can rely on the same protection against the police from the TU movement as other activists, though the fact that they are members of an organisation makes them more vulnerable, and if they can use this period to regroup and retrench they could play a very significant role in the movement which might make 1968 into the 1905 of a worldwide October.

Many groups duplicated versions of this text and distributed them, and the whole country was aware of it by the 21st and in the main observed the points. There was, however, no organisation of the resistance to the police on the 20th and following days by the RSP or any other group; it was a spontaneous response to police provocation.

IAN FRASER

## What is to be done?

It seems that the victories of January 1968 are still alive in the thoughts of the people: the breaking free from fear, the will of the workers to decide their own affairs, the free discussion without any censorship or restriction, the confrontation of different views, conceptions and programmes; the idea of trade-unions as a tool of workers defence and not as a tool of the bureaucracy serving to oppress them.

On the other hand we have been cured by many illusions. We no longer believe in the myth of legality, since we know that the bureaucracy uses the law to its own interests and against the people and we are prepared to break these anti-people laws, to combine legal work in the trade-unions with illegal work and gradually, if necessary, abandon legal forms of struggle. We do not believe in the realisation of our demands within the framework of the existing system, since their dynamic threatens the interests of our bureaucracy and the international bureaucracy and they will not abandon their privileges voluntarily.

The attempts at decentralisation also tend to evoke the self-activity of the people and this constitutes a danger for the bureaucratic regime, and arouses a tendency to a takeover of power in the factories and workplaces by workers' councils, which will no longer be answerable either to ministries or to the bureaucratic centre. We do not believe in the Action Programme of the CPCz — we know that it is humane, that it was written with the best intentions and that we can agree with it in many respects, but we are aware that it is the programme of the liberal wing in the leadership of the CPCz, and that its aims must align — we all saw this in August — with the interests of the international bureaucracy, led by the rulers in the Kremlin. The August invasion demonstrated that this programme is not correct, for it is unworkable. We no longer believe in a system where the leadership, even when it is as humane as Dubcek, decides for the workers without them, for only the workers themselves have the right to decide their own destiny. We do not believe in socialism in one country, or that the power of the bureaucracy can be broken in a small isolated country like Czechoslovakia, which would from then on have "gone its own way", had its own "socialism with a human face", for socialism is only one and its face is human, otherwise it is not socialism. We do not believe in neutrality, since in a world of social struggles we cannot be neutral, as we were in 1956, and as the Poles, Hungarians and Germans were in August 1968 — that is not neutrality, that's a crime. We do not believe in help from UNO, we do not believe in "peaceful coexistence" of imperialism and the Kremlin counter revolutionaries.

We believe only in ourselves, in our own reason, our own understanding and powers. When we say ourselves, we are not thinking only of the workers, technicians, farmers, students and intellectuals in our country, but of all these who are in a similar social position anywhere in the world, for we have understood that our struggle and our organisation must have an international character. Our position is very little different from the position of the workers in the neighbouring "peoples democracies" and it is above all with them what we must link up, and it is finally little different from that of the people in the USSR, where social oppression is often joined to oppression of nationalities/in the Ukraine, the Baltic Republics, Transcaucasia etc. Even if the political awareness of the people of these countries is often lower than here — and it is lowest in Russia itself — they are our allies, our brothers, who are gradually becoming our comrades in struggle, just like the French and Italian workers, just like the oppressed people of Africa and Latin America, just like the workers of the whole world.

The 21st of August and the days following it must not remain the only period of resistance; opposition to Husak's police terror, which is increasing and enveloping the entire country, must become (otherwise it would lose all its

mass character) more organised, better worked out and each one of us must link himself to this work, for otherwise our perspectives will be lost for many years. That is why it is necessary gradually to work out a programme for your factory, your workplace, because it will be YOU who will decide the future economic policy as the supreme and sole owners of the means of the means of production with which you work (tools, machines, equipment, means of transport, soil, etc).

The ideas which emerge from your discussion about the economic, social and political programme of your factory together with your views and experiences should be written down, put up on posters/wall newspapers/ distributed as widely as possible, passed on to workers of other factories, spread about in town districts and villages. It is your right and responsibility to know how the managers run the factory and what pressure is exerted on them by higher organs — trade-union leadership, ministries, party apparatus etc. You should know the prices of raw materials, the prices of the products and how they are determined. It is your right and responsibility to know whether you are working for consumption or for further production, or whether you are producing for storage. It is essential to know what rewards, shares, prizes, etc., the economic leaders get. This is your right and you should try and attain it through RTUMFC — REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT FACTORY COMMITTEE, an official organisation. You should make use of this right of workers' control of your own initiative. Publish the facts you discover and inform all the workers. Any form of "participation" of the workers in running factories and enterprises must be rejected. Councils of workers which do not act under the existing system cannot have any real influence on economic management should not in the name of the workers accept a share in the responsibility for an economic policy which is heading for total collapse. NO PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT, BUT WORKERS' CONTROL TODAY AND WORKERS' MANAGEMENT TOMORROW. That is our slogan for the attainment of POLITICAL power by the Czech people. In this respect it is very important to link up with workers from other factories; both from the same industry and same trade-union and also outside irrespective of what trade-union you belong to. Horizontal links are forbidden but it is up to you to defy this prohibition: working in the RTUMFC you have full rights to



# REVOLUTIONARY MANIFESTOS

contacts, exchange of information and experiences and to co-ordination of further activity irrespective of trade-union membership.

Only your own activity is a real check to the gradual totalisation of our life and only direct action can prevent a return to the darkest days of Stalinism. Only resistance and the unity of us all can hinder the bureaucracy from repression against students, intellectuals, trade-unionists or any of us. It will be difficult to reintroduce political trials in a country where the workers are prepared to go on strike in protest against these trials. Strike action can have tragic results for the bureaucracy. This joint united resistance against the bureaucratic centre is also the political creed of our Revolutionary Socialist Party. In conditions of active resistance we can struggle for our concepts against others, we can justify them in mutual discussion: in an atmosphere of fear and political trials we will become a small, isolated sect, since we can have no influence over a people largely cynical and despondent. Not only our party, but each one of us is a guarantee of the future development of our society. Everyone must think deeply about what he has done and what he could do for our liberation.

Let us try to inquire into the essence of our system. There can be no talk of socialism here, we are not talking only about Czechoslovakia. If we examine this system, we must evidently always come to the necessity of an antibureaucratic, genuinely socialist revolution. It turns out that the CPCz and the unions are bound by warnings and instructions from above, from the moment they are prepared to respect them. Thus they are progressively becoming, just like the state and economic apparatus, the army, the police and the courts, mere tools of bureaucratic power. Two things follow from this:

1. Not to abandon the positions which the workers have, especially in the TUs, RTUM FCs. We must hold them chiefly because it is within our power to prevent repressions and safeguard the interests of the workers in the face of the higher organs. It is of course not possible to have any illusions that the unions and the CPCz could become really revolutionary instruments of the workers. The decisive factor will of course obviously be the struggles of the independent organisations of the workers against the bureaucratic power. The situation hitherto — especially in the unions — permits a certain faction in the committees of the RTUM to agree in advance

on united action against the conservative minority which may consider itself bound by party discipline. In numerous party organisations it is then possible to declare a complete boycott of commands from above, wait for the dissolution and set up other forms of struggle after dissolution — illegal work by the revolutionary part of the organisation, of course strictly conspiratorial. It could pay to follow a policy of not voluntarily leaving the CPCz, but merely disengaging from it. This will cause the bureaucracy a lot of difficulties, and at the same time help the polarisation of forces: those who will progress further, those who retire into private life and those who sell themselves to Husak.

2. Gradually to build up illegal groups, which will work alongside the legal activity in the RTUM and the CPCz, and if we eventually lose our positions in those organisations, will go over to exclusively illegal activity, of which we spoke at the beginning. It is important for them to have an influence on the workers, even if nobody can know that they belong to such a group. They must also have contacts in other factories, which should always be maintained only between two comrades, so as to minimise the risk of exposure. Do not keep any printed matter in rooms at the factory: rely on your memory, not on a notebook or address book. Collect information, meet, pass on the information, publish it on wall newspapers. Do not let us allow ourselves to be driven into retreat, let us not turn our backs just out of cowardice. The atmosphere at workplaces depends only on our courage and cunning. We are the overwhelming majority and against us there stand only a handful of people.

At the present time in our country discussions are going about variants of the overall social programme. Our conception is that of a socialist, self-managing society, of direct democracy of the producers. It is that of the fulfilment of the age-old ideals of free peoples, ideals of liberty, equality and brotherhood, which can be reached only by the removal of class differences and the creation of the possibility for everyone to decide individually about his own life, about his work and its results. But for our society to reach these socialist goals, it must — we are convinced — pass through a revolutionary process, must first of all destroy the bureaucracy as a social stratum, which means that it must take political and economic power from it. This is connected also with the destruction of all the repressive instruments of its power, especially the StB,

State Security Police (Czech KGB), the army, the so-called people's militia and the censorship, simply to destroy the state apparatus and introduce general arming of the people. The working people, which will thus take power, will combine according to its own interests in various organisations, which will put forward various conceptions and programmes. But its will will be expressed through its own non-party institutions — councils at the workplaces, in the various branches of industry, a central council of workers and organs of self-management of the people in towns and villages. These councils will no longer be responsible to a bureaucratic centre, but to the workers, who in an atmosphere of free discussion, freedom of the press and of assembly and association will themselves see to it that their representatives express their interests. We are, however, of the opinion that our people cannot set out on this road alone: the geographic and economic situation does not allow that, the power of the international bureaucracy run from the Kremlin will not permit it. The revolutionary process must spread to other countries: in co-operation with the people of those countries we want to live and work in the future. But not even our central and eastern Europe can be separated from other countries — socialism pre-supposes the co-operation and brotherhood of the people of the whole world. And therefore our sympathies are on the side of the Latin American partisans, the French students and workers, who in May 1968 gave to the workers of Western Europe a socialist alternative for their future; on the side of the Vietnamese, who are fighting against American imperialism. For the world is only one, and people must decide whether they will accept the alternative of Messrs Nixon, Breznev or Franco, the alternative of passivity, fear, and unfreedom, or the alternative of a free, socialist society. We believe that the Czechoslovak people will take one of the first places in this decision. Our programme will be constantly perfected and will be influenced by the sharpening tensions and contradictions in our countries between the workers, the intelligentsia and the students on the one hand and the bureaucracy, led by the pro-Moscow power centre, on the other. That is how we understand the class viewpoint in this historical period.

This programme cannot be realised unless numerous groups of vanguard workers and technicians, intellectuals and students exert every effort to organise. The organisations which arise, irrespective of differences in conception and programme would have to work together and carry out actions in common: they could join in a Front of popular resistance. Some of you may possibly join our party, and gradually gain contact. We would like to co-operate with other organisations and parties.

An important place in the popular resistance will of course be taken by the young, who are not bound by family responsibilities and worries and who were most severely hit in August — they lost their perspectives and again became deprived of rights. The bureaucracy will be convinced that this youth without rights is a historical powderkeg of great explosive force. We all consider our programme for the next period to be:

1. To support and uphold as much as possible popular activity, independent actions by the workers, to keep each other informed and to maintain as close contact as possible with workers of other factories.
2. To hold the positions gained in the CPCz, in the unions at workplaces.
3. At the same time to found small illegal groups on a strictly conspiratorial basis. To link up together, to carry out activities in concert and to work out in them a programme for anti-bureaucratic struggle, for the taking of power, a programme for the future socialist society.

## To All Young People

*To all who have not yet got scared and who want to continue resistance to those who at home and abroad brought about the shameful occupation, drove thousands of people into emigration and robbed us young people of our prospects in life.*

*On the 21st of August many young people want to show that they will never be reconciled to the occupation. Pamphlets have appeared, there has been an attempt at a broadcast, the police have begun to strike back. But arrests must not dissuade us — on the contrary we must try to help the arrested. In future struggles we must avoid their errors. In a time of increasing police terror it is not possible as hitherto — i.e. work legally in official organisations. The contemporary conditions do not allow a classic guerrilla war, but the maturity of our people makes possible other, often far more effective forms of resistance, as we were convinced in autumn last year. For the moment it must not go as far as open confrontation. Separately, the organisations of resistance are for the moment weak and disunited. It is necessary to form a popular front of resistance. The Revolutionary Socialist Party also wants to be part of this popular front. Its programme can be expressed in a single sentence: for our future to be the future of a free people, which itself decides about our own affairs, it is absolutely indispensable to have the conscious and resolute activity of each one of us, for liberty cannot be won as a gift, freedom has to be fought for.*

*Our enemy is a small group of people who decide almost everything which happens in the state and to the state. The interests of this handful of people — presidium of the CC of the CPCz, party secretaries, ministers of key branches, heads of party organisations at the ministries of defence and the interior — are directly served by 22,000 party apparatchiks, 50,000 employees of the ministry of the interior, 50,000 professional soldiers, 106,000 legal and administrative employees, 50,000 members of the economic bureaucracy. And this upper 250,000 rules 14 million citizens of the CSSR, exploits them economically and oppresses them politically and morally. They are supported by their like in the eastern European countries, and just like them bow to Moscow. Our allies are above all the workers in the eastern European countries, who are in the same position as we are, the progressive layers, all the oppressed people of the whole world.*

*The centre of our activity cannot be legal work in the official organisations, before the eyes of the public and unfortunately also of the fuzzi. We became aware in practice of the anti-popular nature of our laws, thanks to the benevolent interpretation of them by the state power, in the period of intensification of popular activity after January 1968. As soon as the state power could support itself with tanks and guns the interpretation of them drastically changed. We know that the laws are only a tool in the hands of the rulers, and that they will not afford us any guarantee. And therefore we must logically go over to illegal forms of struggle.*

*Wherever you are — in towns, in villages, factories, schools, in clubs, in gangs — organise, form groups of active resistance. Such groups should not have more than ten members. Be careful when making contact with other groups. Study possible forms of revolutionary activity. Make use of the abilities of all your members — if there are among you printers, chemists, pyrotechnicians, radio wireers, etc. Make use of the official organisation too — seek out there people with similar views, make agreements with them on common activity, and on the basis of activity gradually win them for our revolution. Form co-ordinating cells for whole factories, schools and villages. A basic principle would have to be voluntary discipline. Decisions would have to come from the initiative of separate groups. A presupposition of our activity is the obtaining of information about the situation here and abroad. A fair amount of information can be gained from*

AUGUST 1969.

Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia



foreign radio: also contact reliable members of the RTUM students. Do not undervalue the study of literature and discussion of theoretic questions. Make use of your own experience in factories, areas where you live etc. Learn how to manage things about which you have something to say, learn self-management in practice.

The steadily worsening economic and political crisis is facing the power centre with difficulties which the centre will try to solve by attacking the living standards of the population — the functionaries of the CPCz will not want to give up their privileges. We must defend ourselves against these measures by protest actions, e.g. if prices of public transport are raised, block it completely for several hours by various means. Use the method of passive resistance — perhaps by literal carrying out of existing rules and regulations. In August we became convinced that even without weapons it is possible to fight effectively against superior forces. We have no expectations of instant success, we must employ a tactic of "creeping revolution". We became convinced that a single isolated country cannot attain freedom — a state where the people itself decides its own destiny. In the other east European countries too there smoulders resistance to the police oppressors native and soviet. In the coming east European spring we will possibly have to go against tanks, for freedom does not fall from heaven for anyone. A people which does not fight its way to freedom will never be free!

signed:

Young members of the Revolution  
Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The very fact that you discuss, copy out and pass on this appeal will be a good start to your activity.

TO ALL — TO ALL — TO ALL!  
CZECHOSLOVAK REALITY

The people of our country condemn the invasion of the intervention troops into the CSSR on August 21 1968 and the associated retreat from the post-January policy, which have produced and are increasing the crisis situation in the state. We protest against this state of affairs in the following way: by not using on that date any means of public transport except trains — not buying any newspaper or magazine — avoiding any entertainment in public places — buying provisions the previous day, to leave the shops empty — stopping work for 5 minutes at 12.00 as a demonstration — stopping all cars at the same time and sounding the horns — sounding factory sirens and church bells, so that they resound in the hearts of the whole people of Czechoslovakia. Wear tricolours and mourning. In this way the Czechoslovak people will proclaim August 21 as a "Day of Resistance" against the traitorous policy of the bureaucratic power centre and its allies.

Workers/Students/Intellectuals



## Dwarf Profile On the shady side of the street

Nixon chose him to strengthen the master-servant "special relationship" between Britain and the U.S. So stop and look twice at the new and incredible American Ambassador in London — Walter Hubert Annenberg.

Walter is a multi-millionaire with a close spiritual resemblance to the dead Beaverbrook. He controls the vast Triangle Publications Inc., which publishes the Philadelphia Inquirer, the Daily News, a racing sheet called the Morning Telegraph and two big magazines — Seventeen and TV Guide. Add a couple of TV stations and a radio station.

Walter's millions — Triangle's total assets came to 128.9 million dollars last year — come by courtesy of his late father, Moe Annenberg. Do not attempt to conjure with the name of Moe in the American Embassy. Moe was jailed for three years in 1940 after pleading guilty to a massive tax dodging charge and agreeing to pay up nine and a half million dollars. Charges against Walter, his father's associate at the time, were dropped.

The Philadelphia Inquirer is Walter's favourite child. Its staff strive anxiously to reflect their editor-publisher's whims and commandments. "How would Annenberg want it played?" is engraved on their hearts.

One of their guidelines is known as "Annenberg's shit list". This is not, of course, a document circulated around the office. It's an ever-changing blacklist of names which must not be mentioned in the

paper. A reporter may not know that a name is taboo until he hands in a story which involves a forbidden person.

At various times it's been impossible to mention Dinah Shore, the Philadelphia pro basketball team, the President of the University of Pennsylvania, Zsa Zsa Gabor, Ralph Nader (author of Unsafe at Any Speed) or the owner of the Philadelphia Daily News in Annenberg's Inquirer. All of them had offended Walter in some way. Such things never happen in Fleet Street, not often.

Walter sometimes uses the Inquirer as a weapon for business infighting. In several big deals, Walter's interests collided with those of Milton Shapp. When Shapp decided to stand for Governor of Pennsylvania, Walter decided to hit him with everything he'd got. It was a classically dirty campaign. Climax came when the Inquirer reporter Joe Miller phoned Shapp. Dialogue:

Miller: Is it true you said you'd sue if we ran a story about you being in an institution?

Shapp: Yes.

Miller: Then you deny it?

Shapp: Yes

Next day the Inquirer ran a story saying Shapp denied he was ever in a mental institution.

But Walter is loyal to his allies. For instance, Annenberg is a fan of the House Un-American Activities Committee. When a former chairman of HUAC, Francis E. Walter, hit trouble, the Inquirer jumped to

his defence with an eight-part series ghosted for Mr. Walter which detailed his heroic struggle against the Reds.

But the oddest Inquirer story concerns Harry Karafin, the paper's star "crusading" reporter for nearly 30 years. In his time Karafin exposed a lot of rackets and scandals. But there were many others who were not exposed. They were paying protection money to Karafin — up to a hundred thousand dollars yearly.

If they failed to pay, Karafin broke their story in the Inquirer. Eventually Karafin was convicted for extorting money from many different people and companies over a long period. And before that — but after he had known that the Philadelphia Magazine had been investigating Karafin's activities for a year — Annenberg had Karafin sacked.

Of course, Walter Annenberg didn't know what Karafin was up to. But somehow Karafin was able to go round convincing his victims that he was "Annenberg's hatchet man" — and the money rolled in.

The question is, why didn't the blackmail victims complain to Annenberg? If a man claiming to be a reporter from the Times tried the same trick on you, you'd say: "I'll tell Lord Thomson". (Knowing the score you wouldn't waste time with the Press Council). Now suppose the reporter says: "Thomson's behind me." You'd be mad to believe him.

But plenty of people swallowed the same story about Annenberg. To them, wrongly, it seemed feasible that Karafin and Annenberg were hand in glove.

That's all in the past. The point now is that Nixon likes Walter Hubert Annenberg. Of course he does. Annenberg is a big man for Law 'n' Order (Police Rule) and an old ally of Richard Nixon (Crook Rule).

When Tricky Dicky failed to become Governor of California and announced that he was quitting politics, the ABC network put out a half hour show called "The Political Obituary of Richard Nixon."

On the grounds that Alger Hiss appeared for two minutes in the programme, Annenberg's TV stations in Philadelphia and New Haven refused to broadcast the show. When a nationwide storm centred on the Obituary, Annenberg's TV and press gang kept it out of their version of the news — which took some doing.

You'll see from all this that Walter Hubert Annenberg, who hates militants regardless of colour, is well qualified to represent the interests of the average American tycoon.

And if you still doubt the closeness of Annenberg's special relationship with Nixon, get this. Harold Stassen tried to defeat Nixon for the Vice Presidency. A new name appeared on Annenberg's shit list — Harold Stassen. Adrian Michell

# Beware of the B.O.S.S

Sunny South Africa's latest piece of repressive legislation, which has caused an outcry not only in the English-language Press and legal institutions but even amongst Transvaal Afrikaaner judges, may well spread its tentacles into Zambia.

A new Bureau of State Security (BOSS) has been established to combine all existing South African intelligence and political security services. All its activities will be hidden behind the total blackout of the Official Secrets Act.

The BOSS range of activity has not and will not be revealed, even to the Parliament which established it, and it will be a jailable offence for anyone in South Africa to mention its work or to reveal so much as the name of any person in connection with his relationship to the bureau — ensuring that its scope, its agents and its victims are nameless.

This effectively ensures that anyone held incommunicado by the Bureau simply vanishes into thin air, since the penalty for mentioning the arrest in word or print can be seven years' jail.

### POWER

And if a BOSS victim is brought before a court, the Bureau has power under the Official Secrets Act to keep out of court any evidence including the defence of the accused himself, if it considers the evidence "prejudicial to the interests of the state".

The wide application of that term by South African officials was demonstrated recently when a Government Minister declared his opinion that Press reports of the death by suffocation of three African prisoners jammed into an airless police van were "not in the interests of the republic."

For any South African opponent of the repressive apartheid government the outlook is now grim indeed. Even visitors will have to watch their words, never knowing whether

movement which is trying to gain freedom for its people.

Since the bureau is acknowledged to be patterned on the CIA model, whose agents are well-known to stretch far beyond the borders of America, Zambia can probably expect to be infiltrated by BOSS agents, both black and white in the course of their anti-guerrilla investigations.

BOSS has been allocated over K4,000,000 funds, which lines up with President Kaunda's recent warning that South Africa was about to spend a large sum on spy activities.

Zambia's response has been to start drafting stiff new legislation to deal with spies, which will come before the present sitting of Parliament.

We can now only watch and wait for the head of BOSS — former security branch head, General J. H. van den Bergh — to show his hand. The 6ft 5in bespectacled general is answerable to nobody but Premier John Vorster.

The two have been closely connected since they were interned together during the last war for pro-Nazi activities, which indicates a fairly unholy alliance.

### SILENCED

Van den Bergh is on record as saying he believes that "certain student organisations, newspaper reporters, churchmen and other intellectuals are under Communist influence."

Since he is now in a position to act on his beliefs it looks as though the last protest groups in South Africa are about to be silenced on pain of their members disappearing behind the wall of silence, without even the right to produce a defence in court if BOSS so wills.

The clause in the Official Secrets Act Amendment which can keep evidence out of court has roused the Cape, Johannesburg and Pretoria bar councils to issue condemnatory statements. Afrikaaner judges of the Transvaal Supreme Court have demanded discussions between the judiciary and government before the Amendment became law.

But Minister of Justice Sampie Froneman has said he believes the legislation is already signed by the President and will soon come into force.

The South African Government has evidently found even its "Terrorism Act" insufficient to kill the painful sympathisers.

### BRUTAL

Under this brutal act any person of any nationality who does anything while inside or outside the Republic or in any way assists anyone else to do anything which is intended to disturb present South African rule is guilty of participating in "terrorist" activities.

He can be detained without any court being able to contest the validity of the arrest or release him, or grant bail.

treason.

A young Briton at present a victim of this act is 24-year-old Philip Golding who has been in a Pretoria prison for the past month without recourse to a lawyer, unable to prove what he has or has not done.

After a diplomatic tussle he received a short visit from a British consul, which has helped him not at all.

### GRILLED

He can expect the same treatment as Caroline de Crespigny and Alan Brooks, young Britons who have suffered South African interrogation methods in the past.

Both received the attentions of police master-interrogator Major Swanepoel whose technique — with whites — is to have them grilled continuously throughout days and nights without sleep until they go to pieces.

Some non-white "clients" of Major Swanepoel have died or suffered permanent injury like Suliman Salojee who jumped to death from an upper window during interrogation.

Or like James Lankoe who was found hanged in his cell with electric burn marks on his body.

Physical injuries to Swanepoel's prisoner Gabriel Mbindi, an old man, resulted in a court case where the state settled out of court for K3,000.

### VICTIM

Zambian schoolteacher Desmond Francis is another recent victim of Swanepoel interrogation methods. Mr Francis managed to get his plight publicised when he appeared in court, but under the new laws political prisoners cannot look to judges or newspaper reporters to save them. Under BOSS procedure, evidence can be withheld from the judges, and journalists face seven years' jail if they publish without BOSS permission.

Not many Zambians seek the tourist delights of sunny South Africa. But British citizens living here sometimes do and they should remember this. If they have ever expressed sympathy for South African freedom fighters or a distaste for the ruling government it may have been noted, and such moral support for "terrorists" could put them foul of the Terrorist Act.

Or if on holiday there one happened to realise that an acquaintance had been suddenly arrested, and one warned his family about his sudden new 'relationship' with BOSS one could get seven years' in jail, with British officials powerless to help.

Britain's Guardian newspaper declared angrily recently that South Africa's Nazi-like treatment of Philip Golding was so outrageous that Foreign Minister Michael Stewart ought to have summoned the South African Ambassador in London before him for a hard talk.





## Fred Halliday reports from the Middle East

For the past year there has been a situation of dual power in Amman, the capital of Jordan. On one side are the forces of the Hashemite monarch, Husayn; his grandfather came from the southern deserts of Arabia in 1920 to rule this area, and he himself has remained a faithful imperialist ally: "the least unreasonable Arab" as *Time* calls him. His troops and police in British helmets are everywhere; but so too are the troops of the Palestinian commandoes. They carry their Klashnikov rifles in the street, fire them into the air at night, and make their own checks on the traffic. Husayn collects his taxes, but so do the guerrillas. There are two kinds of hospitals, two kinds of schools. In a prominent place on the side of a hill Husayn is erecting a vast ultra-modern detention centre and jail. Within one hundred yards is a Fath building with armed sentries, and just nearby the cemetery of Palestinian guerrillas killed in training or in action.

Jordan was long a safe imperialist preserve. Britain ruled directly till 1946; then, when Israel declared her independence in 1948 King Abdullah of Jordan reached an agreement with the Israelis under which he seized for Jordan the areas of Palestine which the UN had given to the Palestine Arabs. In 1951 he was assassinated in the al-Aqsa mosque, recently damaged by fire. In 1956 Husayn changed masters: he dismissed Glubb his British adviser and since then has relied on the US for over half his revenue. Jordanian TV is run, on contract, by a CIA subsidiary RTV-International which churns out yankee material; the authorities were intending to stop broadcasts of "Bonanza" because it's made by Zionist interests, but it had to be kept as it is the King's favourite programme. . . Husayn has always aimed to suppress the Palestinian question by making all Palestinians Jordanian citizens and suppressing independent political activity. In Jordan up to 1967 Palestinians were especially urged to move to the impoverished East Bank - original pre-1948 Jordan - or out of the country altogether in order to disrupt the economy of the West Bank; but this had the opposite effect: many Palestinians prospered in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf and it was among them that the first political and economic basis for the resistance grew up in the 1950s. When the *Fath* began military activities in 1965 Husayn tried to suppress it: the first *Fath* man killed was killed by a Jordanian soldier; many guerrillas sympathisers were killed or imprisoned; and when the Israelis took over the West Bank in 1967 they were able to arrest and kill hundreds of guerrillas by using the security files which the Jordanians had left behind.

But the 1967 war changed the terms of the struggle. Objectively, it placed within Israeli territory over a million Palestinians to add to the 300,000 already living under Zionist rule. These formed a potential mass base for political and military resistance to Zionism. Subjectively, the defeat of the Arab armies convinced the Palestinians and many non-Palestinian Arabs that conventional war and conventional armies could never defeat Israel. Most Palestinians think that the Syrians and Jordanians never fought at all in 1967, but

There are now three quarters of a million Palestinians living in the East Bank, what is left of Jordan. Most of them live in refugee camps and all have been mobilised by the guerrilla struggles. The guerrillas get money from all Palestinians who pay around 5% of their income into a common fund, most of which goes to *Fath*. The total collected in this way is supposed to equal around £2million over the past year.

*Fath* is by far the largest of the guerrilla organisations, and its strength is magnified in Arab eyes because it is the only group given attention in official media, and the only group to possess its own radio station; the other groups have to hand out leaflets in the streets of Amman to report their actions. *Fath's* reputation is also greatest because it was the first group to fight the Zionists, and it did so before the defeat of 1967 showed to everyone the bankruptcy of conventional war. *Fath* originated in the 1950s among Palestinian students in Cairo; Yasser Arafat (Abu Ammar) was the Palestinian student leader there from 1953 to 1956 and Salah Khalaf (Abu Ayad) was head from 1956-57. A sporadic resistance had begun in the Gaza strip when the Israelis occupied in 1956 and in 1958 a political organisation, the Movement for the Liberation of Palestine *Fath* was founded. Its main base at first was in the Gulf because there the police were less vigilant than in Egypt and Jordan, and it was also there that a new Palestinian intelligentsia of engineers, teachers and economists was growing up. The majority of the Palestinian refugees in the camps were relatively depoliticised by the abject misery of their condition and it required some release from this passive milieu for a political vanguard to arise.

This group began military activities in January 1965 and at first suffered the repression of both Jordanians and Israelis. After the June War they began military activities in Israeli-occupied towns on the West Bank in the period September-November 1967 but they suffered heavy losses. They then took the decision to fight a war using Jordan as a base, and since then have built up a military and political organisation in Jordan. The King tried in November 1968 to provoke a clash with the guerrillas by manipulating a puppet Palestinian group, the Heralds of Victory, into leading a full-scale battle with the Jordanian forces. But the guerrillas, taken by surprise, were able to fight off Husayn's forces in the suburbs of Amman. Since then, Husayn's army has become politically unreliable: many of his men are Palestinians whose political loyalty is unsure, and the mass of the Jordanian population are so pro-guerrilla that he would provoke a popular rising. In July he changed the cabinet and made

his strongman uncle, Sharif Nasir, head of the army and the CIA agent and security chief, Mahmoud Rassoul, Minister of the Interior; but even they, known for their hostility to the guerrillas, were unable to launch an attack.

Nevertheless, the possibility of a clash remains, and the outcome is by no means clear; the king can probably still rely on his heavily armed Bedouin forces. The one Bedouin soldier I met swore he - and his tribe - would never attack the guerrillas, but this may not have been definitive.

*Fath's* ideology is a curious hybrid. They claim they are not a party, only a movement; that there are no classes in the Palestinian people, since they are all defined by their suffering under Zionism; that there is only one aim, the liberation of Palestine, and so *Fath* does not need an ideology; and that they are not concerned with the social revolution in the Arab world as a whole so long as this is not directly related to their national aim. There are Marxists or left elements in *Fath* who disagree with this policy but this ideology is coherently and consistently propagated in *Fath* schools and media. On the other hand, although the official aim of *Fath* is for a binational Palestine most of the leaders and ordinary Palestinians I spoke to wanted an Arab Palestine, in which Jews could live with full rights. Tied to this is the mystical belief that most Israelis being from Arab countries are Arabs anyway, and that the European Jews will just go back to Europe.

On the other hand, the two more left-wing groups, the *Popular Front* headed by George Habbash and the *Democratic Front*, headed by Nayyef Hawatmah, have less popular following and are smaller organisations, yet their ideology represents an advance on the first-level nationalist consciousness of *Fath*. Both Habbash and Hawatmah are former members of the *Arab Nationalist Movement*, a party founded by Palestinian exiles in 1951 with the slogan "Unity, Freedom, Vengeance". This group had a semi-fascist ideology, but Marxist elements grew within it, until the Movement - which had ten branches in several countries - broke up at a conference in 1964. Its Jordanian branch was not among the most progressive, but after the June defeat many left elements from the ANM came to Jordan and worked within the *Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine*, which the ANM locals had formed with two other small parties.

In 1968, however, a further split occurred. At a conference in August 1968 the Marxist left voted in a Marxist-Leninist programme and called for an organisational restructuring of the Front. But the right elements were able to keep control of the military sections of the Front and to secure the release from a Syrian gaol of Habbash, who had been imprisoned by the Syrians. Habbash proceeded to concentrate power in the hands of himself and his group, so in February 1969 the left elements left the Front to found the *Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine*. This had the major political elements of the old united Front, but it lost both the military sections and the money to Habbash. The DF further allege that some of their men were tortured and killed by the *Popular Front*.

The *Popular Front* still bears the marks of its original semi-fascist terrorist ANM origins; but it has carried out a number of spectacular coups, including the hijacking of the TWA Boeing. They have refused to join the *United Military Command* on the grounds that it is still dominated by the legacy of Shukheiryite bureaucracy and that it has refused to take a position on the Arab states as a whole.

The *Democratic Front* has been

concentrating on political work since the February split. They are aiming to overcome the deformations of petit-bourgeois nationalism by building a proletarian cadre of workers and peasants in their training camps who will go to form a military cadre and a revolutionary party. They criticise *Fath* for its reactionary ideological position both with regard to the class nature of the Palestinian people and with regard to the other Arab states; the DF argue that the Palestinian people have to fight on two fronts, against Zionism, and against the petit-bourgeois and reactionary Arab regimes, and that this can only be done by building a revolutionary party. They recognise that *Fath* is dominant at the moment, but they believe that when the Arab regimes move against the Palestinian people the compromising nature of the petit-bourgeois *Fath* leadership will become clear to the Palestinian people. Under these conditions, and with the concrete availability of a "Palestinian left", the masses will turn to them.

The DF maintain that since the June defeat there has been a "crisis of petit-bourgeois nationalism", i.e. of Nasserism and the Ba'ath; this crisis has come about because the Arab masses in general and the Palestinian masses in particular have seen that the conventional nationalist armies are incapable of fighting Israel, and that the social base of these regimes is a privileged class, relying on demagoguery and police terror to stay in power. This provides the context for the intervention of a revolutionary leadership in Arab politics. But this is an over-schematic view: first, Nasser is by no means discredited and it is his name that the Jerusalem demonstrators are crying out each day; his speech on July 23rd claiming that "the liberation of Sinai has already begun" was greeted with tremendous enthusiasm throughout the Arab world; moreover, while Nasser and the Ba'ath might be discredited, *Palestinian petit-bourgeois nationalism* of the *Fath* kind is almost universal among the Palestinian masses. The class rule of demagogic nationalism is weakening in Egypt, Syria and Iraq after a decade of rule, but the Palestinian people are traversing a much earlier stage in their struggle for national liberation than these other countries; it is essential for the Palestinian people to be led by a revolutionary party with a clear class ideology but although there has been a considerable radicalisation among sections of the intellectuals this has not yet found its base in the popular masses.

The struggle against Israel has now entered a crucial phase. On the Jordanian side, the Palestinians in camps and working in the towns, are united in the anti-Zionist struggle and thousands of young men have joined the guerrilla struggle. Palestinians from all over the world have sent money and one camp I visited was entirely filled by students who had left their universities to join the guerrilla. Each group has its own officers in the refugee camps and train a popular militia of men and women within the camps themselves. In the mountains the political and military camps of the guerrillas have mushroomed in recent months; Israeli air power is unchallenged in Jordan's skies so camps are kept under a hundred men and dispersed. There is an overpowering sense of expectancy and militancy as a people, for twenty years forgotten and despairing, has taken its own decision to fight the Zionist state.

But it is not clear if this degree of militancy can be translated into effective action against the Zionist state. Both sides lie about the number of actions and casualties, and it is clear that there is a constant and relentless series of resistance incidents within Israel. On the other hand, some sections of the Palestinian people within the occupied areas are collaborating with the Israelis: the old Jordanian administration still works, West Bank farmers still export their produce to the East Bank and the policy of blowing up houses is a powerful weapon against a people whose greatest fear is displacement and losing their land. There also seemed little awareness to me of the changing moods within Israel itself, and most people I talked to assumed that sooner or later the Israelis would realise their mistake and give up the idea of a Zionist state. However, there is a mood of uneasiness among young Israelis which takes two contrasted forms - intense patriotism, and a scepticism about the anti-Arab assumptions of the old Zionist guard. This could form the basis for a weakening of Zionist morale.

There does not yet exist any substantial political alliance between Israeli and Palestinian revolutionaries, but after only two years of full-scale combat the guerrilla movement is still in an early stage. Its achievements are considerable: not only has it aroused and mobilised the refugee Palestinians behind it, but it has also established a political and military network among the Arabs who have lived in Israel since 1948. The movement itself will sooner or later have to contend with the Arab governments, and will also have to undergo a process of internal radicalisation; and it will at the same time be able to ally itself with revolutionary forces emerging in other parts of the Middle East. It is as yet too early to see what the final outcome will be, whether they



# DWARF DIARY

On February 24th 1969 a black militant named Tony Soares was sentenced to two years imprisonment for allegedly distributing leaflets inciting unknown persons to riot, etc. etc. The leaflets were supposed to have been distributed before the October 27th demo last year. Soares was arrested some days after the demonstration and a month after his alleged 'offence'. His house was searched without a search-warrant. The evidence produced included some ball bearings they found during their search and five copies of the offending leaflet. The latter was not true. It is obvious that Soares was victimised because of his position as a militant in the UCPA (Universal Coloured People's Assoc.) A sentence of two years is absolutely monstrous but it is something that black people have come to accept as inevitable in racist Britain. The refusal of NCCL and other liberal groups to act in this case is also not surprising - just disgusting and typical.

When the last Dwarf was published our Circulation dept. sent copies to various branches of the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign. We received an amazing response from Mary Collins of the Acton branch: "I will not sell the copies you have sent me because I disagree with the contents of the Black Dwarf. I think that there are many injustices in the world but these should be righted through non-violent means only. I joined ICRC so that I could work, using and advocating non-violent means only... I am leaving the campaign because its most viciferous and influential members advocate the use of violence..." Suggestion for you Mary: If you want a real non-violent organisation apply for membership to the Communist Party, 16 King Street, W.C.1.

On Monday August 18th 1969 two of Fleet Street's most respected rags carried supplements in their respective newspapers. The Times carried a special report on Thailand. The Financial Times on Mozambique. While the former's leading 'specialist' on S.E. Asia, Richard Harris, wrote about 'increased independence and democracy' in Thailand the latter's staff devoted their space to printing revolting articles showing how much progress had been made under Portuguese rule. The Times report carried advertisements from Thai Oil Refinery Co. Ltd., Bangkok Bank Ltd., Bangkok Investment Trust Ltd., The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation etc. The Financial Times contended themselves with money from Portuguese industry. This is how Fleet Street journalists prostitute themselves. Surely neither Harris nor the FT staff could believe in all the crap they were forced to write to get their blood money. But then if that were all that was wrong with the unfree press...

There has been a change in the salesman of death. Out goes Sir Ray Brown (salary: £8,000 a year); in comes with-it, dynamic, trendy, Mr Lester Suffield on a two year contract. His salary of £8,500 a year will be supplemented by British Leyland to whom he will return after he's finished selling guns for the Labour government. Suffield is quite a philosopher: "While the world is like it is, we cannot live in the paradise state of having no weapons. Because people have got guns, it doesn't mean they are going to use them." The Vietnamese and the Biafrans would be extremely amused. Suffield obviously loves his job: "For a good salesman the product doesn't matter. He can just as easily sell a house or a church." (Information: Financial Times).

The end of September will see the emergence of the Daily Newsletter; despite violent disagreements we have the Socialist Labour League on many issues we welcome the emergence of this newspaper and hope that it will serve the needs of the revolutionary left. We hope that the daily Newsletter will be less sectarian in its outlook than the twice-weekly and that it will serve the needs of the revolutionary left which are NOT served by any existing publication. We also hope that its correspondence columns will include letters from comrades who hold views different from that of the Newsletter editorial board.

After serving 7 months of his four year sentence for blowing up the Imperial War Museum, Comrade Tim Daly has been removed from Wormwood Scrubs to Maidstone prison. All letters, books, etc. should be sent to him at H.M. Prison, County Road, Maidstone, Kent.

DUE TO TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES OUR NEXT

For three full days, as he never ceased telling us, some smooth tit of a comper bored the pants off the Isle of Wight with his pathetically small vocabulary of hippy jargon. The crunch came when the crowd were really swinging after Richie Havens had finished. All they wanted then was Dylan and this tit got off his ass to say "People now shall we cool it and we'll have 3/4 hour of records and then another 1/4 hour while we tune up Bob's harmonica (maybe it was the piano) 'cause we want to get this just perfect for you etc."

The crowd was pretty pissed off by this. Meanwhile the loud-speakers kept on booming out little messages about a missing dog called Junky and the funniest about a woman who'd lost her husband Stanley and could people shout at him because he was a bit hard of hearing bless him. So while the tit called on us all in a near hysterical voice to "Cool it People", the crowd was calling for Stan and Junky and most everyone else.

Meanwhile the tit was getting very heated over some fans who had climbed onto the fence and had a pretty good view but who hadn't been squeezed for their £2-10. The electricity cables for the stage - all heavily insulated - ran along the fence and at first he tried to shoo them off by saying they were in danger of cutting off the electricity "and you wouldn't like to be responsible to the crowd for that". It didn't work so he turned the crowd's wrath from himself to the fence-perchers with things like "People, YOU tell them to get off" and "If the people had coconuts I'm sure they'd throw them at you."

The records were all designed to defuse the crowd and they hadn't succeeded. Then came the master stroke. They played Hare Krishna and they played it twice. The Hindu ethic, peace and mysticism, cool it cool it cool it. The political nature of it all was laid bare. They would have put it on again but the crowd shouted for Honky-Tonk Woman and tit-face sure was jittery before that beat number was played.

His final remark caused hoots of laughter. You know the sort of thing, switch the voice to mush, tears in the eyes: "People, I've been out here on the stage for three days (again) and I'd like to say, I mean this, I want to tell you how much I love all you people and it's been so groovy having you here" etc.

Stuff that! Everyone of that 100,000 crowd had played bloody £2-10 to get in and then that git tells them how much he LOVES them.

At a Wilkins (Tiptree) fruit factory in Wivenhoe, where a few people (usually students) are employed for a month during the blackcurrent season, to freeze the fruit, the wages are as follows:

Male over 18 - 7/- per hour  
Female over 18 - 4/- per hour  
Male under 18 - 5/- per hour  
Female under 18 - 2/6 per hour

All four groups do the same kind of work, which includes a considerable amount of lifting and pulling about heavy fruit-laden trolleys. The man who looks after the place, a Mr. Worsp (JP & Magistrate) has boats, houses, and several other 'businesses'. It would be interesting to find out how much the bastard made out of three and a half weeks of disgustingly exploited labour.

## EVENTS

SEPTEMBER 3 - OCTOBER 12: "The Annenberg Collection at the Tate Gallery includes 32 works, mostly Impressionist and Post-Impressionist paintings, from the collection of Mr. Walter H. Annenberg, the recently appointed US Ambassador in London. Mr. Annenberg has offered these works on loan to give the public the benefit of seeing them before they hung in the Ambassador's residence in Regent's Park". (Financial Times). All socialists should sell current Dwarf outside Tate Gallery: see profile of Annenberg elsewhere in this issue.

FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 12: NATIONAL EQUAL PAY DAY is being organised by the London Women's Equal Rights Campaign. The London meeting will be at Conway Hall, 7.30 pm with Sister Patricia Veale from the Militant United Nurses Association as the main speaker, also Leonora Lloyd (National Secretary of NJACCWER) and Maureen Duffy, playwright. There will also be meetings on the same day in other parts of the country. For more details on NJACCWER's work, contact, Diane Langford, 37 Castletown Road, W.14.

HO CHI MINH MEMORIAL MEETING Conway Hall 7.30 pm. Saturday 13th September Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.

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"THE RAINY CITY RAP-IN" A weekend of discussion, revolution, rock and film. Sponsored by 'Grass Eye' for the Manchester, Salford, Oldham and Stockport Secondary Schools Union. Starts Friday September 12 through Sunday night. Speakers on Communications, International Affairs, Social Reform, Direct Action and Social Issues. Workshops for poets, artists, film makers, Street Theatre, Sculptors, Photographers. At the Manchester University Union. Further details from Grass Eye, 52 Corporation Street, Manchester 4.

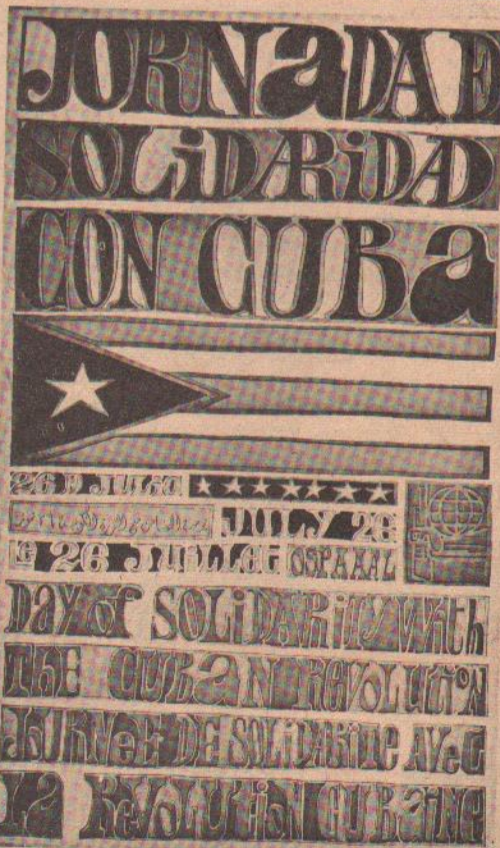
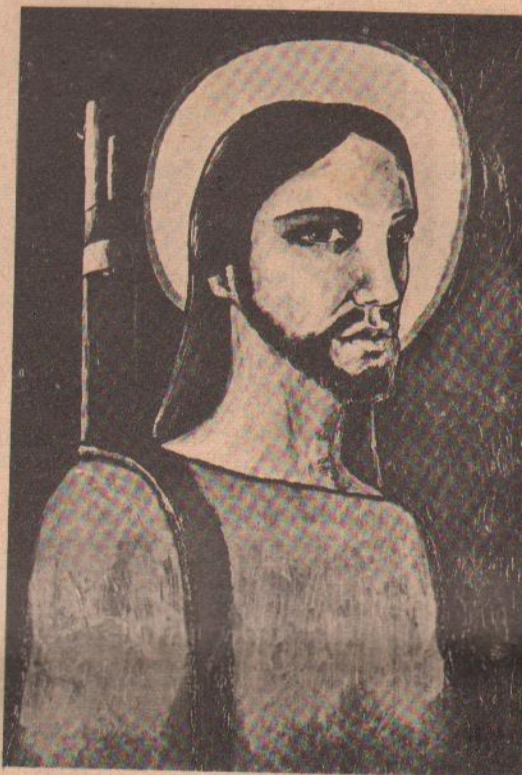
FRELIMO. 25 September is the fifth anniversary of the beginning of armed struggle in Mozambique. Celebrate the day at the Pindar of Wakefield, Gray's Inn Road, WC1. 7.30pm. Revolutionary poetry, drama, discussion. Admission 2/6.

SEPTEMBER 25 - 28: BIRMINGHAM UNIVERSITY SOC SOC will be showing films on Columbia, Cuba, Black Panthers and LSE, with discussion on the student movement. There will also be discussions on the situation in Birmingham, with speakers from the Indian Workers' Association, Black People's Alliance, etc. Comrades interested should get in touch with Soc Soc, c/o Students Union, Birmingham University, Birmingham 15.

OCTOBER 10 - 13: COMMUNIST SCHOOL OF ART AND DESIGN: ART/DESIGN/REVOLUTION/SOCIETY. At Marx Memorial Library, Clerkenwell Green, London EC1. Details from Nick Wright, 16 King Street, WC2.

OCTOBER 19 or 26 (date to be confirmed): To commemorate the October 5th march of last year, the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign are planning a major national demo on VSC lines; March from Charing Cross Embankment to the Ulster Office, Berkeley Street, London W1, and on to Hyde Park. Contact Pat Denny, 01-GUL 0476.

NEW PRODUCTION AT UNITY: 'The Diamond, Hammer and Bone and Along Shaughs of Ulster', their new play about Irish Civil Rights. Fridays to Sundays only, 7.45pm. Tickets 5/- to 10/-, Unity Theatre, 1 Goldington Street, NW1. Tel: 01-EUS 8647.



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LEEDS SQUATTERS: Douglas Jordan, 28 Grantham Road, Bradford 7 is willing to start a squatters group in the Leeds-Bradford area, or co-ordinate with existing groups there. Leeds comrades please contact him.

Anyone interested in starting a BLACK DWARF ACTION GROUP in Edinburgh, to create interest and promote sales, contact Ian Miller, 35 Castle Terrace, Edinburgh.

The Dwarf always needs help from illustrators, designers, and photographers, so if you have some good pictures, or want a commission (expenses only!) let us know.

SPECIAL ISSUE OF INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS: DOCUMENTS OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL. Includes Resolutions and Reports on New Rise of World Revolution, Latin America, "Cultural Revolution" in China, World-Wide Youth Radicalisation, Tasks of the 4th International. 70 large size pages (printed), 5/- post paid from Pioneer Book Services, 8 Toynbee Street, London E.1.

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INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS - a revolutionary weekly journal that specialises in news from Africa, Europe, the Americas and Asia. Sample copy 2/4d post paid from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee St., London E1.

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NLF Badges and Flags. Also others. SAE for details. McGee, 42 Pendarves St., Beacon, Camborne, Cornwall.

HASLEMERE GROUP campaigning against exploitation of Third World, needs hard working secretary from October. Some wages available. Write Box No. BD103.

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Enormous posters (30" x 40") of Trotsky, for sale. Only 6/- . Send 6/- to: - 71 Osborne Road, Manchester 19.

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SECHABA, English Language Publication of ANC. Annual subscription 15/- to Sechaba, 49 Rathbone St., London W1A 4NL.

Grass Eye. Manchester Local Paper. 52 Corporation St., Manchester 4. Annual subscription 15/-. Single copies 1/-. Bulk orders at 9d per copy.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) is forming British section. Details write Box B52, Black Dwarf.

'ARC/DO' - Centre of Political Information, Document, Action: wants to receive all material on the extra-parliamentary opposition, on the students and workers fights, on Third World struggles, "in order to divulge it in Italy and abroad, helping anyone who needs to denounce fascism, imperialism and colonialism in the world." Write to them at Via Piolti de Bianca 29, 20129 Milano, Italy with information.

A group of Mexican Political Prisoners wish to correspond with English socialists. Those interested should write in the first instance to Mexican Political Prisoners, c/o The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ.

NEW TRANSLATION OF KROPOTKIN'S 'The State - Its Historic Role'. 4/5 post paid, and ANARCHY 102 is on squatting. 2/4 post paid. Both from Freedom Bookshop, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.

SOCIAL WORK SERVICE

Adventure Playground Leader required for October, for one year in the first instance. Starting salary £1,000 p.a. Wide scope for individual initiative. Details, from Bob Holman, c/o Social Administration Department, Birmingham University, Birmingham, 15.

"The Peterloo Massacre" Joyce Marlow. Published August 14th. Rapp & Whiting, 72 New Oxford St., WC1.

Schools Comrades contact Schools Action Union, 2

# CUBAN FILMS

The recent spate of Cuban films being shown in London (principally during the one week festival held during Mid-July at the National Film Theatre) in honour of the tenth anniversary of the Cuban Socialist Revolution establishes one thing above all: that a Socialist Cuban film industry is producing some of the most important films on either side of the Atlantic. Four feature films in particular — *Memories of Underdevelopment* directed by Tomas Alea about a bourgeois intellectual trying to come to grips with the new life entailed by a Socialist Revolution, *Death of a Bureaucrat* also directed by Alea about the Kafkaesque excesses of the red-tape profession, *Juan Quin Quin* a whimsical comedy directed by Julia Garcia Espinosa about a post-Revolutionary adventurer and his ill-gotten attempts at easy success, *Lucia* a 2¼ hour study of the development of female emancipation in Cuba as revealed in the personal experiences of three different Lucia's at three critical periods of Cuban history, are all undoubted masterpieces of feature film production. Similarly, the documentaries of Santiago Alvarez — particularly the biting visual indictments of American imperialist society contained in *L.B.J.*, *Hanoi March 13*, *Now*, and *The Death of Joe Jones* — must rank among the finest examples of documentary film-art.

Cuba's post-revolutionary success story is truly remarkable. Prior to the Revolution of '59, the 'Cuban film industry' — a misnomer if ever there was one since it was entirely American controlled — devoted itself with profligate abandon to the production of slicker-than-slick skin films for the American sex market. There were no Cuban directors, no art films and the flickering cinemas in the towns were almost entirely filled with yesterday's Westerns. In all it represented a cultural nadir which no Socialist Government could long tolerate. Soon after the Revolution the first cultural decree announced that "El cine es un Arte" and by a law of March 24th 1959 the Instituto Cubano del Arte e Industria Cinematograficos (ICAIC) was set up to organize every aspect of cine culture from film production film research (centred around the film collections of the Cinemateca). In the first few months following the establishment of ICAIC mainly didactic documentaries directed towards such pressing social and economic problems as increasing farm output and irradiating illiteracy were made but thereafter feature films and documentaries were produced in increasing proportions so that today Cuba produces a yearly average of 8 feature films, 60 didactic documentaries and 80 agitational documentaries. In addition Santiago Alvarez working with a small but versatile unit has since 1959 produced a weekly newsreel consisting both of 'news' material and also 'magazine' items and both are given historicity by relating them to an analysis of Cuba's socialist development.

However, these quantitative and qualitative accomplishments of the Cuban Revolutionary Government in cinema have been continually circumscribed by a shortage of basic materials and equipment — particularly film stock and equipment — due partly at least to the American embargo on exports to Cuba. When film production began in Revolutionary Cuba there was but one Arriflex camera — and even today ICAIC is still patiently waiting for a colour processing laboratory of its own. Such material shortages have been accepted as an artistic challenge by Cuban film directors — a point readily admitted by the dapper Santiago Alvarez when in London for the festival. "The great inspiration for my use of photo-collage of American magazines was the American government who prevented me from getting live material."

In many ways the most amazing achievement of Cuban cinema is not in production but in distribution. Under Batista, cinema going was exclusively an urban phenomenon while the majority of Cubans lived in the countryside. Today, thanks to over 200 mobile cinemas mounted on lorries virtually every Cuban (and there are seven

consequence films have become such an extremely popular cultural experience that television has had to take second place — a phenomenon encouraged by the charging of low or non-existent seat prices. Despite these low prices, ICAIC does — according to Santiago Alvarez — more than manages to pay for its productions.

The flexibility of the organizational structure of Cuban cinema provides one explanation for its dazzling creativity. Unlike Eastern European countries which have a highly bureaucratic structure both in terms of the career structures of creative personnel and in terms of the selection of material, Cuba's film industry is amazingly informal. Only the technicians are given formal training — most of them being sent to Eastern Europe for a year — while the directors learn their skills 'on the job'. Most of the directors come either from

individual and revolutionary experience in various stages of Cuban history. "Memories of Underdevelopment" focused most keenly on this theme — with the individual being a sad-faced intellectual bourgeois who becomes a complete misfit in the new Cuba. The bourgeois intellectual — non-chalantly played by Sergio Corrieri perhaps Cuba's leading actor — has too many liberal sympathies to emigrate with his parents and wife and other gusanos but on the other hand he is incapable of participating in the revolutionary experience except as a pathetic parasite. His attempts to find love end in a court-case for rape while his creative excursions lead merely to the narcissistic isolationism of the writers conference.

In "Death of a Bureaucrat" it is the bureaucrat at the cemetery — and all those who are similarly inhuman in their insistence on the observation of abstract rules — who become the

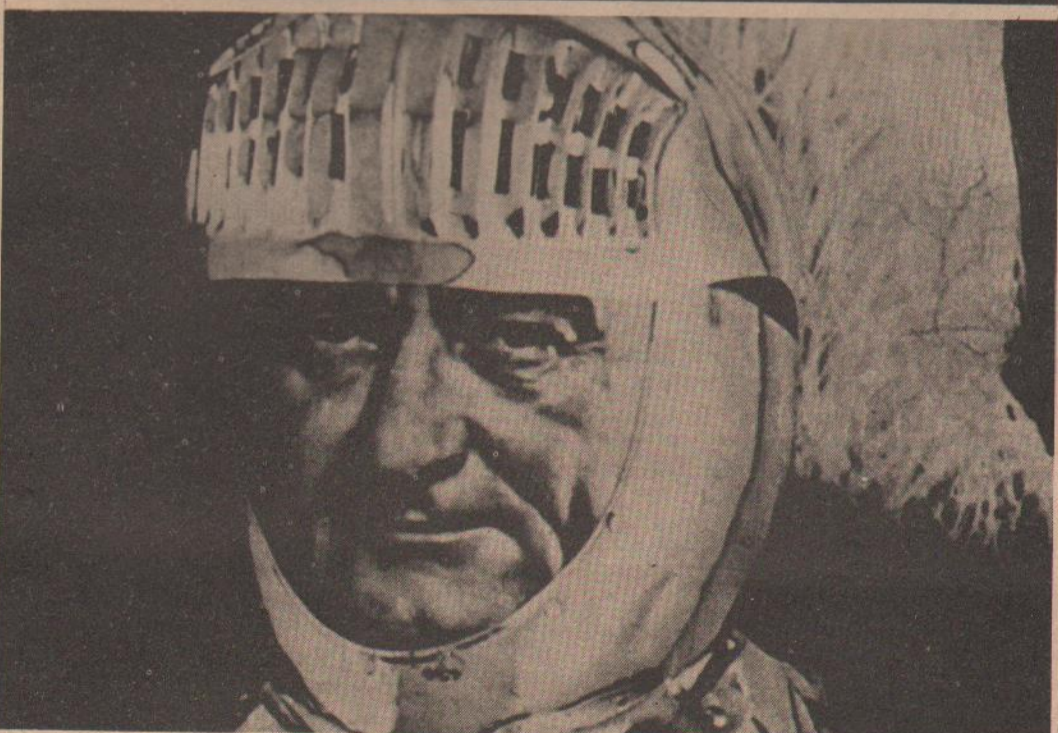
whose frustrations with city life lead him to political banditry and finally death. In the last phase (an unspecified year in the period since the revolution) Humberto Solas using a good deal of documentary-style camera work portrays a self-confident newly wed who has a likeable but ineffectual layabout for a husband.

Similarly Cuban documentary films exhibit certain key features in common. The ones shown in London were selected from that category which were intended for international distribution — consequently there they were concerned with international agitational subjects. As such, the most effective ones were probably *L.B.J.* — a biting satire of an America which produces a President capable of systematically destroying children in Vietnam while self-indulgently cuddling them in New York, "The Death of Joe Jones", the story of what it takes to make "just an ordinary American brought up on Coca-Cola" and "Now" about American Racism. The significant feature of these documentaries is style — whereas Western documentaries tend to use commentary to explain and opine on the visuals in Cuban documentaries the visuals accompanied by an intensely dramatic collage of music, are left to speak for themselves without editorializing. The effects produced are astonishingly poignant: for instance Tomas Gutierrez Alea in *Asamblea General* skilfully manages to demonstrate the essential humaneness of Fidel as he addresses an overflowing square of gesticulating Cubans by contrasting his personal quirks (e.g. the way he puts on his black-rimmed glasses with a slightly embarrassed smile on his face) with the impersonality and emptiness of the Congress of American States. In all these documentaries a conscious attempt is made to relate historic events to personal experience — thus in Jose Massip's documentary film about the fight of Portugese African revolutionaries against Portugese imperialism we are taken into the personal worlds of the principal revolutionaries. The finest and most touching example of this personalization of history is contained in Alejandro Saderman's "Hombres de Mal Tempo" in which five old men recount their experiences of guerilla warfare in the late 1890's against the Spaniards.

The most impressive technical feature of these documentaries is the tremendously dramatic use of sound, although all the documentaries show a predilection for very rhythmic African music, western music particularly pop music is used to great effect (thus for instance in *L.B.J.* snippets of the Halleluiah Chorus flicker meananingly on the screen). In addition, a variety of techniques are used to heighten the political meaning of these films — particularly montage, freezes, hand-held camera distortions, superimposed cartooning. Such technical virtuosity is also apparent in the features where for instance in *Juan Quin Quin* (to give but one example) in a crucial scene the hero suddenly freezes and a "think balloon" emerges from the corner of his mouth giving away his inner thoughts to the audience. In *La Primera Cargo Al Machete* hand-held camera work, highly contrasty black and white film stock and out-of-focus close ups contribute to a very powerful battle sequence.

On the whole, however, the feature films use actors in an essentially non-dramatic way; with the exception of *Lucia* the action is kept cool by naturalistic action and dialogue. This tendency towards neo-realism — and it is no accident that at least one of the Cuban film directors namely Tomas Alea was trained at the Centro Sperimentale in Rome — is also carried through by placing the action in a realistic documentary setting such as the historical settings of *La primera Cargo Al Machete*, *David* (the story of the life of Frank Pais) or by using documentary material itself (as in *Memories of Underdevelopment*) intercut with acted sequences. Only in *Machete* however does a Cuban film director go to the full neo-realistic position of using non-actors for all the parts.

With the festival of Cuban films at an end it will be a pity if the British Public are allowed



television (e.g. Santiago Alvarez) or from Castro's guerilla army (the present president of ICAIC) and this 'lack of experience' has almost certainly served as a source of spontaneity. Working in such an informal organizational structure directors are able to develop their own ideas and styles without capitulating to the grey sludge of 'Socialist Realism'. "Provided that the directors accept that we live in a socialist society" says Santiago Alvarez "ICAIC does not object to criticism. In fact we encourage it". Examples of such criticism can be found in several of the main feature films — most notably in *Death of a Bureaucrat* in which the excesses of socialist bureaucracy are brilliantly taken to bits.

true isolates of the revolutionary experience; in their midst the gallant nephew of the deceased "exemplary worker" in the plaster caste factory of Jose Marti who is buried with his vital work card so removing his wife of her chance to obtain her pension is reduced to a series of humiliating escapades unworthy of a people-caring socialist society. But perhaps the tenderest and certainly the most dramatic film on this theme is "Lucia" — a beautiful tri-episodic study of the fight for women's liberation at three critical phases of Cuban history (1895, 1932 and the present day). In the first phase (1895) Lucia is a beautiful woman of high society who falls in love with a handsome middle-aged Spaniard who turns out to be a totally self-serving opportunist who

# VIETNAM

## INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL GIAP

General Giap, according to the Vietnamese experience, is the invincibility of people's war based mainly on national unity, or are there other factors which also play a role?"

"We have given this a great deal of thought and if you allow me, I will give you a detailed explanation of our point of view on this matter. Yes, the invincibility of people's war is mainly based on the solidarity and fighting unity of the people. This is the key factor in winning victory. But it isn't the only one. There are others.

"For example, there must be a correct political and military line, together with popular armed forces which serve as the nucleus for people's war. There must also be unanimous support from sister socialist countries and other peoples of the world. But, of these factors, the most important is the correct political and military line of the vanguard party. With a correct line it is possible to mobilize and organize the people, channeling their energy to strike the enemy, in short, all patriotic forces can be united in a broad national front strong enough to confront the common enemy.

### BE BRAVE AND INTELLIGENT

"The Vietnamese experience has shown that a united national front — firm, broad and based on the worker-peasant alliance — is very important if the people are to win.

"Only by having a correct line is it possible to arm the people of a nation and put into practice the slogan 'All the people are fighters'. This is the only way to get all citizens to fight the enemy and to build the people's armed forces, an armed force which will fight to the last drop of blood together with the people and for the people, which is determined to fight until victory and which knows how to fight the enemy.

"In Vietnam we say: To face the enemy you must be brave and intelligent. You must be ready to fight — and fight intelligently.

"Only with a correct line is it possible to strengthen militant solidarity between the people of Vietnam and the people of the socialist countries and to take advantage of the help they give us and of the support of the progressive peoples of the world, including the people of the United States. In this way we are also making an important contribution to a worldwide front against U.S. imperialism.

"I am going into detail, but your question is important. In short, the Vietnamese people are defeating the Yankees because they are determined to defeat U.S. imperialism: They have fought heroically and received the aid and support of the peoples of the world, including the valuable aid of the people of Cuba.

"How is the Marxist-Leninist line correctly applied in people's war? In practice there is a classic example, Vietnam, but what, in your opinion, is the main basis for its success?"

"Our Party's correct line constitutes a creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the carrying out of the revolution and the revolutionary war in Vietnam. We all say that Marxism-Leninism is a universal truth, the guide for us to take the revolution along the road to victory, to transform the world. We believe that we must learn to be thoroughly steeped in the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, but maintaining Marxist-Leninist principles does not mean that these can be separated from the concrete conditions of revolution in every country.

### ALWAYS FACE A MORE POWERFUL ENEMY

"Every country has its unique characteristics. For example, through its thousand-year history, Vietnam has a tradition of heroic struggle against foreign aggressors. The aggressors have usually been more powerful than the Vietnamese. For example, in the 13th century the powerful Mongol army attacked us from east to west, but when it came to attack Thanh Long, our capital, we defeated it.

"For several centuries we have been facing three imperialisms: French imperialism, a powerful empire in Europe; the imperialism of Japanese fascism, a powerful empire in Asia; and now U.S. imperialism, the strongest of modern-day empires. Victoriously confronting an enemy several times stronger than we are is characteristic of our history.

### VIETNAM WILL NEVER VIOLATE THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF OTHER COUNTRIES

"In regard to the Vietnamese nation, it is a nation with an innate tradition of loving peace, but peace in freedom, which is why we say nothing is more precious than freedom and independence. This idea is deeply engraved in the hearts and minds of our people. A nation such as this will undoubtedly fight to the end against any enemy. Because it loves independence and freedom it will never violate the independence and freedom of other countries. Our struggle is a just struggle, a struggle for national defense and for national liberation. This is also one of its characteristics.

### A CORRECT AND CREATIVE LINE

"The international situation is different; the era of history is different. We point out these characteristics in order to show clearly that our



forces, our political situation the political situation internationally, etc. Based on this, our Party proposes the correct and creative line to take our revolution along the road to victory.

"Once again we say that, since we follow a correct and creative line, since we have set ourselves a correct revolutionary task, using correct revolutionary methods, etc., we have been able to defeat all enemies.

### UNITY OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE AGAINST THE YANKEES

"In the war, we have always mastered the discipline of war, and it is on the basis of such discipline that we conduct the war. The line followed by our Party at present is that of uniting the entire people against the Yankees in the struggle for national salvation, looking upon the task of defeating enemy as a sacred duty of the nation's, because only by defeating the Yankee enemy can we build and protect socialism in the North; bring the national, democratic revolution to a successful completion throughout the country; and advance peacefully toward the reunification of our homeland. You know perfectly well that Vietnam is one single country, that the Vietnamese nation is one single nation. I have just read a book written by a U.S. citizen, a former aide to Kennedy, and in this book he admits that Vietnam is one single country.

### STRATEGIC DOCTRINE

"The methods of struggle are: to combine military and political struggle and to raise the spirit of independence, self-determination and self-reliance while at the same time giving great importance to the firm solidarity and aid offered by the socialist countries and to the support given by the peoples of the world.

"Regarding the military aspect: to lay down the correct strategy and tactics for defeating the enemy army. The strategic doctrine of Vietnam is to always be in control of the situation, to always remain on the offensive against the enemy army, to always attack the enemy in a strong position, to accomplish much with limited resources and to score great victories with very little.

"We knock down Yankee planes with rockets, with our own planes and with anti-aircraft fire of various calibers, and we have even done it with automatic and ordinary rifles. Commando groups in the South have destroyed enemy planes right in their own airfields. That, too, is a concrete demonstration of the application of Marxism-Leninism under the concrete conditions that exist in Vietnam."

"General Giap, if we are not taking too much of your time, would you mind explaining, in theory, what the 'three arrows' strategy, put into effect in South Vietnam, consists in? Does such a strategy have any precedent in the history of Vietnam?"

"Don't worry about the time. We have devoted this afternoon to this interview, and we will take as much time as we need.

"Your question deals with a matter of

### MILITARY POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLE

"In South Vietnam, 14 million of our compatriots, under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation, combine closely the military struggle with the political struggle, and, recently, they have added the diplomatic struggle. In practice, this consists in carrying out what is known as the 'three arrows' strategy — military, political and propaganda struggle — the last aimed at winning the enemy soldiers to our side. Regarding this matter, we can say that the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam has made creative use of the experiences gained by the Vietnamese people through historic decades and, what's more, of the experiences gained by the nation thousands of years ago.

"From the time our Party was created, the Vietnamese people have gone through a long period of anti-imperialist political struggle — illegal, semi-illegal and legal, but mainly illegal. Then came the period of armed struggle which led to the victory of the August Revolution and the creation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In that rebellion the political and the military forces were present. This was followed by the long resistance against French imperialism, a stage characterized mainly by armed struggle, even though there was also political struggle, and, finally, the present resistance against the Yankees for national salvation, against the neocolonialism of the Yankee imperialists. The Yankees resort to extremely cruel military actions and to extremely deceitful political manoeuvres.

### VIETNAM HAS NEVER RETREATED ONE SINGLE STEP IN THE FACE OF AN ENEMY

"Now, more than ever before, our nation is engaged in the fulfillment of a glorious duty, a duty toward her own people and the peoples of the world. The Vietnamese nation has an immortal tradition of struggle against foreign invaders, and she has never retreated one single step in the face of an enemy.

"Why have the Yankee imperialists sent more than half a million soldiers to attack Vietnam? Their satellite armies and the puppet army together add up to more than one million soldiers mobilized. The objective of the Yankee imperialist is that of attacking Vietnam, but it is quite evident that they also have another plan in mind. Johnson admitted on several occasions that the Vietnam war was 'a life-and-death struggle, one of greater importance than any other war ever waged by the United States in the past.' Why is this problem so important to them?"

### THE REASON WHY THE YANKEES ARE IN VIETNAM

"It is mainly because Vietnam stands at the head of the national liberation movement that the Yankees think that if they win in Vietnam they will be able to defeat the national liberation movement of the peoples. Moreover, Vietnam stands in the front line of the socialist camp's anti-imperialist struggle. The Yankee imperialists think that by winning in Vietnam they will deal a rude blow at the socialist camp. That is why they have gone berserk and act like savages, even though they have had to pay a high price in both men and material resources. It never entered their minds that in this 'life-and-death confrontation of great importance' the Vietnamese people would be the winner and Yankee imperialism would suffer a shameful defeat.

"As far as the Vietnamese people are concerned, we are fully cognizant of the fact that fighting the imperialists constitutes a duty toward our nation and toward the peoples of the world.

### A GLORIOUS TRUTH

"The Vietnamese people have scored glorious victories and will, without a doubt, continue the resistance until the end. The victory attained by the resistance against the Yankees for national salvation will bring to the people of Vietnam independence, freedom and the reunification of their country, while, at the same time, it will eloquently demonstrate a glorious truth: nowadays, any nation — regardless of the fact that its territory and population may not be large — once it decides to rise up, unites and, following a correct line, engages in a struggle for independence and freedom, will, without the slightest doubt, defeat any aggressor, Yankee imperialism included.

"The revolutionary struggle of the heroic people of Cuba also demonstrates this truth.

"Socialist Cuba stands firmly in the western hemisphere, and that alone constitutes a stimulus and a great support to us. In honor of the 26th of July — recently commemorated — I take the liberty of extending my warmest greetings to the Party, the Government, the people of Cuba, Comrade Fidel and Comrade Raul."

Giap stood up briskly and, with a smile on his face, poured everybody a drink and raised his glass saying, "Vietnam and Cuba will win!"