



## DWARF COMMENT

There is, as the *Times* has said, 'a smell of Weimar in the air'. As the working class deserts the Labour Party and its leaders fall out amongst themselves, it becomes clearer every day that Labour is not merely governing badly - it is ceasing to govern at all. Faced with an economic crisis caused by the final collapse of Britain's imperial power, Labour is unable to take the obvious measures for its cure - nationalisation of the City, of the big firms which dominate the economy, withdrawal from NATO, and the conversion of our massive military resources to peaceful purposes. For these measures would run counter to the alliance with big business

taking a genuinely right-wing path for that would destroy the party within a matter of weeks. Thus unable to go either to the right or the left, they dither. Even their attack on the unions is half-hearted, just as their defense of the comprehensive schools is inadequate.

Meanwhile the crisis deepens, as one by one the major institutions of our society - parliament, private property, authority, marriage, religion - fall into disrepute. Everywhere, the social fabric is disintegrating.

In this situation the Right is mounting a desperate counter offensive. The Conservative Party, the employers, and their newspapers call for more repression to stem the resurgent tide of indiscipline and disregard for authority. Even the *Observer*, a self-styled progressive paper, can carry a cartoon depicting James Callaghan as Judas receiving thirty pieces of silver from the trade unions for opposing the penal clauses in the Government's anti-union bill.

government, this counter offensive will move from the level of demands to the level of actions. The working class will be faced with a challenge which, if successful, could reverse the gains of the last quarter century and mean the effective emasculation of the trade union movement. If the crisis did not yield to these measures, the next step might be a regime fascist in all but its name.

Yet this is not a time for despair. Although the working class is not voting Labour it has not given up the fight. On the contrary, the Ford's dispute, the Worker's Control Conference and other recent events have shown that there is a new militancy around. The Conference called for a one day strike on May 1 against the White Paper 'In Place of Strife' and, significantly, for the setting up of action committees including non-trade unionists.

So far, however, this militancy suffers from several defects. It is still largely defensive, aiming to defend existing positions rather than to gain new ones.

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May 1 strike follows this pattern, for it seeks to defend the right to free bargaining rather than to overthrow the system in which bargaining takes place.

In other, less troubled, times this would not have mattered too much: the system could afford concessions. But today, with the empire almost gone and Britain fighting to keep its place as even a second rate power, this is no longer the case. The ruling class simply cannot afford to allow things to go on in the same old way. Unless it can break the power of the workers, particularly their power within the factories, it will not be able to solve the crisis, and the entire system will be threatened. In this situation there is no middle way. Either Britain goes right or it goes left. It cannot stay still, and any defensive struggle based upon the premise that it can is doomed to failure.

The implications of this are clear. The Left must take up the offensive. Never was the old saying 'attack is the best form of defence' more appropriate.

Unfortunately this is easier said than done. For the Left to attack means that it must have some kind of unity, upon both a practical and a theoretical level. It must be able to present itself as some kind of credible alternative. It must have at least a minimal programme which would provide a socialist solution to Britain's crisis, in so far as this is possible within the confines of the nation state, and it must have the self-confidence to fight for this programme by all means at its disposal.

The question is where do we go from here? How do we create this kind of unity and self-confidence?

Clearly it is utopian to expect all or even most existing left groups and parties to submerge their differences and join together to form a new party for their bitterness: a mutual distrust and political differences are too deep to be wished away so easily. Yet equally it is futile to expect any one of them to be strong enough to lead the struggle and give it political form unaided. We must begin, therefore, by recognising that any affective political action by the Left must be based upon some kind of alliance of existing groups and parties, and, equally importantly, of those who have remained unattached. Anyone who refuses to recognise this or demands

the price of co-operation is guilty of criminal sectarianism which could, one day, land both them and us in jail, and destroy any chance of socialism in Britain in the foreseeable future.

It is with this in mind that we must approach the National Convention of the Left to be held at the end of April. Many of the self-styled 'half-lefts' have sneered at this as a time-wasting jamboree, not to be taken seriously. Even where they have agreed to attend it is clear that many of them do not intend doing anything very much to help create a genuine unity on the Left, preferring to devote their energies entirely to their own parochial ends. Many see such events primarily as recruiting grounds for their own sects. This attitude if widespread could be a disaster. For all its shortcomings the Convention will bring together militants from the Communist Party, the Labour Left, International Socialism, the International Marxist Groups, the Institute for Workers Control, other radical and socialist groups, and, most important of all, a number of working class militants whose energies have been devoted more to industrial than political ends in recent years. If these cannot between them forge a measure of working unity and a minimal programme which could provide a credible platform on which to fight and upon which to politicise the working class, then nothing ever will.

One objection of course is that this spectrum is too wide and that there is no basis for unity. This however does not stand up to examination. If one excludes certain minor single issue campaigns and troublesome individuals, which would be swamped in any real movement, the spectrum is no larger than in the workers' control movement which seems to have worked fairly successfully. The National Convention of the Left could, in fact, be seen as some kind of political or society-wide equivalent to the workers' control conference. Just as the conference was able to formulate an agreed programme for control within the factories the convention might be able to formulate an agreed programme for the wider society and economy.

So far so good. But this does not answer the question what form of unity. It is one thing to put our names to a programme. It is another to fight a unified struggle. *Bab Rowthorn*

# PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY EASTER MARCH

## Poverty, injustice and exploitation know no borders in Ireland -Michael Farrell

There are armed fascist pigs in the North, smashing one of the most repressed working-classes in Europe. Under the Public Order Amendment Bill, together with the existing Special Powers Act, sit-ins and strikes will be illegal (punishable by six months imprisonment) whilst the Royal Ulster Constabulary retains absolute rights of search and arrest without warrant, and detention 'at Her Majesty's Pleasure'. They can murder prisoners and not be forced to hold any post-mortem examination. Parallel laws are on the way in the South in the Criminal Justice Bill and the Trade Union Bill, which will outlaw unofficial strikes, further institutionalise the unions and make it impossible for groups of workers to fight the employers outside existing structures for negotiation. De Valera's Fiana Fail lovesies shed Eastertime tears over the memory of 1916, having crushed Connolly's historic fight for a Workers' and Farmers' Socialist Ireland. "God the Father Almighty supports Fiana Fail.", a man told us in Swords, Southern Ireland.

People's Democracy has begun to expose the state to the people of Ulster, concentrating on Civil Rights Issues, like housing and unemployment. Supported by about 40 English comrades, they took their action into the South on an Easter March from Belfast to Dublin.

All leave for the 3000 strong Royal Ulster Constabulary was cancelled as the marchers gathered in Belfast on Thursday night. The Minister of Home Affairs, Robert Porter, sent his Gestapo to wake up the organisers of PD at 4.30 am Friday. The five - Eamon McCann, Mike Farrell, Sean Murphy, Cyril Toman and John Murphy - were served notices banning most of the march and the meetings proposed for Lurgan and Newry. About 30 strong, the PD went round to Porter's pad and hauled him out of bed.

The forces of Paisleyism appeared at the pre-march meeting outside City Hall, Belfast. There was some debate between the extreme Protestants and the marchers. It was surprisingly amicable and non-violent. The people were told that 'People's Democracy is not a Catholic reaction to Protestant Paisleyism. We are for the unity of all the working people of the country.' It was fairly cool on all sides in Belfast. In Lurgan, the Protestants and the RUC shared bestiality and fanaticism in equal proportions with hysteria and murderous violence.

About 500 Paisleyites gathered with about 200 RUC to prevent the marchers holding their promised meeting in the centre of Lurgan. So, avoiding a fight, PD went to a small hall, Clan na Gaels, in the RC ghetto. At 5.30, about 150 people left the hall and started to walk up Francis Street towards the town. Three fuzz jeeps and tenders stopped the walkers who immediately sat down! The fuzz leapt into the street. They blasted and smashed the sitting people, tearing into them with swinging ferocity, kicking, punching, and kneeling, beating heads and backs with blackthorn sticks, aiming for women with particular relish.

To shout out in protest/amazement was to be arrested - like Regan Scott; to be arrested was to be systematically beaten. There were 18 arrests, 7 English. The marchers hurried back to Clan na Gaels hall.

The pigs had been nakedly anti-RC in containing the PD in the ghetto. In the centre of town, while laughingly shielding the Paisley mob, the ranks of RUC charged direct into a crowd of PD sympathisers, striking out again with their sticks and boots, notably restrained when a BBC cameraman found a good angle on their brutality. The RUC gave the lie to that pseudo-liberal, that outrageous reactionary O'Neill and his platitudinous sadness at the 'tragic sectarianism of the past' and nobody was fooling the people of Lurgan, least of all the woman who shouted, 'What about the police coming down here to our end of town? Why can't they stay in their own territory?'

We've never seen anything like that evening meeting in Clan na Gaels. The oppression of the people is so immediate to them, the fascist conditions of life in Ulster are so essentially and bloodily larded into their lives that they are now capable of and eager for political action. But the action and contextual, analytic theory offered to these courageous people by PD is inadequate to their desperate need to fully understand their political condition. The people are ignorant; until recently they regarded any

responsibility to talk to the people like revolutionary adults instead of paternalistically concentrating on the 'essential civil right issues'. Only Eamonn McCann is consistently speaking about the capitalist stranglehold on Ulster and unemployment as the product of a total system which must be totally smashed.

The marching proper began Saturday from Newry to Drogheda via Dundalk, went to Swords on Sunday, and ended with a short march into Dublin on Easter Monday. It was a strolling delegation, an amble from one sunny Guinness town to another. The march's rationale was that PD would explode into the political vacuums of such towns as Dundalk, bringing a fresh awareness of Irish capitalism to an alienated and pacific people.

It happened that the people of the South were mostly confused as to why the march was in their territory (a confusion increased by a border fracas over the issue of censorship in Eire). PD concentrated again on civil rights issues, comparing North and South, as with Michael Farrell's speech in Dundalk which referred to the 60,000 unemployed in the North and 40,000 in the Republic. But many people, spectators and marchers, suspected that PD's presence in the South was a tactical gesture to the Ulster Paisleyites. 'Look', PD might be saying, 'we're not anti-Protestant; here we are fighting the Catholic state of Fiana Fail and Finna Gail.' PD failed to dispose of this suspicion, even at the big meeting in Dublin on Monday, even when John McGovern spoke of the 85% of Eire's wealth in the hands of 3% of the people, even when marchers from Galway, in the west, described the appalling high rate of emigration forced upon Galway people by De Valera's corrupted government. Again, in Dublin, it was Eamon McCann who drew most support, in scorning the notion that to demand a house and a job was revolutionary. Michael Farrell spoke of the Dublin slums as being equal to any in Belfast or Derry but he avoided making public his private view that these slums contain the power for an explosive revolution to create Connolly's socialist state.

Why, we kept wondering, were the details of the Criminal Justice Bill not spelled out? The people patently did not know these details. Why weren't they told exactly what the TU Bill means to working life? Most of them had never heard of the Bill. Why can't PD throw away its multi-coloured cap of reform, stop appealing to Stormont quit worrying about Westminster (a PD candidate is standing for Westminster next week) and get up from its sit-downs to smash Irish politics in its diseased scrotum.

Old IRA men believe that PD has done more for change in Ulster than the IRA. achieved in all its history. Well, it's true that PD has brought hope to hopeless people but what must worry every socialist is the divisiveness of PD and the clear marks which the movement bears of English reformist groups in the CND mould. The unfortunate parallel extends from the passivity of the sit-down to the essentially anti-revolutionary dilution of theory and information which the PD speakers are propagating. They feel that the unity of PD, its steady progress to a socialist plank and its ability to contain moderates are essential in the Irish political context of stagnation and presumed apathy.

Maybe we, the English in Ireland at Easter, were arrogant in thinking that the conservatism of this policy must inevitably split PD. It seemed, however, that as a revolutionary tactic becomes more pressingly necessary, PD, in its present amorphous state, will fail to win the full-blooded support of Ireland's oppressed working peoples.

And finally, in Dublin, the scepticism of the English for PD's claim to a united front was sadly validated, disunity flaring up at a demonstration outside the Department of Justice. The march had gone to the building to burn copies of the Criminal Justice Bill. Dublin students, the SDA and Young Socialists attacked PD for playing up to the Paisleyites in coming South; PD deplored the stone-throwing of groups of Dubliners trying to break windows. Michael Farrell also derided an attempt by demonstrators to storm the British embassy. Comrade Farrell is demanding a rising of Catholics and Protestants all over Ireland whilst being unwilling to engage in unconstitutional action. By refusing to demonstrate against British imperialism in Ireland, and insisting on the need to placate

# REMEMBER THIS?

## The Black Dwarf

### STRIKE ISSUE TELL US, WHO'S MAD?

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

Days lost through sickness, 7th June 1965 - 4th June 1966.

	Millions
<b>Males</b>	
Psychoneuroses and psychosis	18.17
Influenza	13.11
Bronchitis	33.30
Arthritis and rheumatism	16.21
Accidents, poisonings and violence	21.36
other causes	132.99
<b>Total (Male)</b>	<b>235.14</b>
<b>Females</b>	
All Causes.	76.33
<b>Grand total (male and female)</b>	<b>311.47</b>

Source: Ministry of Social Security Annual Report 1967. H.M.S.O.  
Days Lost through Strikes. (Male and Female)

	Millions
1958	3.462
1959	5.270
1960	3.024
1961	3.046
1962	5.798
1963	1.755
1964	2.277
1965	2.925
1966	2.398
1967	2.787
1968	4.692

Source: Employment and Productivity Gazette. January 1969. H.M.S.O.

Several interesting facts emerge from the official statistics. More days were lost in 1965-66 through Diarrhoea and enteritis (2.67m for men alone) than through strikes (2.66m average for men and women combined). Between five and ten times as many days are lost through industrial accidents and poisonings (24.25m) as strikes (lowest 1.755m in 1963, highest 5.798m in 1962).

Some readers have expressed incredulity at the figures for sickness and strikes published in



# RIGHT AND PROPER AND GOOD

## ADVICE TO THE MOB

Squatters seized an empty five-storey office block in London's Brixton Road on Saturday March 29. About a dozen squad cars, black marias and motor-cycle police surrounded the building just before 9 am, minutes after the 'invasion squad', otherwise known as the South London Squatters, had got in through a back way.

A detachment of police headed by an inspector from the nearby Brixton police station and a plain-clothes man clambered over a 10-foot hardboard fence at the back of the concrete and glass building and tried to get the squatters to leave quietly. They refused.

A few minutes later large banners appeared over the balconies of the block, reading: 'Homes not offices' and 'Enough room here for 80 families.' Plus a red flag. The building is next to Brixton Register Office. Astonished wedding guests watched as police tried to get the squatters out. According to a leaflet handed out by supporters outside, the building - 40,500 sq.ft. of it - has been empty for three years.

'Why can't Cathy come home to this?' the leaflet asked. 'We have occupied this building to expose the housing shortage. A building this

size could be converted at only £1,000 a unit to house 80 homeless families. Eight million sq.ft. of office building stands empty in London alone - enough to house all the homeless in Britain.'

After about half-an-hour the police left, leaving just one PC patrolling outside. In fact, the fuzz was surprisingly tolerant - sympathetic even. Said the inspector in charge: 'There's nothing we can do as no crime has been committed. We're trying to trace the owners, but I should think anyone who owns this block would be playing golf this morning and they're not going to leave the greens for this.'

Said another policeman: 'This place is an eyesore. It's just a bloody nuisance as far as we are concerned. Kids are always smashing the windows. In fact, with us here today the owners are getting better police protection than they would get on a normal day.'

The operation, the first carried out by the group, was surprisingly simple. The glass in a door at the back of the building was cut and Hey Presto! The next they heard were the sirens.

Said Ray Gibbon, travel agency manager and father of two, of Shakespeare-rd., Herne-hill:

'We intend staying here until 5.30. Then we'll leave quietly after we've made our point.'

The squatters, all local people, passed the time listening to the radio, playing football and putting records on a record player they'd brought in with them.

At lunch-time fish and chips and bottles of beer were hoisted up by rope from outside. Rubbish was put in a Lambeth Council paper sack they had brought in with them. 'We want to be as tidy as possible', said Mr. Gibbon.

During the day the squatters gave out over 7,000 leaflets in the Brixton shopping centre. One West Indian bus conductor said: 'Give me a heap man. I'll give them out to the lads when I get to the garage at Croydon'.

The leaflet stated: 'Some people try to blame immigrants for the housing shortage but we know we had lousy houses in Britain long before we ever saw a black face or heard an Irish accent. The real reason for the housing shortage is that a small group of people make millions of pounds out of our need for a decent home.'

Mrs Ann Lindsay, a housewife, of Upper Tulse-hill, Brixton, said: 'This was only a token occupation. We now intend to assist homeless

families to take direct action by moving into empty houses in the area and we want to hear from anyone prepared to take such action or give support.'

Who the owners of the block are remains a mystery. The agents, both West End firms, refused to give any information. It is known, though, that they were last asking yearly rent of £30,000.

What the authorities are fearing is beginning to happen: squatting is beginning to snowball. A month ago the South London Squatters didn't exist. Now they are about 70-strong.

Already direct action taken in Ilford and elsewhere by people without homes has forced bureaucracy to make concessions. Redbridge Council, more plagued by squatters than any other local authority is now on the verge of allowing people to occupy empty houses on an official basis. Horace Cutler, chairman of the GLC's housing committee, has stuck his bearded neck out and given Mrs Maggie O'Shannon, a squatter in an ILEA-owned house in Notting Hill, a rent book.

But just how much of a public relations move this was - Cutler, like the rest of the tory administration at County Hall, is very adept in this respect - has been revealed by the way his line has hardened considerably in the past fortnight.

He is now beginning to reveal (as if we didn't already know) his true nature. On a TV programme on squatters last week he went so far as to say that housing should be taken completely out of the hands of local authorities.

Mr Cutler believes all rent restrictions should be removed and speculators allowed to handle the housing 'problem' in their own way. He has said repeatedly, though his remarks have until now gone unreported, that the only solution is a return to the free market economy in housing. Mr Cutler (this also had gone unreported) owns a property company, in addition to his other finance and investment directorships...

The other day he wrote a letter to the *Mirror* in reply to a sympathetic piece on squatters by columnist George Gale. The advice contained therein may be of interest to *Dwarf* readers.

This tory is clearly trying to say something:-

'George Gale thinks it "right and proper and good" for a man to steal food or steal someone else's property to satisfy his family needs, wrote Cutler. 'If his incitement is followed we may expect to see mobs breaking into the shopping centres to get free food and no one will dare sell his house (or even go away for a holiday) lest squatters break in during the time when he moves out and the purchaser moves in... Squatters are stealing... Please don't support Gale's irresponsible line or you may find your car, your house or even the Editor's chair grabbed...'

Squatting is both reformist and revolutionary. It strikes at the very root of private property. Squatting is spreading. Ordinary people said in Brixton the other day, 'I'm glad to see something has been done. It's about time.'

Nothing has been done. It remains for the squatters, ordinary people, to do it. Form squatters groups! Take over empty houses! If you can help the South London group, phone. 01-674 7886.

Roy Kremer

# SNEAK-IN AT DAWN

One of the most popular tourist areas in Edinburgh is the road leading from its castle to Holyrood Palace, known as the Royal Mile. Most of the buildings the neighbourhood are at least 200 years old and were dilapidated and mouldy until various bodies persuaded the Corporation to start renovation there a few years ago.

Large numbers of people lived in the worst of the houses at the lower end of the Royal Mile until the corporation rehoused (removed) them 5-10 miles away in the suburbs. The historical areas, cleared of disreputable elements, could now be redeveloped with prestige projects to attract the tourists. For the last 10 years the Corporation has been building or renovating small flats, costing on average £6,125 per dwelling. This is much more than is spent on the average council house, though little difference is apparent, except in the mediaeval character of the renovated houses.

It was decided by Edinburgh's tory council to charge 'economic rents' for these flats... economic to the corporation of course. Flat rentals are as high as £7-£9 a week, plus rates. Needless to say, many of the flats have stood empty for as long as four years, for few people, even from the bourgeoisie, can afford to pay these rents. Meanwhile there are over 6000 people on the waiting list for council houses with subsidised rents, and the council is only building a small number of

the morning of Monday March 17 (the police are still trying to find out how we got in). After an hour the first policeman arrived, contacted headquarters and soon there were four. They banged on the door, ignoring others' giving out leaflets in the street, and announced that they were the police. The squatters inside agreed that they were, but didn't open the door.

The morning then passed quietly with two plump constables marching up and down (to check that no breach of the peace occurred) and we discovered that they were quite sympathetic. A lady from the corporation visited (she was a housing visitor!) and demanded to know what right we had to be there. We explained politely and she left.

The reactions from local people were really encouraging. They had been upset about the corporation's housing twelve to fifteen sharing a toilet. One old dear explained that 'The Duke of Edinburgh doesnae want nae common council house tenants aside his palace.' Workers from a nearby building site visited and gave their approval but were moved on by the police, though the police had made no attempt to interfere with our movements.

We gave out 1300 leaflets to passers by, inviting them to join us in the campaign. In future, we are hoping to install a homeless family as there is plenty of empty property in Edinburgh owned by the Corporation and others. On the

The capitalist-controlled mass media were more sympathetic than usual (they have been known to totally ignore demonstrations in Edinburgh unless organised by orangemen or tories), and we got 4 minutes on BBC Scottish TV news and a minute's worth of film on ITV. Also all the papers carried fairly undistorted reports. We are hoping that via this publicity we will revive the spirit of squatting in Scotland and that squatters will appear all over the country. Glasgow, for instance has a much worse problem than Edinburgh and we are keen to help a campaign get started there.

The Edinburgh Squatters had hoped to get the physical support of a labour councillor, many people in the labour party said they supported the squat. But he never turned up, and was supplanted by high ranking police officials and lackeys of the corporation.

They threatened to arrest us under the terms of the Trespass (Scotland) Act, 1865 and even said they would break down the door. Being reasonable people and unwilling to be martyrs at this stage (and not having barricades) we decided to leave, clearing up all our placards and paper cups on the way.

It takes a lot to worry the middle classes, who are solidly entrenched in Edinburgh, but this time they didn't have the support of the workers in shouting insults at 'them students'. Indeed the establishment must be worried that we are going to attract a lot of local support. The working people of Edinburgh may yet find their courage and stop the city fathers pushing them around.

Anyone keen to join the campaign should contact Tom Woolley at 031-667 7241, 14 West Preston Street Edinburgh 8 Pat Finlay



# RIOT AT NEW BETHEL

## AN OUT AND OUT ATTACK ON THE NEW BLACK REPUBLIC

Shortly before midnight on March 29, Detroit, Michigan police stormed into the New Bethel Baptist Church where the Republic of New Africa was holding its first annual national convention. For 20 minutes the police fired pistols and shotguns into the church interior as children, women and men hid under pews. All the Afro-Americans, about 150, were then herded into police vehicles and held incommunicado until a black judge arrived at police headquarters and began processing the arrested persons.

The police claim that a group of about a dozen members of the Black Legion of the Republic shot two white policemen outside the church, killing one and seriously wounding the other, and then ran into New Bethel and fired upon police reinforcements who had arrived to aid their fellow officers. The New Africans state that no one fired upon police from inside the church.

This was the first annual national convention of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) which was founded on March 31, 1968, by a gathering of over 200 black nationalists called together from all parts of the United States by the Malcolm X Society. RNA works for the creation of an independent black nation in the present states of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina in the southern section of the USA. RNA has tried to open negotiations with the US government for reparations, a payment to which black people are entitled from the United States government for the free labour stolen from our ancestors during slavery and for the damage suffered by all of us, since slavery, by reason of racial discrimination and oppression.

The 1968 founding convention elected a provisional government which was to function until January 1970. The officers include: Robert Williams, self-exiled rights leader from Monroe, North Carolina, who fled to Cuba and then China because of police harassment; Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X; Rap Brown who attracted national publicity when he was head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); Charles P. Howard, United Nations correspondent.

The two active leaders of RNA are the brothers Milton and Richard Henry, whose Swahili name is Brother Gaidi, is a Yale University honour law graduate and was named 'one of the top ten criminal lawyers in America' by the National Lawyers Guide. He currently practices law in Michigan and was a city councilman in Pontiac. He participated in the formation of an independent black political party, the Freedom Now Party, in 1964 and then became a close friend and collaborator of Malcolm X. Brother Gaidi founded the Malcolm X society which organized the founding convention of the Republic of New Africa.

Richard Henry legally changed his name to Brother Imari last year and got rid of his slave name 'Richard Henry.' In the early 1960's he pioneered a struggle against prejudiced textbooks in the Detroit public school system. He withdrew his son from junior high school classes for two weeks in order to protest the use of a history textbook biased against black Americans. As leader of Group for Advanced

Leadership (GOAL), he rallied the support of the black community and was able to force the Detroit Board of Education to drop the history text and change its basic policy on the selection of learning materials for all Detroit school children. Brother Imari's book *War in America* outlines the political and economic theories underlying the RNA. He is Minister of Information.

He and his brother met with Robert Williams in Dar Es-Salaam, Tanzania, East Africa, and with other RNA officers in preparation for the first legislative session of the Republic's National Council of Representatives. The legislative session was held in Chicago in May, 1968, and it passed a number of acts including: a bond issue to finance a new city to be built in Mississippi; an appropriations measure to finance projects such as a government printing press and plebiscites in the 'subjugated areas' of the US (where black people make up a majority) to determine whether the people wanted to become independent of the US government; and, a Universal Military Training Act setting up a Black Legion to 'defend the lives of New African citizens and the property of New Africa.'

In February, 1969, the RNA announced details of a recruiting drive to bring hundreds of young black men and women into the Black Legion. It was a group of the Black Legion, dressed in green army fatigues and carrying rifles, that attracted the attention of the two young white police officers the night of March 29. The policemen left their car and walked up to the Black Legion group to investigate when, according to the wounded policeman, one of the Afro-Americans suddenly fired at him and his partner.

The wounded man managed to radio for help and the 40 officers who responded rushed into the New Bethel Baptist Church with pistols and shotguns blazing. When they had finished their assault, five New Africans were wounded, pools and trails of blood covered the church floor, extensive damage had been done to church property and everyone present was arrested.

The police actions were termed a 'violation of every constitutional and religious tradition of this nation' by Rev. Ralph Abernathy, who became head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference after the assassination of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Rev. Abernathy flew into Detroit to investigate the situation, examined the church and met with leading Detroiters including Mayor Cavanagh. He asked the mayor why the police took such extreme action before attempting to call to the people inside or to use tear gas in an attempt to bring out the alleged criminals. The mayor defended the police actions and explained such tactics were necessary in order to prevent 'a full-scale riot.'

Brother Gaidi charged the police with 'an out and out attack' against members and supporters of the RNA. He explained that there was no Michigan law against carrying an un concealed rifle in public and, therefore, the white police officers had no reason to investigate the Black Legion members as they walked away from the church. The fact that a

murder took place in front of the church did not give the police the right to rush into the building as they did.

To this date, the Detroit police have not found any real evidence of firing coming from the church. As a matter of admitted fact by the police themselves, the only bullet shells found inside the church belong to the police.

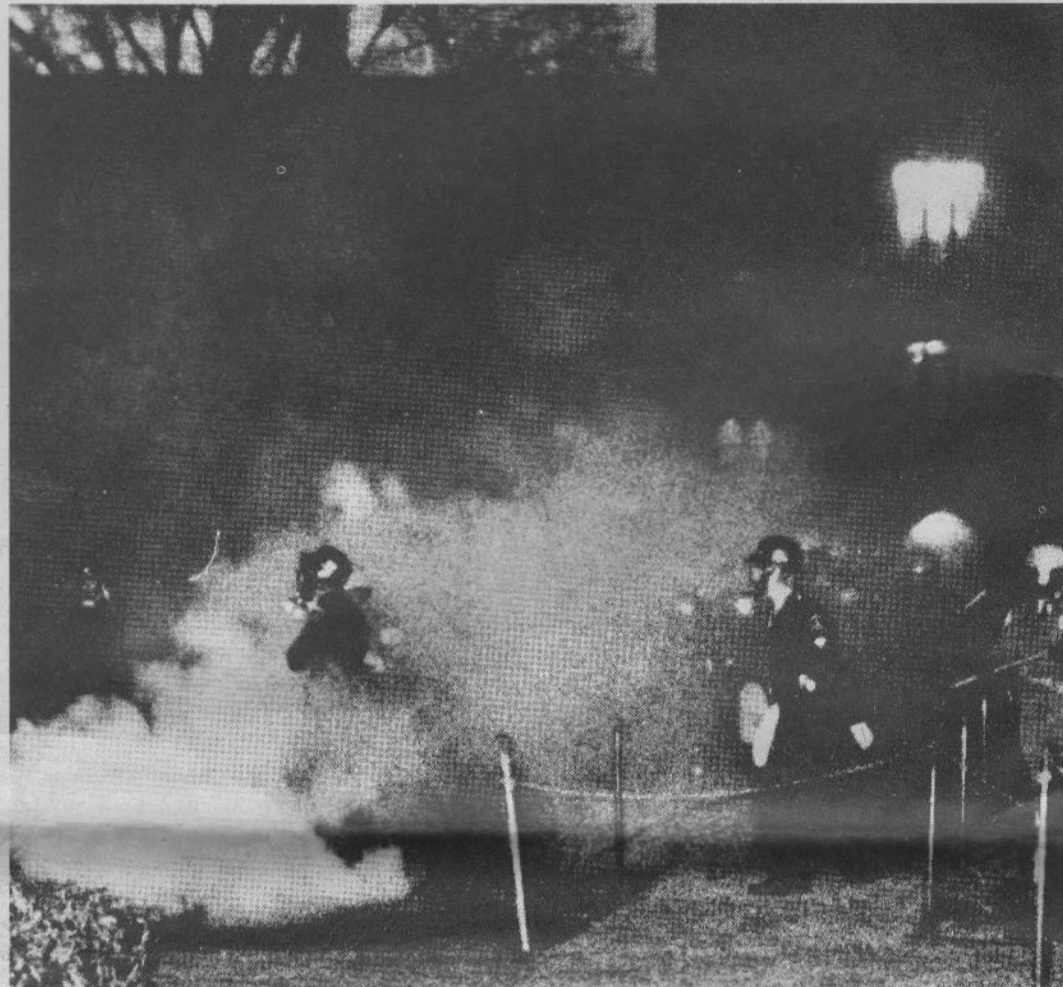
Public attention was shifted away from the actual attack and on to a controversy involving Judge George W. Crockett and Prosecutor William Cahalan. When he saw how New African prisoners were being deprived of their constitutional rights, the black judge immediately took steps to set up court in the

police headquarters and process the arrested persons. The police and the prosecutor objected to the release of some of the prisoners and rearrested two. Judge Crockett regarded this action of the prosecutor 'a personal affront' with 'racial overtones' because had he been white instead of black 'the prosecutor would not have dared act in that fashion.'

Demonstrations against and in support of Judge Crockett have taken place almost daily since the shooting. Even policemen have staged several picket demonstrations claiming that Crockett had given people 'a free license to shoot policemen.' Several large demonstrations in support of Crockett have taken place. A coalition of over 40 groups was formed in order to wage 'a concerted drive against police oppression' and to support Crockett. Leading black legislators at the state and national level have spoken out in praise of Crockett's actions.

The latest development in the aftermath of the March 29 shooting was an announcement of a public fund drive to create an award for the capture of the killer of the slain policeman and for repairs to the heavily damaged New Bethel Baptist Church. The entire affair reveals the continuing oppression of black people in the United States of America.

Evelyn Sell, Detroit



## Why Johnson was ditched

Current revelations about why the Johnson administration switched on Vietnam provide a powerful confirmation of the tremendous effect of the organized antiwar movement in the United States and the massive demonstrations it has staged. Present newspaper disclosures confirm that the antiwar movement was a major factor in compelling Johnson to decide to negotiate with Hanoi, give up the presidency and halt the bombing of North Vietnam.

Gen. William C. Westmoreland had requested 206,000 reinforcements in March 1968 to make up for the ground lost to the Vietnamese during the mighty Tet offensive launched one month earlier. Johnson had planned to make a speech on March 31 promising the first divisions of these reinforcements.

But, 'it would tear the country apart, Defense Secretary [Clark Clifford] argued, to hear a speech that promised only more war,' the *New York Times* has revealed. Continuing the escalation policy, he warned, could bring 'civil war'.

Clifford and other representatives of the 'Eastern Establishment' succeeded in convincing Johnson of this estimate of the mood of the country. Johnson's March 31 speech, instead of a promise of more troops, was an abdication and an announcement of the administration's intention to begin negotiations.

However, the same sectors of the US ruling class which blocked Johnson seem to fear that Nixon is planning to return to Johnson's dangerous course of escalation.

In answer to Nixon's assertion that the NLF 'broke' November's 'bombing halt agreement,' the *New York Times* editors replied on March 9:

Pentagon figures show that from November to January the number of allied battalion-sized

double-cross whenever the Communists do the same.'

The recent NLF response to stepped up US aggression brought a heavy toll of 453 American deaths and 2,593 servicemen wounded in one week - figures that are actually higher than the comparable figures for the first week of the Tet offensive last year, because the NLF concentrated more heavily on US military installations.

Further, the *Times* charged on March 13 that 'in case after case... the intensity and results of the current enemy offensive were understated in communiques and by official allied spokesmen.' This was done by omitting important details about the attacks from official accounts - or even by denying them.'

The NLF response led the powerful chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, John Stennis, to declare, 'I don't believe present policy is getting us anywhere... We'll have to stay there for 10 years at best.'

The Militant





B. Canavan

# IKE HIS LIFE AND CRIMES

Eisenhower played a key role in three of the most important periods of recent history — as a wartime commander against the Nazis, as head of the American defense system at the time of the creation of the cold war, and as President of the world's mightiest capitalist and imperialist nation from 1953-60. For this reason it is important to try to work out what his relation to these events was, and what the nature of his policies appears to be.

The gushing obituaries of the bourgeois press and his erstwhile subordinates and stooges around the role have served only to mystify the significance of Eisenhower's career. It is undoubtedly true that he was personally a benign, charming and diplomatic man, and that he made a sincere effort at Russo-US understanding in the last years of his presidency. It is also true that his career as a junior army officer, in the period after the war and as President was marked by an unrelenting defense of US capitalism at home and of the most aggressive version of US imperialism abroad. The apparent contradiction between these two aspects of life is solved in the columns of the bourgeois press by denying that Eisenhower was responsible for the actions over which he presided — he left it all to Dulles, liked to delegate responsibility etc. — or else by ignoring the trail of murder and aggression he left around the world.

The point is however, that this contradiction can only be overcome by seeing that it is precisely because he was in one way a kindly and inactive leader that he was most suited to head a vicious and aggressive imperialist nation: his occasional peace-seeking forays served to dull the alertness of the Soviet bloc, and his Kansas grin served to calm a US population which had been thrown into hysteria by the Korean war. The so-called 'confusion' of his foreign policy was no confusion at all — it was a very successful division of labour. He once said of himself: 'I know of absolutely nothing in my entire background and training that in any way whatever qualifies me to be President of the US.' But he had qualities which were most useful to his conception of political office — efficiency learned through years of staff-work in the army, and a bland confidence in America which served to distract attention from repression at home and imperialist plunder abroad.

The great military commander was born into a pacifist sect, the River Brethren, and only left them to become a Presbyterian in 1953. When he was made the Republican candidate in 1952 he declared 'Our government makes no sense, unless it is founded in a deeply felt religious faith — and I don't care what it is' — a strange statement to come from a man who was about to change his religion and had not been a church-goer for forty years. He was for eight years President of the US, but according to the secretary of Dickinson County, Kansas, where Ike was brought up he is not recorded as having ever voted in an election in his life and up to 1952 no-one was quite sure if he was a Republican or a Democrat. In his acceptance speech in 1952 he promised to clear up 'the mess in Washington' and make government 'as clean as a hound's tooth', yet within weeks his running mate Richard Nixon was shown to have accepted an \$18,000 bribe when a senator, and in 1957 his closest adviser Sherman Adams had to be sacked after a long series of scandals.

Eisenhower's junior career is quickly passed over in his obituaries — he seems to have gone straight from Abilene to supreme power, the intermediary years being omitted. It is significant that although in the 1920s and 1930s the US still had few imperialist possessions, Ike spent periods in two of them, helping to consolidate US power: in the 1920s he was in the Panama Canal Zone, seized by the US in 1903, and he spent the years 1935-40 in the Philippines, which the US had taken from Spain. In 1932 he was involved in the brutal suppression of the protests known as the 'bonus riots': 15,000 war veterans, whose pensions had been cut during the depression, marched on Washington and camped near the Potomac. Like Resurrection City in 1966 they were attacked by government forces and driven out: Eisenhower was at that time deputy to General MacArthur, the man in charge of the whole operation.

During the war Eisenhower reconciled with some skill the squabbling allies in the west: and

wanted to pre-empt the Russian capture of Berlin, but immediately after he settled down as US Chief of Staff (1945-48) and as Supreme Commander in Europe (1950-52), and had a large hand in building up the military machine.

His Presidency is often regarded as uneventful or pacific. It was quite the opposite. Eisenhower's attitude to race has been carefully slurred over. *The Times* wrote that Ike 'had always shown a tenderness for southern feeling

WITH MacARTHUR DURING 1932 BONUS RIOTS



which seemed to go beyond the need for moderation'; and *Time* admitted that the record of his Administration on civil rights was, 'to say the least, undistinguished'. He was, in other words, a racist. He opposed the 1954 Supreme Court decision on desegregation and later regretted that he sent troops into Little Rock in 1957. In order to get the nomination from the Republican Party in the first place he accepted the policies of his opponent Senator Taft, and when on tour in Wisconsin, MacCarthy's home state, he cut a favourable reference to General Marshall out of his speech because MacCarthy considered Marshall soft on communism. In the State Department Ike appointed the rabid cold-warrior Dulles as Secretary of State but this was not good enough for MacCarthy; so, Ike appointed as the State Department's Personnel and Security Officer one Scott McLeod, a MacCarthy agent who checked all ambassadorial and other postings with MacCarthy before they were announced by the President. Precisely because Ike was not of MacCarthy's type he refused to combat him; he let anti-communism run wild while pretending he had nothing to do with it. It was only in late 1954, when MacCarthy had been destroyed by his rivals, that Mamie crossed Mr. and Mrs. MacCarthy off the White House guest list. The tranquility of Eisenhower's America was the tranquility of triumphant anti-communism, of racialism and of repression. It was the tranquility of a secure capitalism that has now begun to be shaken.

Abroad, Ike's presidency was marked throughout the world by violence and intervention. He 'solved' the Korean crisis by threatening to drop an atom bomb on the Chinese. He withdrew Truman's 1950 order to the US 7th Fleet to stop any Kuomintang attempt to invade the mainland, and he actively prompted raids and attacks on the Chinese mainland. He stepped up US aid to the French imperialist in Indo-China and when they were forced to negotiate he took over their role. It is often claimed that Eisenhower restrained Nixon and Admiral Radford, who wanted to invade Vietnam; but he was not against the idea — he merely wanted to get Congress behind him: and when it refused, in April 1954, he was not prepared to go it alone. He deliberately sabotaged the 1954 Geneva agreements: 'The United States has not itself been a party to, or bound by, the decisions taken by the [Geneva] Conference... The Agreement contains features which we do not like' (July 21, 1954). His remark on why they would not permit the

been held... possibly 80% of the population would have voted for Ho Chi Minh' (*Mandate for Change*). As it was, the US sponsored Ngo Dinh Diem, forcibly deported more than half a million Catholics and French sympathisers from the north of Vietnam, and began the policy of repression that led to the rise of the South Vietnamese liberation movement.

In Laos the US armed the corrupt civilian leader Katay in the middle 1950s, and when he failed and the left won the 1958 elections, they staged another coup under their new royal stooge, Phoumi Nousavan. They are still there. In Cambodia they backed the anti-Sihanouk Free Khmer movement; in Indonesia they dropped arms to the right-wing 1958 generals' rebellion in the Celebes islands; in Thailand they backed the Sarit regime and threw in money to build bases; in Burma they armed the remnants of Chiang's army in the northern jungles and used them to smuggle and fly arms to the Tibetan rising of 1959. The whole area was ablaze with imperialist arms, whether shipped in by the CIA or openly distributed by the Dulles-Eisenhower pact, SEATO, created after the Geneva Conference.

In the Middle East Eisenhower was not less active. In 1953 the CIA overthrew the regime of Mosadeq a nationalist leader who had nationalised the oil companies; As Andrew Tully (*CIA — The Inside Story*) remarks: 'It is senseless, as some observers have written to say that the Iranians overthrew Mosadeq all by themselves. It was an American operation from beginning to end'. The US refused to support the 1956 Suez invasion but only in order to move in themselves under the Eisenhower Doctrine, according to which the US would provide economic aid and troops to friendly governments who needed them. 'A greater responsibility now devolves upon us', Eisenhower remarked, and indeed it did. A year later, he had alerted the British and their agent Husein to the existence of a left-wing plot in the Jordanian army, and he had sent troops into the Lebanon to bolster the reactionary Chamoun regime, which had protected Lebanese capital from the guests of Arab nationalism. Tully tells us: 'Somebody forgot to check with Chamoun. He knew nothing of the President's action until he heard of it on the radio. Fortunately he welcomed the troops'. 1958 did not pass, however, without a final fling in Pakistan, where the ill-fated Ayub Khan was launched into military dictatorship with US backing in October.

In Africa things were quieter. In June 1960 the US openly set out to topple the progressive Lumumba regime, and under the guise of the UN forces effectively wiped out Lumumba's power and installed their own puppets. In Latin America Eisenhower had a field day. In 1954 the liberal regime of Arbenz in Guatemala had

threatened US property and was promptly overthrown by an invasion force of exiled Guatemalans under the command of Castillo Armas backed by the United States; Armas himself was assassinated in 1957 but Guatemala is still in imperialist hands. In November 1960 armed risings in Nicaragua and Guatemala were both crushed with US military support.

Eisenhower did not act immediately against the Cuban Revolution. He may well have been restrained by his desire to achieve a detente with the Soviet Union in 1959; but he soon learnt his mistake and in March 1960 ordered the CIA to train Cuban exiles in preparation for the Cuban counter-revolution. In the final months of his Presidency he cut Cuba's sugar quota and began the systematic attempt to strangle the revolutionary republic.

Eisenhower, backed by Dulles and the CIA hawks, was as the Chinese used to call him 'the chieftan of imperialism'. His policy in the third world was one of unrelenting counter-revolutionary intervention. In his attempts to get an agreement with the Soviet Union, an agreement he saw essentially in terms of containing communism and then disarming, he never for a moment envisaged relinquishing the US role in Asia, Africa and Latin America. His 1959-60 peace offensive, ending the abortive summit conference of May 1960 was sabotaged by his own regime; the military sent the U-2 over the Soviet Union. It is probably for this reason that he came out in farewell speech with a stirring denunciation of the 'military-industrial complex' which he said was threatening American democracy. 'The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist', he warned. But although dimly aware of the contradictions between his own naive and ignorant vision of world politics and the realities of power in capitalist America, he never saw his way to any solution.

Personally his policies, such as they were, came to nothing, but this very failure of his initiatives and the apparent contradiction between his amiable smile and the domestic repression and international counter-revolution of his Presidency were the result of his relation to US capitalism in the 1950s. He was chosen precisely because he fitted capitalism's needs, and whatever attempts he made personally to influence events were sabotaged in one way or another. Simultaneously 'storybook American' and 'imperialist chieftan' he represented the contradictions of American life in their acutest form, the contradictions between a certain dynamism and naivety on the one hand and murder and exploitation on the other which he incarnated and resolved, as they are always resolved, by counter-revolution at home and abroad.

Fred Halliday

On the occasion of Eisenhower's visit to Taiwan nine years ago, Radio Peking broadcast the following poems in its English-language service:

## AIM AT THE DEMON OF PLAGUE! FIRE!

Angry waves toss and foam in the Strait of Taiwan,  
Across them a hurricane of awesome fury screams,  
The heavens answer and the earth reels,  
Mountains and seas shout amid stabs of lightning. (Music)  
Heroic guns speak and thunder, heroic fighters roar their battle cry:  
Eisenhower go home! Fire! (Roar of cannon)  
US aggressors, get out of Taiwan! Fire! (Roar of cannon)  
Get out of South Korea! Fire! (Roar of cannon)  
Get out of Japan! Fire! (Roar of cannon)  
Get out of the Philippines! Fire! (Roar of cannon)  
Get out of South Vietnam! Fire! (Roar of cannon)  
Get out of the West Pacific! Fire! (Roar of cannon)  
We shall liberate Taiwan, pearl of our motherland! Fire! (Roar of cannon)  
Down with US imperialism! Fire! (Roar of cannon)  
Fire! (Roar of cannon) Fire! (Roar of cannon)  
Blast away at the demon plague! At the savage marauder!  
At the world's public enemy number one! At the arch criminal of war!  
In June 1950 the US occupied Taiwan by force of arms;  
In June 1960 the US tentacles still grip our island.  
Oh Taiwan, glistening pearl of the motherland, today  
mired in slime and smeared with blood!  
Oh gem of the motherland, engulfed in a sea of flames,  
victim of calamity after calamity!  
Sisters of Taiwan, gazing on the motherland through a veil of tears!  
Brothers of Taiwan, igniting leaping flames of hatred!  
As of old stand Taiwan's volcanoes. Today they rumble.  
Injustices have their author, debts their maker, debts of  
blood only blood can pay.  
Brothers and sisters of Taiwan!  
At your side are 600 million countrymen and the mighty  
sineus of our armed forces!  
Listen! (Roar of cannon) Thousands upon thousands of  
cannon speak, shaking the earth,  
(Roar of voices) Thunderous roars issue from millions of throats,  
Striking fear into the demon of plague, causing the war criminals  
to quake and shudder! (Continuing roar of voices)  
Let them understand, the Chinese people are not lightly to be provoked.  
Our land is not to be violated!  
Angry waves toss and foam in the straits of Taiwan,  
Across them a hurricane of awesome fury screams,  
For our brothers and sisters in Taiwan, fire! (Roar of cannon)  
For martyred blood in Tokyo streets, fire! (Roar of cannon)  
For blazing hearths in Seoul and Pusan, fire! (Roar of cannon)



1959 1960 1961 1962 1963 1964 1965 1966 1967 1968



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# PAKISTAN TODAY

-Tariq Ali Reports

## THE REVOLUTION BEGINS

*During his recent visit to Pakistan, Tariq Ali made as thorough a study as circumstances permitted of the prevailing political situation. He visited some of the storm centres of the recent upsurge at the invitation of the militants who had spearheaded the struggle. He spoke to representatives of some of the political parties and spent just over three weeks in both West and East Pakistan. Unfortunately, his visit to Dacca was short, and he was unable to visit the countryside.*

*By the end of this period he had arrived at an understanding of the problems which faced the revolutionary movement in Pakistan, and had made an appreciation of its needs. He has drawn up for the Dwarf less of a specialised report than a general picture - in order to demystify some of the ideas fostered by the British press.*

By a strange coincidence I arrived in Pakistan on the morning of February 21 1969. That same evening Ayub was scheduled to broadcast to the nation. He had been unable to meet the needs of a mass movement which had been active since November 1968. He had offered too little too late and political activists waited anxiously for his broadcast. The atmosphere was reminiscent of Paris last June with students and workers waiting for de Gaulle to appear on the small screen. In the evening he announced his 'irrevocable' decision to retire from politics. His voice was distraught. He spoke in simple Urdu of his deep love for Pakistan (cynics speculated as to which of his two favourite civil servants - Altaf Gauhar or Q. Shahab - could have written the speech. A few private bets were placed). Ayub is down, but is he out? Excitement ran high in the streets of the main cities. Crowds danced with pleasure. Few ponder about the future. The present is more important. The struggle has been victorious. The workers and students are aware of their strength. Yet few realise how close they were to a bloodbath on February 21. The original decision had been to impose Martial Law on February 21. Ayub had been consulting with the chiefs of the armed services and they had stated their willingness to impose direct military rule. What changed Ayub's mind at the last minute was the situation in East Pakistan. There a bogus conspiracy case was in progress in which Mujibur Rahman, leader of the centrist Awami League, and several others were being tried for 'conspiring with India'. One of the accused was an East Pakistani army Sergeant, Zahirul Haq. During the course of his imprisonment Zahirul Haq was shot dead by his W. Pakistani army guard 'while trying to escape'. It was obvious that there had been no attempt at escape and that Sgt. Zahirul Haq had been murdered after a petty altercation. A military curfew was imposed in Dacca where the authorities feared popular demonstrations. The curfew was defied by over 100,000 workers, students, and intellectuals. The General commanding the Dacca Garrison had two alternatives: he could start shooting them down or he could accept defeat. He wisely chose the second alternative. The leaders of the demonstration then defied the army to open fire; 'Whenever there's a cyclone in East Pakistan thousands of peasants die. If you open fire it will be equivalent to four cyclones but we'll get you in the end.' The message was not lost on Ayub Khan. He realised that imposing Martial Law on February 21 would have meant a virtual civil war in East Pakistan. So the Generals were asked to be patient. The orders which had been printed were, however, not put in cold storage. The army decided to wait a few weeks.

All the opposition leaders were invited to Rawalpindi to meet Ayub and discuss the constitutional future of the country. The conspiracy case was withdrawn and Mujibur Rahman arrived. Maulana Bhashani, the 86 year old left-wing peasant leader, refused to participate. 'When the oppressed sit at the same table as the oppressor', he told a British TV team, 'the oppressor usually wins.' Mr Zulfikar Bhutto and his People's Party refused to

pro-Moscow NAP had not participated and had instead collaborated with the progressive forces outside there would have been a united Left opposition to the right-wing politics of both Ayub and those who were talking to him about 'constitutional procedures' - neither of which offer any solution to the problems facing the country. It soon became obvious that Ayub's supporters, in collusion with the neo-fascists, were deliberately creating a situation where the only alternative visible to the frightened middle-class and big business and feudal interests was the army. An indication that the reports of 'anarchy' etc. were grossly exaggerated was provided by *The Economist* (April 5 1969) which maintained that 'reports of the losses in industrial production and exports caused by lockouts, strikes and gheraos have been grossly exaggerated.'

The movement which swept across Pakistan embraced virtually every layer of society, except, significantly, the peasantry in West Pakistan who comprise 75% of the province's population. The struggle was sparked off exclusively by the student community of West Pakistan; it was taken up by students in East Pakistan and there it rested for some months before workers and other layers came out in open support.

The role of the students in the upsurge has been of the utmost importance. They have acted as a conscious vanguard and their main demands have from the very beginning been political demands not really concerned with university reforms. The amazing thing is that the student revolt embraced parts of the country which had been considered completely non-political. Rawalpindi, the interim capital, has never had any militant tradition. If anything the city has been notorious for being politically dead and yet it was in Rawalpindi that students first took to the streets to inspire a struggle which was finally to overthrow Ayub. It was here that the first student was killed. In the past it has always been the East Pakistani students who have been in the forefront of the struggle and too often they have waited in vain for corresponding actions of solidarity from their West Pakistani comrades. This time it was West Pakistan which exploded. It was to take another month for the movement to grip East Pakistan as well. However there are basic differences between the student movement in East and West Pakistan. The students in the West were acting spontaneously; there was no single organisation to give the movement any coherent direction and no real efforts were made to set one up. Their main demand was the overthrow of Ayub and repeal of the hated University Ordinances. Beyond that there was a vacuum. Of course there were isolated examples of left-wing student activists who were quite clear insofar they wanted a socialist Pakistan, but their numbers were limited and they were hampered by the lack of a province-wide organisation.

The government made full use of the absence of a recognizable left-wing student organisation to set up fake organisations, which caused further confusion. This, coupled with the fact that the liberal and right-wing student leaders were more worried about their personal 'leadership' than with the need of building a viable organisation, led to the fragmentation of the West Pakistan student movement. Admittedly there were left organisations set up in Multan, Lyallpur, Karachi etc., but they had not yet contacted each other.

In East Pakistan the students were united - the result of years of experience. In Dacca, a Student Action Committee was virtually running the city for several weeks, and the students had worked out an 11 point manifesto which demanded regional autonomy. In order to emphasize that it did not want to replace West Pakistani capitalists with indigenous ones the manifesto contained two important points: nationalisation of the banks, insurance companies and major industrial units; and an immediate withdrawal from CENTO and SEATO. The strength of the Students Action Committee was such that all the major political parties in East Pakistan had pledged their respective support to the students' demands. Not to have done so would have been tantamount to political self-immolation. Some of the largest public meetings organised in Dacca were under the aegis of the students and no political gathering was complete unless the student representatives were present. Powerful the students undoubtedly were but there were limits as to what they could do. In a period where the Government was deliberately fomenting chaos, the students on their own could not run the city. The workers were unfortunately not sufficiently organised to make dual power a living reality. To a certain extent, therefore, it was easy for government-hired hoodlums to operate freely. The Dacca police refused to act on the grounds that since the Student Action Committee controlled everything else, they could also solve murders and apprehend those who had committed them. The aim of the government was quite clearly to frighten the middle-classes in both East and West Pakistan and this they succeeded in doing. But it is necessary to stress that, weak though the structures of Ayub's regime were, the students on their own would not have been able to pull them down. For that they needed the help of the working class.

For some weeks the students of West Pakistan struggled on their own. They fought pitched battles with the police, defied the army and emerged bloody but unbowed. The workers, inspired by the student struggle, began to support them in increasing numbers. Throughout the province workers in every industry came out on strike, and a steady escalation of strikes and militant

demonstrations by the workers further weakened a tottering government. In Lahore, 50,000 railway workers marched with red flags and chanted 'Smash capitalism', 'Keep religion out of politics', 'Down with US Imperialism'. Some days later a puppet (govt-paid) trade-union leader was sent to provoke the railway workers. He went to address a meeting accompanied by two thuggish bodyguards armed with knives. His provocative anti-socialist remarks resulted in loud heckling whereupon one of his bodyguards stabbed one of the hecklers. The provocation was successful. The workers beat the offending bodyguard to death, fractured the arms and legs of the stooge trade-union leader and burnt his car. It was a costly provocation but it had served its purpose. The news was widely reported and publicised and helped to create the atmosphere which would convince the middle-classes of an army take-over in order to protect them from 'extremists'.

In East Pakistan there was a similar situation and the workers 'gheraoed' many a factory to win wage increases. Here too the workers linked arms with the students and helped swell the already massive demonstrations. Unfortunately in both East and West Pakistan there was and is no coherent, disciplined workers' organisation. If it had existed we would have seen dual power being exercised in East Pakistani cities. The workers' successes emboldened certain other layers to join the strike movement. In successive weeks we were to see postal workers, bank clerks, doctors, engineers, veterinary surgeons, coming out on strike. The ten year wage freeze imposed by the Ayub regime was over. What was lacking was an organisation, which could have co-ordinated the different strikes into a powerful general strike throughout the country and impressed on the worker an understanding of his own strength.

In the industrial field, too, the government instructed its own trade-union organisations and its paid hirelings to join the movement to sow confusion; in many industries workers were amazed to see their 'leaders', who for years had acted as strike-breakers and police spies, now making lunatic demands. The stage was being well prepared. All that was needed in East Pakistan was to involve another powerful social force - the peasantry.

The main weakness of the movement in West Pakistan was that it did not involve 75% of the population which did not live in the cities. The peasants remained unaffected except for isolated pockets in Multan, Sargodha and sections of the old North West Frontier. One reason was that most of the peasants were still under the control of the landlords, who, because of their economic hold, could manipulate them politically almost at will.

Another reason was the fact that very little serious political work has been done among the peasantry. The left N.A.P. has done some work but by no means enough and mainly in isolated pockets. As a result the upsurge in the Western



province completely bypassed the peasantry which explains to a certain extent the comparative ease with which Martial Law could be re-imposed.

In East Pakistan the situation was radically different. Here too the mass of the people lived in the countryside, but there were two basic differences. Most of the peasants were peasant-proprietors (the landlords, who had largely been Hindus, had left in 1947) and patient, political work had been carried out by Maulana Bhashani and other peasant leaders. As a consequence the peasant was faced mainly by government oppression in the form of rent-collectors and West Pakistani civil servants. When the movement got under way the peasants seized and burnt a number of police stations, expelled a few rent-collectors and set up their own administration. The odd basic democrat was also killed. The reports which were, however, prepared and distributed by the government and spoke of 'murders' and 'rivers of blood', have no foundation in reality. If more than a few people had been killed we would have expected to see grisly photographs or ceremonial burials of the victims. This has not happened, and there can be little doubt that reports were wild exaggerations used to justify an army take-over. But even if the peasants were on a rampage it would have been the duty of every revolutionary to support them. In fact the situation in East Pakistan did resemble to a certain extent the situation in the Chinese countryside in the twenties and thirties. At that time, so-called peasant 'excesses' used to frighten the middle-classes, and sometimes even those who were part of the revolutionary movement. Commenting on this, Mao remarked in his celebrated report on the Peasant movement in Hunan (1927) that:

"The peasants' revolt disturbed the gentry's sweet dreams. When the news from the countryside reached the cities, it caused immediate uproar among the gentry... From the middle social-strata upward to the Kuomintang right-wingers, there was not a single person who did not sum up the whole business in the phrase, "It's terrible". Under the impact of the views of the "It is terrible!" school then flooding the city, even quite revolutionary minded people became downhearted as they pictured the events in the countryside in their mind's eye; and they were unable to deny the word "terrible"... But as already mentioned, the fact is that the great peasant masses have risen to fulfil their historic mission and that the forces of rural democracy have risen to overthrow the forces of rural feudalism... It's fine. It is not "terrible" at all. It is anything but terrible. No revolutionary comrade should echo this nonsense..." (Mao Tse Tung, *Selected Works*, Vol: P.26-27). Considering the similarities, it is inexcusable that the Chinese leadership have not issued any statement on the situation in Pakistan and that there has not been any mention of the Pakistani upsurge in the Chinese press.

The strength of the upsurge — and immediate and spontaneous character — was also its chief weakness. It is obvious that the intensity of the struggle took all the political parties by surprise. Their leaderships decided to emerge on the streets after the struggle was well under way, but what is interesting is that even right-wing parties like the Council Muslim League realised what the masses were shouting for and accordingly their latest party manifesto talks of nationalisation of industries, anti-imperialist foreign policy, and wonder of wonders, thorough going land reforms in West Pakistan, such reform would, in fact, entail a liquidation of the party's only social base! Their manifesto in places is much more radical than the election manifestoes of the British and French Communist Parties. The Council Muslim League is not alone in its new-found radicalism. Most of the political parties, excepting the Jamaat-i-Islami, the Pakistan Army and the Civil Service of Pakistan, are posing radical alternatives.

The only existing left party is the National Awami Party. It is, as Maulana Bhashani himself acknowledges, a broad-based social-democratic party with members of the defunct Pakistan Communist Party dispersed throughout it. (The Pakistan C.P. was banned in 1951 after an attempted putsch). The division of the party into pro-Moscow and pro-Peking wings is based not as much on political as on personality differences. In the Pakistani context it is an unfortunate division because the fascists bent on liquidating the left, are not going to distinguish between pro-Peking and pro-Moscow sympathisers. Some form of unity is therefore essential between the two factions. Their internecine squabbling has crippled the Pakistani Left and also kept out some excellent cadres who are prepared for solid political work but who are disgusted with the petty and vindictive backbiting which characterises left politics in Pakistan. Though in some parts of the country (particularly in the NW Frontier) the leadership of the pro-Moscow NAP would



MAULANA BHASHANI

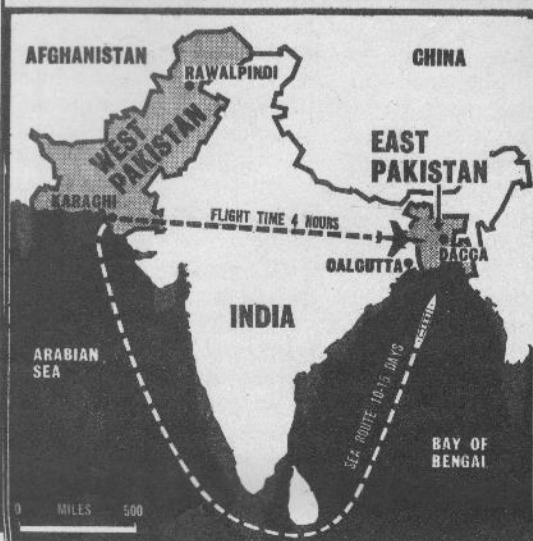
prefer alliances with right-wing parties, there still exist cadres in both factions who would prefer some form of unity.

However, what is really needed in Pakistan today is a well-disciplined, organised Socialist Workers and Peasants Party which could build a strong force of cadres prepared to do some serious grassroots political work; who would formulate their policies keeping the specific situation in Pakistan in mind and see the struggle for a Socialist Pakistan in the context of the worldwide struggle against US Imperialism. It is only by working towards building such a party that we will be able to struggle against the exploitation of the worker, the peasant and the student in Pakistan.

The recent struggle has brought the masses of East and West Pakistan closer together. West Pakistanis have begun to realise that the enemy which oppresses the East oppresses them as well and the East Pakistanis have realised that the West, too, is prepared to struggle. The imposition of Martial Law for a second time will be regarded by the East as a gesture designed to curb their demands for regional autonomy. And demands for an independent East Pakistan are bound to increase.

Having tolerated a military dictatorship for the last ten years the workers, students, and peasants will not tolerate the present military rulers for long.

Already coal miners in Baluchistan have defied Martial Law regulations and come out on strike; their leader has been shot dead and others arrested. But this is only the beginning. The longer the country is ruled by medieval laws the more vicious will be the revenge of the people. One hopes that the Generals will take note of this before trying to pull Pakistan back to the Dark Ages.



There was 1000 strong demonstration outside the Pakistan High Commission on Sunday 6th April. Larger demonstrations are being planned in the future and one specifically on April 20th. If you want to be kept informed of activities on Pakistan or if you are a socialist Pakistani please write to:

# POLITICAL PARTIES

As there has not been a single General Election in Pakistan it is difficult to gauge the political strength of the parties listed below. The estimates are therefore based on assessments by the Dwarf's Asian Bureau.

## RIGHT WING

### 1. THE PAKISTAN ARMY

Has emerged over the last decade as the most powerful of Pakistani parties, mainly due to the fact that it is well-disciplined and well-organised. Its base is lumpen-feudal and its rank-and-file is paid extremely well — hardly surprising as 80% of the country's budget is devoted to its maintenance. It is strong in West Pakistan, but its membership in East Pakistan is very low. Present leader: General Yahya Khan.

### 2. CIVIL SERVICE OF PAKISTAN

Has ruled country since 1947, though from October 1958 was forced to share its power with Pakistan Army then led by Ayub Khan. Some of its most experienced cadres were trained by the British and served with them. The lessons they learnt are faithfully handed down to the newer members of the elite. Most of its cadres are from the Punjab, which explains anti-Punjabi feeling in the rest of the country. Its base strongly middle and aspiring middle-class. What it lacks in salaries it makes up by its powers to grant export and import licenses and sanction development areas etc. Hence not distinguished for shortage of money. Like the army little support in East Pakistan. Leadership: constantly fluctuating.

### 3. JAMAAT-I-ISLAMI

Extreme right-wing, fanatical Muslim party. Opposed the establishment of Pakistan; hence has been unable to win much support but organised efficiently despite its small membership (mainly petit-bourgeois). Financed quite blatantly by the CIA and pays its cadres well. Has recently pledged to make Pakistan another Indonesia and massacre every socialist on sight. Is reported to have supporters in higher ranks of the police. In a General Election would not win more than 5 or 6 seats nationally. Leader: Manalan Mandoodi.

### 4. CONVENTION MUSLIM LEAGUE

Ayub's party, consisting of opportunist politicians, businessmen, and landlords who joined the party as an insurance policy. Unless revived and taken over by Yahya it will wither away and its membership will join one of the other parties.

## CENTRIST

### 1. AWAMI LEAGUE

Strongest of the centrist parties. Powerful support in cities in East Pakistan, but non-existent in the West. Supported by middle-class and petit-bourgeois elements. Its six points lay strong emphasis on regional autonomy for East Pakistan though it also pledged to support the 11-point manifesto of the students. In a General Election would undoubtedly win 45-50% of East Pakistanis at the present moment, due to its strong opposition of Ayub. It was once a ruling party and could boast a Prime Minister (the late H.S. Suhrawardy) under whose leadership Pakistan supported the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Suez in 1956 and followed a staunchly pro-US policy. As a result the party is still stated to be supported by the United States. Leader: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

### 2. COUNCIL MUSLIM LEAGUE

Strong in Punjab and is working for an alliance with Mujib's Awami League. Social base in West Pakistan is the big and small landlord. In an election would win most of the Punjab because of its feudal base. Its political manifesto extremely radical and to the left of British and French CPs. One of its leaders, Sardar Shaukat Hyat, served months in prison because of his opposition to the Ayub regime, but effective leader of party is Oxford-educated Mian Mumtaz Daultana, probably the most intelligent right-wing politician in the country.

### 3. JUSTICE PARTY

This is Air Marshal Asghar Khan's party and should never have been formed in the first place as it is no different from the above two parties. In a General Election it would possibly win not more than two seats.

### 4. PEOPLE'S PARTY

In its social composition is well to the left of the above three parties, but its leadership tends to depend on its leaders whims rather than any clear and coherent political ideology. It talks about socialism constantly and to its credit but without knowing what this would entail; Mr Bhutto who effectively controls the party seems to believe that there is a socialist government in Britain and Scandinavia. Is opposed to the parliamentary system because it realises its own weakness and would therefore prefer a presidential system whereby Chairman Bhutto would be in a much stronger position. However, despite its weaknesses it contains some excellent cadres particularly drawn from students and lawyers.

## SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC

### 1. NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY (Wali Khan Group - 'pro-Moscow')

Strong in the North West Frontier where it would probably win a majority of the seats. The Frontier party is led by Wali Khan whose support is really based on his anti-One Unit stand. It is possible that his group would join a coalition with the Centrist parties at the Centre. In the other regions party has some excellent cadres. Its leader in Punjab is Mahmud Ali Kasuri, a distinguished lawyer and possibly the only honest social-democrat in the Punjab. He served as a member of Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal. Of late there have been moves in the Punjab for some form of unity. There is a small, but vocal, wing of pro-Moscow Stalinists inside the party, but their influence is not very visible. In East Pakistan the party's leading spokesman is Prof. Mozaffar Ahmed, who is pro-Moscow in the orthodox sense. Party is strong amongst the students in East Pakistan, though on most points they agree with the other NAP.

### 2. NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY (Bhashani Group)

Strong in East Pakistan, particularly in the countryside and among the students, and also to a certain extent in the working-class suburbs of Dacca: They would win 45-50% of East Pakistan in a General Election if they decided to contest it. In the West they are strong in Multan, where Syed Kaswar Gardezi has built a strong organisation amongst the peasantry, but elsewhere the support is scattered. In the West they were till recently divided into two groups. One led by ex-Major Ishaq and the other by Mr C.R. Aslam. The latter's attitude towards the Ayub regime has been extremely ambivalent and they had virtually used Peking's friendship with Rawalpindi to opt out of political opposition to Ayub. As a result they lost a certain degree of support in West Pakistan. However they were forced to join the movement in its later stages and their workers were mobilized in the struggle. They have a good deal of influence among the railway workers in Lahore and the dockworkers in Karachi. The party also includes pro-Peking communists in both wings of the country. Leader: Maulana Bhashani.

## SOCIALIST

# WORKERS CONTROL THE UNIONS UNDER SIEGE

The 7th National Conference of the Institute of Workers' Control took place at Sheffield University on March 29th/30th. With 1,032 delegates from a wide range of industries and including about 150 students it was the largest yet. As the list of seminars showed, most major industries were represented: conference agriculture, aircraft, building, cars, chemicals, communications, docks, distribution, education, electronics, engineering, printing, public services, mines, steel, textiles, transport, and social security. Some of the larger seminars - eg Cars and Aircraft - were attended by nearly 40 people.

Barbara Castle's White Paper - *In Place of Strife* - hung over the conference like a black cloud, and hardly a speaker failed to make some reference to it. It helped to make the tone of the conference dominantly defensive. Tony Topham, for the Institute, said that the proposed legislation had as its aim 'nothing less than a subservient working class, subject to the will of the employer and of the state'. Hugh Scanlon - whose important and carefully argued speech during the Sunday session was not even reported in the unfree press - referred to the 'hysteria which seems to be deliberately whipped up against any, or all, industrial problems, and which is helping to create the kind of atmosphere in which legislation and other things can be rushed through.'

Tony Topham further warned that many unionists were not aware that the war on workers rights had already gone a long way: he quoted from a productivity agreement made between the NUR and the docks board (an agreement made without any consultation at all lower levels.) Tony Topham called this extraordinary agreement 'a charter for working class servility' but added that it was 'not unique'. Furthermore, the infamous penalty clauses which caused the Fords strike had already been imposed in a number of other industries. The Prices and Incomes Board has called these agreements 'nothing less than a revolution in managerial control of working hours and practises'.

In three crucial areas, Topham argued, productivity bargains can be seen as an assault on the organised working class. In almost every case, these bargains included proposals to decrease the size of the working force - at ICI for example, the stewards have been fighting an agreement for two years which threatens up to 20% redundancies. Contrary to popular belief, wages also suffer in the long term. Tony Topham quoted the example of the Fawley agreement. There, though there had been a large increase initially, the workers had been left with no bargaining counters; as a result Fawley wages are now at the bottom of the Southampton area league table. Similarly in the case of the Steel Company of Wales, a productivity bargain introduced there laid down that in future wage bargaining, comparability was not to be introduced as an argument by the unions. The third aspect, which was obvious to all, was that of control -

the abolition of stewards control of working conditions.

What was the solution? Tony Topham urged the unions to go back on to the offensive again. First, unionists must win control over their own unions: 'the message from the Fords' strike is this: there must be no more backstairs negotiation, with union officials signing away workers rights without any reference back to the shop floor. The principle of workers' control applies as much to the trades unions as it does to industry.' The next move must be to counter attack on ground chosen by the unions. 'The workers must choose not only their own demands, but their own arena, their own constituency - which must be defined according to the workers maximum strategy.' These demands can vary from area to area - and from industry to industry. In some cases the call be for full control in some cases for joint control, or for opening the books. The speaker summed up the new strategy which the movement must adopt in these words: 'The whole purpose of this is that we get off the defensive - we turn away from the retreat - we create situations instead of responding to their situations. They are in a belligerent mood. Let's match it and reverse it.'

Hugh Scanlon and Ernie Roberts also called for a more aggressive strategy to meet the threat of international corporations. Ernie Roberts called for 'action to see that these mergers and take-overs which are taking place do not disrupt the lives of the people to the extent of throwing them onto the scrap heap, driving them from their homes.' He gave a frightening list of the mergers and takeovers which had taken place recently and the redundancies which had resulted from them.

Hugh Scanlon's appeal was factual, well researched, and cautiously optimistic. He made it clear that we were entering a period of international struggle and said that to see the movement for workers control in national terms was dangerous. 'In the capitalist world, less than three per cent of the corporations account for more than 75% of the world corporate assets; a tremendous concentration of economic resources is taking place, putting real power into fewer and fewer hands, and passing far beyond the frail barriers of national frontiers'.

This concentration of industry, he said, could 'strengthen our case immeasurably if the implications are fully grasped, but only if we have the unity and strength at all levels to back up rational arguments.' The international labour movement had a moral responsibility to curtail 'the great and dangerous power to decide on matters effecting many people's lives by a small group of people responsible only to themselves.' National governments are powerless. During the Fords dispute, Scanlon said, the management in England was under orders from Detroit. Fords' show of patriotism at this time was, in Dr. Johnson's phrase the last resort of a scoundrel.' He emphasized that 'industrial strategy on both sides can only

assume a global aspect'. The international movement had a duty both to protect the gains already made and to plan for fresh gains.

Scanlon also pointed to the wider political implications. 'Political democracy is no longer viable within a structure possessing an undemocratic industrial system. We do not have to delve very far into recent history to realise that the main brunt of the attack on political democracy itself always falls first on the democratic organs of the working class.' The need was for a vigorous, independent, democratic movement, based on the shop floor, and taking initiatives rather than responding to management's initiatives. Union's central authority must be built firmly on a large scale grass roots organisation.

Delegates from Italy and Germany both spoke of the need for international solidarity between workers in the industry, and showed that workers' movements were on the defensive all over Europe: at the Fiat factory in Turin, for example, the company was making an all out attempt to destroy the shop floor organisation. George Slessor from Vauxhall, also called for more unity to resist the blackmail of the big companies: 'What they're asking you to do is to compete with other European workers for the lowest wages. No positive initiatives emerged from this seminar. Only in the aircraft seminar and in a few others was there talk of aggressive action, and of long term aims.

The crisis of the labour movement was best shown at the packed 'Legislation and the Trade Unions' seminar. There, Bert Ramelson made a plea for all present to support the May 1 strike, against the White Paper, being called by the Communist Party. Almost all present were willing to do this, though some wished to try and use more traditional methods of putting pressure on the government. Some delegates did talk of the need to threaten withdrawal of political funds from the Labour Party: a threat which even Harold Wilson sees the force of. But no new lines of political action emerged from this seminar. It will take some years of concerted attack from the employers, and their agents in the Labour Party, for a new form of political organisation to emerge.

The conference closed by considering the reports of selected seminars - that of the Education Seminar getting careful attention from the delegates - and with the voting of various resolutions. *Dwarf* readers should bear in mind the crucial resolution on the May 1 strike, and see what they can do to help in their locality: 'This conference gives its full support for the proposed strike of May 1 against Barbara Castle's White Paper *In place of strife*. It calls upon the Institute of Workers' Control to give its maximum active support for this strike. This conference urges all supporters of the campaign for Workers' Control to set up action committees to help in widespread working class opposition to the attack on its interests from the government and the employing class'.

Philip Geddes.

# DWARF LETTERS

## MARCUSE

Dwarf,

Who are you kidding?

Marcuse is not 'the founding father of a great deal of left wing campus ideology - not only he but all active 'campus' revolutionaries have 'strenuously denied' this. And for good reason.

Take specific points in Marcuse speech you printed: 'Our goals, our values, our own morality, must be visible already in our actions' equals We have learned to build houses in brick, therefore any new houses we build must be built of bricks.

'... socialism neither of the Stalinist brand nor of the post-Stalinist brand, but that libertarian socialism which has always been the integral concept of socialism, but which is only too easily repressed or suppressed' equals Sorry, I've lost the thread; but if I waffle well you won't notice it.

'... the left has no adequate access to the media of mass communication' equals Nobody buys my books.

'... the new working class' equals the old middle class grown large.

'The left is split! ... Only the Right, which has no ideas to fight for, is united!' equals I am either blind or schizophrenic.

'[The New Left's] task is to prepare, in thought and in action, morally and politically, for the time when the aggravating conflicts of corporate capitalism dissolve its repressive cohesion and open a space where the real work for libertarian socialism can begin' equals Let's wait for the Revolution.

Founding father? - I can only hope that the erstwhile founding mother was on the Pill.

Sincerely,  
Christopher Sanders  
265 Old Brompton Rd., S.W.5.

\* \* \*

Dear Comrades,

Herbert Marcuse's article in *Dwarf* No. 14 is called 'The Left is split' a manifest truth. Yet the only conclusion Marcuse is capable of drawing from this is: the Left is split, long live the Left! The desire of the Left for revolutionary change is juxtaposed with the lack of such a desire in the mass of the (American) people.

The crux of the matter is that Marcuse does not consider a total crisis (i.e. a revolutionary situation) in American society possible, let alone probable. Thus the task of the Left is to maintain isolated cells '... to prepare ... for the time when the aggravating conflicts of corporate capitalism dissolve its repressive cohesion and open a space where the real work for liberation socialism can begin'. Just where is such a (space) supposed to appear? Marcuse's own too great awareness of the strength of the repressive apparatus of the modern state should tell him that in a running battle the state will always win. Marcuse finds himself in much the same position as the Christian - the world is an incurably evil place, but our job is to create little islands of goodness in it. Impossible! The only hope for the Left is to concentrate what force we have for the time when the contradictions in capitalist society momentarily will put us in a position of strength - to seize the bourgeois state, and smash it. Then, and only then, can the real work for libertarian socialism begin.

But is this possible? Marcuse would argue that the American proletariat is 'integrated', grown fat with its masters on the fruits of imperialism. This is certainly true at the present time. But this does not alter one iota the basic incompatibility of capital and labour in capitalism, which will come into even sharper relief should a crisis occur. Even now, the traditional unionised proletariat shows signs of disaffection with bourgeois democracy, even if it turns towards Wallaceite fascism. And what is the student movement if it is not a movement of the proletariat, in a country where 40% of the population (and this proportion can only grow) receives tertiary education? The alienation is more psychological and intellectual than economic, but is this not to be expected in an economy of abundance? Have not labour aristocracies always led the attack on the establishment in periods of stability? Already there are encouraging signs that this movement is linking with the most economically alternated section of the traditional proletariat, the black population.

And yet all this is very little, and if America could be insulated, the rest of the world would clearly be insufficient. But the inherent drive in capitalism is towards ever greater extension of the domain of exploitation, more and more

# R.S.S.F.

# BASE GROUPS AND SECTS

At this stage, an RSSF Conference should provide an arena, first for the politicisation of experience, in which comrades can draw political lessons from their activities and learn of specific solutions to particular problems; second, for the development of theory, through analysis of the present situation; and third, for the extension of perspective, by listening to comrades engaged in struggles elsewhere.

The RSSF Conference in Manchester, March 22-23, successfully provided only the last - by the comrade from Ulster, who was given a standing ovation at the end of his speech, and by four Ford workers, from both Halewood and Dagenham. The Ford session, however, was marred by a measure of idolisation; there was a sharp contrast between the way some students referred to 'the workers', and the perspective as seen by Fords.

The longest session of the Conference, on Red Bases, abstractly discussed the correct perspective to take on the student struggle in general. Far from developing theory it became clear that basic Marxist concepts such as 'relative autonomy' and 'structure/super-structure' were completely misunderstood and that many comrades hadn't started to realize that they even needed to understand them. The rhetoric rarely rose to the level of an exchange of ideas, the Merchandites constantly restating

concerned, the base reports were arid empirical confessions rather than political contributions and when a new idea showed its head it was immediately drowned in a mass of boring detail. The only positive thing to come out of the debate on Red Bases was the motion on Ireland which was proposed as a development of 'the red base strategy' and demanded that RSSF members intensively educate themselves on the class struggle in Ireland and in particular on the reactionary role of the English ruling class; that they take the issues, especially the civil rights issue, to the mass of students (Demanding money for PD etc) and use their base in the university to go out and build up support among the Irish working class in this country. Any repression in Ulster, the Conference agreed, must meet with massive and intensive opposition in the rest of the British Isles.

Many speakers referred to the RSSF as a united front, and tried to reduce it to the co-existence of the distinct political lines which take part. And the political groups, far from uniting to encourage revolutionary politics in the student sector, fought for control. In fact, the most encouraging aspect of the conference was that it showed a distinct RSSF tendency, with some individuals attached to different groups - NIR Maoists IS IMG Solidarity

clearly dispersed into the sectarian groupings. Leicester, York, Cambridge, Warwick showed that there may be differences between the groups and within them but that they were not struggling for political control of the organisation, using it rather to develop their own struggle. This new development of RSSF base groups is in sharp contrast to the affiliations of socialist societies or clubs, which can never produce a viable group. The structure of the debates, however, with its formal motions, lists of speakers, and so on, reduced discussion to the tactics of a debate, as tendencies fought to gain a majority. The base groups were largely silenced thereby.

The conference established RSSF as a real organisation, but did little to develop the student struggle at the bases, in the schools, polys, techs, and universities. The next such conference must discuss all the questions which were not debated in March - exams, occupations, emancipation, unions, minorities, ideological criticism, schools and techs, newspapers and magazines - and must allow time for work groups to function.

If they prepare themselves, the base groups can now stop RSSF conferences from being sectarian spectacles and can transform them into an organic part of the development of the student movement. They have shown that they





# WANTED

ONE HAROLD WILSON,  
FOR THE FOLLOWING CRIMES:  
GUN RUNNING TO LAGOS; TERRORISING AND  
BLACKMAILING BRITISH WORKERS AND STUDENTS;  
COLLUDING WITH RACISTS SMITH, VORSTER,  
CALLAGHAN, NIXON.  
HEIGHT: NONE. NATIONALITY: SCILLIAN.  
DISTINGUISHING FEATURES: SMUG EXPRESSION AND  
A SANCTIMONIOUS WHINE.

opposition. Every extension of power paradoxically makes the whole system actually or potentially weaker, more and more balanced on a knife-edge. Hence the need to develop greater and greater powers of repression. These powers which Marcuse finds so frightening are in fact hopeful signs, because they mean that the natural (unarmed) balance of forces has to be redressed even more by artificial (armed) means. Mao's description of American imperialism as a 'paper tiger' is very apt, not merely a piece of propoganda.

The opposition to American imperialism and its lackies is at the moment one of potential rather than one of actuality. No-one can accurately predict where and how the transformation into actuality will occur, and the small forces of the western left cannot materially alter how it might happen. But they can and must prepare themselves for the event. They can do so by directing their minds to the first step towards socialism - the seizure and dismantling of the bourgeois state. They must because opportunities occur very infrequently, and failure to lead the masses in this direction at the correct time would be followed by a fearful demoralisation, the seedbed of fascism.

It is often difficult to see beyond the cramped situation in which the western revolutionary Left finds itself in 'normal' times. None of us have been in a revolutionary situation. The power of the *status quo* seems

absolute - yet how frightening must that paper tiger of former times, the Russian autocracy, have appeared to the Bolsheviks. One shrug of the shoulder of the Russian people was enough to dislodge it and send it into oblivion. Five years before the Bolsheviks seized power they elected a police spy, Malinovsky, to their central committee. Revolutionary politicians in periods of normality often appear, and probably feel, ridiculous and out of touch with reality, but not half as much as a bourgeois politician in a revolutionary situation, when history is being made, and epochs of development in the old society are reaching their fruition, when a decade of 'normal' history is concentrated into a week or a month. But all this development can easily be negated by the counter-revolution unless quickly and decisively consolidated by a conscious effort on the part of revolutionaries.

This is Marcuse's mistake: he concentrates on the problems of revolutionaries in periods of normality. We should think of our role in a revolutionary situation, and, without losing flexibility, prepare for our role. That role will not be one of moral exhortation, producing 'new men', but will be a severely practical one - resolving a crisis of power by seizing it. Then we can worry about creating a society where power is unnecessary.

B.K.

\* Comrades,  
Ford Shop Stewards Committee, on behalf of all their members, the rank and file at Fords, would like to express their feelings to the students who supported us throughout our Strike by saying 'thank you' and by giving their support to all the good work the students are doing.  
Brian Wood  
(on behalf of the Joint  
Trade Union Strike Committee)  
Ford Motor Company,  
Dagenham, Essex.

## OPEN LETTER

Madame,

Writing as a 'wide-eyed, technocratically obsessed social engineer unable to see the political dilemmas of our society as curable by anything other than [ever-loving] technical invention'... (hats off to Tom Edison, the wheel, streptomycin, the contraceptive pill, hush puppies, hash, seam-free tights, false teeth, Marshall Macluhan and Mum Rolette)... I must compliment you from the bottom of my arse on the joyful inaccuracy demonstrated in your re-reporting an already inaccurate *Observer* article of some weeks ago concerning the work of some of my First Year Students.

'The monstrously ugly structure' illustrated in the *Observer*, and only later in the *Black Dwarf*, was not, is not and never will be intended by us as having anything to do with housing the homeless the rich, the short, tall, unclean, or even lady housing journalists. It was carried out as a project around which to discuss certain structural, production and financial concepts with First Year.

If the accuracy of your article typifies the method in which you approach your philosophical work my previous high

admiration for your pertinent and outspoken views has evaporated.

Yours sincerely,

Tony Dugdale  
First Year Master  
Architectural Association School of Architecture  
London WC1.

Janet Daley replies:

Much as it may annoy Mr Dugdale, the structural project to which he refers is certainly being publicly touted in the housing field. A number of his students - perhaps unbeknownst to him, but it seems doubtful - are actively co-operating with Shelter to use the structure for, as one participant described it to me, 'a publicity gimmick' in a housing campaign. (One wonders why, incidentally, if the degree of misrepresentation was as great as claimed, the *Observer* was never compelled to print a retraction). It is certainly understandable that Mr Dugdale should wish to disassociate himself from such a naive and shoddy tactic, but it seems a shame that he did not feel up to discussing the more significant issues of political action vs. technical innovation which my article attempted to raise.

## MORE MONEY LOST - FASTER

Comrades,

On Thursday February 20 some 2,000 marched through London to Westminster. GLC tenants protesting. Obligingly 'protected' by 3 busloads of police - cocky arrogant and safe. The people on the march were predominantly 'middle-aged', men and woman of 40-50 years, some older, some younger, some infirm - but all united against the fascism of a council that can decide to increase rents by as much as 30% while sitting on its fat conservative arse without knowing what 30% means to tenants in Tower Hamlets and Poplar.

When will our movement realise that this is where we need to be? OK - spend a few hours at Claridges - make a smell for Nixon - but in the end realise that the smell doesn't destroy profits - it just makes them a little harder to collect. We must support, but support, the GLC tenants - the Ford strikers - the 'Royal' dockers. Alright - its not easy to involve yourself in things out of your immediate orbit. But we know that these are different facets of the same malaise - the same system. Without our support for them, how can we expect their support for us?

Trowbridge, and Kingshaven and Explorers, and Warwick, and Yeading Green, and Ravenor

struggle which takes place everyday for the working man in his own environment. Only if we can take ourselves and our ideas out to the population do we have any chance of really changing anything. And it seems to me that, at the moment, we are throwing this very opportunity away.

That march of February 20 was totally unsupported by our members. After all - who really makes more impact? Those people stopping profits, or those stopping police leave for 2 days. Why is it that the press works itself into hysteria because the car men are 'out again' - because MONEY is being lost. We have got to get more money lost - faster.

Why can't we give as much support to a GLC tenants march - or a strike picket - as we can to October 27 - and which strikes more at the foundation of capital?

Lets start by really supporting those people who are taking the struggle to their own work situations. We need the experience, the help, of people who are prepared to march from Poplar to Westminster on a rainy winter evening to protect their homes.

For christ's sake lets support them - they need us, whatever they may say initially, and hell do we need them. Is anyone prepared to

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In the form of one work, his new book *Art and Revolution* (subtitled *Ernst Neizvestny and the Role of the Artist in the USSR*), John Berger has in fact produced two essays on the possibilities of revolutionary art and the social implications of the artist's role. The most worthwhile of these two pieces is the one composed of Berger's own perceptive theoretical insights into a universal dilemma; the other essay constitutes a eulogy to an unofficial Soviet sculptor whom Berger has inexplicably chosen to venerate. Although it contravenes the author's intentions, it is essential to split the book down the middle. In his unhappy choice of Neizvestny, as his prototype of the revolutionary artist: a sculptor whose work is banal and derivative at best, turgidly sentimental at worst, Berger may well have guaranteed that his own eminently coherent presentation of a possible politics of art, gets nothing like the serious attention it deserves.

We shall ignore that 'second essay' of Berger's - his discussion of Neizvestny - in discussing the book and concentrate on his more general theory.

Berger's views are vitally important to current controversies over political commitment in art, because they provide an antidote to the phillistinism into which Marxist art theory can so easily fall. Berger believes in the validity of art; not art as ham-fisted propaganda, not art as psychotherapy; not art as audio-visual education, but art as the unique manifestation of a personal vision. He does not make the mistake of assuming that the need for public art precludes the possibility (or the necessity) of private experience. He reaffirms that art, even for the masses, must ultimately relate to individual consciousness; that internal freedom of consciousness is what liberation is about. He criticizes, for example, the over-simplified conception of the artist in early revolutionary Russia, as solely that of 'artist-engineer'. "There are also artist-philosophers," he points out, "The work of art and the machine product are not precisely the same. Yet their [early Russians] over-estimation of the machine is understandable enough in this context; the idea of industrialization had acquired a lyrical power, for it seemed to offer a way of avoiding, instead of suffering and enduring, a whole phase of history."

What, one wonders, could be the excuse for

## SOCIALIST ART

our current generation's infatuation with artistic engineering? By no stretch of the imagination can we maintain the illusion that industrialization is the key to liberation of the European worker. In our Marcusean era, successful technology is seen as the chief tool of repression by corporate capitalism. It should hardly be romanticized (as it presently is) by revolutionary artists. The most charitable explanation for this phenomenon is that it is a misplaced nostalgia for earlier revolutionary periods (e.g. Russia, circa 1919) in which technology was seen as a miraculous synthesizer of art and politics.

In his criticism of Socialist Realism, Berger undermines the two chief defences of this doctrinal tyranny. To the argument that its naturalism provides the most accessible form for communicating with the masses, he replies that "this claim ignores most of what we know about the process of perception, but even more obviously it is betrayed by child art, folk art and by the ease with which a mass adult urban population learns to read highly formalized cartoons, caricatures, posters, etc." To the contention that such 'realist' art is an effective means of educating the masses and developing their revolutionary consciousness, he counters that, if it were the case that mass consciousness was truly being educated and developed then the artistic forms and techniques would not have (could not have) remained so static and unchanging over the last thirty years.

Berger attacks Stalin's stultifying effect on creative expression by ideological impositions on artists, and provides a distinction which is invaluable for our purposes in working out a political art. There are, he claims, two categories of revolutionary art works: "short-term works, which can justifiably be



subsumed under propaganda, [which] must reveal in their structure and form their urgent but temporary function. They should be like 'orders of the day!' But if 'orders of the day' become permanent orders, he points out, they stunt natural progression and development.

The 'long-term' works which he opposes to these orders of the day, must take into account, and come to terms with, the far more ambiguous and complex areas of human

experience. They must come to grips with the totality of man's situation and not simply be the interim statements of his various momentary conditions.

Janet Daley

photographs of Neizvestny's work: Jean Mohr. □

John Berger's *Art and Revolution* is published simultaneously by Weidenfeld and Nicolson, and Penguin Books.



# THE CRITICAL QUARTERLY'S BLACK PAPER FIGHT FOR EDUCATION

KINGSLEY AMIS - A RECENT POSE

## Exams are the lowest form of violence

The document *Fight for Education* is slight (the average length of commissioned contributions is 3 pages), ignorant (Conquest interprets Marcuse as arguing 'toleration is oppression'), and vapid ('No society can abandon all toughness in its educational system without, in the end, becoming soft itself'. Angus Maude MP.) It is full of insipid moralising, and references to vague 'qualities' which are cloaked by a posture of rigorous examination. Hysterically anti-student, it can only interpret militancy as trying to destroy all society, bring down order, reject all values. It judges society, education, and students by the same insubstantial categories, or rather phrases, that it thinks 'intelligence' is made up of. A mish-mash of rubbish from an elite posing as an elite. The word capitalism appears once, in a list of notions held by students. Not a single contributor grasps the relationship of education to the social relations of production, let alone defends it. So even from the point of view of the bourgeoisie this document is useless. Against expansion, against technological and economic development, the conclusions of the contributors are drawn from a sub-culture founded on a parochial reading of literature and the Bible, and are utterly barren. C. M. Johnson sums it up when he ends his article with a quotation from Wordsworth:

'Me this unchartered freedom tires;  
I feel the weight of chance desires:  
My hopes no more must change their name,  
I long for a repose that ever is the same.'

Bryan Wilson's conclusion on the student movement also tells us more about the authors than about its subject: '... perhaps behind the nebulous, self-contradictory idealism, there lurks self-interest and wounded hopes for personal advantage as well as confusion and the search for meaning and identity.'

Pity the students and staff at Bangor whose Professor of history can write a historic

standards, its ethics, were in their hands. Equally, today's professors and lecturers in the Universities cannot abdicate from the duty laid upon them by their calling.'

Mindless, unsustainable, and unresearched, with the authors snatching at possible arguments, only one issue of importance emerges from the black paper: examinations.

Exams are the heart of the class system in education, and the writers realise that the technical problem of efficacy is not central to the problem. On the whole they reject continuous assessment (which is fortunate, as continuous assessment is a terrible form of speed-up, which also gives academic authorities continuous controls), and pose the defence of exams where it belongs, in the centre of bourgeois life.

C. L. Mowat: 'Life is a series of tests to which, somehow or other, one must measure up.'

C. B. Cox: 'All life depends upon passing exams. If you fail at football, they drop you to the reserves. If you fail in business, you go bankrupt. If you fail in politics, you are forced to resign (or, in some countries, get shot).'

Kingsley Amis: 'To call for the abolition of all forms of grading, as the Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation is reported to have done, is of course to call for an end to education. And why not?'

There is a real problem over examinations. The technician rationalising objection to their inaccuracy, which often carries with it powerful moral protest, and the liberal sentimental objections to all differences between men, both fail to understand the real function of examinations. The question is not one of differences between men, but whether a system of social division should be rigidly enforced. The argument against exams is not an argument against training, or proficiency, but against a form of judgment.

A thorough critique of exams will not

effects are felt as much by those who pass as those who fail. Production for profit, at the expense of others, while destroying the subjects that are being learnt, examinations are indeed a fact of bourgeois life. In one word: terror. Exams are the lowest form of violence, they cause sickness, nervous breakdown, suicide, lunatic hysteria, controlled aggression and humiliation; one moment of capitalism is reproduced in a schoolroom of examinees.

Whilst these agencies of oppression exist, we may have to pass through them, but our opposition is neither anger or protest; the examination system will be abolished. The opposite of the examination room is a sit-in, where instead of the serial negativity of rows of individuals reduced to identical roles, quivering before a secret judgment, there are the collective differences of argument, action, and decisions. Soviets will replace examination rooms.

So much for the *Critical Quarterly*. As C. P. Snow has been at pains to point out, we must apply the harsh and objective test. If Britain is to hold her own and maintain a decent international position, she must have a back-lash as good as any the world can produce. On these grounds alone, the potage served up by Amis & Co. really won't do. Anthony Barnett

The next issue of the *Dwarf* will carry an analysis of the present backlash and the concerted press campaign which has brought it into being.

Viewers must have been appalled to see the first episode of the new Granada Serial entitled *RAJ*. The intention of the serial is to look back to the glorious days of the Empire when the Englishman ruled India etc. There is enough shit taught about the Empire in schools without children and elders being forced to view the same rot on Television. Tariq Ali

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# WILL YOU GET OFF THE LINE!?

Last summer I took a class of young GPO workers to the Stock Exchange. We were shown a film about the delights of Big Business and the world of money. We were smiled at and talked to by pretty girls in smart uniforms. There was nothing in the papers next day about the indoctrination the GPO boys had been subjected to.

A few Thursday's ago I had a class of London Electricity Board apprentices. I teach the boys Liberal Studies - which means, amongst other things, current affairs. The topical issue today is student protest. I want the boys to get a first-hand impression of what it's all about, so I ask them if they'd like to go to the University of London Union to see what's going on - and, if possible, talk to some LSE students. They agree enthusiastically.

At ULU we go to the information desk and ask if there are any LSE students about. They find one for us. We all go into the hall, and the LEB boys ask him questions for about half an hour. When the discussion is over, we go back to college and talk about what the LSE student has said. The boys are critical, but glad they've had the chance to see for themselves.

While still at ULU, though, I have met an old friend of mine, Rodney Tyler. He has asked me what I'm doing these days - and more particularly what I'm doing at ULU. I tell him. He then tells me he is now a reporter on the *Daily Mail*.

By midnight the first edition of the *Daily Mail* is out. Mr Tyler's information about his friend has proved very interesting to his bosses. It seems, in fact, that my Liberal Studies class is the most important event that has taken place in the entire world that Thursday. It occupies over 100 column inches on the front page under the heading 'Lesson in Revolution'. There is also a photo - across seven columns.

The minute the first edition appears, the jackals of Fleet Street are on to me. The *Express* understands that I might not want to make a statement, but wonders if I have anything to say 'off the record'. (Is anything you say to the *Express* ever off the record?) An *Express* reporter is there in person banging on my front door at 1 am. And the phone keeps ringing till 4 am.

I lie awake, convinced that they'll hound me out of my job, having absurd fantasies about the things I will say if they give me a fair chance.

At about 8 am the baby wakes up. As I fetch her from her bedroom, I see two eyes staring at me through the letter-box. It is a reporter:

whom I tell quite reasonably to go away. Although I'm standing twelve feet back from the door, this conversation is described in the *Evening Standard* as me shouting 'go away' through the letter-box when reporters call at my house.

At 9 am I try to phone my college Principal. But the phone isn't disconnecting when I put it down, and there's an *Evening Standard* reporter at the other end. So whenever I pick up the phone, there's this voice:

'Mr Hoyland?'  
In the end I'm screaming at him:  
'Get off the line! Will you get off the line! LEAVE ME ALONE!'

By now I've realised the golden rule: don't have anything to do with them. No statements, no photos, nothing. Because they're incapable of conducting themselves with the minimum standards of integrity, and they'll use anything you do or say against you.

Not only the papers. The BBC tricks County Hall into going on *The World at One* by telling them I've agreed to go on myself - which I haven't. And during the afternoon a female BBC reporter sees fit to stand in front of my house, peering into the window and describing what she can see into a tape-recorder. This monologue is later broadcast on the South-East News, because it is very important that the British Nation should know how my kitchen is decorated.

My liberal studies class is big news now. All the papers are on to it, so is the television & radio. When I go out, reporters chase me in taxis. There are reporters at college, reporters at County Hall. I feel impotent. The whole thing is weird and scaring and unfair. But the teachers at college are very nice and stick by me, and in the afternoon papers I see that some of my students have said they'll have a sit-in if I'm sacked. They send a note of support to my house. Beautiful. I almost weep. Solidarity isn't just an idea - it's love in action, a human and humanising experience...

The LEB boys are fantastic, too. On the TV they say all the right things. Almost certainly, they save me my job. For in the end, nothing happens. Because for all the *Daily Mail's* scare-mongering I've done nothing wrong - except that I've failed to get permission from the head of department before taking the students out.

But then, I didn't do that when I took the students to the Stock Exchange either. Nobody seemed to mind then. I wonder why.

John Hoyland

## LIBERAL STUDIES A scandalous state

In the last four or five weeks, Yorkshire Post Newspapers - known more honestly as the Yorkshire Conservative Newspaper Company until the battle for the ITV contracts forced it to adopt an independent mask - have sold a lot of print by fearlessly exposing the scandalous state of Liberal Studies. A teacher at the Kitson College of Engineering and Science in Leeds gave his class of day-release apprentices a questionnaire on their attitude to responsibility in sexual relations. The mother and the employer of one of the boys were moved to complain to the college - the mother over the invasion of her son's privacy, the employer over the waste of his money. 'We send employees to school', he said 'for specialist knowledge'. The *Yorkshire Evening Post*, not slow to recognise so winning a combination of youth, sex, and sedition in the classroom, soon puffed the affair into a cause celebre, on which the national dailies seized with glee. Its editorial contained masterpieces of double meaning: 'The boy was sent to college to learn about switches and the like, and not to be quizzed on a subject which needs a specialist's knowledge to put over, together with considerable time for study - ... If the "humanities" are to be mixed with the 'mechanics' at a college of engineering and science there seems a grave danger of someone getting the wires crossed with detrimental results all round... There is an increasing tendency on the part of a number of teachers and lecturers, at all levels, to depart from their subjects and to stray into fields well

off the beaten track...' The bonanza was rounded off by a withering attack on the teacher for writing in the questionnaire 'different to' and not 'different from', and for good measure, a cosy picture of the boy in question with his girlfriend.

All this might be a good laugh if it did not mask a serious attack on Liberal Studies as a whole, on education of which the economic benefits are not immediately recognisable. In this instance, the *Post* had chosen its ground badly. So crude was the assault that education authorities and teachers massed to the defence of academic freedom and the liberal outlook. But there will be other such incidents, and they will involve more explosive questions than sex education, where many of the battles have been fought and won. The most cogent reasons which the Chief Education Officer of Leeds advanced in defence of Liberal Studies were that Sir Edward Boyle, when Minister of Education, had backed their introduction into technical courses, and that students still managed to pass their City and Guilds exams in spite of them. Would he, I wonder, and the good citizens of Leeds have felt so strongly the claims of academic freedom had the Press taken up instead the case of another teacher in a Leeds Tech. who caught in the act of asking his class their opinion of student power, was reprimanded in such a way that he expected the sack, and was reminded that his function was the inculcation of a proper deportment, both moral and physical?  
Gloden Dallas

Since the Hoyland 'expose' and the *Yorkshire Evening Post* affair, Rodney Tyler and friends have not ceased in their pursuit of educational justice and truth. Sheila Rowbotham (like John Hoyland, a member of the *Dwarf* Editorial Board and a teacher in further education), has been phoned up several times by Rodney himself. Rodney wanted to know all about her Liberal Studies classes - he said that the *Daily Mail* was about to do 'a series on education'. Sheila said that she didn't think that the *Daily Mail's* opinions on Liberal Studies were likely to be very useful, and declined to say anything more. At about the same time, the principal of

say about this? Coming at a time of economic cut-backs in education, these attacks on Liberal Studies teachers must be taken seriously. There are already great pressures to restrict further education colleges to a strictly vocational role. If the press can panic employers into believing the Liberal Studies classes are turning their young workers into sex-mad revolutionaries, these pressures may well become irresistible. Not that we should be surprised. The amount of questioning, by staff and by students, permitted in Liberal Studies at present, is something which the system cannot be

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# DWARF DIARY

The National Front is likely to face some stiff competition in the not-too-distant future. This competition is going to be fairly sophisticated by fascist standards and is likely to lose the Front some support. Mr Desmond Donnelly, MP, who was rather belatedly expelled from the Labour Party last year has decided to launch a new national party. Mr Donnelly was once a socialist. He is now a nationalist. His party is likely to be a combination of the two and might well attract some support in the Britain of Enoch Powell, Edward Heath and Harold Wilson. Though Donnelly lacks Mosley's brilliance, he is likely to accumulate some financial support and become a figure of universal disrepute which would give him the stature to try and unite the different strands of fascism in Britain. Sources close to *Tribune* tell us that it is a pure coincidence that Mr Donnelly was once an ardent Labour lefty and Tribunate, but then that's what *Tribune* said about Robert Pitman as well. We are watching *Tribune's* contributors with an added interest.

The Black Panthers founded three years ago in San Francisco are in a lot of trouble. Their leaders are scattered, their ranks decimated by arrest and subversion. Their brilliantly edited party newspaper doesn't seem to be coming out any more. The New York chapter has just been the victim of a mass round up and many of its leaders gaoled. And now they are coming under heavy criticism from other Black leaders namely Julius Lester and Rap Brown. Even Stokely Carmichael himself is accused of sometimes seeming to say 'whatever was necessary to get the desired response, instead of saying what was necessary to build revolutionary consciousness.' And Rap Brown described Cleaver's escape from what he believed would be certain death in gaol in these words... 'When they think it's necessary, when the pressure gets too great upon them and they



Bobby Seale

see it's necessary for them to leave, then they leave and the masses of people are still here; and the masses of people say, well another leader has gone. This is not revolutionary... When you become revolutionary, when you become political, then put your life on the line. If you don't believe in the cause, then don't mess with it... We cannot have people talking about voluntarily living in exile, when the masses of people are still watching... There's no need to run... because if I'm killed, somebody else is gonna pick up the gun'.

Bobby Seale, one of the founders of the Black Panther Party is now in London and we hope to print an interview with him the next *Dwarf*. Maybe he can tell us more of what is going on.

There are some who would say that CND has no relevance today; that it is a bunch of niggling deadbeats led by an eccentric Maoist liberal. We would dispute the good taste of those who make these allegations. Admittedly CND is virtually sustained by the Communist Party every Easter. It is also undeniable that it depends financially on a group of cranky vegetarian-pacifists. However this is no reason to mock their Easter march. So what if it is a ritual. At least it is a ritual on the right side and is much better than the old, traditional, chauvinistic rituals. We support the right of CND to have it's March every Easter. We congratulate them for inviting Madame Binh this year even though they did try and paint her as a well-meaning liberal! Having a NLF representative as the main speaker at a CND rally is a welcome change. We remember the days when CND was bitterly opposed to the NLF; when Canon Collins (see his photograph with Madame Binh in *Morning star* 7.4.69) used to talk about both sides being equally responsible and Olive Gibbs used to screech about neutrality. What a change there's been friends! Carry on Caldwell! A possible speaker for next year: Col. Ojukwu - an active supporter of unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain.

There are now more than 300 underground newspapers in America. Every week sees about three new ones. They are all anti-authoritarian but few of them have contents more revolutionary than, say, *Hair*. It's mostly your sex and drugs which is all right, I'm quite partial to both, as long as it is understood that Capitalism is willing to give us all the sex and drugs we can take as long as it doesn't have to part with an ounce of power. Nevertheless this explosion of newsprint is here to stay and many of these papers will survive to become as influential and as staid as *The Village Voice*. Is the same thing going to happen here? Yes. New techniques in printing mean that type can be set by a girl with a typewriter and both time and expense cut by new machines using a photographic process supplanting the old machines which hadn't changed much since Caxton. You can start your own newspaper for practically nothing. As the nationals slowly die off choked to death by their own boring uniformity, so the newstands will clear for small independent papers with something to say and a distinct way of saying it. Of course, getting it sold and distributed is another and monstrous problem. The *Dwarf* is not being read by anything like the numbers of people who would read it or would buy a copy if they ever saw one on sale. A little direct action is being planned by ourselves in co-operation with *Oz* and *International Times* and hopefully *Private Eye* against W.H. Smiths who sell all sorts of disgusting literature but won't sell ours. We intend to picket a main Smiths shop soon and try to persuade people not to buy from them. We will let you know the time and place later.

Peter Love

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## EVENTS

SATURDAY APRIL 19, 11.30am to 5pc: CIVIL RIGHTS CONFERENCE, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. A meeting to form a People's Democracy in London and to plan actions in solidarity with the Civil Rights Campaign in Ireland. Anyone interested in attending, please contact Brian McCabe, 10 Honeysuckle Gdns, Hatfield. Tel: Hatfield 66331.

FRIDAY APRIL 25 - SUNDAY APRIL 27: LEFT CONVENTION at St. Pancras Town Hall, Euston Road, London NW1. Agenda: Friday 25 at 7pm: Final sessions of Specialist Commissions; Saturday 26 at 10.30am: first main Convention session day - presentation and discussion of policy documents prepared by subject commissions. Sunday 27 at 11am: sessions wholly devoted to discussions and formulations of future strategy and action. All information from Organising Committee. 11 Fitzroy Square, London W1. Registration fee for delegates and for individual participants is £1. Cheques to National Convention of the Left, at above address. Contributions towards administrative costs of the Convention will also be welcome. Accommodation for delegates from outside London can be provided.

SATURDAY APRIL 26 at 8pm: LSE BENEFIT. Terry Reid Fantasia Circus and many guests. Tickets 7/6 in advance or 8/6 on the door. All proceeds to LSE students Legal Defence Fund, London School of Economics, Houghton St, WC2.

SUNDAY APRIL 27: BLACK AND WHITE UNITY MOBILISATION: A FESTIVAL OF...

the Wolverhampton mobilisation". Rally at 2pm on the service road adjoining the Ring Road at Penn Road junction. Look for the black, white and red Socialist Unity Movement banner.

SUNDAY APRIL 27 at 8pm: BLACK DWARF BENEFIT AT THE ROUNDHOUSE.

MAY DAY FESTIVAL: On Mayday, a Thursday, it is hoped that as many workers as possible will leave their work and join the May Day Festival in Victoria Park, Bethnal Green. Music, dancing, games and plays have already been arranged, and there will be a maypole and refreshments. There will be a procession starting from Tower Hill at 11.30 towards Victoria Park. Anybody who would like to help with food, entertainment, etc. contact John Young at 9 Union Square, London N1.

SUNDAY MAY 4: EXPEL THE GREEK JUNTA FROM THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE! Mass meeting followed by March. 3pm, Lyceum Ballroom (junction of Strand and Aldwych). Melina Mercouri will lead the march to the Greek Embassy. Assemble outside Lyceum Ballroom 5.30pm. Organised by the Greek Committee against Dictatorship 60 Tottenham Court Road, London W1.

SUNDAY MAY 4: NO ARMS FOR NIGERIA: END BRITISH MILITARY IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA. Arms are being shipped from Tilbury docks, among other places. Back the dockers who are opposed to Wilson's blatant support of the Nigerian government. COME TO TILBURY ON MAY 4. All details from the ad hoc 4 May Biafra Action Committee. 13 Goodwin St, London N4. tel: 272 5524.

MAY 18: Mass rally Trafalgar Square at 1pm: EQUAL PAY NOW FOR WOMEN CAMPAIGN. Organised by National Joint Action Campaign for Women's Equal Rights 76 Rainham Road.

