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VIETNAM-NIXONS WAR

Car Workers/Powell Exposed/Mandel Meeting

Black Dwarf Editorial.

THE WAR

in Vietnam and America.

Though the nauseating tones of Nixon's whining, 'sincerer than thou' voice have faded away into the background, his message of November 4th still remains with us. It is the voice of American Imperialism, an imperialism faced with impending defeat, but which at the same time realises full well the historic significance of this defeat. In the words of its mouthpiece Nixon:

"Our defeat and humiliation in South Vietnam would without question promote recklessness in the councils of those great powers who have not yet abandoned their goals of world conquest. This would spark violence wherever our commitments help maintain peace — in the Middle East, in Berlin, eventually even in the Western hemisphere. For these reasons I rejected the recommendation that I should end the war by immediately withdrawing all our forces."

What Nixon is saying in effect is that the victory of the Vietnamese revolution in the southern part of Vietnam would give a tremendous boost to the anti-

capitalist forces throughout the world and in so doing he understands better than some 'socialists' in England the nature of the struggle in Vietnam. Nixon's decision to continue the war demands of all revolutionary socialists a decision to continue the struggle in solidarity with our Vietnamese comrades by mounting continuous and militant demonstrations against American imperialism. The illusions fostered by both the peace negotiations in Paris and the change of administration in Washington have been largely responsible for a downturn of the solidarity movement in Britain. It is essential, therefore, to combat these illusions and mobilise ourselves for the demonstration on November 23rd; whether this demonstration will be a militant demonstration or a long walk depends on the demonstrators themselves. If the mood is as it should be, no force can prevent the demonstration from becoming militant.

The mass demonstrations in the United States in October and November

have shown that increasing numbers of people continue to be radicalised by the war. The most important development in the United States has been the radicalisation within the ranks of the American GIs which has manifested itself in large numbers of GIs taking part in demonstrations against the war. When the GIs demand an immediate withdrawal, they are demanding a victory for the NLF, because even Nixon admits that this is what it would involve. The anti-war movement in the United States has increased the repression inside the imperialist fortress. The gagging of the Black Panther leader, Bobby Seale, his feet manacled to a chair in an American court of law, speaks more loudly than anything we could write of the corrupt and racist nature of bourgeois law as applied in the land of the Dollar. No black American will see the chaining of Bobby Seale without being reminded of the hundreds of years their forefathers spent in chains providing slave labour for the development of American capitalism. The struggle of the Vietnamese workers

and peasants has become inextricably linked to the struggle taking place in the United States.

The contradictions of United States Imperialism are such that while they realise full well the significance of an American defeat in Vietnam they also realise that continuing the war would mean an intensification of the struggle inside the citadel itself. For us it is necessary to exploit these contradictions not in the abstract by stressing parrot-like the need for a revolutionary party to overthrow British capitalism, something which we all accept, but by developing a revolutionary consciousness in Britain, by combating economism in the labour movement and by building a movement in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and with the anti-imperialist struggles throughout the capitalist world. This is one of the ways of building a strong and viable revolutionary movement in Britain. The demonstration on November 23rd, therefore, must be supported by all socialists.



VIETNAM DEMONSTRATION ON
SUNDAY NOVEMBER 23rd ASSEMBLY HYDE PARK 1.30PM.

WAGE PARITY AT FORDS NOW.

A campaign for parity is building up amongst Ford workers. This is partly because of the set up in the car industry, rates vary considerably from place to place, and workers in the Midlands tend to get more than people in the rest of the country. But the demand also comes out of the last dispute. It emerged as an issue towards the end of the last strike and has been simmering ever since. The nature of the last agreement opened up the way too for further action. The fact that it was a compromise is undeniable and has been much commented upon. The real argument is whether it was the best that could have been got at the time. However, it certainly left people with the feeling that it must be improved upon. What has been noticed less, but which is as — if not more — important, is the solidarity and feeling of unity with which people returned to work. As one Dagenham steward put it, "They went back together and they went back confident. They felt they'd actually done something. They'd discovered it was possible to exist and survive on strike. The timid people with families who had never been out before were not afraid any more." This confidence didn't just dissolve because people were back at work, it found expression in innumerable small confrontations. There were arguments, supervisors tried to take people down a peg or two, bitterness towards the scabs, several short stoppages occurred which were hushed up by the management. There was a new feeling about. People weren't standing for things anymore. This militancy and sense of power was reflected in day to day negotiating. One of its most significant consequences is the rank and file representatives on the National Joint Negotiating Committee which means better communication between the shop floor and union negotiators.

DISPARITY

The claim for parity was put at a meeting of the N. J.N.C. on 25 September. Parity is essentially a question of comparability. Ford workers are not saying that wage rates between all the tiny component parts firms should be made the same. They are concerned with rates in the large combines like Fords, Rootes, etc. One example of the difference in wages is the pay packet of a production worker at Rootes and Fords. A day shift production worker at Rootes now gets a guaranteed £34.16.8. for a 40-hour week, at Fords the equivalent worker gets only £21.1.8. even after the four-year-service increment is included. Similarly the Coventry tool-room worker was getting 14/10½d an hour last year, while the same man at Fords got only 10/9½d. This is a reversal of the situation in the thirties when Ford workers were in the lead. At a large meeting of shop stewards from the car industry on 19 October in Coventry, the case was put vehemently. Speaker after speaker in the morning described rates at British Leylands, Rootes and Vauxhall in the Midlands, all of which were better than Fords. As the figures rolled out the meeting became more resolute.

WOMEN

Though figures were the essential point at issue in the discussion of parity and the future campaign, inevitably many other questions arose. Most prominent was equal pay. A man from the floor raised it, insisting that the men should stand by the women. From the platform Moss Evans told the meeting that the company's attempt at Fords to use the blue book to enforce shift work at nights had been rejected last year. The union would not accept that the company had the right to make women do this as a condition of equal pay. "We want equal pay as a right," he said, speaking for his union. A shop steward from Rootes made the same point: "It's all a lot of tommy-rot women have to do nights or have to do this and that. What could industry do without them he'd like to know? (Cheers.) Rights apart, speakers were agreed too there was always the danger that unless women were on the same rates as men, they would be used to undercut the men. The way in which women's jobs are defined was also mentioned. A member of the shop stewards committee of British Leyland's Preston plant said women weren't classed as inspectors, they were called viewers, and got £15-16 a week. A man from Rootes (Chrysler) said there women were accepted as skilled workers and got £23 a week. "We don't accept they are viewers." These disparities in the situation of women workers in industry relate closely to the new agitation. Equal pay, job definition, and the nature of specific protections which have to be fought for, given the existing position of women in the home, like the banning of night work, come up very quickly in any discussion about equal rates for women. Something less tangible appeared at the meeting itself, which is more difficult to measure. A



women there. The management went round in the last strike telling people if they didn't come out they'd get a £25 bonus. The meeting sympathised. One man said they should go down and help her. But her feeling of isolation was apparent. Not just in her job, but in her situation as a militant. The whole meeting was strongly and overwhelmingly masculine despite the presence of a few women, and the men defined the atmosphere. Though one man who got rather carried away corrected himself and a sentence which began as "a load of old bol..." ended as "sorry, ladies".

EXPLOITATION

Parity raised the question not just of equality between workers but of a more fundamental concept of parity. The old con about making more cake before you can divide it was well and truly exploded. "We believe that the Ford worker is definitely being exploited by the Ford motor company," declared Moss Evans. By the "hear hear"s it was clear that the meeting was of the same opinion. Convenor Peter Nicholas told a story about Lord Stokes getting knighted. The Queen put her sword on his shoulder. "Arise, Sir Donald," she said. He never moved. "Couldn't you put it differently, your highness?" asked the new lord. As Nicholas pointed out, the basic issue was the question of the redistribution of profits. Jack Mitchell, AEF district negotiator for Fords in the Dagenham area, reminded them of the fundamental opposition between the interest of Fords shareholders and Ford workers, and the danger of workers measuring themselves against better-paid wage-earners alone. "Don't let us start fighting about how much of the cake we're going to have amongst ourselves until we get the cake, or we'll end up with buggers all." On the nature of control over the job, one shop steward said that measured day work or not, "We're not going to have the Rootes company telling us when we're tired. Because we're the people to know when we've done enough work."

ORGANISATION

The world doesn't change by talking about it. The parity campaign means hard work. Sid Harroway from Fords Dagenham stressed the practical importance of propaganda. Speakers emphasised it couldn't be a passive campaign. It had to be backed up with rank and file action. It was no good just passing resolutions, you had to be organised to put them into effect. It was recognised too that militancy wasn't something that happened suddenly. "Spontaneous" action merely meant that it hadn't been noticed what people were thinking and feeling before. Consciousness developed slowly. It took time and a long process of preparation before it erupted. A Halewood Fords steward said people had the impression that in Liverpool everyone was naturally militant. Well, they weren't. There had been big changes up north. "All the kids have shoes on their feet and jam butties in their hands. The empty bellies aren't there any more." Unity was emphasised and combine organisation and links between shop stewards committees mentioned. Sid Harroway read messages of solidarity from Alfa Romeo workers translated from Italian wishing them success "in the common fight against management" and from Ford workers in Belgium: "Your claims are justifiable."

TRADE UNION LEADERS

There was some discussion on the relationship between the rank and file and trade union officials. Some speakers praised Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones. But someone from Halewood said, "Don't let's build these fellers up. What

Jones or Hugh Scanlon had haloes round their heads. Nobody tried to build them up. But you had to recognise the difference between trade union officials who would support you and ones who wouldn't. But in a campaign like this you couldn't afford to ignore the contrast between a Scanlon, a Jones and a Carron. Les Moor, Halewood convenor, reminded them that it wasn't officials, or convenors, or shop stewards ultimately who could decide a campaign, it was the workers. It was their job to get back to the shop floor and convince people.

RESOLUTION

It was decided to go for a £10 a week all-round increase for every Ford worker.

NEXT ROUND

This November shop stewards are busy discussing the issues in the Fords plants. A large meeting is planned this month in Dagenham to put the case. If the company rejects the demand, action will probably be taken some time in the spring. As Jack Mitchell put it, they'd had Round 1, this was Round 2. "It isn't going to be a 15-round contest. There's going to be a knock-out in the second round." Sheila Rowbotham

THE SENATE HOUSE AFFAIR.

On Tuesday 21 October at 4 p.m. a group of about 35 people demonstrated outside Senate House, University of London, protesting about links between the University and University College, Rhodesia. They had intended to present their arguments to the University administration. The students found their way blocked by closed glass doors and a line of men in suits. Not only did these men refuse to allow any entry into the building, but they proceeded to drag into the building a number of students whom they knew by name and believed to have organised the demonstration. The crowd outside then witnessed an assault on the students who had been dragged inside. In addition to the violence being perpetrated on their fellow-students in the lobby, the demonstration was further provoked and intimidated by a photographer inside the building who was seen photographing the demonstrators. There were a series of unsuccessful attempts to go to the aid of the students inside. Richard Saville, a student of University College, had to receive hospital treatment. Uniformed police joined their Special Branch colleagues, and five people were arrested. They were remanded in custody, two being released on bail of £250 each on 31 October. Three were kept in custody until 3 November. Serious charges have been made and are being added to.

The demonstration had been preceded by considerable research and agitation on the links between the University of London and racism. What followed the demonstration was a mobilisation in many London University colleges. People reacted against both the links with racism and the excessive violence used by the administration when faced with the demonstration. 800 students in University College alone voted for a demonstration to protest against the administration's actions. 2,000 students assembled outside Senate House on 27 October and

committee was set up to co-ordinate the London colleges in their efforts. Most of the students who sympathised had no idea of any concrete actions that were possible. The situation posed questions which the action committees proved unable to answer.

The reason why no answer was forthcoming could be seen in part in what happened on the demonstration outside Senate House. There were the usual long speeches and deliberations, so long that most of the liberal elements drifted away. The hard core was unwilling to adhere to SOAS but were also unable to argue out any alternative. After a long discussion, the demonstrators walked unopposed into the forecourt, and after more lengthy deliberations, half-hearted, unthought-out and reluctant attempts were made to walk in. At no time was there a concentrated attempt to enter the building; yet there was a reluctance to recognise that few wanted to undertake any such action.

In the meetings of the action committee that followed, a number of tendencies emerged. One group from the LSE came to the reluctant decision that an action was necessary to persuade the Lords of Senate House that Gestapo-type actions in the face of protest would not succeed. They put forward the occupation of SOAS for twenty-four hours as a feasible action. RSSF suggested the setting up of a long-term campaign against racism. Groups took the opportunity to recommend various demonstrations due to be held. SOAS was reluctant to put forward an occupation to its students and recommended various long-term measures. The meeting decided to mobilise at all the colleges in favour of the LSE proposal. A RSSF Anti-Racist Project was set up.

The occupation proposal was still-born because most activists did not intend to abide by the decision. The idea was never put to SOAS students after the Socialist Society dismissed the proposal. At LSE there was a large number of students who were prepared to take part in the action. The reaction at U.C. was encouraging, but amongst the militants there was little enthusiasm. In face of this to have continued with the idea would have been a mistake. As a last gesture the action committee dissolved itself. There was no ill-feeling, only recognition that that the vanguard elements of the student movement were unwilling to participate in mobilising for an action. It was obvious that a crucial debate was necessary before any mobilisation could be contemplated.

When seen in conjunction with the demonstrations against the Springbok tour, it is obvious that there is widespread interest in national terms in acting against racism, but what became clear from the efforts to mobilise over Senate House is that there is a considerable amount of work that needs to be done amongst the various activists themselves. There was a fatalistic conviction that it was impossible to mobilise for any action on a mass basis. This, combined with a lack of clear perspective of any direction in which the activists wanted the student movement to move, made it impossible to provide a lead in the generally sympathetic meetings that took place in the various colleges. There was no lack of long-term ideas, such as the "Anti-Racism Project" proposed by the National RSSF. Given this atmosphere, SOAS ideas of a teach-in and more research perhaps constituted the only concrete measures that militants could pursue. In any case, Senate House adopted a "softer" attitude over their previous efforts to try to keep the arrested students in custody, and the large meetings that took place must

CITY DWARF



A recent review of property shares by City stockbrokers, Norris Oakley, confirmed an open secret in the City: despite restrictions, "prohibitive taxation", and other attempts on the part of the Government to curtail the inordinate amassing of wealth through speculation in property, the boom is definitely on.

Owners of office properties in central London who granted leases 21 years ago with no rent reviews (something that would be unheard of now: I have heard leading developers talk in terms of annual rent reviews) are currently deciding on future rentals which will be 600 per cent up on what that were in 1948.

Meaningless legislation, introduced by the Labour Government to cut down the vast, disproportionate profits on land development has had exactly the opposite effect: only two weeks ago, in the City, it was possible for Gabriel Harrison, property tycoon par excellence, to announce that he had £10 million worth of development in hand which "when completed will be able to show an immediate surplus of £3,250,000 over cost".

But to understand the complex situation in property today, it is necessary to explore the history of the racket. The property market as we know it was established after the last war: widespread destruction of existing premises, coupled with the unprecedented expansion of service, marketing, accounting and research departments as opposed to industrial and productive aspects of industry, created an alarming demand for office space.

Stringent Government levies of up to 100 per cent and a system of building licences successfully prevented any real money being made before the Conservatives won the 1951 election.

Macmillan came to power waving the flag of private enterprise, and one of his first acts was to unleash the sluice gates for a furore of capitalist indulgence, which it has proved virtually impossible to control ever since. In a dramatic speech in the House of Commons in 1952, he abolished all taxation and levy on development: "the people whom the Government must help are the people who do things: the developers, the people who create wealth, whether they are humble or exalted ..."

In 1953 the system of building licences went the same way as taxation: and the scramble was on. "The Golden Fifties" saw the rise of the legendary names in tycoonery: Charles Clore, Sir Harold Samuels (whose company has recently been buying up all the other giants in

sight. In 1944 it was worth £19,000, now it has assets of roughly £330,000,000 — the largest property company in the world), Walter Flack and Jack Cotton.

Only one developer emerged in the subsequent decade who rivalled their greed and success: Harry Hyams, notorious for Centre Point, whose company, Oldham Estates was worth a mere £22,000 in 1959, and now tops the £50,000,000 mark (see B.D. No. 12).

Only a minimum of intelligence and knowledge was required to become a property speculator: all that was absolutely necessary was a telephone.

The formula was as follows: the developer cast his rapacious eye on a possible site. He rang up a bank, told it what he was going to do, and persuaded it to lend him the money. This was not too difficult as the banks knew he would have to be a fool to lose. An architect was employed "on credit" to design a building to yield the maximum floor space on the land available.

Next, a building contractor was engaged to put up the building, also "on credit". If we suppose that the building cost £10,000 "all in" to build, its market value on completion could be worth anything up to £20,000 — which, as it was a capital gain and not income, was the developer's, free, gratis and for nothing. (Capital gains were not taxed at all until 1962.)

The developer next had a choice: he could either sell the building and clear out with the £10,000 in his pocket or he could hold on for even greater rewards: if he held on, he could let the office to a company (who prefer to lease, rather than to own land, as then their rent can be set off against tax). From this, he would derive an income of say £2,000 a year, with which he could pay off the original loan, plus interest, in six or seven years, and be left with an entirely free building, whose capital value was escalating almost daily, and which he could sell at any time he chose.

This squalid little equation, with various refined ramifications, meant that just about anyone could become a property developer and heap up vast, tax-free profits in a way which had only previously been possible through crime.

Subsequent property legislation has been directed at the suppression of these profits, but property developers are second only to roulette operators in their ability to evade legitimate taxation.

In 1962 the Conservative government introduced short term capital gains tax.

This meant that if a developer sold off his building too quickly, he would have to give approximately 40 per cent of the profits to the Government.

Developers retaliated by simply not selling off their buildings, but using the second, more profitable method outlined above.

With the Labour government back in power, and the very roots of social democracy challenged by the property scandal, George Brown introduced the total ban on office development of 1964.

This was the first of the great farces, which left property developers laughing. Since 1962, they had all been devotedly holding on to their properties, and, of course, by banning further developments, George Brown played right into their hands. The value of existing premises soared overnight, rents rocketed (from £4 a square foot per annum in the City for the best blocks to the present rate of around £12 a sq. ft.). The only difference after the ban was that developers did not even have to work for their rewards: they just sat back and enjoyed vastly increased income and capital growth.

One can see just how it worked by taking a specific example: if you go to Paternoster Square, you will see a vast complex of offices, close to St. Paul's Cathedral, which were developed by a company called the Paternoster Development Co.: this was a money-making liaison of builders, Trollope & Colls, Wimpey, Jones Laing and the Church Commissioners.

Some 750,000 sq. ft. of office space was created, and just before the Office Ban was introduced, the ungodly consortium agreed to let the whole block (bar 50,000 sq. ft.) to the Central Electricity Generating Board for 24s. 6d. per square foot per annum.

In came the office ban, up went the value of existing space and the remaining 50,000 sq. ft. were let by the consortium for 84s. 6d. a square foot.

The gross value of these offices would have been £30 million, if they had been let at the rate prevailing after the ban, but was only about £3 million when they were left for 24s. 6d. This is because the gross value of a building is dependent on its yield — or what can be got out of it.

The Church Commissioners made an unfortunate mistake, which cost them a lot of money, but there were many developers who did not. The speed with which the value of offices went up was almost unbelievable. The majority of property developers saw their assets at least doubled in twelve months.

Peeved by this inept attempt, Callaghan slapped in a penal budget in 1965, which taxed long-term capital gains. This was a 30 per cent tax, but as will readily be seen, it was merely skimming the cream off the kind of wealth created by the ban.

The Labour government now had a problem. Although they steadily increased capital gains tax paid by companies to its present level of 45 per cent, they wanted to get at the inordinate profits reaped by developers before they were turned into cash.

In other words, they wanted to tax a developer on the value of the wealth he created by developing land with offices, whether or not he sold those offices to raise money.

As soon as he had put his building up, the developer would have to pay a lump sum, "Betterment Levy". When he sold it, he would be hit again by capital gains tax — and profits would be reduced.

In came "The Land Commission" in March 1967. Purpose: to raise "Betterment Levy" on all developments, large and small. By March 1968 it had only raised considerably less than £½ million. It employed a staff of 2,000 and it cost almost £1½ million to operate for the year.

The Land Commission had made the mistake of exempting land from "Betterment Levy" on which work had begun before it came into force.

Backed by limitless resources, the developers simply bought up every piece of land which they could lay their hands on, dug trenches across it, had photographs of the land, complete with workers digging trenches, forwarded to the Commission, and now possess enough exempt land to last them for many years to come. The man who discovered this loop-hole in the law was Desmond Heap, the City Comptroller and Solicitor.

And so it goes on — whatever the Government does, the land speculator wins. As long as the capitalist structure continues, the tycoon will come out on top: ALPO, the Association of Land and Property Owners, last year had 200 members, owning £2,000 million worth of land.

If the Conservative government wins, it is pledged to make things easier for the developer. If it does not, the Labour government is totally unable to do anything about it, as long as land remains.

Ownership of urban land is linked directly to the exercise of political power: a fact which the City Architect, Mr. E. Chandler, does not want known, and has withheld from publication is that since the 1964 "total office ban", the City Corporation, which is itself one of the country's largest land-owners, has been building at a faster rate than ever before. It is currently trying to play down the development of Guildhall, with new streamlined office blocks, "because we don't want other local authorities to be jealous" — but it knows it has Parliament where it wants it. Percy Ingrams

REVIEWS

THE RISE OF ENOCH POWELL by Paul Foot. (Penguin: 4/-)

Even before I read this book I believed that Paul Foot is the most valuable journalist to surface in the past twenty years and I hated Enoch Powell. Both still apply. Foot has followed his masterly and prophetic *Immigration and Race in British Politics* with its historical sequel, *The Rise of Enoch Powell*. As a book it makes a good cosh.

Foot isn't an experimental journalist, he's in the great tradition of fighting pamphleteers which goes back through Tom Paine to Milton. In his exposure of Powell's conversion from a kind of wacky integrity to raging opportunism, he uses wide-focus, medium-focus and narrow-focus techniques. Examples:

Wide-focus: "As long as black men worked loyally in the sugar and tea plantations, as long as they loaded the citrus and banana fruits for ninepence a day, as long as they turned out neatly on Sundays for church and every five years or so to cheer the relevant member of the Royal Family, they were equal. When, however, they appeared in the flesh in the street or town next door, not merely taking tickets on the buses or maintaining the dwindling profits of engineering firms or woollen mills, but taking

decent white stock, their claim to equal citizenship was a shocking impertinence. Suddenly the florid rhetoric about the 'open door' turns into equally florid rhetoric about the desecration of 'England's green and pleasant land'."

Medium-focus: "... Powell's speech on the Royal Titles Bill represented the first public demonstration of his most consistent ability: to construct out of reactionary prejudice (in this case, a love of Empire) an empty pyramid of formalistic logic, and to identify the whole with a Higher Destiny."

Narrow-focus: Foot takes a quote from a 1964 article in which Powell claimed that Britain had an "inescapable obligation of humanity" to admit the dependents of immigrants already here. Foot takes the phrase "inescapable obligation" and sticks it, irremovably, up Powell's arse. This is the pay-off: "The words 'inescapable obligation' tend to give the impression of an obligation which cannot be escaped. The words of politicians, however, must not always be taken glibly at face value. 'Inescapable obligation', in modern politicians' language, can be taken, in normal circumstances, to mean: an obligation to humanity which cannot be escaped unless there are a large number of votes to be gained by escaping it." From now on, demonstrators at Powell meetings are under an inescapable obligation to chant "Inescapable Obligation". It's got a good swing to it, that phrase.

Two things I missed from the book. One, the argument would have been more graphic if Foot had collected statements from immigrants about how the behaviour of whites had been altered by Powell's Birmingham speech. My impression is that racialism became far more open. (e.g. A group of men, in their thirties, wearing suits, not really drunk, at the corner of one of Manchester's most respectable streets, at ten in the evening, singing to the tune of "Pick A Bale of Cotton" — "We're gonna jump down, turn around, kill a Pakistani! Gonna jump down, turn around, kill a wog a day./Me and my buddy gonna kill a Pakistani ...") — singing their filth proudly. Barring fascist meetings and riots, that kind of defiant and deliberately public racialism has spread since the British National Party and Union Movement's line was taken up by Powell.)

Two, I wish Foot had gone through Powell's recent speeches on race, underlined every word and phrase which carried connotations of fear and listed them — not as an academic exercise in linguistics, but to expose even more clearly how Powell manipulates the terrors and superstitions of the ignorant and how Powell, to the extent that he believes his own vivid words, is a very scared man indeed.

Towards the end of the book Foot points out the contradictions of Powell in his new-found role as a "populist" politician. There's a difference in kind between the support which Wilson and Heath obtain in public opinion polls and those who give Powell his fluctuating rating. Wilson and Heath's supporters are comparatively impersonal, their loyalty is usually the straight class ticket (which is bent) and they plump for whoever's king of the friendliest-seeming party. And there's no embarrassment in telling the liberal-looking girl from Gallup that you prefer Humpty to bloody Dumpty.

Powell's a different matter. His supporters are deeply attached to him as the man who not only expressed their racial terrors but who also made race hatred respectable in Britain. Around the country, including all-white areas like the Yorkshire Dales, you'll see painted slogans saying "Four Cheers for Enoch". Nobody ever bothered to paint up even two cheers for Wilson or Heath. Granted that the bugger's popularity isn't always widespread. But it goes deep.

Powell's next move may well be based on Nixon's "Law and Order" campaign. In an increasingly restless Britain, that could bring some of the quick returns which Powell is after. But I doubt, like Foot, that Powell will get the leadership of the Tory Party. He's too cranky, too caddish in his attacks on Heath, too cold in his dealings with other Tories. It's more likely that, following the pattern of Fascism's increasing respectability, which Foot traces clearly through Colin Jordan to Peter Griffiths to Enoch Powell, Powellism will continue to push both the Tory and Labour parties to the Right, and that we'll be confronted by the Prime Ministerial smile of a more gentlemanly version. Paul Foot's book should be used by all revolutionaries to smash that smile.

This is his final paragraph: "Enoch Powell may well be defeated by his own pedantic foibles. But Powellism and worse to follow it has a good chance of victory as long as its opponents restrict the argument to the corridors of impotence. It can only be decisively and permanently defeated when its opponents seek to mobilise the masses, as Powell has done. Such a mobilisation is quite possible. For the real reason for the widespread insecurity and distrust of politics, for the shortages which cramp the lives of all but a tiny minority, can be found — not in the immigration of black and brown workers, but in the mean, ugly, elitist capitalism of which Enoch Powell as much as anyone is a champion." Now we need another book from Foot to map the routes towards that

I'm all white Jack



"When I see a rich man ..."



"... I give thanks to God."

SCHOOLS SECTION NASTY MASTERS

Our school is Sir William Turner's School, Redcar. It's a grammar school and a member of the H.M.C. Although it has changed quite considerably, the Headmaster, S.G. Barker, MA, JP etc., still tries to run it like the public school it used to be, taking over the role of local squire as well. The school, designed for 700 boys, now houses some 870. Of these, 200 and over are 6th-formers. Overcrowding, the general sterility of life at S.W.T., the petty rules and regulations, the lack of a social focal point or any real identity or feeling of belonging, were beginning to produce feelings of alienation; for the most part "incoherent", some more able to analyse their feelings and discover the causes. Overall there was a general feeling of gloom and unhappiness.

Some of us got together to mobilise this latent power and turn apathy into a radical force. What most people needed was convincing that real change was feasible. We had a small core of activists and a large group of tacit supporters waiting quietly in the wings for us to do the initial dirty work. We circulated a broadsheet and started discussions in small groups about the situation and what was to be done.

We wanted the large scout hut, used one evening a week by 8 scouts, turned over to the 6th as a common room where coffee machines, record-players, darts boards etc. would be installed. Also, an end to the ban on smoking, at least for form 6; an end to the persecution of "long haired tickos" (sic); an end to compulsory religious assembly, games, and many other things. We sounded out some of the staff and it seemed that some at least were in favour of staff/student dialogue, and many other of our proposals. But as it is U.C.C.A. form time and as they fear for their jobs, we decided to act 'constitutionally':— we decided to establish a branch of the debating society which would be open to the 5th & 6th forms and would discuss both the problems we faced here and also those of education in general. We got a lot of support for this, including all the prefects and other "respectable" members of the 6th. A master agreed to put the idea to the head. As it turned out he never got a chance: things suddenly came to a head.

On the morning of speech day we held a meeting to discuss both the farce of the occasion and to show how it tied in with the Head's general attitude towards us. Basically the objections were to the fact that the head bathes in the reflected glory of the 5th & 6th ("A" and "O" levels, Oxbridge schools, rugby, drama, etc.) while he treats them as children the rest of the time. His preoccupation with Oxbridge candidates, his lack of interest in those applying to humble polytechnics, his refusal to interview a boy about university because his hair was too long; these were all brought up and ideas for disrupting speech day put forward. It was decided that the most effective method would be to totally ignore the occasion, refusing to sing, clap or participate in any way. This would protect us from being picked on as ring-leaders as it is very difficult to spot at a distance who is singing and who is merely miming. This worked perfectly. The atmosphere was electric and many of the 3rd and 4th form boys rose to the occasion by spontaneously stomping and jeering. It was the worst speech day ever. It was the next day that trouble started.

There was no bollocking in morning assembly from S.G.B. — an ominous sign. Then one of our staff-room contacts told us that some of the more reactionary teachers were getting worried — speech day today, them tomorrow. One, more worried than the others, was a certain D.A. Gillett, a person on the same lines as that shit Gardiner, only his thing is rugby, not drama. A word about this cunt Gillett; with the appearance of a gross and boorish slob, he spends half the time he should be teaching history in hysterical anti-communist diatribes and the other half in making fun of other masters and boys behind their backs. If he once takes a dislike to you, which is inevitable if you aren't wild about rugby/history, you can expect hell. Physically, he will lift you off the floor by the short hairs, deadleg you, clout you across the head on any pretext he can find. You will be continually harassed on petty things (one comrade was sent to the head for wearing a beige pullover instead of the regulation mid-grey, although half the school does so), mocked openly for any physical defect you may have, and have your life made as miserable as he can make it.

Anyway, this bastard Gillett went to the

out that the explosion had in effect been spontaneous and that the reason was real dissatisfaction in the 6th form. Complaints of victimisation were dismissed as "shop-floor talk" and words like "alienation" and "dialogue" as being "alien to the school, picked up second-hand from some third-rate protest university".

However, the head agreed that many of our demands were reasonable, but he refused to do anything for fear of appearing to bow to mob rule (sic). He said he would look into it after Christmas. Although we won a sort of victory we are now severely restricted as the head stated he would have no hesitation in expelling trouble makers. Also some of the staff support has cooled through fear of the sack. We don't intend to let matters drop, and are taking the whole movement out of school to build and strengthen it for the January offensive. We are also keeping up our programme of quiet agitation at school. But whatever happens, that fat cunt Gillett is shortly going to get what's coming to him.

MANDEL-JOHNSTONE DEBATE TROTSKYISM TODAY.

Four hundred people gathered in the Conway Hall to hear a debate on the subject of Trotskyism today. Ernest Mandel, a leading theoretician of the Fourth International, put the Trotskyist case. Against him was Monty Johnstone of the Communist Party. This meeting was the final meeting in Mandel's tour of Britain; among other places he had spoken at Glasgow, Hull and Oxford. Mandel spoke first and said that Trotskyism was not an agent of counterrevolution or a defeated tendency. If this were so, the Communist Party would never be debating him. The reason they were doing so was that all over the world Trotskyist ideas were gaining an increasing hold among the new youth vanguard. The Stalinists had hoped to close the debate with machine-gun bullets, but it had to be reopened for a number of reasons. Mandel then went on to talk about the Permanent Revolution. He said that the Stalinist parties were following a Menshevik policy in the third world, by trying to forge an alliance with the national bourgeoisie to forge a national democratic regime. The cost of this policy could be seen in Brazil and Iraq, and above all, in Indonesia where 500,000 Communists had been slaughtered. The Cuban experience had proved that Trotsky had been 100% correct. Trotskyism stood for ideas of the Permanent Revolution and would win cadres because this was the only road to socialism in the underdeveloped countries. The second fundamental thing which Trotskyism stood for was the revolutionary road to socialism in the advanced countries and against CP reformism. This did not mean putschism or adventurism, but did mean a deep conviction that, regardless of the will of any group, pre-revolutionary situations are periodically created. It was at these times that revolutionary action was possible, and the vanguard and the class itself must be prepared to intervene. Revolutionary demands such as workers' control should be injected into the day-to-day struggles of the class so that they did not seem alien impositions in the revolutionary situation. Revolutionaries must make propaganda with these demands even when the situation was not revolutionary. The CP had failed completely to do this, contenting itself with classical reformist tasks and shying away from their duties with the sort of sophistry that Lenin had always condemned. The Trotskyist movement believed in workers' democracy, which was the historic goal still to be achieved in those countries where capitalism had been overthrown. Bureaucratic rule was an object of hatred to the people of those countries and one of the main stumbling-blocks against socialism in the advanced countries. In Czechoslovakia socialism had been reidentified with censorship against the working class and this was one of the main crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy today. The Fourth International believed in socialist democracy, the subordination of the planning authorities to the workers, and self-management not just of factories but of the whole economy, and it was this programme which coincided exactly with the wishes of the people of Eastern Europe. Finally, the Trotskyist movement believed in internationalism. The terrible fruits of the

need for a unified opposition to world imperialism, not polycentrism. A democratically and not bureaucratically centralised international represented the ideas of Leninism and socialism in our epoch.

Monty Johnstone then spoke for the Communist Party. He was disappointed. He had hoped for a serious discussion on the ideology of Trotskyism and they had instead been treated to a rabble-rousing speech. A movement should not be judged by the figures of people in it alone, but even so, the Fourth International was a puny organisation. Instead of arguing, Mandel had expressed precisely what was wrong with Trotskyism, the substitution of wishful thinking for an analysis of the objective situation. Lenin had never believed in a revolutionary situation existing where a majority of the population had not been won over to the side of the revolutionary forces. October was a precise calculation of the forces on the evidence of the elections to the Soviets that the masses had come over. In France how far could the workers be expected to go when the elections in June showed that De Gaulle had a majority? Whenever this was mentioned the CP were shouted down, but elections did have an importance, showing the degree of political maturity of the working class. How would these people have been prepared to support going to the barricades? The CP vote did not even go to the PSU, but in a number of working class constituencies both PSU and CP vote went down. Although the CP had made a number of factual errors they were 100% correct strategically. This brought one to the heart of one's perspectives for western countries. The French CP was proposing the drawing up of a far-reaching programme for a left front. The British CP also believes in social revolution, but the essence of a revolution does not consist in going into the streets and erecting barricades, but where it has the CP has been there. In what countries had the Trotskyists succeeded in carrying a revolution through? (At this point there was a shout of "Russia!" from the back of the hall.) Their perspective in Britain was a reliance on the mass strength of the working class and this process would be crowned by political victory at the elections. Once in power they would be prepared to use any means to prevent a minority resisting.

The debate was then thrown open to the floor. Peter Gowan stressed that only parties in practice which followed the road of permanent revolution could make a successful revolution. Trotskyists in Indonesia had pointed this out time and time again, and it was only as a result of so many being massacred that the CP had changed its line. In Vietnam the CP were completely unprepared for the French intervention. In China Mao made a revolution because he broke with Stalin.

John Palmer said that it was a symptom of the decline of the Communist movement that they were presenting a picture of Lenin deflected against his will from the idea of peaceful overthrow of capitalism. Lenin had accepted Trotsky's thesis of the Permanent Revolution. Workers must be led away from the disillusionment of parliamentary politics. Lenin had said that the workers should accept elections, but on the workers' terms. On one point did he dissent from Mandel's position. One should not parrot the formulations of Trotsky. He believed that the Stalinist ruling class was the agent for the introduction of capitalist crisis into Russia.

Tariq Ali in answer to a previous speaker criticising the degeneration of the French CP since 1956 said that the degeneration began not in 1956 but with the butchering of the Left Opposition. The questions that should be put to Monty Johnstone were why did the French CP not seize power in 1948? Who was it that had opposed the growing solidarity movement with Vietnam at its beginning? When Trotskyists, Maoists, Anarchists could unite on this issue, often in France these comrades carrying the Vietnamese flag were beaten up by thugs in the French CP.

Monty Johnstone then summed up. In reply to the accusation of rewriting Lenin, he said that the bourgeois democratic revolution had been completed in February 1917 with the transfer of power from one class to another. As for missed revolutions, under capitalism the masses were often downtrodden and did not understand socialism. In France and Italy the outbreak of revolution in 1944 would have given Hitler an opportunity to regroup his forces. In Spain in the Civil War the outbreak of hostilities behind the republican lines was welcomed by the Nazis.

Mandel summing up said that it was foolish to attribute the origins of bureaucratism to one man — it was the consequence of a long and complex series of events. On the relationship between Mao and Stalin, Mao from the 1920s onwards had said that Stalin was wrong about China, and continued to do so. On the Russian revolution, the transfer of political power to the bourgeoisie had occurred in February 1917.

relations and free the peasantry. Only because of this failure was the October revolution possible (for the working class was very small). He had not said that he thought May 1968 was the occasion for an immediate victorious revolution. When describing a revolutionary situation, Lenin gave very careful criteria: — when it was impossible for the ruling class to continue without change; when the suffering of the workers was more acute than usual; when there was a considerable increase in the activity of the masses. How could the CP deny that France, May 1968, fell into these categories. How could they explain the failure of '36, followed by the failure of '45 and '68. In Spain instead of helping the revolution to victory, the CP had helped create a new bourgeois army. Every one of the bourgeois generals eventually betrayed the revolution. David Kendall

FREE COMMUNICATIONS GROUP

Your average journalist has enough general knowledge to be vaguely against the establishment, but in the struggle for socialism he's got about as much kick as Cydrax. But there are militant reporters, feature writers and subs. More than a hundred of them met on November 6th at St. Bride's Institute, off Fleet Street, for a discussion on *Journalists' Power?* called by the Free Communications Group, which publishes *The Open Secret*.

There weren't enough practical suggestions, and it would have helped if the FCG had managed to round up more printers, but it was a good start. Representatives of *Le Monde* and *Stern* outlined their partially successful campaigns for control of their journals.

Sean Geraghy, Secretary of the Engineering and Maintenance Liaison Committee at Long Acre, put the print workers' point of view. He reminded the meeting that while the National Union of Journalists were stuck in a fantasy world, printers had already won complete control of hiring and firing.

Unity between print workers and journalists was impossible while journalists continued to attack the interests of the working class. "Not one industrial correspondent in Fleet Street has ever supported a strike," he said.

"Any move for journalists' power would be viewed with some suspicion by the workers on the floor. But if there was an NUJ chapel which would say — we're going to point out the cankers in society and call for support from the floor — there would be some response."

Paul Foot said that there two main reasons for action. First he cited: "The humiliation of individual journalists which exists almost totally, especially in Fleet Street", the hierarchic structure of newspapers and the arrogance of editors — only the Queen and British newspaper editors refer to themselves as "we".

Second he came to the global and political reasons. The hierarchy of papers really reflected the hierarchical nature of society. He was against trying to create a privileged group of journalists, against the reactionary leadership of the print unions, and against demands which were simply based on getting more than the next man.

Whether demands for control worked or not, they exposed the existence of the hierarchy. The main activity must be to constantly challenge and expose the system. It was important to spread control — first to print workers, then to workers outside the industry.

The Free Communications Group should get into the unions and work militantly. He recalled meetings of the 4,000-strong Central London Branch of the NUJ, which could only make up a quorum of ten for meetings by dragging in six drunken sub-editors from the Daily Sketch and four bewildered Tass correspondents. Journalists must break down the old idea of "loyalty to the paper".

Neal Ascherson attacked "the sort of terror which is bred into all of us ... the thought that it's all terribly difficult and dangerous". But it could be done. "You've got to get into the works, got to get into the voting shares. I can see workers being offered great slabs of non-voting shares." He said there are some editorial boards which say that even to tell the truth about the newspaper industry would be a crime against a democratic society.

Alexander Cockburn said that our first duty was to be a rift in the group, and the rift would come over power. Should you give power to the people driving newspaper vans, to the men driving trains carrying newspapers?

It's to be hoped that the argument Cockburn

For the last few months we have been receiving a mass of material related to the struggle in Southern Africa. Much of this material was of a controversial nature and there was no way for us to ascertain its veracity. Last month, however, we received what we regard as an extremely important document. We have had it verified by our contacts in Africa and in London. We are satisfied that the general line taken by this document is correct, though we have not been able to check every small detail. We are printing it below because we believe that it is time that many African militants were told the truth and that the facade of lies which we have all been told was stripped away. In the past *The Black Dwarf* itself has published articles on Southern Africa which only helped to mystify the situation further. For this we apologise to our readers and hope that the document below will wipe out the stains of the past. The authors of this document are both guerrilla fighters. We have proof of this, but for obvious reasons they do not wish their names to be known.

The tragedy of the African struggle south of the Zambezi is that many of its 'leaders' have quite consciously betrayed this struggle. For them the liberation armies composed of African freedom-fighters have become an industry that produces money for their private coffers. There have been cases where revolutionary cadres have been sent consciously to face the combined strength of Vorster and Smith as they were in the Wankie area in Zimbabwe. When they arrived the fascist militia was waiting for them and they were wiped out. This is only one example, but it symbolises the entire policy of ANC/ZAPU. That is why we left.

WHY WE LEFT 'UMKHONTE WE SIZWE' (ANC IN EXILE)

This is to let the people of South Africa and the world know why we took this irrevocable step. We want to assure our people that we shall neither desert nor deviate from the cause we serve and we are prepared to lay down our lives for the liberation of our country. We are against and wish to expose:

1. OPPORTUNISTIC 'GUERRILLA' OPERATIONS LIKE THE WANKIE FIASCO

In early 1967 there were two statements in the Tanzanian *Nationalist* (newspaper) released by the ANC which proclaimed that "our revolutionaries are leaving for war zones in the South". At the same time all the men were still in Tanzania. These statements were a prelude to the Wankie affair. In August of that year, men (mostly those who were opposed to the ANC leaders) were sent into Rhodesia to "start sweeping the Smith government, and finally the Vorster government". We have proof that the Smith government was alerted of the attempt to infiltrate into Rhodesia by some of the leaders in ANC or ZAPU, for the simple reason that when our compatriots entered that terrain they were almost immediately ambushed and killed, though a few survivors 'surrendered'. The weapons that these men were given were for conventional warfare, i.e. big arms instead of light arms which are suitable for guerrilla warfare. Their supply of food and ammunition was poor, and their medical supplies were bad: all they had were items like elastoplast, anti-snake serums, bandages and a few varieties of tablets like pain-killers etc.

The men who were sent down to Wankie were under duress; they were forced, on one occasion at gun-point, to cross the Zambezi into Rhodesia: a terrain which they did not know, and amongst a people whose languages they had not been taught to speak. These "guerrillas" were the men who would "open the eyes of the progressive world to the struggle that was being waged by the revolutionary cadres of the South, who were selfless and courageous when it came to fighting for their liberation". Little does the "progressive world" suspect that Wankie was staged for two reasons alone: to get rid of unwanted dissenters, and to press fund-giving organisations into giving more money for the "heroic" cause.

After that first adventure with the Smith/Vorster forces, one ANC leader threw a combined party: to celebrate his daughter's birthday and the military "achievement" of the guerrillas in Wankie. The statement he made in Dar es Salam was that "our militants in Rhodesia have brought down one enemy plane in the battlefield".

It is a fact that after the Wankie disaster the ANC received — the world over — both material and financial aid. In one country in Europe the Vice-President of the party was televised, and as far afield as Africa he was shown skiing, addressing student rallies etc.

The Wankie fiasco was nothing but a prestige-boosting project which would help to overshadow all the other Liberation fronts in the

2. THE ASSAULTS, BEATINGS AND STABBINGS OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED BY THE TAMBO - KOTANE - MODISE GROUP, BOTH IN TANZANIA AND IN ZAMBIA

To this day, all over Africa and maybe in Europe as well, there are men and women who bear the scars of these assaults, beatings and stabbings. The reason given for this violence was that "these young men and women were dangerous elements and may have been sent to Tanzania by the South African government to disrupt the cause of the revolution". However, this is not true. The truth is that the entire leadership of the ANC is itself not prepared to get back into Southern Africa and be amongst the fighting masses where, alone, the liberation struggle can be meaningful. The men and women who saw through this were victimised and terrorised. They realised that these training camps were no more than a game — as was the Wankie fiasco — to get more funds for private pockets, and the leadership was no more serious about a real freedom struggle than Vorster himself.

3. THE MURDERS IN ZAMBIA COMMITTED BY MOSCOW-TRAINED STRONG-ARM MEN UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THIS GROUP

These strong-arm men were mostly Lumumba Institute graduates from Moscow, who underwent military training after completion of their academic studies. Their fanatic faith in the authenticity of the ANC leadership led them to be exploited by the clique to suit its own ends, which was to break the "rebellious" freedom fighters spiritually, mentally and physically. The lives of fellow freedom fighters are a cheap commodity to these men. The disappearance of outspoken compatriots did not come as a surprise to those who had seen through the whole fallacy. The fate of those who oppose the clique is death.

4. THE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL SUFFERING OF VICTIMS OF THE CAMP REGIME

Most of the men who perished in Rhodesia, and those that are awaiting prison terms or death in the Rhodesian Central Prison, were and are physical wrecks: write-offs before they went into action. The beatings and stabbings mentioned above had crippled, semi-blinded and rendered physically useless most of the men sent down to the front. The ANC sent these men down — maimed as they were (and are), entirely for its own prestige and material benefit.

5. THE RAPE OF GIRL PATRIOTS

A case in particular is that of young Jasmine (we have covered the girl's real name), who was then nineteen years old. She was raped by a well-known London-based ANC leader when he was in Dar es Salam some time in 1968. Generally, some of these leaders use their authority — or rather power — to defile and misuse these young girl patriots. Suffice it to say that some of them do not have their families with them, though they certainly have their families with them abroad!

6. THE DENIAL OF ADEQUATE FOOD AND MEDICAL TREATMENT TO REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE TRAINING CAMPS

The men were underfed. Porridge was the staple food: this was cooked with a third-grade pounded mealie meal; a local butcher brought us third-grade meat; tea was drunk *once* in the day; vegetables were a rarity, and we alternated the third-grade porridge with a third-grade rice. From this diet the men had no resistance to diseases like scabies, malaria, diarrhoea, malnutrition and numberless others. It was not hardship that we were against, this was to be expected. What we protest is the discrimination between the diet of the fighters and the leadership, and the deliberate attempt to "break" our physical resistance to sickness and disease.

Moreover, medical facilities were very poor. There was a small camp clinic of 12 feet by 14 feet, which housed five patients of varying diseases at a time. The "Medical Officer" wasn't very well acquainted with his medical supplies which consisted largely of pain killers, mercuriochrome, purgatives and suchlike. All bodily pains were treated alike, and a neurotic case was treated in the same way as a case with a simple headache. The medical supplies in the clinic were insufficient for the four hundred freedom fighters in the camp. And when it became necessary to get out of the camp for treatment of serious cases, all kinds of obstacles were put in the way. Many men who could have recovered their health with prompt treatment were denied attention for so long that they are now permanently disabled. Surprisingly, however, the leaders and their henchmen had no difficulty in getting to Moscow or East Berlin for medical treatment although they denied the guerrillas the right to free medical care in the hospitals of the host country — Tanzania. This denial was always done in a subtle manner: the reason given being that the camp security should not be threatened by "the people's"

7. THE FAVOURITISM AND NEPOTISM OF THE ANC LEADERSHIP

The nephews, nieces, sons, daughters and relatives of the leaders live privileged lives in the camps. There is the son of one of these leaders in the camp who can do anything he wants. If he did not wish to get up for morning exercises, he needn't. The rules and regulations of the camp did not affect him. The food the revolutionaries ate was not his kind of food: he was served otherwise. His father, who is Treasurer General of the Party, would send him a hundred shillings every week. By virtue of his father's position he was greatly respected by the lackeys of the ANC leadership. He would perform camp duties at his own choosing, and all this without reprimand or the disciplinary action which would have been taken at once at such "reactionary" behaviour on the part of anyone else.

However, most of the children of the leadership are not to be found in the camps at all. They are to be found in schools and universities all over the world. The older relatives of the leaders are in positions of power in various party centres the world over, if not in the camps themselves. Not a single one has ever experienced the persecutions and humiliations of the training camps. Not one of them has ever been sent to the borders of Zambia and Rhodesia. Instead, they are sent on scholarships to countries which are "sympathetic to the South African cause". The few that are in the camps are supposed to convince the fighting men that the kith and kin of the leaders themselves are to be sacrificed in the struggle!

8. THE LIES AND SLANDER AGAINST THOSE WHO OPPOSE THE MOSCOW LINE

The aim of the revolutionary movement was to get sufficient training — militarily — from any country that could give it, particularly countries in the Eastern bloc and in Africa. The ANC leadership found itself involved "reluctantly" in the Sino-Soviet dispute. Men who had been trained in China were looked upon with scorn and distrust. Whoever spoke against the Krem-

lin and its policies was branded as a "deviate Maoist and revisionist", or alternatively, "an Imperialist tool", and such persons were marked and termed "fifth column elements" that were against the liberation of South Africa".

9. THE PERVERSION OF TANZANIAN JUSTICE BY THE ANC CLIQUE SO AS TO DETAIN INDEFINITELY ALL THOSE WHOM THEY FEAR

To stifle, and finally eliminate opposition in the camps, particularly in the main Kongwa camp where rebellion was imminent, the clique brought into play the legal institutions of the Tanzanian government. The reason given — when fourteen men were detained indefinitely — was that these men were a potential danger to both the liberation movement (ANC) and the freedom of the South African people. In fact, however, these were the men who dared to expose the myth that was the "revolutionary leadership of the ANC, which is in the vanguard of the South African struggle".

With the detention and the subsequent imprisonment of these rebels, the clique was once again able to operate with a free hand. The remaining rebels who numbered eighty or so were kept under perpetual observation and interrogation. The Tanzanian government cannot be blamed for these detentions. It was acting on the distorted evidence which was given by the ANC leadership, and which it was forced to act upon.

10. THE TERRORIST TRIALS BY TRIBUNALS SET UP BY THE ANC CLIQUE TO INTIMIDATE AND BREAK DOWN REVOLUTIONARIES

These tribunals don't fall short of Stalinist methods of persecuting and purging those that were regarded as the "people's enemies", and who were, as such, termed "Trotskyites" or "Maoists". These people were in fact dedicated revolutionaries, who wanted nothing else but to see the struggle for liberation taking effect as soon as was possible — in South Africa, *not*

SOUTHERN ABET



Rhodesia. Round the clock trials of such "reactionaries" were held in private sessions. Brute force was used to make people "confess". The duties of these tribunals was, and is, to force freedom fighters to submit to the will of the ANC leaders and be destroyed.

11. THE SUBSEQUENT MENTAL STATE OF REVOLUTIONARIES IN ALL THE CAMPS

The undeclared policy of the ANC leadership was to break down every true revolutionary in order to use him in their own mechanical way — a principle which cannot be found anywhere in the manuals of a people's army, and which is not practical in a people's war. Their methods of bending men to their own will brought detrimental results and there were cases of men who did not have the mental resistance against psychological coercion being interned in the Mrembe Hospital (a mental asylum), in Dodoma. One man who was a neglected out-patient of this asylum and who was staying with some of these leaders, electrocuted himself in Morogoro and died instantly. His was not an isolated case; there were a number of attempted suicides in all the camps, and particularly in Kongwa.

12. THE "JACKBOOT" PLATOONS IN THE CAMPS

These platoons carry out attacks on their fellow revolutionaries under duress, out of fear that they will be persecuted if they defy their orders. Young men, aged between seventeen and twenty-five years, are used to break down elderly freedom fighters who are in their late forties and fifties, by stripping down their trousers and thrashing them with hosepipes six feet in length, and six cubic feet in diameter. Some of these victims have been in the ANC a long time and know all about the past history of the leaders. As such they pose a grave threat to the leadership and, one way or another, they are to be "silenced" by any method that would be exemplary to those who might be thinking in terms of exposing the leadership to the young, "ignorant" (politically immature) revolutionaries.

aries.

On Christmas Day, 1966, a forty-year-old guerrilla was charged with stealing the property of the people's army — a blanket — and he was given ten strokes of the hosepipe. But instead of ten, he received well over twenty-five strokes and these were administered by the furious camp commander himself, in front of a detachment of two hundred men, at 7.30 in the morning. Bleeding profusely, the victim collapsed to the ground from the bench across which he was being held by the strong-arm men, as the detachment marched into the kitchen for breakfast.

Woe to those who tried to oppose or tried to mitigate the punishment for "an act of degeneracy by a comrade". Midnight calls on individual "rebellious" or "doubted" freedom fighters to "report" to the headquarters, and their subsequent disappearance, were normal occurrences. These individuals were driven to "transit camps" where, on their way, they were beaten to submission; that is, before they reached the transit camps in South Africa. No questions were to be asked regarding the absence of an individual or individuals. That meant instant persecution. The fate of those that left the camp was unknown.

13. THE STATE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL UNCERTAINTY OF ALL REVOLUTIONARIES

The mental, physical and psychological uncertainty that prevails among the revolutionaries in the camps is terrifying. Men's nerves are tense. Anything can happen to anyone any time, within or without the camp premises. This is of course with particular reference to those who have seen through the farcical set-up of the revolutionary council. People are subjected to surprise attacks, kidnappings, misrepresentations and "reports". There is constant fear, insecurity, and absolute mistrust of everybody in the camp.

14. THE DIVISION OF THE MEN INTO ETHNIC AND TRIBAL GROUPS WITHIN THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The strength and unity of the men, which transcended all the trivialities such as tribalism, regionalism, and ethnic groupings was broken down and systematically destroyed by these international political pick-pockets, because they realised that such unity might well confront them with a force which would expose their hypocrisy and corruption to all the world. Thus the ANC leadership has cynically exploited tribal and ethnic differences and sentiments. As is common, this tactic, which is the most effective instrument in breaking a united front, aroused a flare-up of emotions as fights broke out between men of various tribes, and mainly between the Zulus and Xhosas. The latter became conscious that the leadership consisted of a majority of Xhosas, and contended that the others were not prepared for the liberation of South Africa, and that the Xhosas alone could accomplish this. This undercurrent of tribalism boiled over in 1966, when a tribal battle took place in the camp between the Cape Province Group (Xhosa) who were in a majority, and the Transvaal/Natal group which combined to equal the strength of the former. The aftermath of that clash was that a large number of the Transvaal/Natal group was put behind bars "for their own safety", while not a single man from the Xhosa group was punished. To this day, both in Zambia and Tanzania, the enmity amongst the men of different tribal groups surpasses that which they feel for the South African government. Such is the state of disintegration within the camps, a situation which has been deliberately engineered.

15. THE SUPPRESSION OF ALL GENUINE CRITICISM AND FREEDOM OF SPEECH WITHIN THE MOVEMENT

Of course we recognise that armies generally do not allow for a democratic set-up, but Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) was a different army — at the outset. It was a people's army, or so the leaders claimed. The structure of the army was supposed to have been like other liberation armies, such as those in China, Cuba, Vietnam, etc.; the principles governing a people's army were to be applied in full, since, "comrades you aren't only soldiers, but politicians with guns". Rank and file men were supposed to work in concert with top-ranking commanders etc., vital issues regarding the army and the morale of the men were not to be the monopoly of only one man, or even a few "at the top", because this was a "bourgeois tendency". But all these declarations have been violated, and the army has been made to turn upon its own elements, driven to this by the ANC clique.

The party was supposed to be the last resort for political issues which arose in the camps and could not be solved therein, but instead, political issues and grievances were ruthlessly suppressed, and the jackboot platoons and strong-arm men were turned loose on "those who wanted to jeopardise the smooth running of the liberation army". Thus the democracy that was spoken of has never existed either in Umkhonto (the military wing) or in the ANC (political wing).

These are only a few of the atrocities we have gone through and escaped from, but which our compatriots are still suffering right now, in the camps.

We want to assure our people and progressive people everywhere, that we shall struggle against and resist all attempts to make the South African revolutionaries, members of the South African 'Communist' Party against their will, or the African National Congress a branch of the 'Communist' Party of the Soviet Union. Our struggle shall not be directed from Moscow. We recognise that ultimately it is not in the interest of Moscow, as it is not in the interest of the United States, Britain, West Germany or France, that there be a major upheaval in Southern Africa.

We shall unite, and are uniting, with true revolutionaries, progressive peoples' organisations to liberate South Africa. A divided organisation can never liberate the South.

We are well aware of the fact that the ANC (leadership) enjoys support from progressive world bodies which are bent on seeing the breakdown of the South African apartheid system and the liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa. The intention of this article is not to put an end to that support, or to discredit the ANC as an organisation. The ANC proper is a people's organisation. But we wish to expose those who are using this organisation for their own gains at the expense of all those others who are bent on liberating their country.

We would like to ask a question of these aid-giving bodies. Are you aware of the fact that the material and financial support which you think you are giving for the South African struggle is in fact being misappropriated and misused?

The help you give in the form of clothes, provisions, and other supplies for the freedom fighters has instead been turned into a thriving

Dar es Salam, and the money goes straight into the pockets of the "shop owners"! We, in the meantime, go about half naked and starving in the camps. The money that you give goes to take care of the personal expenses of these men and their families — mind you, they live comfortably; or else it is used in projects that are meant to subdue us to their will.

But we do not call upon you to cut off this aid. Bear it in mind, however, that these men are not the makers of history. The makers of history are the people. These men have proved beyond any reasonable doubt that they are not worth leading a people. History, as is proved in its annals, chooses the authentic leaders of the people. The leaders of the South African struggle, too, will be chosen by history.

To muffle the voice of a people needs great effort. And, as it has been proved so many times, the effort only culminates in failure. Thus, despite the great efforts of the ANC clique to keep the world fooled about their real purpose, the truth will come to light. All those who really do hold themselves responsible for the selfless liberation of our people can never be muted. The very voices that were silenced in Wankie will echo still, in the ears of those who were the beneficiaries from that orgy.

We have for a long time endured the rule of this clique in the ANC. Our aim was to take the first chance to get back into South Africa and fight the enemy. Our differences with those that led us could have been settled after the confrontation. It took us some time to realise that our leaders had no intention of confronting the enemy — ever! In their desperation to prevent the mounting pressure towards this end (confrontation), these political thugs took to staging stunts like Wankie to eliminate us. It is this that caused us to leave the movement. A people cannot perish to the last man merely to keep a clique of thugs alive and prospering. We are prepared to face up to the monolithic South African beast despite these set-backs. And this is not a political stunt.

If we are honest with ourselves, we must recognise by now that the South African government cannot be brought down from centres like London, Moscow or Washington. So the aid that you give in these centres, or any others outside South Africa, is ineffective in the South African struggle. So far, this aid has been used mainly to support the luxurious living of the ANC leaders, even as they shout "Revolution!" from the internationally acclaimed hotels in which they entertain themselves. The only effective way for aid to be used is to channel it right into South Africa, where it is really needed, and where the struggle really is.

Those of you who do not believe what is written in this document are requested to make an on-the-spot investigation of conditions in the "training" camps in Zambia and Tanzania.

We, the oppressed, will recover from the heavy blow of discovering the truth about our leaders and what they are doing to the freedom fighters in the training camps. We know that this document will come as a God-sent gift, straight from the horse's mouth, and will be given distorted publicity in the South African press and radio, in an attempt to break down completely the spirit of resistance in the people.

We would therefore be grateful if this exposure is published in its entirety, and publicly. The reasons for this are:

1. The oppressed in South Africa are given distorted facts about Wankie, and the consequent victory of the "Baas" (white racists) in Rhodesia.
2. The oppressed in South Africa want to know why we are "fighting" in Rhodesia, and not in South Africa.
3. The publicity which distorted versions of this document will be given, will try to convince the people that all liberation movements are doomed to fail, and that we will never return to South Africa.
4. Finally, we wish to give ground to any resistance movement in South Africa which has been formed, or is in the process of being formed.

We hope that this exposure will help to clear the minds of all those progressive people who have for so long been fed with lies by the ANC leadership through its powerful propaganda machine. It is with a clear conscience that we decided to expose this clique. We well know that after the publication of this exposure they will turn on us like hunted animals. But whatever they do, their time has passed. Those of us that still remain are uniting to stage a two-way battle. But the first priority is to bring down the fascist regime in the South. We know that the ANC profiteers will make this continent hot for us with the kind of propaganda which still gets heard despite their total failure in the struggle. We say, both to the clique and to the Vorster government: Despite your strength and intrigues, the wheels of history will grind you to dust. A people cannot fail to rid itself of oppression and injustice when it is united.

IN AFRICA RAYAL



INSIDE 'GREATER ISRAEL'

One of the most important new factors in Israel has been the re-emergence of 'Israeli' Arabs as a politically active group. This has happened for three main reasons. Firstly 'Israeli' Arabs are able to meet fellow-Palestinians from the West Bank of the Jordan, and sometimes from beyond. This contact has shown many 'Israeli' Arabs that while their standard of living is relatively high, the Palestinians outside Israel still need a political solution to their problems. Secondly, while it would be incorrect to call Arabs in Israel 'legal' second-class citizens, it is obvious that they are considered a Fifth Front. Whenever there is an explosion in Israel all the nearby Arabs are rounded up for questioning. In Haifa relations between Jews and Arabs are so strained that joint Jewish-Arab patrols have been instituted. At the many road-blocks throughout Israel, only cars with Arab passengers are stopped, while Jews are waved on with a smile. Thirdly, there are areas where Arabs face discrimination - in education, for example. The quarter of a million Arabs in Israel have only one teacher-training college, according to the Israeli Government's figures.

The increasing tensions on the 'Israeli' Arabs have two effects. On the one hand, 'Israeli' Arabs are becoming increasingly involved in the guerrilla movement, and an examination of the addresses of people sent for trial for membership of, or active participation in, a guerrilla group, shows increasingly such Israeli towns as Ramla, Jaffa, Haifa, Lydda and Nazereth. In the recent trade union elections, Rakah (the non-Zionist of the two Israeli Communist Parties) gained considerable support from Arabs. It now controls the Nazereth Trade Council, and gained nearly all the Arab vote in Haifa. On average, about one-third of all the Arabs in Israel voted, in effect, against Zionism by voting for Rakah.

Since the Six Day War in 1967, Israel has been having a financial boom caused mainly by increase in production to replace French, and to some extent British, armaments. Such large profits are currently being made in Israel that American non-Jewish firms are setting up subsidiaries. However, the working class has gained very little from the boom and, in fact, through the army's ability to control the economy, attempts have been made to interfere with industrial strikes. In the recent postmen's strike (a particularly unpleasant job in the Middle East sun) the postmen were told they would be called up if they did not go back to work. The workers ignored this threat, but had no option but to allow volunteer scabs to deliver the post. In a strike of technicians in a chemical factory, workers were informed that they could not leave two of the plants as the products (ammonia and nitric acid) were needed by the army. This was a complete falsification, for the factory had 3 weeks' stock of both chemicals and the strike was a token one of 3 days. The net effect of the boom and a Wilson-type prices and incomes policy was to increase last year's profits by 60% with only a small increase in wages. When it comes to voluntary payments for Bonds the workers seem to contribute an enormous percentage. In Haifa, for example, out of 20 million Israeli pounds donated, 1 million Israeli pounds (about £125,000) was donated by dock workers alone. Perhaps, however, the saddest sight was to see small children collecting pennies for the multi-million dollar Phantom jet from America.

In the occupied territories, there is quite a lot of sympathy for the guerrilla groups. In a recent rocket attack on Jerusalem, from a hill near Bethlehem (in the occupied West Bank) the equipment used was so heavy that the entire local population must have known about it. The Israeli army was unable to find any informers and the area has now been turned into a sealed zone. Arab lawyers in Nablus have now recommenced working and have successfully defended a number of guerrillas tried at military courts. I think the army feels that the law is rather soft on guerrillas (the death sentence was abolished in the early fifties) and I have my suspicions that it takes the law into its own hands. It seems rather odd to me that two Arab suspects in the case of the murder of an Israeli in Gaza were shot dead while running away from a refugee camp.

A large area of the West Bank depends on tourism, and this now seems to be non-existent because of the political situation. Taxi drivers, for example, outside the large cities often don't earn enough money to pay for their petrol. The Israelis have introduced relief work but there is a limit to the number of roads that need repairing.

In Jerusalem, the fact that the city is now united does not alter the fact that Jews and Arabs remain in their respective parts of the city, almost never meeting. The Jewish and

hatred engendered by the Akra Mosque fire showed the Jews that the Arabs still maintain animosity.

In the absence of any large group of Israeli Jews committed to a change in the nature of Israel, it seems that any major change can only come about through the Palestinian Liberation movements. However Fred Halliday is right to point out the essentially nationalistic political nature of El Fatah. One can hardly expect Israelis to believe that the goal of Fatah is to create a Jewish-Arab state when its military tactics are not usually aimed at the industrial and military installations of the state, but at civilians, often including 'Israeli' Arabs. I don't think there will be a solution to the problem until both Jews and Arabs realise that the Jews are victims of Zionism, and that an alliance between the two is needed to free the Semitic peoples from their modern bondage. I can't see this alliance being forged until the Palestinians realise that they cannot have an Arab Palestine any more than the Jews can have a Jewish Palestine, and that only a revolutionary party can achieve peace.

David Aron

PALESTINE FIRST PSC CONFERENCE

The Palestine Solidarity Campaign held its first National Conference in London on November 1. This was followed by a demonstration outside the Israeli Embassy next day, November 2, the 52nd anniversary of the notorious Balfour Declaration.

The PSC itself emerged from the co-ordinating committee that held the first demonstration on the issue in February of this year. Gathering round it most of the organisations of the British left, with the most noticeable exceptions being the SLL and the CPGB, it organised a second demonstration in May and now publishes a magazine, *Fedayeen*.

Between the May demo and the Conference, however, the political co-ordinates of the Campaign have altered. In the Middle East itself the *fedayeen* have grown in power, and have stepped up their activity within Israel as well as carrying out a number of maximally public acts like the TWA hijacking. Areas of Israel like Hebron which have been quiet for two years have now erupted into fiery resistance. In addition, the latent contradiction between the Arab governments, intent on manipulating the issue for their own gain, and the *fedayeen*, has erupted into the fighting in the Lebanon, and the threat of a similar eruption hangs over Jordan. The coups in Sudan and Libya have strengthened the anti-Zionist alliance, and the threat by Libya to withdraw its over £300 m. sterling balances from London has opened up a new front in the assault on capitalist Britain.

From the British end, the visit of forty comrades to Jordan in the summer has increased awareness on the left, in spite of the counter-revolutionary conduct of some of them who indulged in treacherous "co-operation" with the police on their return. Moreover, the rising wave of criticism of the Zionists in the bourgeois press and the hysterical replies of the defenders of Israel have enlarged the political space for propaganda on this issue.

The demo in May had not however attracted the numbers expected and this led to the decision to change PSC from being a campaign based on organisations to being one based on members. The PSC Conference met therefore to work out a Constitution, and to discuss any possible changes in the Manifesto.

The earlier half of the day was devoted to changes in the Manifesto, and none of any importance were made. Attempts were made to include a denunciation of "Soviet social-imperialism"; to delete all criticism of the big powers and the UN; to delete all references to imperialism (sic); and to include a definition of Zionism as "Jewish nationalism". These and other assaults from left and right were rejected, as was an attempt led by IS and IMG to insert a clause on the need for a Workers' and peasants' struggle to build a united Middle East.

The later session dealt with the Constitution, and in general ratified the draft proposed by the officials of PSC. In this an Executive Committee, elected by the annual Conference, would run the PSC and would have power to expel branches, members or organisations. A National Representative Council, on which branches and organisations would be represented, would have a more consultative role.

Branches could consist of any ten members, membership being defined by acceptance of the Manifesto and Constitution.

An attempt was made to transfer the expulsion powers from the EC to the NRC, and in general to mitigate the powers of the EC. This attempt was supported by IS, IMG, the BVSF, and the Committee for Solidarity with the



majority of the members of the Arab students' unions. Elections for the EC were held and seven people were elected.

The Conference was attended by about 300 people, and the demonstration by around 2,000. The PSC has established itself as a democratic revolutionary front united on a militant political programme. It itself will continue if it has both the support of the British left and of the Arab students and workers in this country, and it will continue to evolve in response to the general evolution of the Palestinian and Arab revolutions. The continuing work of PSC will enable the left in Britain to think through this complex issue and to overcome the reluctance and confusion imposed on it by the bourgeois press, Zionist propaganda and the legacy of the Second World War.

The campaign has attracted not only the standard left, but also the Arab students and workers. The former are evolving from parochialism to internationalism, the latter from nationalism to socialism. In addition, the specific subject of this campaign also attracts a few ultra-right eccentrics who exert no political influence at meetings, but merely provoke. The anti-Zionist Israelis of ISRACA play an important though independent role.

As the Conference was sitting, three distinct revolutionary struggles were exploding in the Arab world: in Israel the *fedayeen* were fighting the Zionist state, in Lebanon they were fighting the capitalist comprador bourgeoisie of that country, and in the mountains of Muscat and Oman the guerrillas of the liberation forces were pressing on to victory against the Sultan of Muscat and his British bosses. These three struggles are separate but united, blasting apart the double exploitation of Zionism and imperialism, and launching a struggle in the Arab states that is at once a nationalist, anti-imperialist one and a class struggle. The PSC will evolve with this complex revolutionary totality and will remain the link here of the colonial revolution in the Middle East and the socialist revolution in Britain.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

On 25 June last Franco's political police arrested Inacio Palma in Madrid. Their prisoner must be among the most remarkable of recent European revolutionaries. A courageous fighter against fascism in Portugal since 1947, it is worth recalling some of the operations led by Palma as he stands in greater danger of judicial murder now than at any previous time. Apart from his sabotage of government planes in 1947, and his aerial leafletting of anti-Salazar materials over Lisbon in 1962, it is the last three years that are most exemplary.

On 17 May 1967 a commando group of the Ligue D'Union et Action Revolutionnaire, under the direction of Inacio Palma, conducted the largest bank hold-up in Portuguese history. It took place at the State Bank in the town of Figueira-Da-Foz, lines of communication with the rest of the country having been sabotaged earlier. The raiders escaped on a tourist flight. Only a few months later, a LUAR group penetrated the general HQ of the army and stole a supply of arms.

In the meantime, Palma, on his way to Paris in August 1967, was arrested by Interpol at the request of the Portuguese government, who

stated that Palma's activities against the bank and armoury had nothing whatever to do with political targets. The Appellate Tribunal of the Seine region refused to allow extradition, recognising that the Bank affair was certainly of a political nature as the money was destined to finance LUAR revolutionary activities.

Once free, Palma was placed in command of the military arm of the LUAR, and immediately organised several actions in Portugal. The actions, code named Matias, after the student Antonio Matias, a LUAR militant who had been shot by the Portuguese political police, the PIDE, represent an important political step forward in the Portuguese resistance to fascism and the struggle for socialism. The operation which coordinated several commando groups aimed at the seizure of the workers town of Covilha, in the heart of the mountains.

He was unfortunately involved in a car crash, leading to his discovery, with eight other revolutionaries, who were arrested after a gun battle which lasted several hours. One of the comrades, Daniel Teixeira, was killed in prison whilst being tortured by the PIDE. The others, including Palma, were tried by a political tribunal, and on 9 May they were each sentenced to 15 years, followed by a period of restrictive "security measures". Palma, needless to say, wasn't allowed to attend his own trial.

Instead he escaped. He obtained a fragment of a file, and cut his way out of jail. On 26 June this year, whilst still engaged in revolutionary work, he was recognised in Madrid by BIDE spies, arrested by the Spanish, and he is to be extradited, on, ironically enough, 24 December, to Portugal. Inacio Palma's political role has never been in doubt; arrested on successive occasions in the United States, in Brazil, in Morocco, in Senegal and in France, none of them exactly sympathetic to men like Palma, and has, even in those countries, always been protected from extradition. It seems likely, though, that his political work is now in its gravest danger. Return to Portugal may well mean the death sentence, and Spain has agreed to the return.

Nor is Palma the only political detainee in Spain about to be returned to a possible death sentence in Lisbon. Army deserter Eduardo Cruzeiro, who refused to fight with the repressive forces in Guinea-Bissau, is also about to be sent back. His stand against the draft that gets little publicity was mentioned in the *Black Dwarf*, only a short time ago.

The Portuguese students have called on us to demonstrate solidarity with Palma and Cruzeiro. The demonstration, to start at Hyde Park Corner at 2.30 p.m. on 30 November will march to the Spanish Embassy. There is now a real possibility that pressure brought to bear now could save the lives of these comrades. And more than the fact that the sentiments of most revolutionaries will be with our Portuguese comrades, the demonstration reveals a real political issue for the movement in Britain. It has always been true that the acid test of a socialist movement is its ability to develop an internationalist perspective, recognising the nature of our obligations to give whatever positive aid possible to those who do stand in the front line against fascism. We need only recall the actions mounted by the West German SDS against the Shah of Persia, against Wilson on Biafra. We are being called on to support those comrades who stood against Salazar and against his political ghost, Marcello Caetano.

David Triesman

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DWARF LETTERS

Dear Black Dwarf,

Your recent Dwarf diary puts a number of questions to the International Socialists regarding their participation in the Vietnam Solidarity movement and their attitude to leaderships of liberation struggles (in particular, to the North Vietnamese and NLF leaderships). Like most readers of your paper, I was not present at the Ho Chi Minh memorial meeting which formed the basis for your remarks. Chris Harman's assessment of Ho as a revolutionary leader has been published in *Socialist Worker*, and I cannot believe that his verbal contribution to the meeting would differ markedly from this. The published obituary does not seem to me to be an unbalanced appreciation, or to contain reflections that would be improper or inappropriate for a revolutionary Socialist at such a juncture.

Your journal's attack is twofold. On the one hand, it is implied that any critical appraisal of a leadership, or a movement, is tactless at a particular moment "at a time when they are on the verge of inflicting a defeat on US imperialism and the world capitalist system"; indeed, such criticism is "objectively aiding the enemies of the Vietnamese people". It follows that such criticism would be in order when the liberatory movement, far from being on the verge of success, is receiving hard knocks from the imperialists and is in a bad way. You cannot be serious in drawing such a distinction. More to the point is the suggestion that "this meeting was not the place" for such remarks. Any memorial tribute must, of course, sum up the totality of a life and the loss or void created by a death. It would be wrong, however, for the aesthetic and moral demands of such a tribute to exclude the rational tasks of analytical appraisal which are incumbent upon Socialists. The bourgeois press meets the tasks of furnishing such an appraisal, in the case of the death of leading cadres of its own class, on the whole quite well. The proletarian and revolutionary cause will assist in its own disarmament if it cannot keep its head, as well as its heart, functioning as effectively as does the composure of its enemies.

More generally, you assert a severe inconsistency in the position taken by International Socialists on the Vietnamese Revolution. "If by some freak chance IS had a representative in Saigon he would spend an equal amount of time attacking the North Vietnamese and NLF leaderships and US imperialism", you remark with apparent astonishment. I can assure you that the absence of such individuals in Saigon (and for that matter, in Hanoi), attacking the Popular Front programme of the NLF and Hanoi's support for the Russians in Czechoslovakia, as well as the bloody war of US imperialism, is by no means a matter of "freak chance". Such individuals did exist, constituting the strongest and most brilliant centre of independent Marxism in Asia, over two whole decades of the Vietnamese revolutionary struggle. Their absence today is due to the fact that they were quite simply murdered by the Vietnamese CP leadership (including Ho Chi Minh). Had such comrades been spared for today's struggle, I am sure that they would have continued their work of revolutionary theory and practice in the midst of the liberation movement. And their presence in 1969 on a platform of memorial to Ho Chi Minh, with all the statements of their political position that they might make, would not, surely, be refused by *Black Dwarf* — even though their comments might annoy the official representative of the North Vietnamese Government in London?

Unfortunately, these comrades are not here. History (and Ho) have decided otherwise. Therefore, we have to do the best that we can in their place.

The position adopted in your editorial is quite straightforwardly a rejection of any independent Marxist judgement vis-a-vis a national-revolutionary leadership. It appears that some historical or antiquarian discussion of things long ago can be permitted from time to time e.g. as you put it, on "the role of the Vietnamese party in the heyday of the Stalinist Comintern". Similarly, your editorial on Ho in the previous issue completely omits Ho's collaboration with French and Russian CP policy, in conniving with imperialism in 1945-6 and 1954-5 in favour of some harking-back to the Comintern of the Twenties, and today it seems that we have to shut up.

Your analysis, in short, excludes not only those members of IS who regard North Vietnam as "state capitalist", but those comrades, of whatever tendency, who believe that Vietnamese Stalinism had thrown up a central political bureaucracy which must be removed by political revolution. The classic positions of Trotskyism are attacked and purged by those who call themselves Trotskyists — using exactly the same

the overthrow of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Do you not believe that a ruling bureaucracy governs the Democratic Republic of Vietnam? Do you believe that it will reform itself out of existence, or is susceptible to reform from below? Why is it scandalous to assert "the Vietnamese workers will have to overthrow Ho's successors", the words you quote from Chris Harman with such shocked hostility?

Black Dwarf is responsible to no organisation. How decisions on its political line are taken, in the editorial group of varying beliefs which controls it, I have no idea. You have, in the event, chosen a very easy way out: one of uncritical adulation, of silence before the facts. Those who, like the International Socialists, attempt to combine anti-imperialist struggle with objective analysis, have a harder path, one in which we may fail either through an excess of sectarianism or an accommodation to the moment. Yet this path, though harder, is the only one. The easy way will fail, and your journal with it.

Fraternally, Peter Sedgwick, on behalf of *International Socialism*. 7 October 1969.

BLACK DWARF REPLY

Peter Sedgwick's letter raises an important issue. How do we support the most decisive revolutionary struggle in the world today, and at the same time fight to ensure that the ultimate resolution of that struggle is a victory for socialism within Vietnam, as well as a defeat for imperialism.

Black Dwarf's answer is straightforward — revolutionary action in solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

Sedgwick asks us rhetorically whether or not we "believe that a ruling bureaucracy governs the Democratic Republic of Vietnam". The nature of the state in Vietnam is a matter for scientific analysis, not belief. What we would ask Peter Sedgwick is whether he will deny that the leaders of the D.R.V. are leading the people of the world in the costly struggle against imperialism.

Black Dwarf insists that this real and immediate struggle comes first. We emphatically do not, however, reject "critical appraisal" of the Vietnamese leadership, nor have we ever done so. We do not argue that criticism is out of place, but we insist that it must be revolutionary criticism.

So Sedgwick's first point is false. We have never rejected criticism of the Vietnamese as "tactless". But this does not stop us from being adamantly hostile to the type of "criticism" which Harman put forward at the Ho memorial meeting. Harman directly attacked the Vietnamese, called for the overthrow of their leadership, and vilified Ho Chi Minh. Is this what Sedgwick means when he talks about an "independent Marxist judgement"? Independent from what, from history?

Peter Sedgwick's second point confirms the falseness of his first. He knows little about Vietnam, let alone the most "brilliant centre of independent [sic] Marxism in Asia". The issues to which he refers will be discussed in later issues of the Dwarf. The way Sedgwick and Harman have raised them show that it is they who are not serious about discussing the real history of the struggle in Vietnam, let alone discussing it as revolutionaries. Had he really wanted to, Harman could easily have started a genuine discussion. At the memorial meeting he could have said that "we all mourn the passing of Ho and the death of a great man, but IS refuses to deify him, and at the end of the week of mourning it will call a public meeting to discuss the nature of his leadership, and in this principled way IS will express its condolences". If Harman had said that, then we could believe that he was genuinely concerned both to support the struggle and to establish a Marxist position. Instead he openly insulted Madam Lin Qui, the representative of the Vietnamese, disrupted the meeting in a way which he must have known would be provocative and set back the solidarity movement in this country at a time when the Vietnamese themselves have issued urgent appeals for help and assistance.

In our brief Diary item we singled out the fact that a group of Sedgwick and Harman's associates in the IS refused to stand for the Vietnamese national anthem. An action so indefensible that even Sedgwick is unable to defend it. Not to stand with the people of Vietnam is to stand with imperialism.

Perhaps Sedgwick and Harman will try to dismiss such a charge as trivial, and argue that standing for an anthem is merely symbolic. It is precisely symbolic, that is its purpose, and it cannot be claimed that this is "not an unbalanced appreciation neither improper nor inappropriate". If you cannot stand with the people of Vietnam at this time, what right have you to Marxist criticism? For The Black Dwarf, we repeat again, if you do not stand with the Vietnamese you stand against them. That is how we must judge people — by their actions. Perhaps these members of IS will protest that they would not stand up for the anthem of the US either. In that case we can leave them sitting on their bottoms chatting about the "hard path of objec-

and makes its position quite clear. For us in the West the decisive way in which we can assist the workers, peasants, and intellectuals of Vietnam to achieve communism and to trounce US imperialism, is to ensure, and to tell them in action, that THEY DO NOT STAND ALONE.

Fraternally,
Tariq Ali, Anthony Barnett, Vinay Chand, Clive Goodwin, Peter Gowan, Fred Halliday, John Hoyland, David Kendall, Marie-Therese Ligonie, Adrian Mitchell, Sheila Rowbotham, John Weal.

Dear Comrade Editor,

As one who broke his first police cordon in the "Hands off Cuba" demonstrations of 1962, I feel obliged to comment on the feature dealing with the film *Che* in the 1 October *Black Dwarf*. This — unsigned — feature contains a reference to "those who maintain that Cuba is a 'petit-bourgeois' country". (The actual term is not a familiar one, but the reference is clearly to those of us who apply the "state capitalism" analysis to Cuba, as to China and Russia). We are exhorted to "shit on them, but first shit on Twentieth Century Fox". I hope the editors do not regard this as editorial policy; if they do, they will of course refuse to print this letter, but I hope we have not come to that stage yet.

I have not seen the film *Che*. I don't know if it includes Che's speech of 6 January 1961, when he said "Trujillo is now our friend". Or his speech at Punta del Este on 8 August 1961 when he said: "We cannot stop exporting our example, as the United States wants, because an example is something spiritual that pierces all borders. What we do guarantee is not to export revolution, we guarantee that not one rifle will leave Cuba, that not one weapon will go to another country."

Probably not. The film doubtless presents a crude stereotype, not a serious analysis of a complex political career. The trouble is that most of the Left, when dealing with Che and Cuba, are little more analytic.

Why has the Cuban leadership changed its international strategy several times? To what extent can Cuba be politically independent of the Soviet Union while economically dependent on it? What are the causes and consequences of Cuba's continuing failure to industrialise? What grass-roots organs of popular democracy and control exist in Cuba? Do the Cuban trade unions have anything approaching the independence from the State for which Lenin fought so vigorously in the early years of the Soviet Union?

These are serious questions, which one might hope would be seriously debated in *Black Dwarf*, a paper which is uniquely placed to confront the various analyses put forward by different tendencies in the Left, and help raise the discussion to a higher level.

This is not sectarian sniping. A number of very serious issues are raised for the future of the Left.

First of all, if we are serious in campaigning for socialist ideas among workers and youth, we have to be serious in stating what we mean by socialism. We have to have criteria, not just a sense of emotional uplift.

Secondly, let's get rid of the smear that those who don't accept a particular (uncritical) approach to certain regimes are in some way siding with the imperialists against them. Quite the opposite. Those of us who see the anti-imperialist but non-socialist nature of states like Cuba or North Vietnam will continue to defend them despite any political turns or lapses by their leaders. Those who have no scientific standpoint will easily be disorientated by some latter-day repetition of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Thirdly, many of us had hoped that *Black Dwarf* was going to make a contribution to the building of a Left united in action, and serious and fraternal in debating its disagreements. If *Black Dwarf* becomes just another sect, it will be a severe setback for all of us.

Yours fraternally, Ian H. Birchall,
109 Croyland Road, London N.9.

Dear Comrade,

There has been widespread criticism of the I.L.P. recently as a result of the attempted debate with the National Front at Blackfriars on 30 October. This debate never took place, being prevented by the organised violence of the "62 Group" of Zionist extremists, who beat up Fascists, I.L.P.ers, and non-committed bystanders alike.

We have been condemned by many in the left-wing movement in London as "objective allies of Fascism". To quote some of these critics: "You should never talk to a Fascist. You should just beat him to a pulp."

One wonders what kind of "Socialist" society would be created if persons with such a mentality had any part in the shaping of it. Although I do not think such an outburst is representative of more than a small minority.

However, there is a more intelligent criticism that requires an answer. This is that we are providing a platform for people with "no serious case to present". We would say that they obviously have no case that a convinced Socialist

movement, whether we are I.L.P., I.S., I.M.G., or anything else, are just not doing, comrades.

So how do we combat this? By punching them up, and thereby gaining them just the publicity, and sympathy, they seek?

No, the growth of racialist propaganda among the working class can only be combatted by reasoned argument and a presentation of the facts, while at the same time being always ready to defend ourselves if we are physically attacked.

Unlike many bigoted comrades, I have taken the trouble to talk to rank and file Fascists, and I have sometimes succeeded in winning them over completely.

Finally, there is a point of principle. I intend to go on speaking to, and debating with, whosoever I choose. As a libertarian Socialist, I refuse to be scared off by the threats and violence of any authoritarians, be they Zionist extremists, Fascists, Stalinists, or alleged Socialists.

Bill Turner,
INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY, 197 King's Cross Road, London W.C.1.

Dear Sirs,

I had the recent good fortune to obtain a copy of *Black Dwarf* dated 28 March 1969 in which you shamefully claim to publish, for the first time in English, Lenin's message of 27 April 1917 to the Bavarian Soviet Republic. The full text of this message is on page 325 of Volume 29 of Lenin's Collected Works, and was published in English in 1965.

We in the Young Communist League will not permit such unsubstantiated claims to pass without comment. If the editorial staff of your paper persists in calling itself Marxist-Leninist, it would do well to become more familiar with the works of Lenin. The Soviet Union has performed a great service to the working-class movement of the world by publishing all the works of Lenin, and, with the aid of other Socialist countries, she will consummate that service in the near future by publishing the entire writings of Marx and Engels.

"Honesty in politics is the result of strength; hypocrisy is the result of weakness." V.I. Lenin's Political Notes, March 1911. (Collected Works, Volume 17, page 166.)

For London Y.C.L.,
John Lee, Education Organiser,
100a Rochester Row, London S.W.1.

EVENTS

CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF EDUARDO CRUZEIRO: Evergrowing numbers of Portuguese are leaving their country to avoid fighting in unjust wars (Angola, Mozambique or Guinea-Bissau). In 1967 alone, 14,000 failed to present themselves to the draft board and are thus considered deserters. One of such men is EDUARDO CRUZEIRO, who deserted from the army in Guinea-Bissau because he felt unable to collaborate with the Portuguese regime in its policy of domination and "civilisation" of the coloured population of the so-called "overseas provinces".

A demonstration is to be held on Sunday, November 30, to protest at the imprisonment of Cruzeiro. It will be assembled at 2.30 pm at Hyde Park Corner and proceed to the Spanish and Portuguese Embassies in Belgrave Square; a letter of protest will be handed in to both Embassies. It is hoped that all those opposed to Portuguese colonial policy will attend and demonstrate their solidarity with those Portuguese and Africans who refuse to collaborate with the oppressive forces of the Portuguese regime.

NOVEMBER 22: THE NEW MAN IN CUBA. Africa Centre, 38 King Street, Covent Garden. From 11 am to 11 pm (three sessions). Advance booking recommended: 10/- in advance, 15/- at the door. Advance papers have been printed: Arnold Wesker, Andrew Salkey plus material from Cuba. (These will be sent to all booking in advance.) Two new documentaries by Santiago Alvarez. To open on different aspects: DAVID COOPER, RONALD SEGAL, PROFESSOR R.L.M. SYNGE, ROBIN BLACKBURN, FRED HALLIDAY, STAN LEVINSON, ALEJO CARPENTIER, MERVYN JONES, DAVID MERCER AND OTHERS will be present to contribute to discussion. Tickets 10/- from Secretary BCA, 24 Gloucester Place, W1H 3AU.

NOVEMBER 29 - 30: HISTORY WORKSHOP, RUSKIN COLLEGE, OXFORD. Oxfordshire poachers London anarchists Paris commune Tyneside sailors shoemakers chartists Australian Bandits Jude the Obscure. Papers by E.J. Hobsbawm, Gwyn Williams, Ruskin students etc. Folk song. Theatre of the street. Workers, students, teachers welcome. Sleeping floor accommodation. Details from History Workshop, Ruskin College, Oxford.

NOVEMBER 23: MOSAIC: An evening of pop, jazz and blues. 5 pm to midnight. Roundhouse. Entrance £1. With Manfred Mann, Chapter 3, Principal Edward's Magic Theatre, White Trash, Pete Drummond and others. For tickets and further information: AAM, 89 Charlotte Street, W.1. 580 5311

NOVEMBER 21, 22, 23: "The Mother" by Berthold Brecht. Unity Theatre, 1 Goldington Street, N.W.1. 7.45 pm. Will be showing every weekend until 21 December. Seats 5/-, 7/6, 10/-.

NOV-DEC: The Watts films show which helped open the New Art Theatre, opposite Leicester Square tube station, starting on November 2, intends to present films which haven't been seen yet and older films which have been neglected or forgotten. First series: consists of 5 nights of recent films from USA, Britain, Italy, Germany, etc... large proportion have not been seen before; the others are shorter films mostly made with simple means. Second series: consists of 4 nights in December. They will contain unseen featured films from USA and the Continent that break with the convention-

THE POOR PEASANTS HAVE BEEN DRIVEN OUT OF PARADISE.

BRAZIL

AN INTERVIEW WITH A REVOLUTIONARY FILM DIRECTOR.

We are printing here an interview with a young Brazilian cinema director, Glauber Rocha, in which he discusses the relations between the cinema, popular culture and revolution. He is part of the Brazilian cinema novo and he himself has made three films: Black God and White Devil, Land in Ecstasy and Antonio-das-Mortes: it is about the last one that he talks in this interview.

He argues that in a colonial society the culture of each class reflects its relation to other classes and to the overwhelming force of imperialism. For the middle classes there is an absence of culture that goes together with the adoption of US life-styles, and this phenomenon of the decultured elite, aping the standards of the imperialist media, is universal in the cities of the third world. Cities like Tehran, Manila, Beirut and Kinshasa exhibit ruling classes who are hypnotised by the phenomenology of late capitalism. On the other hand, the culture of the popular masses is a result of the different influences brought together in the colonial experience. As they mix, African gods are merged with Christian saints, and the festivals and carnivals of the poor express a frustration that can only be declared in the violence and fantasy of tropicalism. The public spectacles of football and the Rio carnival are expressions of reconciliation, since anger is channelled into them, but also contain within them a reflection of the antagonisms that can only be resolved through revolution. It is for this reason that the Brazilian left in 1966 hoped that Brazil would lose the World Cup, because this would prevent popular discontent from being dissipated in the excitement of a sports victory.

Traditionally, revolutionaries have tried to make a tool of revolutionary propaganda and argued in an abstract way that it should serve the people. This led to the absurdities of social realism, and the problem has not been successfully resolved in China either. But Glauber Rocha begins from a more advanced position, by arguing that revolution is contained in the culture of the masses, and that the cinema that reflects the conflicts and violence of this culture will reflect the contradictions which make revolution possible and necessary.

In Black Dwarf no. 23 we published material on the recent wave of revolutionary activity in Brazil, and since then we have heard of the assassination of a leading revolutionary, Carlos Marighela. But the frustration of the masses that Glauber Rocha pictures will in the end be expressed and fulfilled in a social revolution. F.H.

While Black God and White Devil evoked the years before 1940, Antonio-das-Mortes is set very precisely in 1969. Nowadays a certain elite group thinks that Brazil is on the path of development because of the construction of motorways, electrical plants, hospitals, schools, etc., which are a sign of progress. Well, in my film I wanted above all to show that today, parallel with this movement of "progress" and in this allegedly modern atmosphere, there still exists a savage condition, a mediaeval system of domination and oppression in which the landed proprietors are rather what the lords of old used to be.

type of culture, although the people may otherwise be underdeveloped economically and politically.

With our films we must above all contribute to a knowledge of Brazil. We must "enter" into the reality which is disguised by official propaganda and even by those who are tied to a literary or intellectual culture and find it repulsive to discover the "unconscious" elements of their own country; they criticise the brutal images of our cinema and think that aesthetically it should be like that of Europe or America. It strikes me that our political confusion is to a large extent the result of ignorance, prejudice, and a kind of moralistic hysteria that exists among the bourgeois elite which wants to control the problems of a nation in a theoretical way.

The real Brazil is Indian, black (there are still the remains of an African kind of religion), mystical, violent, barbarous and sentimental. For these reasons one can't draw up a revolutionary programme without basing it on the real structures of the country, without breaking all the prejudices and also with the subjective racism which survives among the bourgeoisie but not among the masses where there is a wide-ranging religious and racial mixing. I indicated this integration by making St. George a black saint.

I would also like to make quite clear that the people live completely outside the squabbles that have traditionally opposed the elites of the right and the left. Antonio-das-Mortes is about this forgotten people which has been kept apart from the squabbles of the elite and which tries to resolve its contradictions and its problems on its own. It is fundamentally a film about the orgiastic behaviour of the Brazilian people which is a subject few sociologists or anthropologists have studied.

— What do you mean by orgiastic behaviour?

It is a permanent state of madness in which imaginative improvisation takes the place of ignorance, where irresponsibility and a sense of humour and mockery alleviate the lack of established values, and where aggressiveness tends to conceal a social complex of underdevelopment. In Brazil violence and paroxysm are the expression of socio-historic frustration, and if we are forced to have an epic and romantic outlook, it is because we feel that our country, immense and rich as it is, could really play a major role in the future. We actually have a popular expression which goes "Brazil is the country of the future".

I try to explain this orgiastic state by describing it in my films and I think that it could at some moment "realise" itself in a revolutionary explosion.

— How do you see the person of Antonio-das-Mortes?

He really exists. The position he adopts is based on a mystical moralism in that he is persuaded that the poor peasants have been driven out of paradise. Mystical moralism and political consciousness (incarnated in the character of the teacher), these are all elements which, mixed with nationalism and other forces that are still unknown, could be made to give birth to a revolution in Brazil.

I really think that our country is very different from the rest of Latin America. It is as strange and peculiar as China or India, for example, as well as being possibly more dramatic. The reason is that we don't have a pure civilisation, but a mixture of all that is most "vital" and most decadent in the world. I mean that the masses are poor, but they are developed culturally. The middle classes are decadent because they represent a caricature of the American consumer society, and the national bourgeoisie, which is rich, remains culturally underdeveloped because it is afraid of realising that it is an instrument of imperialist exploitation. In the "third world" — this is a thesis more and more generally held — the principal

rialist system.

— All these things form the subject-matter of cinema novo ...

In recent years, and not only in the cinema but also in the theatre and in music, there has existed what one can now call a tropicalist current or rather art. Tropicalism goes back to four centuries of often interrupted Brazilian culture and consists of daring to enter into this orgiastic state and to try to understand it and analyse it in smashing all forms of fear and doubt. With *Vidas Secas*, *Os Fuzis (The Rifles)* and *Black God and White Devil* we were still trying to systematise the problems, whereas with films like, for example, *The Heirs* by Carlos Diegues, or *Land in Dread* or *Antonio-das-Mortes* and others which have now been finished in Brazil we have abandoned reserve and idealism and we are beginning to find an original style of presentation that accords with the physical and mental nature of our people.

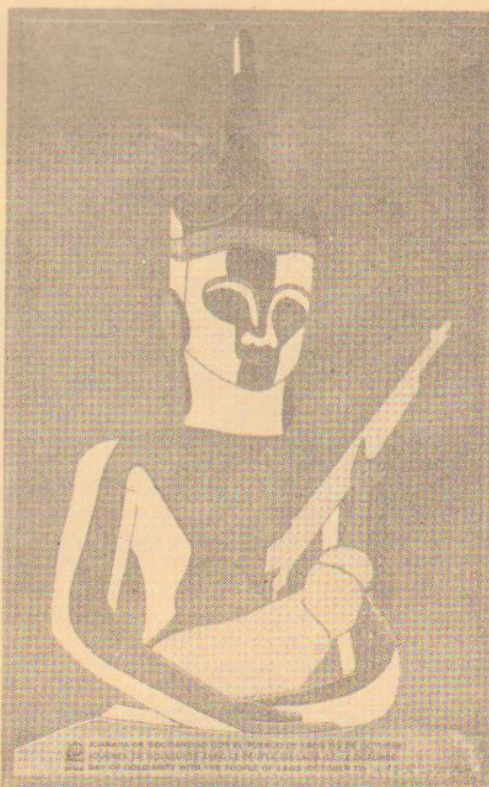
But we are in conflict with the avant-garde Brazilian economists of right and left, whose objective is to create a consumer society of the Soviet-American type and to do it by destroying the roots and characteristics of our civilisation. For us, the cineastes and artists of the new generation, the great concern is to show that economic development will only have a humanist content if it allows the integral development of the tropicalist spirit, even under a socialist system.

Our movement is attacked a lot from the right and left because we refuse to idealise reality. That is why the economists, who are the dominant caste among us, had to admit that their technological revolution needed the productive tropicalist madness to succeed. We do not want to make films for digestive consumption, we want a cinema that can become one of the instruments of a cultural revolution. We cannot still make the mistake of thinking that cultural production is of secondary importance in economic expansion: it would be equally cruel and fascist to "mechanise" man as to exploit him. We have to find a political regime that is ready to integrate all the great contradictions of Brazil, and what should be important for the intellectuals of the third world is to compare primitive societies to modern ones and thereby to investigate the deep origins of underdevelopment, to discover where alienation really is, beyond the most obvious economic schemes.

For us tropicalism is love for our country without being ashamed to say that it is underdeveloped, barbarous and corrupt. Once all the masks have fallen off, it is a real intimate engagement with Latin America.

(Translated from Le Monde, 26-27 October 1969.)

DWARF ADS



Cuban OSPAAAL Posters 12½" x 21". Printed in full colour.
Cuban Day of Solidarity Poster.
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All 4/- including postage from The Black Dwarf,

2nd Edition: DIRECTORY OF ORGANIZATION over 500 groups for left activists. 3/- pp. 18a New En Square, London, N.W.3.

VIETNAM — monthly magazine of the VSC, available from J. Suddaby, Room 1, 13 White Row, London E.1. Price 1/6d.

Che Guevara's Bolivian Diaries. 5/- post free from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London, W1A 4PZ.

THE IWW "Little Red Song Book" — All the left songs and Joe Hills' master-pieces. 2/10d. post free IWW, 3 Osborne Street, London, E.1.

Shola: a new revolutionary Pakistani monthly journal 2/- per copy. Write Shola, c/o Pakistani Marxist Group, 8 Toynbee Street, London, E.1.

Back copies of The Black Dwarf available from the Dwarf office. Early copies 2/-. Issue 7 onwards 1/6d

Socialist Woman is produced by a group of socialist women of the Nottingham Socialist Women's Committee. A subscription costs only 4/- for 6 issues (Bi-monthly). Send to 16 Ella Road, West Bridgford Nottingham NG2 5GW.

The Mineworker for workers' control of the mining industry on the Anti-Capitalist programme. From D Douglass, 16 Abbeyfield Road, Dunscroft, Doncaster Yorkshire.

Rank-and-File: militant teacher's journal. Available quarterly from 87 Brooke Road, London, N.16. Single copy 1/2d. 9/- per dozen. Annual subscription.

Rouge, French Revolutionary Weekly. Write: Rouge, B.P. 201, Paris 19e, France.

Grass Eye, Manchester local paper. 63/67 Market Street, Manchester. Annual subscription 15/-. Single copies 1/6.

'Solidarity' (West London). First issue of their magazine. Contents include articles on: GEC — Liverpool. The occupation that failed (by the man that nearly booted Bill Bewley's Bollocks); Brent Dustmen's Strike; Vipers — Sheffield Cutlery Industry. 10d each post free or 10/- for 12 issues. 15 Taylors Green, Acton, London W.3.

ERNEST MANDEL: — An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory. 9/- ppd. The Revolutionary Student Movement, Theory and Practice, 6/- ppd. Marxist Economic Theory (2 vols). £4 4s 0d the set. The Inconsistencies of State Capitalism. 4/6 ppd. Available from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee Street, London E.1.

Help smash Social Fascism! Subscribe to the new militant left-wing scandal sheet INSURRECTION. Insurrection will appear bi-monthly and advocates the formation of a Popular Front. Cheques or postal orders for £1 (including postage) to the West London Free Press, 39 Chelmsford Road, Shenfield, Essex.

MAO TSE-TUNG 'Selected Readings', 410 pp — 6/9. Marx; Lenin; Stalin; Mao, pamphlets. All China magazines (English) etc. FREE MAGNIFICENT CHINESE ART CALENDAR to subscribers. 4d stamp, lists: D. Volpe, 114 Evering Road, London, N.16.

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.

Wanted: musicians to join a band which will amongst other things, work with Agit Prop theatre group. For details, phone Pete Taunton 789 5604.

"The Bread is rising. To keep it high we need cash. Campaign to clear Hostels and slums-squatting and other forms of direct action in housing. 3 Osborn Street, London, E.1."

NLF badges and flags. Also others SAE for details from McGee, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne, Cornwall.

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

GLASGOW BLACK DWARF CIRCLE is now meeting regularly to organize sales, reports, political discussions. Contact Phyllis Duniface, 53 Diana Avenue, Glasgow, W.3. (Tel: 042-954 8172).

THE OTHER PAPER: New socialist paper in LEEDS. Weekly, 6d. On sale colleges, newsagents, and on the street Saturday afternoons. Leeds comrades should send news, help, etc. to 15 Kingston Road, Leeds 2 or phone 28413 or 34030.

"THE INCONSISTENCIES OF STATE CAPITALISM". NEW PAMPHLET BY ERNEST MANDEL. PRICE 4/6 (INCLUDING P & P) FROM PIONEER BOOK SERVICE, 8 TOYNBEE STREET, LONDON E.1.

Viva Che Badges 2/6d including post and packing from the Dwarf office.

SCREW — Support Communications for a Revolutionary Europe and World. 46 Paek Crescent, Brighton, Sussex.

Industrial Workers of the World is forming a British sector. For details and IWW literature. Write IWW, 3 Osborne Street, London, E.1.

About Anarchism — new pamphlet by Nicholas Walter. 2/4d post free. Freedom Press 84b Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1.

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.

Poems published, SAE Ken Geering, D/Breakthru, Lindfield, Sussex.

New translation of KROPOTKIN's "The state — Its

DWARF DIARY

This appalling missive was sent to us by a comrade in the factory below:

TO ALL BSR EMPLOYEES AT OLD HILL, STOURBRIDGE AND WATERFALL LANE FACTORIES

As you are aware, a Trade Union is attempting to secure a foothold in the Stourbridge factory. As we have recently seen at East Kilbride, the Trade Union there is feeding those who care to listen to them with untruths and half-truths, especially with regard to pay.

1. INSTANCE: You are being told that the minimum earnings level is £11.10.0 per 40-hour week and if you join the Union they will see that you get it.

FACT: The minimum earnings level is now £10.15.0 per 40-hour week and on the basis of the National Agreement should be increased to £11.10.0 per 40-hour week as from 1st December 1969. Personnel Departments have already prepared the new wages sheets which have been approved by the Management. The new wages sheets are already in the Wages Offices and all the increases as per the National Agreement will be paid by the Company as from that date.

2. INSTANCE: You are being told that immediately the Unions are in the factory they promise to obtain a sixty shilling rise for you.

FACT: This is complete "pie in the sky". Any increase of this nature would be in complete conflict with the Prices and Incomes Policy of the Government and would stand no chance of being approved by that Board. The Trade Union could not fulfil its promise.

3. INSTANCE: You are being told that Operators in the Moulding Shop should be earning 5s 9d per hour.

FACT: This is equivalent to £11.10.0 per 40-hour week and as stated in (1) above this rate comes into force on 1st December 1969, and will be paid from that date.

Whilst Trade Unions talk of minimum earnings levels, most of our work forces are paid on a piece-work bonus system which gives earnings substantially in excess of the minimum earnings levels. However, certain jobs cannot be put on piecework as output is controlled by the machines cycle times. Nevertheless, experiments are being carried out at Waterfall Lane to see if some form of bonus system can be introduced into those factories producing plastic mouldings.

There has been extensive Press coverage regarding the situation at our East Kilbride factory. This was a happy factory until the Union interfered with production having grown from 3500 changers per week in 1967 to 35,000 per week in 1969. These figures speak for themselves as regards the relationship between Management and Employees at that factory. The dispute started in the first place with a supposed wage dispute by 21 operators only. When the Company proved this to be untrue, the Trade Union dropped this as the reason for the strike and instead demanded Union recognition, since when the dispute has been whipped up to National level by people with no connection whatsoever with BSR.

THE RESULT: Over half the women still try to earn their wages inside the factory despite being subjected to threats of physical violence to them and their families, damage to their cars and property and abuse on leaving and entering the factory by pickets WHO HAVE NEVER WORKED AT BSR. Those who were misguided enough to join the Union are existing on £3.15.0. per week strike pay for the sake of what?

Have you any serious cause for complaint during your employment at BSR which was not taken up by your foremen on your behalf? If so you know that you have access to the Personnel Office and to higher Management, right up to the Factory Manager's office, at any time.

Obviously in factories as complex as ours with the need from time to time to move labour from one section to another, etc., there are bound to be occasional causes for complaint but by dealing with these promptly we have maintained full earnings for our employees, excellent relations between employees and factory Management and have built up an international business reputation second to none, a reputation for which each and every employee, whether on the factory floor or in the offices, has worked very hard to secure. **WHY SHOULD YOU, THE COMPANY AND THE COUNTRY LOSE BY IRRESPONSIBLE ACTIONS FROM A FEW PEOPLE?**

NO STRIKES - NO WALK-OUTS. Read this,

THE LATEST NEWS

The latest news from our East Kilbride factory is that one night at 10.30 p.m. there was a knock at the front door of a member of our Transport Department. When he opened the door, one of three men threw pepper in his face; he was then knocked to the ground, kicked and his face razor slashed. Is this how Trade Unionists seek to impose their will...? However, this man believes in his right to live and work as he chooses and is back at work this morning. Who can but admire his courage?

ISAAC DEUTSCHER MEMORIAL PRIZE

The first Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize was awarded this year to Martin Nicolaus, a young American Marxist intellectual. He has played a leading role in the struggle on the West Coast, particularly at San Francisco State, and has done important theoretical work on Marx (see "The Unknown Marx" in *New Left Review* 48). The committee intended the award as an encouragement to a young Marxist.

MURDER AND THE FAMILY

The new Home Office report on murder has been treated in various ways by the bourgeois press. The Guardian gave it standard mystified liberal treatment, showing how the latest statistics related to the debate on capital punishment. But the Times pointed out what was implicitly more important - that most murders happen as a result of conflicts within the family. Hence instead of arguing about abolishing hanging, it posed the revolutionary problem of abolishing the family - once again revealed as the cause of violence, insanity and misery in its present form.

Thirty workers at a Normandy metal factory on October 24 held five executives captive to obtain the reinstatement of a sacked fellow-worker. The men locked their five hostages in a workshop after the worker was fired for alleged indiscipline. Earlier in the week, 800 striking workers at a machine tool factory in Cholet, western France, held three managers captive overnight to back demands for better wages and conditions. These are lessons which British workers should study and apply. A possible start: Weinstock.

THIS IS A TRUE STORY. It shows how Press/Royalty/Police/local authorities all hang together and get hysterical.

1. Duchess of Kent visits Nottingham to open ugly new Art College.
2. Corporation tarts up exterior of municipal slums opposite - but leaves leaking roofs and internal repairs. Tenants and students decide to demonstrate.
3. Miss Christine Edge, leading YOUNG LIBERAL and then employed as reporter by *Nottingham Evening Post* gains admission to the presence of the Duchess. N.B. Not on 'Duty'. Does not use press card. Thrusts tenants' leaflet at the smiling Duchess.
4. Hysterical civic dignitaries criticise police arrangements and security lapse. Senior police officer due to be next Assistant Chief Constable has promotion blocked under pressure from Councillors. Police threaten to withdraw Press privileges from *Nottingham Evening Post*.
5. Miss Edge is offered "transfer" to Grantham - a sleepy Lincs. farming town.
6. Miss Edge "resigns".
7. National Union of Journalists Chapel discusses strike action but does not manage to work up enough courage.
8. Dwarf supports Miss Edge.

On October 21st five students at London University were arrested for demonstrating against the University's links with the racist University of Salisbury, Rhodesia. The five (Saville, Gillespie, Dagleish, Hoch and Brashaw) were held in Brixton for up to seventeen days on the grounds that they would disturb the University on their release; and various charges of malicious damage, riotous assembly and assault have been laid against them. The authorities of the University of London were in full co-operation with the police both in trying to refuse the students bail, and in erecting the charges against them.

The reason these comrades were arrested is a political one: they openly challenged the links between the racist ruling class in Rhodesia and the University of London. London University gives ideological, technical and administrative aid to the racists in Rhodesia and is itself a base for the production and spread of all kinds of capitalist and imperialist ideologies. In a capitalist society those who challenge this ideological hegemony in a militant fashion will be locked up. The police are used to defend class interests.

Class justice extends to all forms of cruelty

December 31st) and prices shoot up. It is used to curb the proletariat and boost profits. It is class justice that locks up Obi Egbuna and the comrades of the Black Power movement. And it is class justice that prosecutes Bernadette Devlin for organising the defence of Bogside against the fascist agents of the Ulster ruling class. Class justice also extends to hippies, pot-smokers and squatters of the underground. The London Street Commune is smashed because it violates bourgeois property laws, and exposes the irrational allocation of living space when this is determined by the market. There are more than enough places for everyone in Britain to live - it's just that the capitalist system keeps them out until they can pay. The pot-smokers too are the victims of class justice: pot-smokers and hippies deny the overwhelming importance of work and obedient discipline; they are not willing to go out all day and produce surplus profit. But without surplus profits the whole system will collapse. It is therefore essential for the capitalists to send their repressive troops (the police) into action in order to root out those whose life-style and smoking habits are denials of the basis of the exploitative order.

In the USA class justice is more violent and total than here. The trial in Chicago of the SDS and black militants is merely a highlight in the unleashed repressive forces of the US state. The chaining of Bobby Seale to his chair in court condenses a general contradiction between capitalism, its law and its police on the one hand and the agents of revolution on the other. In West Germany a "trial-wave" has been driven over the left. 10,000 prosecutions have been made as a result of the anti-Springer demos and the university actions of the past two years. Students and intellectuals have received up to 21 months for charges of disorder, whereas three police in Berlin were given only six weeks for groundlessly beating up a student till he was in danger of his life: they were of course immediately released on probation.

Students have been prosecuted merely for belonging to the SDS, and one public prosecutor in Cologne merely had to remark that the four accused "were born in East Germany" ... The students in court have fought back: many have refused to stand up, one in Berlin simply crapped on the floor and 8 girls in Hamburg, members of a women's liberation group, confronted the court with a phalanx of 16 naked breasts. This refusal to respect the authoritarian formalities of the capitalist court-room has led in Germany as in the US to supplementary prosecutions for contempt of court. One disgusted juror in Tübingen exclaimed that "This is just like a Jews' school": when the accused student protested he was sent back to his cell. Others have released pamphlets, balloons, and firecrackers as well as stocking themselves with large supplies of food and drink.

In London, the US and Germany, the main drive of the police has been to root out the "ring-leaders", so-called, and ruthlessly to arrest the advanced cadres of the student left. In Frankfurt there is now a major trial of three SDS leaders, Krahl, Wolff and Amendt, who led the demonstration last year against the Senegalese President Senghor. Senghor was receiving the Peace Prize of the German Publishers' Association and the students attacked him for his suppression of the workers and students of Senegal, for being an agent of French and German colonialism, and for writing semi-fascist gibberish poetry which is dishonestly acclaimed by European liberals as expressing African culture.

The Frankfurt trial is like that of the London anti-Rhodesia comrades. In every society the law and the police express a contradictory reality: some of their content is rational and positive, essential to protecting the defenceless and organising traffic, etc.; on the other hand it also contains a political content, which can only be overcome by removing the ruling class that determines the character of the law.

This is why slogans like "Police off the campus" or shouts of "Sieg Heil" on demos represent a liberal and pre-political response to the arrest of student militants. It is not by mis-describing the enemy as Nazis, and reviving the sentiments of the alliance of the 1940s, but by identifying the enemy as capitalists and imperialists that they will be overcome. The police express class relations, and it is not by attacking them but by attacking those behind them and driving them off the campus that the crisis can be solved. The slogan is not "Police off the Campus", but "All Capitalists and Imperialists

off the Campus". *The Red Flag must be raised on the Senate House: the LSE can be turned into the LSD - the London School of Dialectics - and the School of Oriental and African Studies can become the Ho Chi Minh Institute. In University College they have the corpse of Jeremy Bentham: but they can throw out the dead corpse of utilitarianism and replace it with the living soul of Marxism-Leninism.* In this way an abstract anti-imperialism can take a concrete form in the practical intellectual work of students.

The mystified form taken by class justice is that of appearing equally applied, and it is obvious to all that in capitalist justice there is sometimes a limited fairness and equality. On the other hand the laws themselves are class laws, however evenly applied, and express the inequality of class society. Moreover the political basis of abstract law is masked by the miserable "sub judice" principle, which prevents a public discussion of the issues behind trials and enables judges and jurors to go into court armed with the prejudices of the bourgeois order. The arrest of the five London comrades requires a political response: to unveil the mystified structures of capitalist law, and to launch an unrelenting battle against the capitalist class that controls the universities of British society. Fred Halliday

Danish police have admitted that a Laotian prince had sought political asylum in Denmark following notification that he was to be called up into the Laotian army. They identified him as Prince No Phommavong, 23, son of the ruling Prince of Outai Phong Saly Province. He arrived in Denmark by train from Poland, where he had been studying electronics at Lodz. He had already done his national service in Laos and sought asylum after being informed that he was to be recalled to the army. He decided to come to Denmark when he could not get his residence permit extended by the Polish authorities, he said. Of course the Polish government did not want to offend the pro-imperialist government in Laos by letting him stay in Poland.

Some sporting hacks have been trying to make out that the All-Whites match at Twickenham wasn't affected by demonstrators. So why did the scrum keep breaking up at the sound of Anti-Apartheid whistles? Why did the pro-fascist sportsmen in the crowd become so angry and shout that we were spoiling the game? Why did the Rugby Union only take £2,000 on the gate, while they had to lay out £4,000 for police protection?

About police impartiality. As the game finished, a pro-Apartheid nut ran, deliberately, full tilt between two young demonstrators at the gate, knocking them both to the ground at the feet of a cop. Then he ran on. The police made no attempt to stop him. The cop in charge at this point was Police Sergeant T 17.

The Black Dwarf expresses solidarity with all the anti-Springbok demonstrations and advises comrades not to forget the cricket tour next summer.

Copenhagen students are demanding the immediate suspension of Copenhagen University's administration following the discovery of a military communications centre in a cellar under the University's Asian Institute. On 23 and 24 October police were called out to stop students breaking into the cellar. The students discovered the centre only recently. At a mass meeting 400 students demanded the suspension of the administration and removal of the centre. They said that if their demands were not met they would adopt direct action. The university rector and Minister of Education are both said to have been unaware that the communications centre was in the cellar.

WHAT IS LAWRENCE DALEY DOING? Lawrence Daley's actions during the recent mining strike appear to be totally indefensible siding with the NCB and the capitalist state against the strike actions of his men, he played an anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary role. From a union leader with a long record of militancy and internationalism this action was horrific. Can he or anyone else explain these changes?

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