

The Week

**RUSSIA
50 YEARS
LATER**

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS
Volume 8 No 18 November 2nd 1967

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***what chalfont
should have
said***

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WHAT CHALFONT SHOULD HAVE SAID

According to the press, political circles in Europe were rocked by reports that Lord Chalfont had threatened that Britain, faced by another French Common Market vet, was going to pull out of Europe and completely re-orient her foreign policy. It is difficult to sort out the denials and conflicting stories, so we do not know what Chalfont actually said. However, we can say that this affair does reflect an underlying reality: that because of the failure of capitalist "solutions" to Britain's economic and political problems a complete reappraisal is on the order of the day. In the event of a Government coming to power in Britain which was determined to carry out socialist domestic policies it would be met with the utmost hostility by capitalist America and capitalist Europe. A country like Britain which is so dependent on trade would have many problems in the event of pressure being put on her by the U.S. and the E.E.C.

However, there is no excuse for any socialist today to be overawed by the strength of world capitalism. The communist countries and the third world countries are in great need of the products Britain traditionally exports. However, two preconditions would be necessary before this vast market could be tapped: (1) there would have to be the granting of long-term credits; and (2) the gigantic change-over could not be achieved without real planning of the economy. The granting of long-term credits is impossible to envisage unless a completely new order of priorities was installed in Britain's spending. The expensive armaments' programme would have to be scrapped, for instance. Real planning of the economy would be impossible without large-scale nationalisation and ruthless direction of the remaining private sector. Such a policy could not be implemented without a fierce struggle: despite their avowed "patriotism" British big businessmen would squeal like stuck pigs if told to transfer their exporting activities from the fat and profitable American and European markets. An end to the expensive armaments' programme would mean the ending of Britain's participation in all the capitalist alliances. But Britain could not be neutral: a Government in Britain committed to socialist policies would have to take the side of the oppressed.

This is what Chalfont should have said: capitalist Britain is in an impasse. A complete change of policy is necessary. Domestically this means an aggressive anti-capitalist policy. In the field of foreign affairs, Britain is going to enter into friendly trade relations with those countries which have destroyed capitalism. Moreover, she will grant long term credits to those countries which are attempting to overcome the legacy of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Militarily, Britain rejects all alliances designed to hold back social progress but she will actively assist national liberation struggles. Such a policy will never be carried out by the Chalfonts and Wilsons; we need now to build an alternative leadership that both kick out Wilson and carry out a complete change of policy.

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Fifty years after the "Ten Days that shook the World" the Soviet Union presents a mass of contradictions. Fantastic space achievements co-exist with the failure to deal with the "agricultural problem"; despite the fact that the Soviet Union is the second most powerful military and political power its leaders are too frightened to publish Doctor Zhivago; huge amounts of aid are given to capitalist regimes like India yet the Kremlin allows the daily bombing of communist North Vietnam; officially the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is "returning to Lenin" but it espouses the peaceful road to socialism - a theory Lenin spent much of his life combatting.

How do we explain these contradictions? Has the entire heritage of the October Revolution been lost? Is it true, as some of Mao's followers say, that a new class has taken power in Russia? Does the present society in the Soviet Union represent socialism? Is that what the pioneers struggled for? The answers to these questions are vital to all socialists.

The basic reason for these contradictions is that the revolution succeeded in a backward country, and that it remained isolated because of the failure of the workers in Germany, and other advanced countries to consummate their revolution. Moreover because of the shortage of commodities inequalities developed and were institutionalised. The privileged strata which benefited from this inequality rationalised a theoretical justification for this isolation. They wanted to build "socialism in one country" and rejected the Bolshevik internationalist heritage which presented dangers to their privileged positions. Just like the bureaucracies of the trade unions and social democrat parties they preferred to try to come to terms with capitalism than to wage a struggle against it. They took political power in the Soviet union against the fierce resistance of those who defended the Bolshevik heritage. This struggle culminated in the "legal" murder of Bukharin, Kamenev, Zinoviev, et al, and the assassination of Trotsky.

However, the objective conditions which gave rise to this situation have changed beyond recognition: no longer is the Russian working class backward and atomised - it can build sputniks and jet aircraft; no longer is the revolution isolated - it has spread to cover one third of the world surface and population; no longer is Russian industry tragically backward - the essential infra-structure exists to ensure a reasonable standard of living for all. Despite this the encrusted and privileged bureaucracy remains in power. The whole de-Stalinisation process and the continuous crisis in the Soviet Union has its roots in the contradiction between the needs and possibilities of a modern industrial state and the archaic political structure which parasites on it. Above all the present leaders of the Soviet Union fear mass action by the youth, workers and peasants - that is why they have to suppress everything which questions their political domination.

Does all this mean that nothing is left of the heritage of the October Revolution? On the contrary: the nationalised property relations survive and prove, despite bureaucratic mismanagement, the overwhelming superiority of socialised ownership of the means of production. Moreover, subjectively, with all its faults, for fifty years now the existence of the Soviet Union has been a source of inspiration for those struggling against imperialism and capitalism. The present rulers of the Soviet Union are no more a class in the classical marxist sense than are other parasitic formations such as the priesthood, legal profession, civil servants, etc. One well-known theoretician claims that they

carry out the historical role of the capitalist class by accumulating capital. This is perfectly true if one uses the vulgar concept of capital - as do many bourgeois economists - as meaning factories, rolling stock, vehicles, etc. But Marx spent much of Das Kapital showing that by capital he meant something very different; namely, value which produces surplus value. This value represents the power of dead labour-power which the capitalists have expropriated over living labour. Such a concept presupposes that this value is obtained by the monopoly ownership of the means of production by the capitalist class. The bureaucrats of the Soviet Union neither own or seek to own the means of production in that country.

Is then the regime in Russia a socialist one? Socialism presupposes both freedom of expression and a surplus of goods. Neither exist in the Soviet Union. What is more there is a political structure which aggressively resists the development of freedom of expression and which preserves the unequal distribution of goods and services. It goes without saying that such a political formation will have to be overthrown, as anyone who has struggled against a similar strata in trade unions will know. But the people who will lead this struggle will not be seeking to change the legal ownership of anything: they will want, however, to change the political control of everything. The prototype of their action was the anti-bureaucratic Hungarian revolution. But unlike that tragic struggle, it is to be hoped that the political revolution in the Soviet Union will be led by a conscious leadership. Otherwise its chances of success are small.

How then should socialists evaluate these fifty years? Firstly, despite its distortions the Soviet Union has demonstrated the superiority of socialised property relations over the capitalist system. Secondly, we need to note that the Soviet Union is still in a state of transition, and that another revolution - a political one - is necessary before we can see the full flowering of the potentialities of the revolution. Thirdly, socialists have to learn that it is not enough to overthrow capitalism: bureaucracy, in all its forms, must be combatted as a social phenomena (it is good to see that in Cuba an understanding of this problem is developing). Fourthly, we should reject all the pessimistic theories which allege that the October revolution's heritage has been lost. Wherever the nationalised property relations exist in the Soviet Union - and there is no sign that they are likely to be overthrown in the foreseeable future - the most important gain of the October revolution is with us.

Thus for socialists the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution is a glorious occasion. It is all the better because of the undeniable evidence of the great technical progress of the Soviet Union in these fifty years. When that progress is matched by similar advances in the field of socialist democracy our celebrations will be unqualified. It is up to us to do what we can to assist this advance by getting on with the job of achieving workers' power in Britain. This, plus our warm support of every tendency which struggles for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, is the best way we can celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the most important event in man's history.

P.S. Since this article was written I have seen a report by Victor Zorza in the Guardian of November 1, that a group of Old Bolsheviks has argued for the scrapping of the official histories of the October Revolution. They want, Zorza says, "a precise and truthful account" of the revolution itself. The fact that the Russian leaders are unwilling to allow the truth to be told about this fifty year old event shows how precarious their position must be.

A Criticism of THE U.S. ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT. Reprinted from The Nation

The following piece is from a review by Alan Samuels of the New Legions by Donald Duncan, who was a Master Sergeant in the U.S. army, and quit after his experiences in Vietnam. Alan Samuels is at present in the U.S. Armed Forces.

Duncan tellingly describes his arrival, wholly dedicated to winning the hearts and minds of the people. There were many disillusionments: a recruiting officer saying, "Don't send me any niggers"; Americans lighting cigarettes while their Vietnamese counterparts tortured and murdered prisoners; the blatant venality of Saigon's rulers. But Duncan kept his observations to himself... He played it so straight that when he finally did resign he was the most decorated enlisted man in Vietnam, and up for a Silver Star.

Duncan's decision was all the more remarkable because the voices for peace had never reached him. He had to work out all the arguments against soldiering on his own. Even to-day the movement does little to encourage future Duncans. Implicit in the cry of Hell No at the induction centres is the idea that the aimless draftee who stumbles nervously past the picket line has already reached a moral par with the Marine who burns huts by zippo lighter. There is little contact between Movement people and army people. Many of those who carry signs calling the GIs brothers seem in fact to be rooting for their death - that is, they gloat at news of Vietcong victories. As for the would-be organizers who enter the service, they often underestimate the practical difficulties of propagandizing in basic training - when your constituency is literally running from dawn till dusk. The hard fact is that the Movement barely understands the working of the war machine.

One way the Movement might learn more about the GIs it must influence, if it means business, would be to operate out of the bar-whorehouse-pawnshop towns near the big training bases, the parasite towns where soldiers drink and dependents live. Perhaps an ombudsman's ear could be tilted toward the post to pick up such scandals as the one that broke this summer at Fort Leonard Wood, where the commanding general had been pressuring men to plead guilty in court-martial cases (this story floated in rumour for months: by breaking it, a Movement journal like Viet Report would have earned the good will of some 35,000 soldiers.)

But why should the induction centres be the scene of the Movement's final appeal to GIs? The day you report, Duncan reminds us, you are frightened and bewildered, hardly in condition to ingest a pamphlet on high politics. And reporting for induction, though traumatic, need not represent a philosophical watershed. Boys of 19 or 20 have not thought it all through and arrived at a firm, homicidal resolve. Many accept induction even though they disapprove of the war. They are not all conformists, certainly not all killers, but they are not up to the enormous sacrifice the Movement now demands of them. It is only after soldiers see that it is possible, on some level, to change their situation that they might think of pressing demands which now seem outlandish and suicidal - such as the right to decline assignment to a given duty station. To expect mass refusal to fight in Vietnam is like thinking American workers would have forced through the Wagner Act in 1870. The Movement has now taken the elementary step. Step A of any serious organising process: convincing people that problems they perceive as individual and unsolvable are in fact widespread and, by common action - solvable. Only when that job is done will Duncan appear in legion.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

THE BARBICAN AND THE T.&G.W.U. from Bill Jones*

I hold the view that the advertisements, full-page and half, which appeared in some of the national popular newspapers on October 26 over the names of leaders of the trade unions with members in the building industry and the building employers, running down their members involved in the Myton building dispute, is contrary to everything the trade union movement has ever stood for.

What has become of the understanding, and acceptance, of trade union members and leaders at every level, to keep our internal differences and business within our unions, and to settle them within our unions? What are we doing spending the money of our members - or did the employers pay for our names by meeting the cost - on advertising internal trade union differences in a Press which is doing that every day without having to be paid for it? What are we doing as signatories to such an advertisement in the national Press which has been baying for so long for stricter Government control of the trade unions?

That we should have joined forces in placing these advertisements with employers who haven't exactly got a reputation for being among the best is a disgrace. Did these unions not stop to think of the possible consequences and the penalties which may be incurred by their members who face civil charges arising out of the dispute at the Guildhall on November 2? That my union, with its progressive policies over recent years, was a signatory to these advertisements makes me ashamed, and I want everybody to know it.

With these opinions in mind, I congratulate and thank the Morning Star for carrying a counter-advertisement, free of charge, giving the members involved an opportunity to put their side of the story.

*This article appeared as a letter in The Morning Star - Oct. 30.

Bill Jones is a member of the Trades Union Congress General Council and vice-president of the T.&G.W.U.

London Dockers to Continue Strike.

Yesterday at one of the biggest dock meetings in London for years proposals put forward by Frank Cousins, general secretary of the T.&G.W.U., for ending the stoppage were overwhelmingly rejected. Jack Dash told the 5,000 dockers that his committee had considered the Cousins' plan and had unanimously rejected it. He then outlined the committee's own proposals for reaching a settlement and these were accepted with only 18 votes against. The men's main objection is to the "continuity rule" which would allow employers to move them around from ship to ship without consultation. The employers are refusing to enter into any discussion of modification of this rule until the men return to work which is, of course, an unacceptable provision.

The T.&G.W.U.'s divisional docks committees for London have now been forced by the militancy of the dockers to draw up their own demands for changes in the terms of the decasualisation agreement. As in the Barbican dispute, the leadership of the T.&G.W.U. has been content to sit on one side and negotiate with the employers rather than consult their members. It has been left to the workers themselves to defend their working conditions.

THE BARBICAN BUILDING STRIKE

Following The Week's support for the Barbican building workers we are carrying the advertisement that was in the Morning Star of Friday October 27th, which puts the position of the Myton Strike Committee. This advertisement follows a previous advertisement which appeared in the Daily Mirror on Thursday October 26th. The fact that this one was a joint statement from the National or General Secretaries of the four Unions involved, as well as the Director of the National Federation of Building Trades Employers is a scandal and a betrayal of the greatest magnitude. When Trade Union leaders resort to such methods of betrayal the "unofficial" strike committees need total solidarity, and all our encouragement.

advertisement

In the interests of truth and against distortion by employers and trade union leaders, here are THE FACTS about the

MYTON BARBICAN SITE

There has been a 12-month dispute since steel-fixers were sacked and 200 workers stopped work in their support. District secretaries of the bricklayers, woodworkers, plumbers, transport and constructional engineers' unions, and of the N.F.B.T.O. London Region, originally supported us.

A regional disputes commission held in February to determine the fate of the six stewards failed to agree. The subsequent National Disputes Commission's decision to start work without the steel-fixers and six stewards was rejected by all workers on the site.

The Cameron Report, while criticising the employers, attacked only the shop stewards, agreed to their dismissal, and sought to introduce new methods of discipline and the appointment of stewards in place of traditional free election.

It is not the strike committee but the N.F.B.T.O. which is unrepresentative, as shown by the Hundreds of trade union branches which have backed financially and condemned both N.F.B.T.O. leaders and the Cameron Report. It is not the strike committee, but Myton's sackings and blacklisting which has prevented work on the site.

In an industry where employers openly blacklist, victimise and transfer active trade unionists, where basic wages are less than £15 a week and where 11 workers are killed and 180 injured every two weeks, disputes and struggles are unavoidable.

Throughout the history of the trade union movement men have been hounded by employers, transported, imprisoned, slandered and deprived of the right to work. We have no wish to be martyrs, but the employers' aims remain the same - to have their own way - to continue to exploit and profit from the labour of ordinary people.

This is the issue that faces every working man. It is this threat that we have attempted to meet in a manner no different from that used by generations of trade unionists in our country.

LOU LEWIS
Chairman, Myton
Strike Committee

MICHAEL HOULIHAN
Secretary, Myton
Strike Committee

VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

The massive demonstrations that took place all over the world on the weekend of October 21st and 22nd are an expression of a tremendous awareness and solidarity that has developed among young people because of Vietnam. Nearly all the demonstrations in Europe and other parts of the world were extremely militant, and contrary to the reports of the British press and news agencies, they were big. At the March on Washington, for example, like at the mass rallies of April 15th, the press reports minimised the number of demonstrators. 50,000 was the number given at first, but according to the reports from participants in the march, there were at least 100,000. The same distortions of course appeared in the British press concerning the number of demonstrators at the October 22nd march,

But apart from the impressive statistics of the London demonstration, it has to be understood that a completely new stage has been reached in the anti-war movement of this country. Judging from the demonstration of October 22nd it is clear that a political change has come about. If so many more people are demonstrating under the slogan of "US get out of Vietnam NOW!" rather than other, compromising, slogans it is clear that people have developed their political understanding of the Vietnam war. They are no longer content with shouts for "peace" or coming to terms with the aggressor, and instead, are resolved to join hands with the Vietnamese to fight American imperialism.

The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, which organised the demonstration now has the responsibility of taking up the leadership from this point onwards. The slogans we used which are consistent with our support for the Vietnamese revolution have proved to be completely correct, but that demonstration will be of small value in the long run, unless it is made the basis for building a militant mass movement. This is what is needed and must surely be possible. Discussion is already going on and people are keen for further involvement,

However, if the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign is to be able to take up this responsibility, it must have the necessary resources. Since its inception, the V.S.C. has received considerable financial assistance from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, but the Foundation, because of its increasing involvement in other activities, is unable to continue with its assistance. For this reason the V.S.C. has started a fund raising Campaign in order to meet the challenge that now faces us. This matter will be under discussion at the V.S.C. meeting on Thursday November 2nd (at Toynbee Hall near Aldgate East Tube Station7.30).

If you have supported the work of V.S.C. and believe that the possibilities for building such a movement exist, please read the yellow form enclosed and act according to your means.

CONFERENCE ON INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

The question of who is to control industry and commerce is one that has occupied the minds of socialists (and capitalists!) for many years. In the Co-operative Movement there is democratic control and ownership in production and distribution with one member of a Co-operative Society having one vote and with a Management Committee elected democratically by the members. Other experiments have been and are being made in this field in the United Kingdom and abroad. A Number of organisations have issued pamphlets on this subject, including the Labour Party whose Working Party Report on "Industrial Democracy" was published in June of this year. The 'L.C.S. Political' Committee and 'Public & Co-operative Enterprise' have obtained some expert speakers on this subject from the United Kingdom and from East and West European countries to address a discussion conference at the New Ambassadors Hotel, Upper Woburn Place, London, W.C.1, on Saturday/Sunday, 11th/12th November, 1967. This will undoubtedly be one of the most important and high level conferences ever held on this subject. Papers will be prepared written by the speakers and other leading authorities and these will be issued to all delegates.

Your organisation is invited to nominate delegates at a fee of 5/- per delegate. Further details from: London Co-op Soc. Ltd., 348 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

C O N F E R E N C E A G E N D A

SATURDAY, 11th NOVEMBER

- 10.30 a.m. - 4 p.m. Mr. T. J. PITT (Research Secretary, Labour Party and Secretary to the Labour Party Working Party on Industrial Democracy)
- Mr. KEN JONES (Personal Assistant to the Director of Personnel & Social Policy, British Steel Corporation)
- PROFESSOR TAMAS BASCKAI (Professor of Economics Hungary and former Economic Advisor to African States)

Followed by General Discussion

SUNDAY, 12th NOVEMBER

- 10.30 a.m. - 4 p.m. Mr. JIM LEONARD (General Secretary of the Co-operative Productive Federation - United Kingdom)
- M. ANTOINE ANTONI (General Secretary of the Confederation Generale des Societies Co-operatives Ouvrieres de Production - France)
- Mr. V. TRUMBIC (Embassy of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia)

General discussion to cover all sessions.

In addition to the speakers listed above, other leading experts in this field will be present to take part in the discussions. These include:

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|
| Bill Jones | - | T.&G.W.U. |
| Walter Kendall | - | USDAW |
| Fred Hodgson | - | SSC (Hawker Siddley) |
| Syd Harroway | - | SSC Fords |
| Norman Hasleden, M.P. | | Norman Atkinson, M.P. |
| | | Stan Newens, M.P. |

THE MEANING OF BLACK POWER

by Obi B. Egbuna

(Note by author - Text of Speech made at Trafalgar Square Rally on the historic occasion of the Vietnam War Protest Rally organised by the October 22 Vietnam Ad Hoc Committee)

* * * * *

The speakers before me have told you that what the Americans are doing in Vietnam is a shame. And the speakers after me will tell you also that what the Americans are doing in Vietnam is a shame. Communists will tell you the same, Pacifists will tell you the same; Socialists will tell you the same; and Liberals will call it a shame. Of course, it is a shame. And, if it is a shame to them, you know what it is to us members of the BLACK POWER movement! If it is a shame to Western White liberals and pacifists, you can imagine what it means to us members of the Third World, the Third World people who constitute the bulk of the starving masses of this world, the Third-World people who are drinking the waters of capitalist affliction in Southern Africa, the Third-World peasants who are being castrated today in India for transistor radios, the Third-World have-nots who are languishing under the weight of neo-colonialism in West Africa, the Third-World militants of South America who are enraged today by the loss of Che Guevara, the Third-World Blacks of North America whose anger is becoming increasingly articulate in Detroit, Cleveland and elsewhere, and the Third-World Blacks of Great Britain who are today organising furiously under the banner of the U.C.P.A. and BLACK POWER for whom I have the honour of speaking today. The U.C.P.A. has given me the full mandate to come here today and spit the U.S. imperialism right in the eye, and I promise you it is a duty I intend to discharge with pleasure.

We all know for a fact that in the United States of America, when the freedom fighters march from the North to liberate the suffering Negroes and poor Whites in the South, Pentagon calls it Civil Rights and democratic. But in Vietnam, when the freedom fighters from the North go to liberate their oppressed brothers in the South, the same Pentagon calls it communism and despotic. Isn't that hypocrisy at its best?

Those of us who have been to America know for a fact that, whether you are in the ghettos of Harlem in New York or the Negro slums of Washington D.C., whether you are in Philmore District in San Francisco or Watts in Los Angeles, whether you are in Central Avenue in Cleveland or Sower Street in Philadelphia, whether you are in Vine City in Atlanta, Georgia, or maybe in the company of Jemez Indians in their pueblo reservation in New Mexico, whether you are wading through the riotous cauldron of the North or penetrating the Klan-ridden hell of the South, wherever you go or care to look, we all know for a fact that America today represents the greatest testimony of man's inhumanity to man on this earth. And yet America has the impudence to declare to the world that Americans have gone all the way to the faraway land of Vietnam to prevent Vietnamese inhumanity to the Vietnamese. Isn't that hypocrisy at its most truculent?

We have come here today to tell America to do the one thing sanity demands her to do in Vietnam: Get out!

/Cont'd.....

THE MEANING OF BLACK POWER (Cont'd.)

We call on our Black brothers fighting with the American forces in Vietnam to rethink their position. You have no business being there because the Vietnamese have neither enslaved us nor called us niggers. You have more in common with the Vietnamese peasants than you have with your generals. You are not fighting an enemy but a friend. But don't let our recriminations today make you feel we don't appreciate your plight. We know you have been reduced to a level of ghetto subsistence where you have to pick up the gun and shoot for Pentagon capitalism as an alternative to living with rats in your slums back home. We know you are not in Vietnam of your own choosing but under economic duress. This is a shame. And now that you are already there, our message today is that you must make the most of it. You must see the jungles of Asia not as a killing ground for Asian peasants but as a military university to prepare yourselves for the great war ahead. You must learn to use the gun, learn to use the bayonet, learn to use the bomb and learn to use the boot so that, when you go back to America, your one mission must be to kick the American imperialism straight in the groin.

Secondly, we call on our Black brothers yet in America to stay put where they are. When Pentagon calls upon you to go to Vietnam, tell them to go to hell. If they tell you to go to Asia and fight for democracy, tell them that your battle for democracy is at home in the States. If they lay their hands on you to draft you by force, send them to the cemetery. If they imprison you in consequence, teach your little brothers at home the old hymn of "Burn, baby, burn", and the significance of that hymn in Detroit, Cleveland and Newark. If they tell you that "Burn, baby, burn" is wrong for America, tell them that "Bomb, baby, bomb" is worse still for Vietnam. If violence is wrong at home, then violence is wrong abroad. If they point at Cardinal Spellman for a spiritual model, point at Elijah Muhammad for your own. If they declare some White general a hero, show them your hero whom the whole world has already proclaimed the greatest, Muhammad Ali. Brother Ali is the greatest and, from now onwards, you must make him your model. He is the greatest not just by virtue of his ability to box, but also by virtue of his integrity as a man. They talk about taking his World Championship away from him, but we know that that is a tissue of meaningless drivel. How can they take away from him something they never gave to him in the first place? If Lyndon Johnson wants that title that bad, the only way he can get it is to put on his gloves and get into the ring to confront Ali. And if that fight ever takes place, you and I know what the result will be. That is the one fight I will never miss. It is the one fight I'll give anything to watch from the ringside. Lyndon Johnson won't bother to show us his scar on television this time. He'll have enough pieces of broken jaw and ribs to send the entire world as souvenirs.

And this brings us to our third message today which is to Lyndon Johnson himself. Lyndon Johnson has a dream. His dream is to dominate the world, to make the world dangle up like a little puppy every time he pulls it by the ears, to reduce the rest of the world to a mere economic, cultural and political vacuum in which America swells up. Our message today to Lyndon is that we, the members of the Third World, have a historic mission to turn his dream into a nightmare. China has already begun. The Old Man of China has taught us that political power only grows out of the barrel of a gun. The only way to learn to make revolution is by making revolution. The only way to make an omelette is by cracking the egg. China today has made a nuclear omelette and the West doesn't like the Chinese cooking. This is Lyndon's nightmare. His

THE MEANING OF BLACK POWER (Cont'd.)

second nightmare is that there are other big powers in the world, besides China, who will not dance to his tune. And his third nightmare is that we, the poor peoples of this world, have found our answer to his dollarism and his nuclear blackmail. We have learnt to accept, in the words of Walter Lippman, suffering, hardship, and death. We have learnt to live with the lillies of the jungle when the American cannot survive without his electronic excitement: the almighty T.V. We can walk barefooted when he will be groaning in boots. We can find shelter though he has bombed our homes. We can subsist on palm oil when he starves for want of lard. We can fight with primitive weapons in a manner which can outclass the superiority of his arms. We have perfected the guerrilla to a degree where a handful of Vietnamese peasants can hold at bay the combined military mights of America, Australia, New Zealand, Europe, and their satellites. We are ready to die because we have nothing to lose and we no longer talk religion because it blinds one to the laws of the guerrilla: an eye for an eye/ a tooth for a tooth/ a bullet for a bullet/ and a blow for a blow/ and no one resents that kind of law but a bully who wants you to be licking his boot when he is kicking your face; a bully who wants you to be shaking his hands when he is shaking your throat; a capitalist scorpion who intends to sting you to death without a fight from you. Lyndon's nightmare is that we no longer acquiesce to these dictates of the bully, but to the voice of our reason, the logic of the hungry man which is to TAKE and fill your tummy, no matter what!

So far, we have talked about the leaders and bullies of America; What about the leaders of this country, the "socialist leaders of Britain?" Isn't it amazing that when THE MOVE (a group of lads who play pop music) draw a little joke on a postcard, the leaders of this country screech "Injustice! Injustice!" and run to the law court to rectify this unforgiveable social irregularity; but when postcards and picturecards begin to flow out of Vietnam, depicting mutilated babies, brutalised women and children, bombed villages and raped minors, the same leaders find it hard to utter the faintest whisper of "injustice". All one can say is that your leaders must have a distorted sense of justice. One is even compelled to go so far as to say they have a perverted sense of justice.

Before Harold Wilson became the Prime Minister of this country, he used to make beautiful speeches right here in Trafalgar Square. He used to condemn the racist atrocities of Southern Africa. But now that he has become the Prime Minister, instead of implementing what he preached, he is talking and practicing "kith and kin", with the rebels of Rhodesia. One need not be surprised really. Harold Wilson is a lovely man, so lovely you can never tell what he will do next. If I hear he is playing centre forward for Chelsea tomorrow, I, for one, wouldn't be surprised. He introduced the Race Relations Bill in Parliament to protect the coloured minorities of this country. Today, that very law is being manipulated by his police to victimise the very Blacks it was designed to protect. Right now that I am talking to you, I owe the British Government a heavy fine for daring to verbalize in a public speech the frustrations of the coloured communities of this country. Right now that I am talking to you, Brother Edmund of Jamaica, standing behind me now, is facing a charge for daring to cherish the dream of freedom. Right now I am talking to you, Brother Jeetsun of Mauritius is languishing in Brixton Prison for daring to call upon a white police officer to lay off beating up a coloured man outside Marlborough Magistrate Court. Right now I am talking to you, four members of the U.C.P.A., one from Guyana, one from Jamaica, one from Nigeria, and one from

/Cont'd.....

India, are appearing at the Old Bailey because they dared state at Mahatma Gandhi Hall the other day that, if the Whites of Rhodesia are the kith and kin of the Whites of Britain, the Blacks of that country are also the kith and kin of the Blacks of this country. We submit here today that it is not our Vice-President, Shankar Ghose, who should be in that dock. It is not Alton Watson who should be in that dock. It is not Roy Sawh who should be in that dock. It is not Michelle Ezekiel who should be in that dock. If the British Justice is anything to go by, the man who should be in that dock is Ian Smith of Rhodesia. If the British Government refuses to do anything about it, we shall involve all the resources of BLACK POWER to do it ourselves.

And BLACK POWER does not mean the lies and distortions the capitalist press has told you that it is. It means simply that the Blacks of this world are out to liquidate capitalist oppression of Black people wherever it exists by any means necessary. This is the one excuse the Third World has for its existence. It means that Afro-Americans in the States are on the move. It means that we are out to question the European Preferential Act and Anti-Asiatic Bill of Canada. It means we challenge the White Australian Policy to the hilt. It means the Blacks of Southern Africa realising they have no right to live as men till they learn to die as men. It means that the Blacks of Zimbabwe are not only ready to die for freedom but, more important, are itching to kill for it. It means, above all, that the men and women of Vietnam whom we have gathered here to support today, are ready to move from cradle to grave with their heads high in the knowledge that their revolutionary example is the best sermon, and the only way to end Yanks' inhumanity to man.

Long live the heroic peoples of Vietnam!
Long live BLACK POWER and the U.C.P.A.!
Long live the "Che's" of South America, dead or alive!
Long live the Nkrumahs of Africa, however long it takes them to return to power!
Long live the Red Guards of China!
Long live Brother Stokeley, Rap Brown and the heroic Afro-Americans of North America!
Long live sanity in man and manhood in the masses!
And long live International Revolution!

(OBI EGBUNA is the Nigerian novelist, playwright, critic and President of the "Universal Coloured Peoples' Association" ... the British organ of BLACK POWER).

A N N O U N C E M E N T

THE UNIVERSAL COLOURED PEOPLES ASSOCIATION

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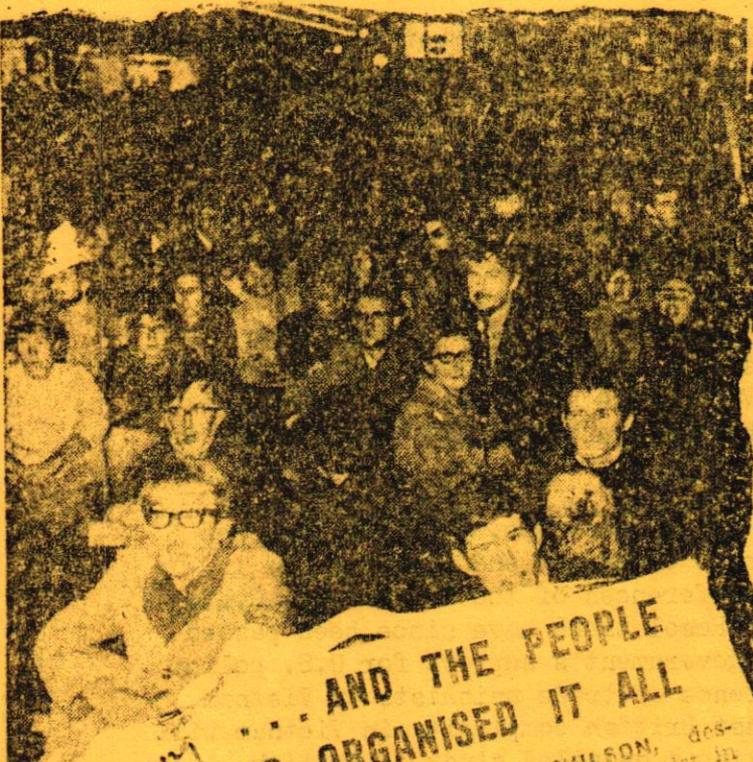
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Evening News

... AND THE PEOPLE WHO ORGANISED IT ALL

The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign who organised last night's rally "originated with the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation," said Pat Jordan today. "The Foundation helped it to get started and is affiliated to it," he said. The Solidarity Campaign's National Council comprises:

RALPH SCHOENMAN — 32-year-old American who is Chairman. He is also personal secretary to Bertrand Russell, who is Honorary President of the Campaign.

Mr. Schoenman, whose passport has been cancelled by the United States Government since he made a visit to North Vietnam, has also been banned from France.

CHRIS FARLEY, director of the Peace Foundation.
QUINTIN HOARE, of the editorial board of *New Left Review*.

PAT JORDAN, editor of *The Week*.
JOHN LA ROSE, a West Indian poet.

IAN MILLER, of the Edinburgh Labour Party.
JOHN PALMER, of the editorial board of *Labour*.

BARBARA WILSON, described as "an activist in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign."

Affiliated to the Campaign are the following:
The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, the London Workers' Committee (described by Pat Jordan as "a small group of Communists who support the Chinese"), the Scottish Indian Workers' Association, the National Students' Association of Labour Organisations, the Irish Workers' Group (Irish Marxists), the Pan African Congress, the Iraqi Students' Association, Folk Singers for Freedom in Vietnam, the left-wing journal *The Week*, the London School of Economics Socialist Society, Jewish Labour Party, Romford Labour Party, Northolt CND, Chiswick YCND, Chiswick Young Communist League.

THE MAN BEHIND PUNCH-UP MARCH

Express Staff Reporter

FAST-TALKING New Zealander David Robinson was the man behind the big Vietnam peace march that resulted Sunday's battle with London police in front of the American Embassy.

"I think you could say I'm satisfied," said 26-year-old Robinson, full-time secretary of the Vietnam Solidarity Committee, at his well Hill home last night. "The object of a demonstration is to draw attention to it. Then we achieved it. We didn't organise the trouble but we convinced the police."

Their aim

with the Solidarity Campaign in the organisation of the anti-U.S. war rally was the Committee, made up of Americans—about 100—living in Britain. Robinson, an informal chairman, is a former member of the London School of Economics.

them outside the embassy, but we specifically do not want to make trouble for the British authorities."

Suggestions that the march was Communist-inspired were dismissed by both Mr. Robinson and Mr. Pankus—and the Communist Party itself.

Each committee insists it is non-political—"though naturally with a platform like ours you get a lot of Communists supporting us," said Mr. Robinson.

Convinced

His group formed 18 months ago, has 600 members and an office in Rivington Street, Shoreditch, provided by Bertrand Russell's Peace Foundation which also pays Mr. Robinson's wages.

Its aim is simple: Immediate American withdrawal from Vietnam. Until then the Solidarity Committee backs the Vietcong.

So far the group's role has been to spread propaganda about alleged American brutality in Vietnam. But the success of Sunday's rally has convinced Mr. Robinson that it must broaden its base.



V I E T N A M S O L I D A R I T Y C A M P A I G N

The V.S.C. has existed now for over a year. It is a movement committed to the victory of the Vietnamese people in their resistance struggle against U.S. aggression. All the work of the campaign and its propaganda is directed to this end, as well as bringing about a position of solidarity with the Vietnamese fighters in the peace movements of this country.

We now know that through the efforts of our members and supporters some degree of success has been achieved. This success has so far been in bringing thousands of people to a position of solidarity on Vietnam. The massive militant Vietnam demonstration that took place in London on October 22nd is proof of a new consciousness in the Vietnam movement that no longer shouts for "Peace" but like the Vietnamese has shown its determination to fight imperialism to attain this. The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign was the initiator of this demonstration.

The V.S.C. has played a leading role in other areas too. Notably the Free Speech Campaign earlier this year. We have organised and participated in meetings on Vietnam held at the annual conferences of the L.P.Y.S., Y.C.L., T.U.C., Liberal Party and Labour Party. Resolutions have since been passed at all these conferences condemning the government's support for U.S. policy in Vietnam. We will be holding a conference of trade unionists on Vietnam on Dec. 3 at which militant action against British complicity in Vietnam will be planned. A research team will be making a detailed study of British involvement in Vietnam - both Government and commercial.

Our success on October 22 must be made the basis for building a militant mass movement, discussion has already taken place on future meetings and demonstrations.

In the past the V.S.C. has received considerable financial assistance from the B.R.P.F. Because of its many other activities the B.R.P.F. is no longer able to give this help. Therefore the V.S.C. has launched a fund raising campaign to maintain our own office and continue independantly.

If you support the work we have done and believe in the possibility of a massive and militant Vietnam movement, we ask you to make a S E R I O U S financial commitment.

.....
To: VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN, 49 Rivington St., LONDON, E.C.2.
Tel. 739 6951

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