

# The Black Dwarf

Est. 1817 Vol. 13 Number 5

22 September, 1968

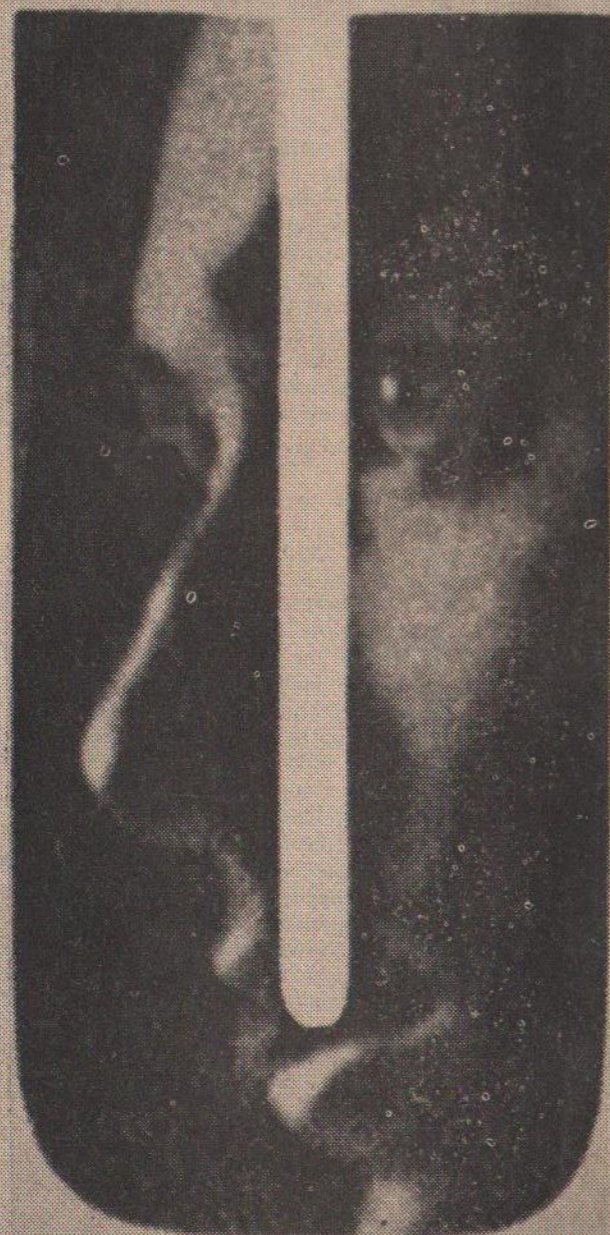
Fortnightly 2s.

**INSIDE: SMASH THE RENT RISES**  
**Police training/Teachers/Dwarf raided/Adrian Mitchell**  
**Chicago/Biafra/Repression in Wales/Mozambique**

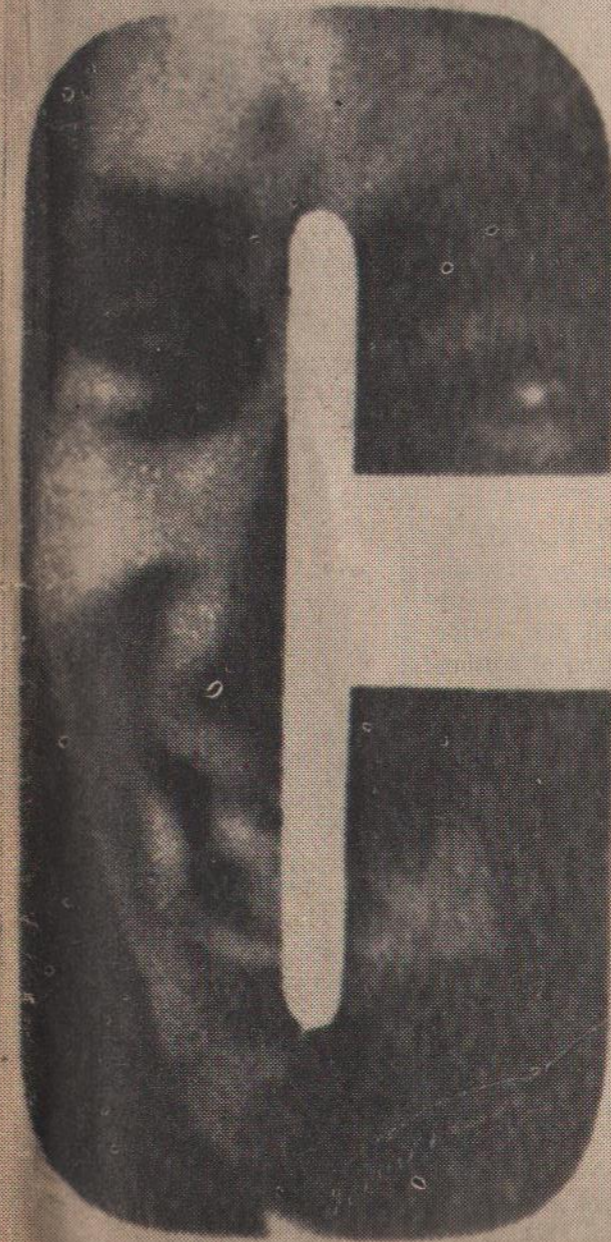
Trades Union Congress



trapped



under



capitalism



4d

1868-1968



1868-1968

The Black Dwarf's State of the Unions Message

**Stalinism in Crisis**  
**Peter Fryer/Tariq Ali/Roger Smith/Fred Halliday**

*"We shall Overcome...."*



New Issue CCCP/USSR Stamp Commemorating the Re-affirmation and Revitalisation of Stalinism in Czechoslovakia with the Kremlin's Blessing.

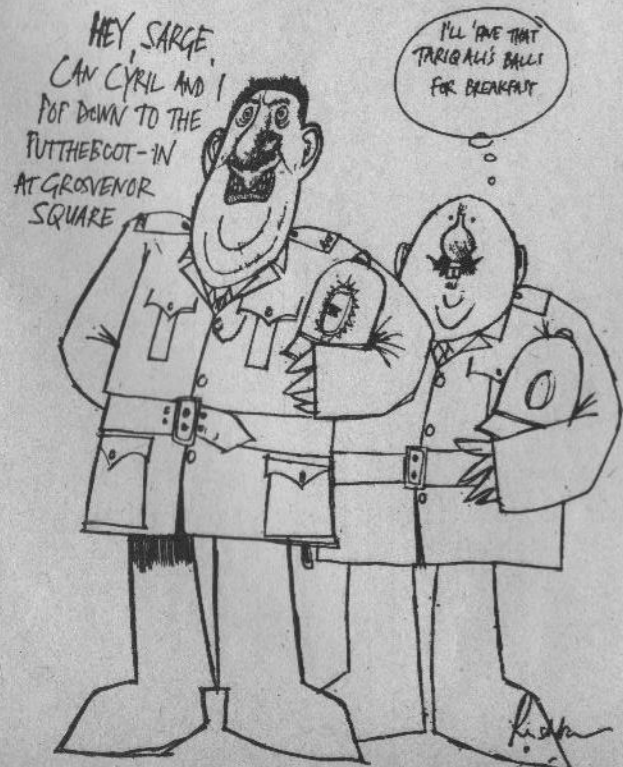
**An open letter to Fidel Castro on Czechoslovakia**



Socialists usually meet policemen on the wrong side of the barricades. But what are trainee policemen really like? Why do they want to be policemen? I have spent a fair amount of time teaching police cadets. Teaching them in self is a unique experience. Teaching them 'politics' arouses one's latent asochism.

# ON TEACHING POLICE CADETS

(The author of this article is a supply teacher who taught police cadets for a few months. For obvious reasons she would like to remain anonymous.)



immigrants aggravate the internal situation by depriving the British of houses and jobs while living off the welfare state. They talked of crushing the Unions, even "putting them in camps", "Gassing un-official strikers". Despite this a minority also maintained the need for independent police trade-unions though the same minority, combined with the majority, constantly maintained that the immigrants had to be got rid of. They compared them to the Jews: "If it had been 6 million nig-nogs everyone would have applauded"; this while maintaining that few Jews were in fact killed. Nevertheless, a social conscience remains and some suggest unionising the immigrants. They deny unusual brutality or victimisation of immigrants.

Most of them leave Secondary Grammar Schools between the eager to discuss political power. They equate 'politics' with two-party strife and

## MORAL VICTORY FOR HORNSEY GUERRILLAS

Our Crime Correspondent

The 6 comrades who were arrested in Hornsey before July 21st demonstration as reported in our last number defended their case in Highgate Magistrates Court on 29th August.

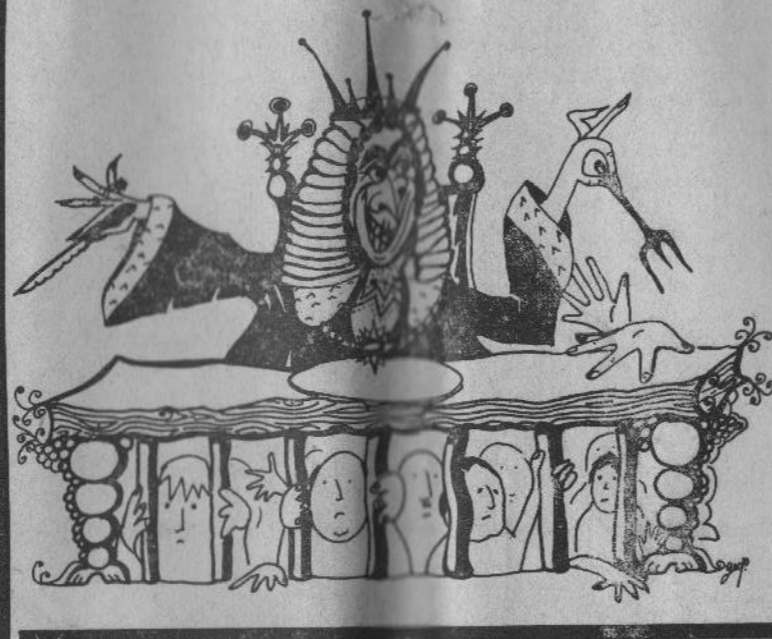
The case lasted from 10 a.m. until 8 p.m., mainly because the proceedings were held up frequently by the uncontrollable laughter of the defendants and members of the public while the police were giving their evidence. Probably the star turn was P.C. F. P. Phillips who wrongly identified the person he was supposed to have arrested, completely forgot where the incident took place and could not remember the name of his "very close colleague", until he was ordered to the cells by the magistrate and instructed not to speak to anyone who may have been able to refresh his memory. An identity parade was arranged. Fortunately his spell in custody refreshed his memory sufficiently to enable him to instantly quote name and number. A proud moment for British Justice.

Other memorable moments were provided in the evidence of Special Constable (5' 7") trying to make (5' 8") F. P. Jones who found a "defendant's person at the end of the defendant's arm", and P.C. F. P. Raymond La Pointe, C.G.T., who claimed that the lady defendant

leapt onto his "shoulders" and pounded his head with her handbag. This particular defendant is now in the running for a chance to display her athletic abilities in Mexico City later this year.

In his uproarious summing up, the magistrate accepted that one of the defence witnesses had to arise from his sick bed to witness the incident and therefore the accused were "inconsiderate" people. He refused to accept any other parts of the witness's evidence which included detailed descriptions of policemen losing control of their tempers, etc. The magistrate accepted that the accused were "happy people" which was indeed a good thing, but suggested that on this occasion they were "slap happy" people which was indeed a bad thing. He imposed fines and costs totalling £90, but was convinced this was an isolated lapse on behalf of the defendants and that they would never be involved with the law again.

Sanity was restored to the proceedings when the public gallery unanimously declared the accused innocent, and instructed Police Dog "Earl" of Highgate police station to keep his handler in better control in future or else both would have to be put down. The magistrate, however, passed a different verdict and the defendants were heavily fined.



A mini-cause for concern

The Black Dwarf

Labour Councillor: "If you have a rent strike . . ." Tenant Activist: "What do you mean IF?"

## TENANTS CONTROL

Valerie Deacon, Keith Veness

The recent rent rises imposed by the Tories have had a galvanising effect on tenants throughout London including militant tenants living in the Borough of Brent. The Brent Federation of Council Tenants representing nearly 10,000 tenants, has always been bitterly opposed to further rises in rents or any attacks on tenants' amenities or conditions.

In view of this the newly-returned Tory majority on the Council decided to adopt a "steam-roller" tactic to get the rise through the Council as swiftly as possible, to avoid any action by tenants to oppose it. Without consulting the Housing Committee or Finance Committee of the Council, the Finance Chairman, Alderman V. Sklar, introduced a motion at the council meeting to increase all rents by 7/6 per week immediately, followed by another 7/6 per week next year and the year after. This makes a total rise of over a pound a week by 1970. Despite the absence of many officers from the Federation due to holidays or lack of notice, over 50 tenants turned up at the council meeting to lobby councillors, and the Tories were booed and jeered every time they spoke. Finally the Mayor threatened to clear the council chamber and the police were needed to keep order.

Following this meeting the Tenants' Federation organised meetings to discuss further action in view of the attitude of the council. Each member association attempted to hold a public meeting to discover the views of the tenants. At the meeting in South Kilburn of the Alpha-Gorefield, Tollgate and Carlton Associations over 350 tenants and their families turned up to hear the local tenants' leader, Bill Deacon, and three Labour councillors, Councillors Dunbar, Lebor and Hartley, speak against the increases. A resolution was passed calling on the Federation to oppose the rent rises by every means possible including an all-out rent strike. When one Labour councillor said "If you have a rent strike", one of the tenants heckled "What do you mean 'if'?"

A similar story was repeated all over Brent borough; large meetings at Kinghaven (Wembley), Preston and Mall (Kenton), Explorers (Stonebridge) and Curson Crescent (Harlesden) Associations all approved of an all-out rent strike if the council did not capitulate. Letters were sent to the Housing Minister to show that the council meeting was unconstitutional and a large petition covering the whole borough has been circulated to all Associations at the time of writing.

have to find another pound extra for these places.

The Labour Party Y.S. swung into action to help the tenants and the Federation almost as soon as the rents were increased. Besides aiding the Federation in its activities the Y.S. branch sent a resolution to the Constituency Party (East Willesden) calling on it to pledge all the support it could to the tenants including a financial contribution and other material aid. This was passed unanimously and the Labour Party undertook to circulate the appeal to all wards and union branches affiliated to lend support and encouragement to the relevant Associations.

The Federation E.C. decided to try each of the items listed below in the following order:—

- Write to Ministry to try to get the rise annulled.
- Refuse co-operation in rent collection. The council would like to cut collections to once a fortnight, but this should be refused.
- To withhold the increase and pay the money to the Federation, which will release it when eviction is threatened but not before.
- An all-out rent strike as a last resort, failing success in any of the above.

At the time of going to press a Ministry the rises appears to be in the offing, though how much hope can be attached to this is debatable. A court injunction is being considered by the Federation if this is unsuccessful.

The lessons are becoming obvious to most tenants. The Tories are their enemies and must be fought. This is, however, only one of the lessons. What they have also realised is that:

- The local Labour Party bears little resemblance to the antics of Parliamentary cretins at Westminster, and is in fact their only political expression. This was realised in South Kilburn, where the Carlton Ward returned Labour Councillors with a bigger majority than previously, mainly due to the Tenants' Association.
- Only their own militancy will get them anywhere. M.P.s, Councillors and other officials are useless even in the defence

## Conservative Union Radical Teachers

C. Rosenberg (N.U.T.)

Teachers in Britain, at least at the lower end of the scale, are more badly paid than those of most European countries. Women primary school starters in urban areas (as an example) getting 47% of their Swedish counterparts, 67% of their German. At the same time the NUT, by far the biggest union, having more than a quarter million members (about seven times bigger than its nearest rival, the male NAS) is one of the most backward and conservative unions. Cause—the union—and effect—low pay—are plain to see.

Docility, however, is certainly not inherent in the profession. Within the last year alone we have seen the protracted and militant strike of American teachers; in the May-June events in France the teachers were among the first out, among the last in, and in many instances collaborated wholeheartedly with their pupils in their struggle against the authoritarian school; a Japanese comrade remarks that the teachers' union is the most militant in the Japanese equipment of the TUC (our DATA counterpart, no doubt). This story can be repeated in many countries.

Which just goes to show that there is much leeway that can be made up if the potential is stimulated to action. An inkling of this can be seen in the strong support given the feeble union effort over dinner supervision sanctions recently. In the distant past it was the Communist Party which led the left, both as regards militancy over salaries and socialist educational ideas. Till the Hungarian events, indeed, they constituted one of the C.P.'s biggest "industrial" factions, with hundreds of members. But since then their numbers have dropped catastrophically, and both politically and industrially (they ably assisted the sell out of teachers in the 1961 near-strike — the high point of teachers militancy in recent years) they have become effete among teachers, as elsewhere.

This leaves a wide-open field for the left, which must start again almost from scratch. Conditions are not easy to work in, as schools are small, primary schools having nearer 10 than 20 teachers and frequently less than 10; secondary schools with as many as 150 teachers being very rare and even these fragmented. The hierarchical capitalist institution of a school encourages a drift into a grove of careerism and conformism;



Most of them leave Secondary Moderns, some of them Grammar Schools between the ages of 16-18 and become police cadets. Their main motives seem to be the desire to escape boredom or to exercise power. For most of them, the exercise of power, however limited, holds a fatal fascination. They seemed a little sheepish when I tried to question them in detail. For them to be accepted involves doing well in tests involving both 'intelligence' and aggression. Though their training includes courses at their local technical college, Law and British Constitution, for example, they treat this essentially as an irrelevant time-killer. Independent enquiry is discouraged by their officers. Most of the cadets showed an astonishing and perhaps encouraging failure to grasp the simplest general idea and could only take notes if dictated so slowly that the average witness must leave them far behind. Nevertheless they were

eager to discuss political power. They equate 'politics' with two-party structure and find it boring as they see the two parties as being almost identical, as indeed they are. Corruption, the old-boy-network, privilege, the Queen and the House of Lords are ALL condemned. They longed to book Prince Charles' red mini, and believed that "no-one including the Queen, should be more equal than others". Disillusionment with the system led to a search for the scapegoat and, to quote the more acute, for an ideology.

Many believed in dictatorship, a few in a police state. As they hated disorganisation and chaos they thought dictatorship would bring discipline and efficiency. A few openly admired Nazi methods as well as policies.

Their analysis in some ways echoed Naziism: Trade Unionism is responsible for economic degeneration and a failure in the world competitive system. The blacks/

some suggest unionising the immigrants. They deny unusual brutality or victimisation of immigrants.

They view demonstrations as opportunities to exercise control and have a justifiable 'punch-up', as was evident on July 21st, when a large number of policemen not involved in the punch-up stood and clapped whenever a demonstrator was 'downed'. They also maintained that there was never any police violence.

Are the police fascists? Certainly all the essential ingredients are present. Petit-bourgeois backgrounds; intense nationalism; total contempt of 'democracy' as practised in the West and antagonism towards working-class organisations. But only a few of them are explicitly fascist. The rest would need a fascist movement to which they could respond. But we should remember one important thing: NEVER CALL A POLICEMAN A FASCIST. A FEW OF THEM MIGHT TAKE IT AS A COMPLIMENT.

A Teacher.

## A mini-cause for concern

### The Black Dwarf

7 Carlton Square, London, W1M 0JG

Highly Confidential

BLACK DWARF MEMORANDUM

To: Comrade Chief Inspector John Kenneth Jones 1 Special Branch (Black Dwarf Agent No. 666992)

Subject: Raid on Black Dwarf Office, 7 Carlisle Street, W1 Tuesday September 10th.

Well Done. A magnificent effort. You will be glad to learn that subscriptions, offers of help and money poured in and the issue sold out. Please pass on our congratulations to your superb team: Inspector John Bretnell Warwicker, Detective Sgt. Maurice Anthony Bracken, Detective Constable Edward Mather, Woman P.C. McGeorge and P.O. Kenneth Larter.

The Molotov Cocktail wall diagram was a first class idea if rather smudgily drawn. This did make it a little difficult for the evening television audience of twenty million to read but I think the basic idea of the design got through.

That said, there were some features of the raid that disturbed me. Could you have not shown a little more initiative and imagination in the selection of the seized items? A letter enquiring where to buy a helmet is all very well in itself but by itself the effect did seem (and forgive me if I sound harsh) a bit subtle. True you did seize two posters and the one advertising a benefit concert for Obi Egbuna on August 24th may yet prove invaluable. But that was all. Apart, of course, from the wall which certainly did its job. But just imagine Elwyn, a few old lemonade bottles and a canister of lighter fuel and we might have been able to recall Parliament.

But these are minor criticisms. Thanks to you and your men all of Gt. Britain now knows about the Black Dwarf and thanks to the enthusiastic responses by our other agents in The Evening News and The Times all of Gt. Britain now knows about the Vietnam Demonstration planned for October 26/27. Once again... Well Done Elwyn and many thanks.

signed  
Black Dwarf

the council did not capitulate. Letters were sent to the Housing Minister to show that the council meeting was unconstitutional and a large petition covering the whole borough has been circulated to all Associations at the time of writing.

In the Alpha-Gorefield Association a collection was taken among tenants and over £25 was collected in a fortnight. This example, plus the effect of the public meeting, spurred tenants on the nearby Queens Estate at Queens Park to force their Association to affiliate with the Federation and abandon its previous policy of avoiding agitation and undertaking only social activities.

The Association with the most to complain about, however, was Curson Crescent. Built pre-war in Harlesden, this estate is a public disgrace. Repairs are rarely undertaken until it is too late. The houses are old, cramped, and poorly designed. Tenants have discovered rats, mice and cockroaches in their baths, larders, and on one occasion even in their bed. To expect to pay over a pound a week more for these slums seemed beyond all toleration.

Another estate which could feel justifiably angered is Chalkhill/Barnhill at Wembley. The houses here pay a so-called "Economic rent," which means they are excluded from government reliefs or local rebate schemes and as a result pay between £9 and £12 a week in rents. Now the tenants will

formed Labour... a bigger majority than previously, mainly due to the Tenants' Association.  
b) Only their own militancy will get them anywhere. M.P.s, Councillors and other officials are useless even in the defence of the tenants, and only their Associations can represent them. This is not meant as a slight to Labour Councillors John Lebor and Louise Dunbar, who have fought a principled and exemplary campaign in support of the tenants.

As Socialists we should realise that tenants' struggles help to reverse the non-political attitude many workers have lapsed into since the coming to power of Wilson and his gang. As Socialists also we cannot ignore any struggle of the working class to defend its rights, and so-called Marxists who argue that "Tenants' struggles are irrelevant" or "We can't spare the time or the people for that sort of thing" are, in reality, abdicating a role they should be playing. If you won't support a tenant in keeping his rent down, you can hardly expect him to support you when you wish to go much further! We should say firmly:  
NOT A PENNY ON THE RENT!!  
SMASH THE RENT RISES!!  
TENANTS' CONTROL!! MAKE THE COUNCIL OPEN ITS BOOKS AND SHOW THE AMOUNT IT PAYS TO THE MONEYLENDERS!!!

10 than 20 teachers and frequently less than 10; secondary schools with as many as 1:0 teachers being very rare and even these fragmented. The hierarchical capitalist institution of a school encourages a drift into a grove of careerism and conformism; conditions of overcrowding and understaffing encourage any latent tendency towards a prison-warden's attitude to discipline and a reactionary social outlook.

But this can change, as other countries show, and the current political scene inspires the hope of speedy change. Bursting in optimistically upon this scene is "RANK & FILE, an Organ of Progressive Teachers", whose third issue is out in mid-September. Its advent in April this year struck an immediate chord, largely among younger socialists who are teachers, but also among older militants who have fought salary and educational battles in the union for years. RANK & FILE straddles the two aspects of the union struggle covered by these somewhat different sources of support—for a reformed content and form of education for pupils, and for improved teachers' conditions. An important London RANK & FILE meeting will be held on Friday, 27th September, at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, at 7-30 p.m. to discuss the way ahead to building a strong left wing among teachers, and to elect a representative committee. All teachers who read this are invited to come.

## ADVERTISEMENT

### TO ALL LABOUR PARTY COMRADES!

The Czechoslovak communists are opposed to conservatism and reaction in the West as much as to conservatism and reaction in the East. They can receive no support from any capitalist government, or from NATO, or from any opponent of world communism. Even Britain's Labour government cannot support them, if it remains a government dominated by capitalism. BEFORE OUR LABOUR GOVERNMENT CAN SUPPORT THE FREE COMMUNISTS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, IT MUST JOIN THEM IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNIST FREEDOM. It must disarm the bosses, ARM THE WORKERS FOR SELF-DEFENCE, strengthen itself against the establishment and capitalism in every way necessary, and NATIONALIZE THE 100 MONOPOLIES UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL. In other words, it must become in practice what it is in name: i.e. a real Labour Government. It is true that this will mean civil war. As TROTSKY wrote (in "Where is Britain Going?") "It is necessary to understand clearly that if a real Labour Government came to power in Britain even in the most untrammelled manner, a civil war would be revealed as inevitable. The Labour Government would be compelled to suppress the opposition of the privileged classes." But we have no need to fear class war: throughout the world, ours is the winning side.

### THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

The Labour Government is the only democratically-elected sovereign authority in Britain. Yet, despite Labour's four-year period in office, the employers and bankers still hold the lion's share of the state power, and are able to use it against the Government. We see this in the capitalist economic crisis, the wage-freeze obtained by the employers, the speculators' attacks and the price and rent rises. On every economic issue, the Labour Government has yielded to the superior force of the ruling class. To defeat our rulers nationally, we will need a revolution. This should be bloodless and constitutional, provided the employers don't use violence.

By a Government Enabling Act if need be, all remaining industries and political power must be taken from the capitalist class. Without this power, the Government can do little to freeze rents or prices, raise wages through a fair incomes policy, or impose order and security on the economy. Given the state power, the Government could, at the very least, do all it has promised for the working class.

In a month's time we could be beginning to plan production scientifically, without waste. This would produce an immediate doubling of exports and a doubling of living standards, on the basis of a working week of thirty hours or less. We would all have time to educate ourselves in management, distribution, design, etc.

All tenants would be given the houses they are living in as their own — without further rent or other payments to make. They have a right to own their houses since most tenants have paid for them already in rents. Present owner-occupiers (subject to the agreement of Tenants' Associations) would be left with their own houses, with mortgages annulled. The funds of loan sharks would be confiscated without compensation. Insurance companies like the Prudential would be taken over. Underutilized buildings such as Buckingham Palace, country mansions, etc. would be wholly or partially taken over and utilized, after consultation with their present occupants on a comradely basis.

THIS YEAR HAS SEEN THE OUTBREAK OF REVOLUTION ALL OVER THE WORLD. In March was the unprecedented gold crisis and the

biggest wave of student demonstrations history has seen. In the same month came the sudden liberation of the Czechoslovakia press, television and Communist party. In May came the world labour movement's biggest demonstration of workers' power to date: ten million workers spontaneously took over the factories of France for nearly a month. Now the same breath of freedom is spreading and battling against conservative bureaucracy throughout Eastern Europe, even entering into the Soviet Union itself. The world's conservatives — especially the two "Great Powers" — are afraid. They are afraid of their own young and restless people much more than of each other.

The revolution's aim is this: workers' control. Victory will make workers free not only in streets and at meetings, but in their own places of work. Workers will hire and fire their own managements, as was beginning to happen in Czechoslovakia before the Kremlin bureaucrats moved in their tanks — afraid that such freedom would spread into Russia.

"Trotskyists" — mainly young people in Eastern and Western Europe — are the inspiration behind events in both France and Czechoslovakia. Their ideal is free and world-wide Communism. Their enemies are both United States Imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucrats.

The United States Imperialists fear revolution because it would deprive them of their multi-million-dollar investments all over the world. The Kremlin bureaucrats were afraid of the French revolution because they knew that if it succeeded, it could not be controlled from Moscow and would spread the torch of workers' control into East Europe and Russia. So they helped De Gaulle stamp it out.

Workers' control does not mean that management and managers will be abolished. On the contrary. Under a free Communist system, all workers will become managerial workers. Growing automation and "computerization" demands that work itself should become PRIMARILY the enjoyable work of controlling and managing production. The job of management will be much easier after the revolution because only machines, not people, will have to be managed. All people will be on the management side. Managers, instead of having to treat people as if they were machines, will only have to deal with real machines.

Compared with human labourers real machines are far more obedient. Unlike labourers, they don't object to being exploited at all! Computerized machines never rebel against their masters and can do mechanical, routine jobs far more efficiently than humans. Under free Communism the working people themselves will become the managers and exploiters, managing far more powerfully than today's bosses because they will employ mechanical limbs and electronic brains especially made by man to be obedient and serve his interests unquestioningly. Trying to treat people as machines — as units of 'labour' and instruments for producing wealth — is not only a barbarous survival from the past. It is also inefficient, and, in the long run impossible. The people will always rebel.

Under free Communism, Government will become omnipotent. There will be no people, only machines and things, to govern. The Labour Government in this country will, through a revolution, become all-powerful — because "Labour", i.e. the working people as a whole, will themselves all join the Government, and become the Government. Through machines for communicating, like television, satellites and London's G.P.O. tower, Government everywhere will become world-wide and all-powerful, since the only things to be governed will be the unresisting machines.

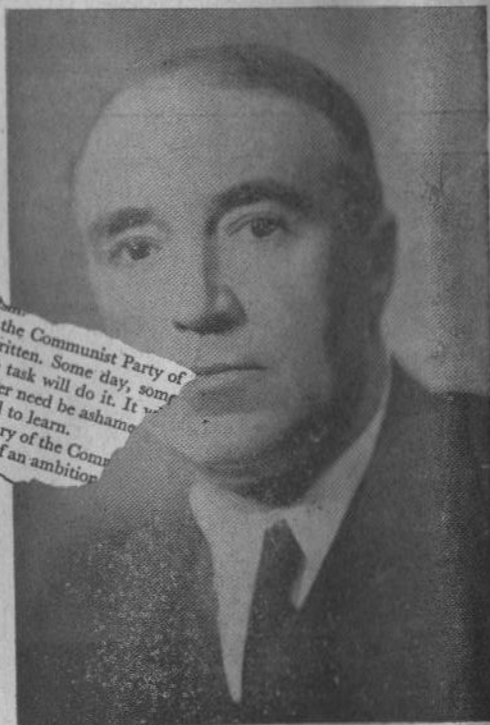
### WORKERS! STUDENTS! HOUSEWIVES!

This advertisement has been paid for by the "Lenin Club's" Campaign for a Stronger Labour Government. We are trying to raise £10,000 for a series of advertisements in the National Press. If you would like to help trade unionists provide the TUC and the Labour Party with an alternative and more powerful government, please send 10/- to John Crook (treasurer of the Lenin Club), 47 Quarry Rd., Tunbridge Wells, Kent. BRING ALL POWER TO THE WORKING CLASS, THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT, TO UNITE BRITAIN WITH FRANCE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!



# Comrades : Cast away your soiled shirts

BY  
**PETER FRYER**



HARRY POLLITT

*The fundamental history of the Communist Party of Great Britain has yet to be written. Some day, some comrade specially gifted for the task will do it. It will be a history from which no worker need be ashamed to study or from which they will fail to learn. When I became General Secretary of the Communist Party I had in mind the fulfilment of an ambition...*

fellow-Marxists and, in due course, help build a new revolutionary socialist party.

**The British CP, it is now glaringly apparent, should never have been formed in the first place.** Its historical role has been to divert two generations of British would-be revolutionaries into a political frontier guard—pathetically incompetent and ineffective—on behalf of the Soviet leaders.

We can't, of course, turn the clock back to 1920. What we can do is set our hands to the job that should have been done in 1920, but wasn't. And do this, perhaps, as sadder but wiser men.

In due course a revolutionary socialist party will take shape in Britain. Communists, along with other Marxists, could and should now be discussing its programme, principles, and organisational methods—and how it can be built.

If the British CP tries to stand in the way of this necessary regroupment and reorientation of the Left and (if I may so express it) this reawakening of the revolutionary conscience in Britain—then it will speedily join the ILP in the ranks of the political fossils.

If, on the other hand, it makes its first truly independent political act its last, it will have done something to atone for half a century of theoretical decay and practical misleadership.

On the eve of the Russian revolution Lenin called on social-democrats (as Marxists then styled themselves) to 'cast off the soiled shirt' of their hopelessly compromised, pro-imperialist-war, social-democratic label. Let real revolutionaries proudly acknowledge themselves as communists, Lenin wrote.

**Fifty years later, the British CP is such another soiled shirt. So soiled, that no amount of washing will restore it to its original shade of red.**

**Better, dear Comrades of the Communist Party, to cast it away. And get on with the real work.**

pre-1920 British Marxist groups, and replacing them with a good deal of made-in-Moscow nonsense, such as the theory of 'social-fascism' to explain the Labour Party, and the remarkable programme **For Soviet Britain** (1935).

Following the 7th and last World Congress of the Comintern in 1935, and the turn to a 'popular front' policy, the party gradually cast aside, not only the nonsense, but also everything that had ever made it a revolutionary party.

Some things, to be sure, it cast aside temporarily — but just long enough, and firmly enough, to damage its standing in the eyes of its allies on the Left. Thus, anti-fascism went into cold storage between October 1939 and June 1941 (i.e., before Hitler's attack on the USSR); and anti-conservatism was temporarily in cold storage for several months before the 1945 general election, when the party was calling, not for a Labour victory over the Tories, but for a 'new National Government'.

Other fundamentals were cast aside for good. 'Unofficial' industrial activity was curbed in the late thirties, and the party has never taken kindly to it since. Workers' councils, proletarian revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat were abandoned in **The British Road to Socialism** (adopted in January 1951).

But one thing the party had always held firm to: its unswerving loyalty to the Soviet Union. And this, as King Street interpreted it, meant supporting (in public, at any rate) everything said and done by whoever happened to be in power in the Kremlin at any given moment.

Now this last bastion has been abandoned. Of the aims and principles that brought the party into being in 1920, not one remains in anything resembling its original shape.

It's easy, and generally pointless, to dream about what might have

been. If King Street and the **Daily Worker** (as it then was) had taken an independent line 12 years ago, at the time of the Hungarian revolution, the British CP might, just possibly, have developed into a serious force on the Left.

But they have left it too late, these aging leaders of an aging party. The young people who have been coming into Left-wing politics in the past few years regard the CP as a bit of a joke, a bit of a nuisance, and a bit of a bore. Neither what it says nor the way it says it seem to have much relevance...

Young Marxists who carry this reasonably sceptical view of the CP

a bit further, and study its appalling history (and I mean appalling: only study its history, Comrades, and you will be appalled, outraged, sickened) may well ask: Since the CP has junked its last remaining shibboleth, why shouldn't it take the logical next step, and dissolve the party altogether?

With the CP dissolved, its members would be free as individuals to go Rightwards or Leftwards, as they chose. No doubt a lot of them would feel at home in the Labour Party. Others, freed from hatchmen breathing down their necks with warnings about 'disruptive elements', would join forces with their

In one of J. B. Priestley's time-plays, the characters pull themselves out of the rut of their previous existences by a supreme act of will. They change their lives for the better—but they feel 'rather cold, small, lonely', like men 'suddenly born into a strange new world'.

Similar feelings are currently gripping the British Communist Party, whose condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia is its first serious public disagreement with the CPSU. After 48 years, the world is suddenly strange and new for the British communists.

The party has violated its deepest taboo. It is in a state of shock. But to realize just how big a shock it has given itself, we must study its history.

This is something the party itself has never been willing to do. Tom Bell's short history, published in 1937, was bitterly attacked for its sectarianism by Allen Hutt, who questioned the wisdom of any 'separate History of the Communist Party at this stage'.

That was 31 years ago. Since then, the zigs and zags in party policy have been still more numerous, and more embarrassing, than before. For new recruits, detailed party history always begins at the last big turn, and what happened before that is fed to them in the form of myths about heroes. All great. All, alas, dead.

Historical documents are grossly tampered with—as the two volumes of Harry Pollitt's **Selected Articles and Speeches** (1953-54) were silently 'corrected' in many places by their editor Emile Burns—to conform to the current line.

Thus members are denied the data on which they might profitably question their leaders' past wisdom, infallibility, and devotion to the British working class.

Now, the British CP spent its first 15 years 'bolshevizing' itself. This entailed, among other things, expunging all the traditions carried over into the new party from the

# LETTERS

I'm a French student and I listened to you when you talked something on the lions of Trafalgar Square; I bought your Black Dwarf. And I read at the chapter "Letters" a letter of Mr. Rubinstein with "orthodoxy" as a title.

I wish this Mr. Rubinstein could have been with the groups of students who met the workers occupying their factory (And I don't talk about Paris where it was the most spectacular).

A lot of workers weren't on strike for an importance of wages. The syndicates said that, but the syndicates had never called for a strike. When they were on their own factory and kept it working (because for reasons of security a lot of factories can't be stopped like Electricity-controls, Petrol refineries, and so on), they realised they could easily go without bosses and all the factory-police system. The factories have never been so clean and so well-kept. And there was a lot of problems especially of stockage (There was no traffic any more). They realised they could control the factories.

A lot of workers and particularly in Renault thought about more than a rise in wages or a change of President of the Republic. Of course because of the propaganda they were often talking about "Adventurists" and "pro-Chinese"; but it doesn't matter when it's just a question of words, they had almost the same purposes (without knowing it).

In Renault they said they wanted a 1,000Fr. wage because they knew that the capitalist system couldn't give it to them. Some workers would have been ready to defend their factory with weapons in case of fascist or CRS attacks, all over the country.

Everywhere there were workers, strikes appeared (Post-office, factories, university-kitchen, and even the Folies-Bergeres). You can be sure that for a lot of people there was the desire for social change.

For students it was quite certain; and a lot have discovered and approved of the policy of Chairman Mao. More than 30,000 copies of the Red Book have been sold in the Sorbonne. Now there is an army of real revolutionary students, even if they've got to improve themselves.

But if there wasn't a revolutionary situation as Mr. Rubinstein says, it was for subjective ones. Workers themselves with black stars, castrate themselves with their own hands.

If they agree with the sentiments we express we ask them to write something on the paper, so that in a short time we have built up a wall magazine of passers by's comments about the war and its wider implications. In a very short time, we have built up a living newspaper that might say something like this:

"The Vietcong are still fighting. The Americans ought to go home and leave them alone."

"If they want Communism let them have it. It's no business of the Yanks".

"Good luck to them, I say."

"I don't like them burning babies".

... and so on.

The political comment is often at a fairly low level — but what the hell, it's not a Marxist discussion group, it's a newspaper made up by the people themselves.

If people disagree with the paper, well then we talk to them and try and show them why we're campaigning. Occasionally, you get a really stropy bugger who's just out to wreck what you're trying to do, but in general people who do stop are willing to chat.

If people seem genuinely interested, we give them a leaflet about Vietnam and ask them if we can send someone to their Trade Union, Youth Cub, school or whatever to speak to them. We sell booklets, NLF bags, papers and anything that we think people might be interested in. Occasionally people join VSC — we had five join yesterday and some financial donations from sympathisers. Above all, we meet some great blokes — shop stewards, old time socialists from the days of the ILP, student activists, apprentices and young workers. We take their names and addresses and intend to follow them up with regular notification of VSC activity.

In doing this, we've learnt quite a few things that people elsewhere might like to know. I know that a lot of VSC groups wonder what on earth to do to build up grass roots support and reject so many plans that they end up doing nothing at all. The first point is, strangely enough — do it. A time comes just before you go out, when you don't want to do it, you find any excuse for staying in the pub at lunchtime and not getting out. But, once you've started, the nerves go

and you should wait patiently

wherever we can. It's difficult to tell the results of this — double the leaflets are read and sink into the consciousness, but it's difficult to assess the feedback in a positive way. With this method of getting out where the people goes, we do have some positive indication of people's feeling about the war, and also about ourselves.

We also hope to run the nights on overspill estates where kids have nowhere to go in the evening. This has not been done yet (mainly due to my own incompetence) but should yet yield useful results when we do get around to it.

We are convinced in Manchester that the only way to build a strong political movement of support for the Vietcong, with the overtones of socialism in this country that position must imply, is to get working-class support for the position of the VSC. No-one is to have any clear idea of how we do this, but I think that in Manchester we might have hit on a fairly good idea. If people in other parts of the country have come on how they're going about it should be very pleased to hear from them.

David A. Cla...

## MAO ON THE UNITED FRONT

Dear Comrades,

I think the greatest lesson I learnt from July 21st is that other one or two demos were that one, which was pointed out, will lose any support cause may have among masses.

Therefore I think it important that the whole Vietnam movement moves its emphasis from demonstrations to canvassing more part so that it goes from strength. We have shown power lies in the street but is USELESS without the support of the masses.

To those who were involved in battles on July 21st, I quote Chairman Mao on the United Front Cultural Work:—

"All work done for the masses must start from their needs, not from the desire of any individual, HOWEVER WELL-INTENTIONED. It often happens that the masses need a change but subjectively they are not yet willing or determined to make the change. In such cases we should wait patiently

# Sabotage the Mexico Olympics

Gordon Peters

Few self-perpetuating maxims have received as little criticism as the notion that sport is a non-political activity. It has, so far as

the proper alternative to wanking are familiar to all readers of boys' magazines of the turn of the century. But sport is not only a

lad's who have "made it". In the old days, those who made it got a pub or a sports outfitters. A step up, anyway. George Best's

Open brimmed with the joys of rags to riches. Most subtly corrupting, but affecting directly many more people, the same

youth in attempts to hit the big time. And many hundreds of thousands, by associating themselves with black stars, castrate themselves with their own hands.



Few self-perpetuating maxims have received as little criticism as the notion that sport is a non-political activity. It has, so far as I know, never been mooted that the whole business might be totally undesirable.

There are at least four grounds in which sport is generally objectionable.

- 1) It encourages the "competitive spirit".
- 2) As at present organised, it encourages the crudest forms of nationalism.
- 3) The emphasis of physical fitness is essentially militarist.
- 4) The idea of "mens sana in corpore sano" (with its overtones that the beautiful are good) is Fascist.

But, in society now, there is a more important objection: sport now serves as a major opiate of the people.

There are, of course, strong links between sport and religion. The cold tub and a brisk run as

the proper alternative to wanking are familiar to all readers of boys' magazines of the turn of the century. But sport is not only a prophylactic to such upper class obsessions: a couple of years ago the revival of Sunderland's football team was seriously reported as a major factor in the 'high morale' of Tyneside when that area's unemployment rate was around ten per cent.

You might argue that this effect of sport is beneficial if the end results are desirable, for instance that the application of Maoist principles and enthusiasm to table tennis is positively beneficial.

However, particularly in professional sport in the western world, the end results are highly undesirable. At best, it offers the working class a spurious "escape route" from its toils. The complacency and general reactionariness of top sportsmen is hardly surprising when it is remembered that they are mostly working class

lads who have "made it". In the old days, those who made it got a pub or a sports outfitters. A step up, anyway. George Best's boutique is only a change in style, not kind.

There were, of course, a very large number who didn't make it. They are, perhaps, fewer now, but still around; punchy boxers, cricketers picking up a bit of coaching work, footballers mixing part-time play in a minor league with labouring. Brian Statham, the "model" cricketer, found himself on the dole during the winter. Albert Scanlon, of Manchester United after Munich, forced to the top before he was ready for it, works in a steel mill. Randolph Turpin lost a fortune and killed himself. Not everybody gets on the gravy train by attachment to the monopolistic Bagenal Harvey.

Yet the few successes are used to justify the system. At its crudest, the headlines when Lee Trevino won this year's American Golf

Open brimmed with the joys of rags to riches. Most subtly corrupting, but affecting directly many more people, is the same promise provided by the gambling industry. It's no longer that the family is likely to be directly ruined through gambling, just that its whole attitude to life — and to leisure — is perverted by the illusion of wealth at the end of the rainbow.

Another area where sports are used to suggest that all is well with the system, the Olympics, has just at last come under attack. The Project for Human Rights, most associated with the proposed boycott of the U.S. Olympic team by black athletes, but with other strings to its bow including the reinstatement of Mohammad Ali, points out that the alleged and vaunted "integration" in the sports arena is phoney.

For a black athlete, there are even few who make it. But many thousands waste their precious

youth in attempts to hit the big time. And many hundreds of thousands, by associating themselves with black stars, castrate themselves politically.

It will be a courageous act for a black runner to face the storm of execration which will greet him if he stays out of the Olympic team, or otherwise disrupts the Mexican Games. It may turn out too much to ask — and the white press will claim the movement is a paper tiger.

But they will be wrong: the impact of the proposals has already reached far beyond the surface ripples; not only the American sporting establishment, but the whole caboodle could come crashing if the message isn't heeded that the people can't be fooled all the time.

It would be ironic, but should not be surprising, if "non-political" sports, because they have been so little considered, turn out to become revolutionary flashpoint.

of the Red Book have been and in the Sorbonne. Now there is an army of real revolutionary students, even if they've got to improve themselves.

But if there wasn't a revolutionary situation as Mr. Rubinstein says, it was for subjective ones. Workers have been lacking a real leadership for over 15 years; and that was the reason of their being asleep. It was more easy for students to discover the real nature of the PCF (Parti "Communiste" Francais) because they are young and haven't known it when it was a great party. They had no loyalty to it, and above all they were not much influenced by its pacifist and surrendering ideas. It wasn't quite the same among workers: we must know that the real revolutionary workers were a minority; but a lot were in advance of the revisionist theories. For example, when thousands and thousands of workers were asking for wages to correspond to the rising price of living, they were asking for the negation of capitalism, which gives something with one hand and takes it back with the other.

No there wasn't a revolutionary situation: Mr. Rubinstein is right. But he is quite wrong when he describes the people as a flock of reformists. It's a revisionist idea not to trust the masses.

I support your movement and I wish you'll get lots of success.

Fraternally,  
A Student Under Restraint.

**WHAT IS AND CAN BE DONE!**

We spend an immense amount of time talking to each other — International Socialists go to Communist Party meetings, the Anarchists and the International Marxist Group work together with the Maoists and IS, the YCL goes to VSC meetings and so on. This is all to the good and helps us all to find new ways of working together, find common ground for discussion and helps to clear up points of difference. But, too often we find that this becomes the totality of our activity.

In an attempt to find new ways of putting across our ideas to a larger society, Manchester VSC has been trying out the technique of going to a street market and finding a quiet spot where we stick a large sheet of paper on to a wall. We then write on the top of the paper "The Vietcong are still fighting". Then, about three or four of us stop people as they walk past and say, "Excuse me, what do you think of that?" If they stop and chat — and a lot do — we just talk to them about Vietnam, about Imperialism and the wage freeze, about the situation generally. We don't talk at them or shout or hold a public meeting, we merely chat with the passers by in the market.

that they are doing nothing at all. The first point is, strangely enough — do it. A time comes just before you go out, when you don't want to do it, you find any excuse for staying in the pub at lunchtime and not getting out. But, once you've started, the nerves go pretty quickly and if you find that it's fairly easy after all, even if you are a bit shy. People are generally surprised that you actually want to talk to them about politics and that you're not trying to sell them something. A lot of them just walk on and won't stay — there's no point in chasing them because there's always someone else coming by who might be interested. Also, we found it best not to shout at people and create a song and dance — you get much further by just generally chatting about this and that. Also, a lot of people are genuinely concerned and pleased to see you — a good indication of this came last week when a silly old woman tried to tear down the newspapers and the people standing around said "No, let them alone: We agree with them: It's a free country and so on".

We haven't had any trouble from the police at all. We try not to create an obstruction, we stick the paper on the wall with drafting tape so that we can take it off if need be, and one is allowed to take collections within earshot of a public meeting, though even here, one has to be careful. I suspect that if a constable did tell us to move on, we would, having first asked the crowd that gathers to come with us and made a general appeal to them. I don't think that the police would have a leg to stand on if they did try and nick us, but as they haven't tried at all I don't expect they bother very much.

As the mobilisation for the October demonstration gets under way, we intend to have these wall magazines all over the show, building up support at grass roots level. We can go to the markets and make them, the shopping centres outside the libraries and anywhere where people congregate. Our feeling is that we probably do more with the two or three hundred people that we can speak to in one afternoon than any number of crazy adventures down Park Lane. We also feel that when the only opinions that people receive are those from the Bourgeois press (The "Daily Express" sells 5 million, the "Morning Star" 60,000) then it is a good thing if we can get and about and push our line to at least a section of the public.

We have tried other methods of getting support in the past: Leaflets at the factory gate, outside the branch meetings of the Unions and also speaking to organisations

not from the desire of any individual, HOWEVER WELL INTENTIONED, it often happens that the masses need a change but subjectively they are not yet willing or determined to make the change. In such cases we should wait patiently, should not make the change through our work, most of the masses have become conscious of the need and are willing determined to carry it out. Otherwise we shall isolate ourselves from the masses. Unless we are conscious and willing, any kind of work that requires their participation will turn out to be a formality and will fail.

This is why I think that although demos are useful, we must mount a massive campaign to inform the masses of the struggle of the Vietnamese and to link it to that of the British Working Class. This could be done by local groups (VSC, IS, YCL, etc.) holding street meetings with speakers putting our case coherently and also by greatly stepping up propaganda.

Bruce Robinson.

55 Chitern Court, Baker Street

**WESTERN FALLACY**

As a regular reader of this paper I feel I must write this letter to you that the whole of the next issue will not be devoted to propagating an already near-universal Western fallacy. This concerns the Russian motivations for entering Czechoslovakia. First I would like to state that the Czech politicians and people are genuine in their desire for a more liberal system of Marxist socialism. However, since January, through no real fault of the Czech government's considerable numbers of CIA agents and West German reactionary forces a similar nature have been infiltrating Czechoslovakia in an attempt to pervert the people's desire for reform. This situation the Russians pointed out to the Czechs at Cierna and asked them to expel or eliminate these Western agents. The Czechs presumably undertook this but the Russian invasion indicates that the Czechs were either unsuccessful or, more likely, made no serious attempt to stamp out this menace to their country. This is the main reason for the Russian invasion. Perhaps if we could see all the ditches in Czechoslovakia we would see a couple of hundred CIA men lying in a grave they hardly deserve. They deserve a sewer for it is they by the provocation of their attempted exploitation of the situation who may have endangered Czech liberty. The United States have done it again! Long live Dubcek and the Czech people!

John Macdonald.  
The Chase, Chigwell Row, Essex

**ADVERTISEMENT**

**"LABOUR'S POWER" SAYS —  
BACK THE ENGINEERS WITH EVERYTHING!**

**OUR PROGRAMME FOR THE LABOUR PARTY:  
DISARM THE BOSSES!  
ALL ARMS, INDUSTRIES AND POWER TO  
THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT!**

1. End the wage-freeze—make the bosses pay.
2. IMMEDIATE RENT-FREEZE.
3. Disarm the bosses and arm the workers for self-defence.
4. STRIP THE LORDS AND THE CROWN OF POWER, AND BRING ALL POWER IN THE STATE TO THE WORKING CLASS, THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT.
5. New elections throughout the Labour movement to change leaders where necessary.
6. NATIONALIZE THE 200 MONOPOLIES UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.
7. End unemployment by sharing out the work.
8. NO PAY BELOW £30 OR ABOVE £60 PER WEEK.
9. Automate, computerize and plan all production.
10. EXTEND REVOLUTION TO EAST AND WEST EUROPE.

**WORKERS!**

THIS IS OUR PROGRAMME. IF YOU AGREE WITH IT, ATTEND YOUR TRADE UNION AND LABOUR PARTY MEETINGS AND HELP US TO PUT IT INTO PRACTICE. IF YOU ARE A UNIVERSITY STUDENT, SUPPORT THE UNIVERSITIES' CAMPAIGN FOR A STRONGER LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

PLEASE SEND ME "LABOUR'S POWER" WEEKLY FOR THE NEXT 6 (OR 3) MONTHS. I ENCLOSE £1 (OR 10/-).

Name .....  
Address .....

To: P.O. Box 12, Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, W.1.

Just Published  
**CONTEMPORARY ISSUES**  
Vol. 13, No. 51, September, 1968

Boycott the Invaders of Czechoslovakia! 2,000 Words.

Foreshadowings of a New World—Reflections Suggested by the Students' Movement and the Events in France ... Andrew Maxwell

Black Panther Party for Self-Defense—Documents ..... Eldridge Cleaver, Kathleen Cleaver, etc.

Release Cleaver Campaign—A Report On The Greek Coup ..... A Student of Greek Society

Comment on "On The Greek Coup" ..... Lionel Robertson

Monkey Number Nine ..... Basil Druit

(Insert: Leaflet on Biafra)  
3/6 Post Free from 81 Old Park Ridings, London, N.21

"Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung". In most languages. Now only 2/6 per copy Post paid.

20 or more copies—10% discount. "Inside story of Tibet" by R. D. Senanayake 3/- per copy post paid.

Selections of Afro-Asian Caricatures, anti-imperialism. 6/- per copy post paid.

**BAILEY CHINA CULTURAL CO., LTD.**  
54 MILL ROAD, CAMBRIDGE.

**CLASSIFIED**

**First Aid for October.** October 26th may be somewhat violent. For those who might be injured or crushed by the mob or whatever, a group is organising a first-aid set up which will involve on the spot first-aid and removal to field hospitals. We need: Sympathetic doctors and nurses, anyone who has a van and will drive for us, and bread possible from £5 to 1/6 P.O.s., information about possible halls, pads, etc. for use as field hospitals, and anything else you can think of yourself. If you can help in any way, please write to Cindy Scott, c/o IT, 22 Betterton Street, WC2.

**Rehearsal for the Referendum.** Come and record your vote against the Greek dictatorship outside the Greek Embassy, 51 Upper Brook Street, W1, on Sunday, September 22nd, at 3 p.m. LONDON GROUP FOR THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY IN GREECE.

**PIONEER Book Service**  
Sells Marxist Literature; Early and late Trotsky pamphlets, Cuban literature, Intercontinental Press, Vive Che badges, etc. For Free Catalogue write to: Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee St., London, E.1.

We specialise in the printing of underground and other newspapers. (We are proud to print "The Black Dwarf".) Most economical price in Britain. Broad-sheets — letterpress; litho — tabloids, including German at no extra cost.—Chapple Ltd., Bala, N. Wales. Tel: Bala 429.



# STALINISM '68

## Havana and Prague

By Fred Halliday

Fidel's support for the invasion of Czechoslovakia has dismayed many supporters of the Cuban revolution.

Cubans have openly criticised Russians on previous occasions over the withdrawal of missiles in 1962, over the policy of Communist ties in Latin America and on the nature of economic relations between Cuba and the rest of the socialist camp. In addition, the Cubans were well informed on the nature of events in Czechoslovakia. Klementina published the reports of both Eastern and Western news agencies before and after the invasion; the Czech government's denunciation of the invasion was also published and the Czech technicians in Havana were allowed to hold a public demonstration to condemn it.

There is no point in saying that Cubans were forced to support Russians because economic pressure was brought to bear on them. This has not prevented them from denouncing the Soviets in the past; it did not prevent them from doing so now either. Fidel quite correctly drew a series of important conclusions from the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia necessary. Dubcek was correcting real mistakes and crimes committed by his Stalinist predecessors. Fidel denounced in particular the loss of contact between the masses and the leadership and the disappearance of socialist ideals after twenty years of bureaucratic rule.

For the Cubans it is the deformed internal policies of the socialist countries which they feel most intensely: the countries of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, too conciliatory to imperialism and too selfish to the underdeveloped socialist states. They only attacked the Russians for this in 1965, and Fidel reiterates this point. He shows that if the Russians prepared to suppress counter-

arguments do not prove it, because much of what he mentions as happening in Czechoslovakia has been happening, more or less, in the other countries of the Warsaw Pact. Novdia Dubcek's reforms amount to a drift towards imperialism. The Soviet Union is also prepared to trade with the West. Revolutionaries in the West may disagree with the policies of the Dubcek government; but there is no evidence that they were moving towards capitalism! And even though there were anti-socialist and anti-Soviet tendencies, these will only have been strengthened by the re-imposition of Soviet control.

What is even more fundamental is whether the Russian action had anything to do with socialism at all. The Russians have not got a consistently socialist foreign policy. They are fixated by the—largely—non-existent danger of West Germany. As Fidel points out the number one enemy is US imperialism, and yet the countries of Eastern Europe are trying to conciliate it. Nor are the Russians interested in developing socialism at home. Their position, domestically and internationally, is defensive.

The lesson is clear: the rulers of the Soviet Union are always willing to act when their own interests are threatened, but not in order to advance socialism. The amount they are prepared to give the Cubans and Vietnamese is nothing compared to what they are prepared to spend in sending 650,000 troops into Czechoslovakia.

We could support Fidel if we accepted the political argument that socialism was threatened in Czechoslovakia, and that the Russian intervention protected it. We could support the Russians if this were so and if they drew the socialist consequences of it: if they gave massive,



get thee behind me, stalin

## PRAGUE 21 AUGUST 1968

Brian Laver

When the Russians began firing from heavy calibre machine guns and light automatic weapons at the National Museum about 11 a.m. on Wednesday the 21st August, the first day of occupation, there were only ten of us in the rooms of the Union of the Czechoslovak Students.

I had met some of them a month before and had helped them explain the development of socialist humanism in their country, to the students and young workers from the other established European socialist countries in Sofia, Bulgaria. At the Youth Festival the Russians, the East Germans and the Bulgarians had been especially uncommunicative. Only isolated revolutionary Marxist students had been receptive to the Czech experiment of socialist democratisation. We went to the conference together. I helped them formulate and paint in huge bulk letters on the side of their festive train MARX IS ALIVE IN PRAHA. When we left Sofia for Prague, they were concerned with the lack of understanding from their socialist brothers but all of them were certain that Russia would not interfere with their independent experiment.

A sense of disbelief penetrated the room that morning, more this, than anger, even when the bullets tore into their national monument at the top of Wenceslas Square. They had been in action already that morning distributing leaflets in Russian to the troops asking them sadly "why they had come". Many knew the answer, but they were sure the Russian soldiers did not. The Russian replies revealed their stupidity and rationalization. They were there to defend the Czechoslovak country from West German imperialism and counter-revolutionaries. The students argued that the Czech army was capable of that. The students explained that almost nobody wanted a return to capitalism

of this occupation for socialism and especially how it could be solved with the regaining of independence. Most were very pessimistic of the outcome. They knew that no demonstrations in the West could help. They were pleased however when reports came in that such manifestations were taking place. They were even more pleased to see that they were being led by socialist revolutionaries under the slogan "Socialism yes — Stalinism no". At Sofia they had expressed to me that the Western revolutionary socialist forces well understood what they were doing. Some outside the Communist Party, or "unaligned" as they say, saw their possibility of a new socialist-freedom orientated party destroyed. Most agreed that to protect their socialist experiment they had to extend their political ideas into the other member states of the Warsaw Bloc. Only a political revolutionizing process in these totalitarian systems could lead to a permanent position of safety. They had begun this before the occupation—in fact they believe, and so do I, that this is the main reason for the Soviet occupation. What was certain was that before the occupation this radicalization of their society, by a dispersal of power, did not mean a split in the Warsaw military alliance. Now many thought that only a split led by a withdrawal of Polish forces, and the attempt finally to isolate Russia, would lead to their continued independence. The students had hoped that this liberation of man within a socialist concept of society could have been achieved without fighting. They constantly called for talks. But...



conciliation to imperialism... too selfish to the under-... y attacked the Russians for this... 1965, and Fidel reiterates this... He shows that if the Russians... prepared to suppress counter-... in Czechoslovakia they... d stop trading with the puppet... es of Latin America and super-... armed struggle in those coun-... He also points out that there... genuine internationalism in... n Europe. Although he does... mention this explicitly, the... as have known for some years... e way in which Czechs have... d to cut their aid to Cuba... of the material supplied to... has been bad; and he reveals... e first time that Yugoslavia... prepared to sell arms to Batista... 1958 but refused to sell arms to... Revolutionary Government in... re is much in Fidel's speech... revolutionary socialists in... n Europe can support. He... the correct lessons from the... ention; he makes a thorough... e of the bureaucratic state... the central issue is less clear... socialism in Czechoslovakia

accepted the political argument that socialism was threatened in Czechoslovakia, and that the Russian intervention protected it. We could support the Russians if this were so and if they drew the socialist consequences of it: if they gave massive, free, aid to Cuba, Vietnam and China; if they adopted a more militant stand towards US imperialism; and if they developed a democratic system at home. But these are largely dreams at the present moment.

The Cubans are clearly in a difficult position. Russia is the only hope they have. They represent the brightest hope for socialism throughout the world and are more conscious than any of us of the dangers of imperialism. Our reaction should not be to disassociate ourselves from them. They have not "sold out", nor do they support the justificatory lies put out by Tass. The task is, as Fidel does, to withdraw the political lessons of the Czech events. His support for the Russians, far from representing the abandonment by Cuba of its revolutionary position, is in his opinion a consistent and militant reaffirmation of it. We can, nevertheless, disagree.

## Don't invade Rumania

### Peking warns Moscow

Dwarf Foreign Correspondents

Evidence is beginning to mount of a secret Chinese Note was sent to the Soviet Union soon after the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact countries. In this the Chinese said to have issued an extremely serious warning to the Soviet bureaucracy regarding Rumania. The latter is the only Communist country in Europe barring Albania with whom the Chinese have maintained friendly relations. The message seems to have been clear: if the Soviet Union invaded Rumania then the Chinese would come to their aid even if it meant opening a second front in Mongolia. Certainly Chinese troops on the Mongolian border were placed on alert and more troops were massed after a 4-hour meeting in Peking between the Chinese Prime Minister, Chou-En-lai, and the Rumanian Ambassador in Peking. It was also the Rumanians who gave Peking details of the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

If past behaviour is any guide the Chinese threat is fairly credible. At the time of the Indo-Pakistan conflict in 1965 a request from Pakistan for help was answered within three days by the Chinese who massed their troops on the Indian border and let it be known that if the Indian troops harassed East Pakistan which is separated from the rest of Pakistan by 1000 miles of Indian territory) China would intervene. The warning was enough. Also the ferocity of the Chinese reaction to the occupation of Czechoslovakia — by far the strongest denunciation of the Chinese action — does indicate that any attempt to occupy Rumania would provoke a physical confrontation between China and the Soviet Union. A confrontation which would lead to a complete break between Moscow and Peking and almost certainly to serious pressure being put on Hanoi by Moscow to accept the Vietnamese "temporarily" and reach some sort of an agreement with U.S. imperialism. (copyright B.D.)

get thee behind me, stalin

# WHAT IS STALINISM?

Roger Smith

The recent intervention of Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia poses critical questions for the international workers' movement. The bourgeois press have had a field day of aligning themselves with the "heroic struggles of the Dubcek regime". The discredited British Labour Party miraculously found a conscience after years of silence over Vietnam and even paraded their cynicism in Hyde Park. The British Communist Party, still silent over the arrests of Left Wing Student leaders in France, found themselves unable to align themselves with their old scoutmasters, while their French counterparts, who in May betrayed a revolution and handed back occupied factories to the bourgeoisie, voiced their independent disapproval. It's been many years since such a disreputable band found such a common unity.

But it is in precisely this unity that the real lack of analysis of the crisis reveals itself. What brings these odd bedfellows together is not their solidarity but their confusion. Never before has the absence of Marxist theory been so keenly felt and never before has there been such a vital need for the Left Opposition.

What is this crisis? It is the crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

What is Stalinism? It was a word found on the lips of many a demonstrator at Hyde Park and the Russian Embassy.

To the liberal, the social democrat, it spells repression, censorship, the police state.

To the capitalist it is a weapon used to discredit Communism, to oppose bourgeois freedom with red enslavement.

To the British Communist Party it was some historical period in the development of Soviet socialism which officially and miraculously came to an end after Krushev's speech at the 20th Party Congress.

De-Stalinisation and Peaceful co-existence were heralded by Party Members who saw no contradiction in their previous silence over the decades.

Such analyses are crude, reflecting a good man-bad man theory of history.

By Stalinism we mean the bureaucratic state, a deformation of the workers' state, a dictatorship of the bureaucracy rather than the dictatorship of the proletariat, a degeneration of the principles of Bolshevik Leninism.

What we saw in the Soviet Union under Stalin was the rise of the bureaucracy, the turn away from internationalism to nationalism, from the world revolutionary movement.

What characterises the bureaucratic section of Soviet society is its social parasitism. It lives off the workers in the way that a trade union official in western countries lives off the workers. It is not involved in the processes of production but functions as a political intermediary. As mediator it must choose the middle road of compromise to straddle opposing forces. To preserve its own existence it must be hostile to change, it must seek to sustain the status quo, to retain the privileges that a bureaucratic hierarchy affords.

To exist it can brook no opposition from left or right. To assert its influence it must resort to oppression, tyranny, the apparatus of the police state. These are the inevitable expressions of domination. But they are merely symptoms. To prune them as in the much-vaunted de-Stalinisation programme of Krushev, was to ignore the root cause. The bureaucratic state still remained intact, and still does. It is still the model for the Soviet Union and the Eastern European bloc, still the model for the Western Communist parties.

The rise of the bureaucracy and its embodiment in Stalin must be seen in the context of the historical processes of the Soviet revolution. Several factors lead to this expression; the inheritance of an industrially backward state posed serious problems; the failure of the German revolution of '19 intensified these problems; and isolated the first workers' state; internally the contradictions between the peasantry and the proletariat brought to the forefront economic contradictions at their sharpest. In the cities the proletariat strove to consolidate and develop their gains, while in the countryside the kulaks and backward elements of the peasantry turned towards counter-revolution and capitalist enterprise. Such contradictions were reflected in the Bolshevik party. The left urged for collectivisation of the land while the right moved towards the consolation of the peasantry. Finally the constant threat of intervention from the capitalist countries enabled the bureaucratic elements of the party to manipulate and come to power.

In the last analysis bureaucracy is a compromise between counter-revolution and left opposition. What it fears mostly is left opposition, for it is the left opposition that can wrest power from the bureaucracy back into the hands of the proletariat, thus making the apparatus redundant. Yet the bureaucracy manipulates fears of counter-revolution, based on a historical reality to justify oppression of all forms of dissent. So it was that most of the leaders of the Bolshevik revolution were arrested and executed for counter-revolution by Stalin.

Thus the action of the bureaucracy is limited to the contradiction between left opposition and counter-revolution. It has no alternative possibility. Nowhere is this more clearly demonstrated than the

invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The Czech ruling bourgeoisie moves towards liberalising policies which undoubtedly veered towards the capitalist road yet at the same time opened up the possibility of opposition and dissent. The Stalinists in the Kremlin responded with tanks and the liberal Stalinists of the Czech regime were forced to compromise. They cannot shift from the axis of repression. Now Dubcek for all his tears is forced to confront the people with an unsatisfactory compromise. With a whole people mobilised decisions were still taken behind closed doors by the leading bureaucrats. And Dubcek could only offer the people the advice, "Avoid trouble and leave the job of government to us."

"The job of Government." How far from Lenin to this!

How far from "A developed and stable dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes that the party functions in the leading role as a self-acting vanguard; that the proletariat is welded together by means of trade unions; that the toilers are indissolubly bound up with state through the system of soviets (workers' councils) and finally that the worker's state is aligned through the International into a fighting unit with the world proletariat."\*

What is the cure for the deformation of the workers' state that we now see in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union? The cure is through struggle, under the banner of Marxism. Through the creation of international revolutionary parties of the world's proletariat, through the ruthless criticism of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its parties. This is the only way to the true proletarian revolution, to the overthrow of capitalism and its twin conniver, Stalinism.

\* Trotsky: "The Class Nature of the Soviet State."

### NOTE

Cape/Lorimer are printing a different translation to ours of Che's Bolivian Diaries on Oct. 7th, 1968. The price will be: Paperback 12s. 6d. Hardback 25s.

And, incidentally, the publishers referred to in Tariq Ali's introductory note on our version of the Diaries are NOT Cape/Lorimer.

## CHE GUEVARA'S BOLIVIAN DIARIES

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY BY FIDEL CASTRO

A BLACK DWARF PUBLICATION at 5/- post free

AVAILABLE NOW

From Black Dwarf, 7, Carlisle Street, W.1. Or from Collets, Better Books, Indica, and other left-wing bookshops.

stupidity and rationality. They were there to defend the Czechoslovak country from West German imperialism and counter-revolutionaries. The students argued that the Czech army was capable of that. The students explained that almost nobody wanted a return to capitalism — that what had happened since January was a return to fundamental Marxist-humanist principles, distorted for 20 years by conservative Communists. To this there was inevitably no reply. Maybe a paternal smile and a "one day you will appreciate why we came" or just an order from an officer to his men to move on.

This propaganda work by the students were consciously planned from the beginning in an attempt to undermine the morale of the soldiers. They were not optimistic that they would achieve their results but they argued that resistance action was necessary to maintain the morale of young people. They had by no means a monopoly of this work. The citizens of Prague spontaneously massed around tanks and armoured cars sometimes using the language of harassment, sometimes using language designed to find an entry through the well-instilled Pravda cliches. The uniqueness of the student effort was that they were well aware of the fact that provocation could lead to volatile incidents and shootings, and they used language designed specifically for soldiers. "In 1917 Russian soldiers went home from the trenches to make a revolution. How do you explain your actions in 1968." How effective this work was it is difficult to say. In the North, Polish soldiers refused to enter some towns when they realised what was happening. In Prague a Russian soldier shot himself at the C.P. H.Q. in protest against the occupation.

The activities of the students over the first few days were seriously hampered by the fact that several of their official representatives were out of the country explaining Czech government policy in continuing the "unfinished revolution". Also the student body as a whole was on holidays. Thus as a catalyst they were somewhat impotent.

However over the three days there was a debate about the impli-

of Polish forces, and the attempt finally to isolate Russia, would lead to their continued independence. The students had hoped that this liberation of man within a socialist concept of society could have been achieved without fighting. They constantly called for talks. But now the easy willingness of the Russians to commit such an overt act of oppression, was seen by many, regretfully, that they would have to fight militarily for their freedom. Thus slogans like "Vietnam — USA — CCCP" began appearing. The message was clear — now two imperialisms would have to be confronted at the same time — perhaps soon by the same methods. Some wanted to fight immediately but were won by the logic of playing all their political cards — by now most of them have been exhausted. Most were firm that they would accept no compromise and in this sense would be to the left of Dubcek should he do so. In fact most young people in Czechoslovakia are inspired by Cisar, who they ran as a candidate for president against Svoboda. They were heartened to hear he had escaped from his Russian captors and was underground. It is necessary to say that many are to the left of Cisar.

This experience for the students and youth will have many effects. For the previously uncommitted, unconcerned, of which there were they would call upon their Socialist they will give them first allegiance to a "nationalist" politic rather than a socialist ideal. However Dubcek's strength and popularity in this dispute may lead them to Czechoslovakia's particular socialist position. To those university students who understand the problem of power, and the distortions of revolutionary Marxist idealism in Eastern Europe, this will only strengthen their urgency in fighting Russian internal and external totalitarianism. Whether they win or not will depend on many factors, one of which will be the latent intellectual revolutionary forces in other established countries. What is certain to them is that victory will not depend on the rhetoric and sanctions of Western statesmen. Neanderthal man must give way to liberated socialist man.

## PIPELINE

(Organisation for American Victims of moral and political persecution)

It is obvious from recent events in America culminating in the happenings in Chicago at the Democratic Convention and also from statements made by both presidential candidates that a return to the McCarthy (Joe)-type environment is very probable.

As everyone knows this involves direct harassing and persecution of any form of left-wing thought and the silencing of progressive intellectuals. Therefore it is necessary

that an organisation be ready to help in the events of these people having to leave their homeland temporarily or permanently.

We hope to be able to offer accommodation, help in arranging work permits, etc.

Anyone wishing to help in our organisation or who knows of any person in the USA in need of assistance please contact "Pipeline" through the "Black Dwarf" or telephone 01-348-2781.

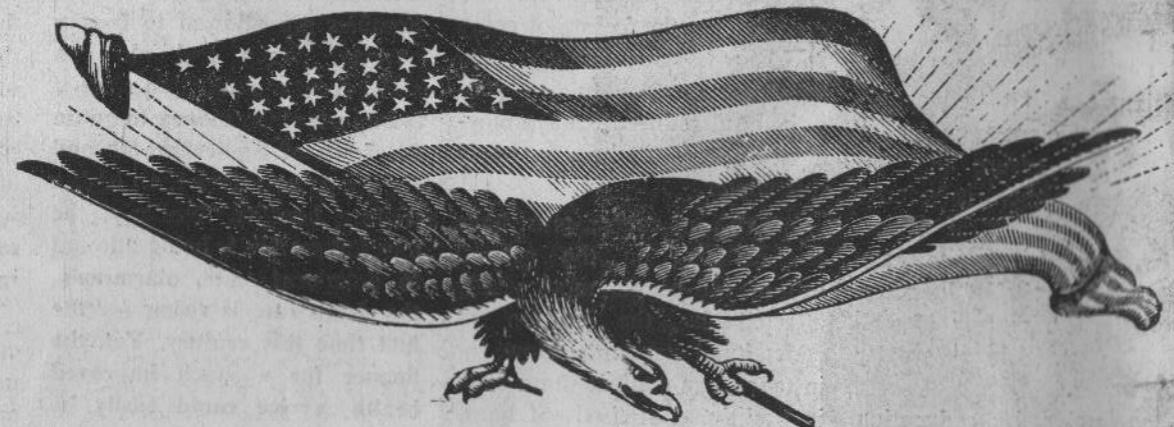


You can only be pissed on for so long before  
 you realise it's not rain" McCarthy delegate at Chicago

# GANGSTERISM '68

By Peter Buckman  
 (Our U.S. Correspondent)

Chicago saw the politics of gesture rather than confrontation. In no sense was the dominant mood hopeful: both inside and outside the International Amphitheatre everyone knew what would happen. Humphrey was over-nominated the first ballot, the Vietnam peace plank was defeated, and the police, as much under the direct control of Mayor Daley, that Hitler of the stockyards, as the Convention itself, beat the demonstrators bloody.



et where will the rage engen-  
 d by these events be channelled?  
 most depressing thing is that  
 all this blood and disillusion  
 constructive policy has  
 ged.  
 n the plus side, there was the  
 endously pro-demonstrator re-  
 n of the media to Mayor  
 y's Gestapo — and these words  
 n from Nazi Germany are not  
 reaction but were seriously  
 ed by Pressmen and delegates—  
 because of the unparalleled  
 ality, at least in front of the  
 and TV cameras, used by  
 e on protestors and reporters,  
 because of the police-state  
 sphere of the city itself. Security  
 tions bordered on the in-  
 ble. There were more than  
 0 police, National Guardsmen,  
 soldiers available, and the  
 hitheatre, as an NBC commen-  
 put it, was shrouded by boards  
 neth of its approach. The air

thing was obviously and crudely  
 rigged and everyone knew it, what  
 kind of choice was there. Even the  
 gesture of Allard Lowenstein, the  
 man held responsible for McCarthy's  
 entrance into the campaign and  
 widely regarded as a CIA fink, who  
 tried to redeem himself by an  
 attempt to adjourn the Convention  
 while police were beating up pro-  
 testers in the streets was totally  
 without effect. At least the liberals  
 intent on working with the system  
 proved what socialists have always  
 held: that they are not only power-  
 less but dangerous because of the  
 false promises they offer. Few  
 believe that McCarthy would be less  
 of a hypocrite inside the White  
 House than out, but when it comes  
 to pinning faith on a Lowenstein or,  
 sad to say, a Julian Bond, the black  
 leader of the Georgia challenging  
 delegation which accepted the com-  
 promise of the Credentials Com-  
 mittee when it was passed by the

frustration or, worse, depoliticisa-  
 tion. A policeman will no longer be  
 thought of as the kindly officer who  
 gives directions, any more than the  
 City Council can be thought of as  
 having any credibility when it talks  
 of making the streets safe for  
 democracy. This change is by no  
 means insignificant, **but by leading  
 people time and again to have their  
 heads broken, any movement which  
 cannot offer more than a gesture  
 will wind up with its ranks filled  
 only by those who have had their  
 sense clubbed out of them.**  
 The National Mobilization Com-  
 mittee bears most of the blame for  
 this situation. While they are con-  
 gratulating themselves on their  
 legitimate successes — that the City  
 overreacted to such an extent, that  
 it was expensively tied up for a  
 time, that delegates sided with them,  
 that the coverage was so great—they

socialisation of the system. Un-  
 doubtedly this will involve violence,  
 but if there is something more than  
 rhetoric to fight for, if there is a  
 chance of success, if it is clear that  
 this action will have a meaningful  
 effect, violence is easier to take, and  
 faith has more meaning.  
 The "confrontation" was planned  
 before Johnson retired from the  
 race. After he made his speech on  
 March 31st, a big meeting of the  
 groups concerned, which included  
 SDS and Dellinger's Mobiliza-  
 tion forces who had taken  
 overall responsibility for the Penta-  
 gon demonstration, and other New  
 Left groups, decided not to go  
 ahead. But three men — Rennie  
 Davis, Tom Hayden, and Dave  
 Dellinger — decided a confrontation  
 should take place. Their somewhat  
 arbitrary action deterred many  
 groups from taking part, notably  
 SDS.

the splashing-on of water, the usual  
 treatment for tear gas. **Troops with  
 fixed bayonets and rifles cocked,  
 merciless, unprovoked, and ap-  
 parently random baton charges —  
 these are becoming common repres-  
 sive tactics to use against demon-  
 strators.** The reaction, too, is  
 common: by the demonstrators, who  
 attack as best they are able with  
 rocks and bottles, by the police, who  
 fully live up to the now universal  
 American epithet of "pigs", and by  
 the administration, who praise the  
 police for their restraint. What was  
 uncommon about Chicago was the  
 reaction of delegates: there has  
 never been such an endorsement of  
 the demonstrators in the streets and  
 such an attack on the city adminis-  
 tration by a series of major political  
 figures as occurred before and after  
 the nomination. **That some delegates  
 joined the demonstrators in the  
 streets may be unprecedented, but**

# REPRESSION OUTSIDE CHICAGO

Causing more alarm among the  
 American radicals than Mayor  
 Daley's lunacy in Chicago is the  
 general political repression settling  
 on the movement. The political  
 flower children and the McCarthy  
 boy scouts brigade learned several  
 lessons in Chicago, only one of  
 which was that they now had some  
 idea of the treatment which Ameri-  
 can blacks suffer day by day, year  
 in year out. The other lessons re-  
 veal round one central point. The  
 American establishment will use  
 whatever agencies it considers neces-  
 sary, allowing them to use whatever  
 violence it considers necessary, in  
 order to protect what it sees as its  
 interest.  
 Naturally, the radicals of the SDS,  
 of SNCC and of the Panthers have  
 known this for some time. They  
 have not only known that repres-  
 sion would be applied in their  
 intellectual analysis; they have been  
 experiencing severe repression for  
 some time. Earlier this summer,  
 LBJ's closest buddy, Governor Con-  
 nelly of Texas, the one who got  
 away in Dallas, decided that SNCC  
 would be smashed in the State.  
 Every senior SNCC committee mem-  
 ber in Texas was arrested within  
 the last month, and almost all mys-  
 teriously found with cannabis in  
 various forms. One or two were held  
 under laws which forbid the interrup-  
 tion of work, anti-Union legislation

which exists in several southern  
 states. The entire group was indicted  
 and tried within a period of a fort-  
 night, and the sentences vary be-  
 tween five and thirty years. SNCC  
 has been smashed in Texas.  
 This is not the only example of  
 repression in the same state. It will  
 be remembered that over forty sol-  
 diers were arrested and are still in  
 the stockade at Fort Hood, Texas,  
 for refusing to go to Chicago to  
 "deal with" the demonstrators there.  
 Close to Fort Hood, members of  
 the Mobilization Against The War  
 group had been running a coffee bar,  
 the only "non-Army" establishment  
 within 50 miles, where, apart from  
 coffee, the soldiers were introduced  
 to anti-War, socialist ideas in an  
 atmosphere dialectically opposite to  
 life at Fort Hood. Three weeks ago  
 the police raided the coffee shop  
 and "found" about a pound of grass  
 on the premises. Bail on the owners  
 was fixed at 65,000 dollars; the shop  
 has been closed.  
 The situation in Texas is, in fact,  
 typical of the overall situation across  
 America. The SDS students from  
 Columbia, New York, who fought a  
 particularly heroic action in the Uni-  
 versity in the Spring, have been  
 fighting throughout this summer to  
 stay out of jail. It has cost them, so  
 far, over 100,000 dollars to stay  
 free this summer, money spent in  
 bail, fines, bribes and lawyers' fee.

The money has come from liberal  
 benefactors in New York, but it is  
 becoming clear that this type of  
 financial pressure, apart from the  
 continual police harassment will be  
 used more frequently, and become  
 more difficult to evade.  
 Money and brutality: the watch-  
 words of the American police force.  
 It's not the corruption that should  
 be our primary concern (though  
 Dick Gregory points out that there  
 is more money made by the crime  
 syndicates in Chicago, from prostitu-  
 tion, drug peddling, illegal gambling,  
 large scale robbery, in the course of  
 a week, than the cost of all the  
 race riots in a year), but rather we  
 should watch the revealed pattern of  
 suppression. Apparently the Ameri-  
 can establishment rates its dissidents  
 sufficiently highly to choose a  
 degree of repression they do. The  
 British establishment is so much  
 more subtle, appreciates that we  
 haven't yet taxed their restraint. But  
 let's watch the weeks up to October  
 26th, and directly afterward. Per-  
 haps we will begin to see the bogus  
 charges, conspiracy raps, the heavy  
 bails and fines that are now faced  
 continually by our American Com-  
 rades. **We must be prepared to meet  
 the problem at a sophisticated politi-  
 cal level if RSSF is not to operate  
 out of Brixton Prison. Venceremos!**

DAVID TRIESMAN

# GREEN BERET

Ho Thien of the Fourth Plains Unit wrote this down  
 sixty days after New Year,  
 After hearing the story from a woman of Dalat,  
 on the High Plateau.

He was twelve years old,  
 and I do not know his name.  
 The mercenaries took him and his father,  
 whose name I do not know,  
 one morning upon the High Plateau.  
 Green Beret looked down on the frail boy  
 with the eyes of a hurt animal and thought,  
 a good fright will make him talk.

# EVENTS

SUNDAY

22 September

TENANTS DEMONSTRATION  
 Meet WEST SMITHFIELD,  
 near Giltspur Street &  
 Lane, E.C.1 (nearest  
 Aidersgate), at 2.45 p.m. Meet  
 off at about 3.30 p.m. to  
 TRAFALGAR SQUARE



bordered on the in-  
There were more than  
police, National Guardsmen,  
soldiers available, and the  
theatre, as an NBC commen-  
it, was shrouded by boards  
length of its approach "to stop  
delegates seeing the ghettos,  
roped with barbed wire to board  
who lived behind those boards  
getting at the delegates. No  
tried to climb the wire, but  
als of American democracy  
ending on its barbs." To get  
the Amphitheatre required a  
of passes, gaily colour-coded,  
had to be stuck into a  
permitting entrance only if  
light flashed. One security  
demonstrated how an ordinary  
ard would give a green light.  
ticket machines were only  
it. The delegates were herded  
ep. No one was allowed to  
from one level of the hall to  
and security guards roamed  
ere making spot-checks: one  
from New York  
l by a policeman when he  
to submit to yet another  
ion, an incident that brought  
d cops onto the floor,  
unprecedented in Convention

what was going on inside  
was irrelevant to political  
The deals and the rhetoric  
empty challenges were all  
force. When the whole

House than out, but when it comes  
to pinning faith on a Lowenstein or,  
sad to say, a Julian Bond, the black  
leader of the Georgia challenging  
delegation which accepted the com-  
promise of the Credentials Com-  
mittee when it was passed by the  
Humphrey forces, then we know  
times are not a-changing.

"A new polarisation" was how the  
events of this week were hopefully  
described by the previously apoli-  
tical. The Democratic Party tore  
itself publicly apart — no one, even  
in Humphrey's own camp, regards  
him as capable of winning against  
Nixon in November — and ideas  
about a new, radical party were  
once more being bandied about.  
That in full view of the nation  
"democracy" revealed itself to mean  
a closed and blatantly repressive  
Convention and the cracking of  
heads in the streets is supposed by  
many liberals to have a radicalising  
effect. But considering the inefficacy  
of those who organised this so-called  
confrontation, I see no way in which  
this radicalisation can materialise in  
effective political terms. Moreover I  
do not believe that radicalisation  
grows from the end of a policeman's  
truncheon. It is frightening, sicken-  
ing, horrifying, and a great surprise  
to many people, but by itself all that  
it achieves, this revelation of the  
fascistic aspects of the system, is an  
alteration in attitude that leads to

gratulating themselves on their  
legitimate successes — that the City  
overreacted to such an extent, that  
it was expensively tied up for a  
time, that delegates sided with them,  
that the coverage was so great — they  
carry a heavy responsibility for all  
that happened. Confrontation is a  
perfectly legitimate and indeed  
necessary action. But leading people  
without strategy, coordination, or  
any form of protection or retaliation  
to certain slaughter is unforgivable.  
The National Mobilization say that  
everyone was free to do their own  
thinking, that by forcing Mayor  
Daley to reveal the true nature of  
his system they have had a dramatic  
propagandising effect. But not only  
are they so bereft of ideas — sitting  
down and singing "God Bless  
America" in front of the police was  
one of them — that nobody, suppos-  
ing he were "radicalised", could  
look to them for guidance; they are  
fatally hung-up on the power of  
faith. In common with many non-  
violent movements they rely on  
sacrifice, not directly to change a  
situation, but to build a faith that  
will in some mystical way erode it.  
This faith is worthless unless it is  
allied, not necessarily to a pro-  
gramme, but to political objectives  
that are realistic — those that involve  
the occupation, liberation, or de-  
struction, of some institutional  
adjunct of the system in such a  
way that this action advances the

ahead. But these men — Rennie  
Davis, Tom Hayden, and Dave  
Dellinger — decided a confrontation  
should take place. Their somewhat  
arbitrary action deterred many  
groups from taking part, notably  
SDS. The black groups had already  
said they weren't joining in. This  
fragmentation goes far towards ex-  
plaining the great disparity between  
the numbers prophesied, which  
varied between 100,000 and a  
million, and those who showed up,  
about 5,000. Nevertheless, consider-  
ing that the government's intelli-  
gence forces knew all this, their  
hysterical reaction — the troops,  
police, and literally countless FBI  
men, who were often seen indulging  
in the most blatant savagery, such  
as beating men held down by police  
over the face and head with revolvers  
— was surprising.

About the brutality: it proves how  
dangerous it is to be deceived into  
believing that the police are re-  
strained in front of the Press and  
TV cameras. I have never before  
seen a uniformed policeman ride  
his official motorcycle deliberately,  
repeatedly, and at speed into a  
crowd with no escape route, even  
pursuing them down a pedestrian  
subway. Tear gas is common in  
Europe, but not MACE, or chlori-  
nated gasses which cause extreme  
pain, nausea, temporary blindness,  
and whose effects are aggravated by

such as the city adminis-  
tration by a series of major political  
figures as occurred before and after  
the nomination. That some delegates  
joined the demonstrators in the  
streets may be unprecedented, but  
being English I remember the num-  
bers of Members of Parliament who  
joined the Aldermaston marches and  
who are as silent as nuns on dis-  
armament, dissent, and defence  
policy.

The escalation of atrocity remains of  
minimal political importance unless  
it allows the participants to engage  
in something more constructive, as  
the events in Berkeley's Telegraph  
Avenue, or the campuses of Colum-  
bia, Nanterre, Essex, Berlin, or  
Turin did. There, alternative forms  
of political and social organisation  
were posited and defeated. The  
National Mobilization Committee  
would not and could not provide  
this. The yippies, the admirable  
adherents of a movement to bring  
revolution through ridicule, are not  
inclined to. For some demonstrators  
the possibility of a third or fourth  
political party would provide this  
possibility, but the history of such  
parties is universally dismal. The  
political mobilization of those who  
came to Chicago and got what they  
expected, combined with those who  
were amazed by it, was and is pos-  
sible. Nobody, however, seems to be  
around to undertake it.

whose name I do not know,  
one morning upon the High Plateau.  
Green Beret looked down on the frail boy  
with the eyes of a hurt animal and thought,  
a good fright will make him talk.  
He commanded, and the father was taken away  
behind the forest's green wall.  
'Right kid tell us where they are,  
tell us where or your father -- dead.'  
With eyes now bright and filled with terror  
the slight boy said nothing.  
'You've got one minute kid', said Green Beret,  
'tell us where or we kill father',  
and thrust his wrist-watch against a face all eyes,  
the second-hand turning, jerking on its way.  
'OK boy ten seconds to tell us where they are.'  
In the last instant the silver hand shattered the  
sky and the forest of trees.  
'Kill the old guy', roared Green Beret  
and shots hammered out  
behind the forest's green wall  
and sky and trees and soldiers stood  
in silence, and the boy cried out.  
Green Beret stood  
in silence, as the boy crouched down  
and shook with tears,  
as children do when their father dies.  
'Christ', said one mercenary to Green Beret,  
'he didn't know a damn thing  
we killed the old guy for nothing',  
so they all went away,  
Green Beret and his mercenaries.

And the boy knew everything.  
He knew everything about them, the caves  
the trails the hidden places and the names,  
and in the moment that he cried out,  
in that same instant,  
protected by frail tears  
far stronger than any wall of steel,  
they passed everywhere  
like tigers  
across the High Plateau.

Ho Thien

(Vietcong guerilla; his body was recovered  
with this poem on it some time in 1966, near  
the Cambodian border, by a Sergeant Sainer.  
A story written for United Press by the  
reporter Sean Flynn, and published by an  
American newspaper chain, also mentioned this  
story about a boy who refused to talk. It was  
supposed to have occurred on the Duc Phong Plateau,  
about seventy-five miles north of Saigon; but the  
father and son were never identified).

## ADVERTISE in THE DWARF

Classified Rates: Personal 8d. a word  
(Minimum 8s.)

Display: £2 per column inch  
Semi-Display: £1 5s. per column inch  
Half Page £75  
Quarter Page £50

PATRIA O MUERTE  
VENCEREMOS!

# Extracted from Fidel's Speech on Czechoslovakia

begins by analysing the  
in Czechoslovakia since  
January changes, mentioning  
the Czech Government was  
to get loans from the U.S.  
West German governments.  
reaction of the imperialist  
to the changes in Czecho-  
was very favourable; and  
ng which in our mind  
to receive the praise and  
of the imperialist press  
y begins to arouse suspi-  
us.

the same time a series of  
events took place. There  
demands in favour of the  
on of opposition parties, in  
to theses that were openly  
xist and anti-Leninist, such  
thesis that a party should  
exercise the function which  
al party should play in a  
society, that it should  
lay the role of a guide, that  
exercise a kind of spiritual  
p. In short: that power  
ease to be the prerogative of  
unist Party.

There was a process of seizure of  
power of the main means of com-  
munication and they fell into the  
hands of reactionary elements. In  
foreign policy there was a series of  
developments involving a clear  
movement towards capitalist concep-  
tions and theses, and involving a  
movement towards the West.

We for our part have no doubt at  
all that the Czechoslovak regime  
was moving towards capitalism and  
inexorably towards imperialism. The  
imperialist world received this situa-  
tion with extraordinary satisfaction.  
It encouraged it by all means and  
there is no doubt that it was rubbing  
its hands thinking of the disaster  
which this would constitute for the  
socialist world.

This defines our first position in  
relation to the concrete fact of the  
action taken by a group of socialist  
countries. We think that it was  
absolutely necessary to prevent at  
any cost that that event should  
occur. The essential thing is whether  
the socialist camp could or could not  
permit the development of a political

situation which would lead to the  
detachment of a socialist country  
and its falling into the arms of  
imperialism.

One cannot claim that there was  
not a violation of the sovereignty of  
the Czech state. That would be a  
fiction and a lie. Moreover, the  
violation was a flagrant one. From  
a legal point of view it cannot be  
justified. That is perfectly clear. For  
us, the decision about Czechoslo-  
vakia can only be explained from a  
political point of view and not from  
legal one."

### II. Socialism in Eastern Europe

"What were the circumstances  
that made a remedy of this nature  
necessary? We all know that the  
leadership that ruled Czechoslovakia  
for twenty years was a leadership  
saturated in many errors — dog-  
matism, bureaucratism and many  
things that cannot be put forward as  
a model of really revolutionary  
leadership. They sold us for a  
high price arms they had taken as  
war booty from the Nazis. In many  
cases they sold us industrial com-

plexes of a very backward tech-  
nological level.

There was also an abandonment  
of communist ideals — of inter-  
nationalism, of revolutionary vigil-  
ance and of all those beautiful  
aspirations which go to make up the  
communist ideal of a society without  
classes and without egoisms, and in  
which man ceases to be a miserable  
slave of poverty.

Together with all this came the  
sermons in favour of peace, but it is  
the imperialists who are the incen-  
diaries of war, and up to now there  
is no mention in any of the state-  
ments of the governments that have  
sent troops into Czechoslovakia of  
Yankee imperialism. They have  
made some vague remarks about  
world imperialism and some con-  
crete ones about imperialist circles  
in West Germany. But who does not  
know that West Germany is simply  
a tool of Yankee imperialism in  
Europe, the most aggressive and the  
best known?

Although it is correct that the  
countries of the Warsaw Pact sent

near Trafalgar Square  
Lane, E.C.1 (nearest  
Aldersgate), at 2.45 p.m. Mar-  
off at about 3.30 p.m. to

## TRAFALGAR SQUARE

Rally Trafalgar Square 4 p.m.  
After the rally in Trafalgar Square  
we're marching down Whitehall  
to DOWNING STREET.

Organised by GLC  
Action Committee.

## MONDAY

### 23 September

## HORNSEY RE-OPENS?

Students from Hornsey College  
Art want as many supporters as  
sympathisers to commemorate the  
start of their new term! 9 a.m.  
Hornsey (nearest tube Archway  
and then 41 bus).

## SUNDAY

### 29 September

## MAY DAY MANIFESTO

Meeting of preparatory Commission  
to discuss proposed National Con-  
vention. Interested organisations  
contact May Day Manifesto, 1  
Fitzroy Sq., London, W.1.

## MONDAY

### 7 October

## CHE MEMORIAL MEETING

Meeting to commemorate 1st anni-  
versary of Che's assassination.  
Being organised by M.C.F., 31  
Caledonian Road, N.1. Time an-  
place later.

## SUNDAY

### 27 October

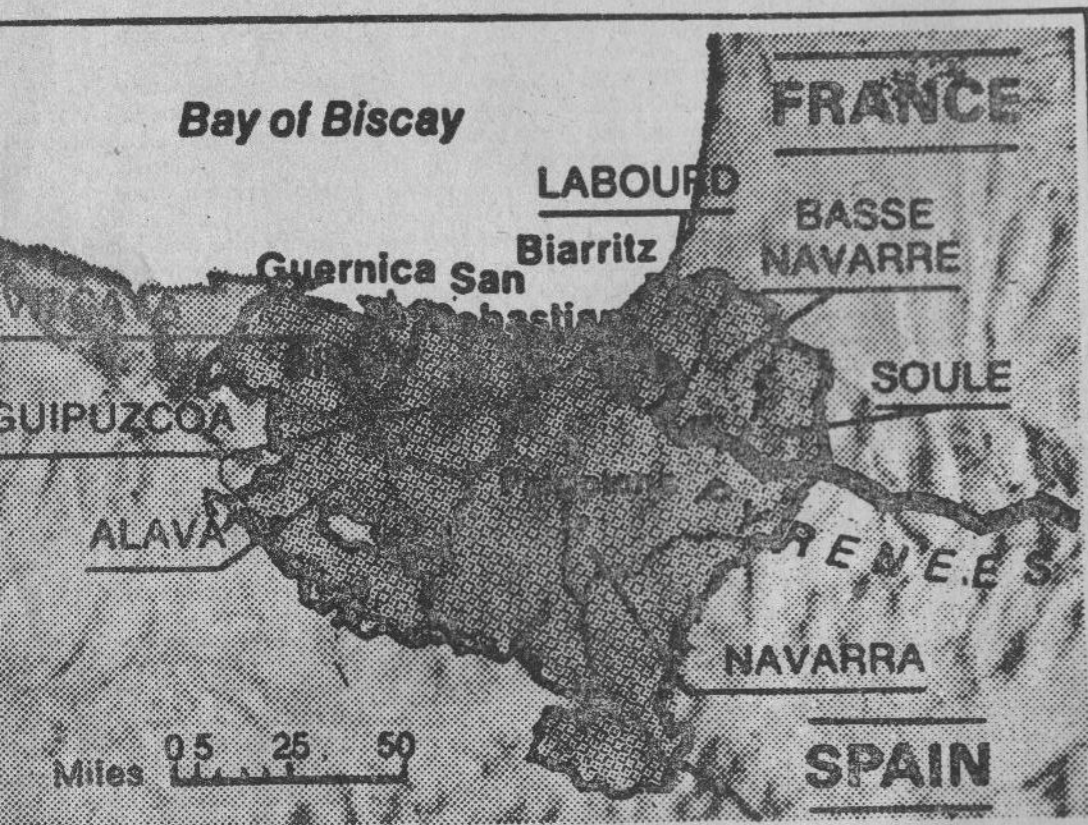
ALSO REMEMBER THAT THE  
VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAM-  
PAIGN NEEDS: MONEY  
VOLUNTEERS, OFFERS OF  
ACCOMMODATION FOR THE  
WEEK-END, ETC. RING  
01-480-6789 OR VISIT VSO  
120 COMMERCIAL ROAD, E.1



# REVENGE GUERNICA

## Anti-Fascist Guerillas in The Basque

By Anton Achalandabaso



### Land of the BASQUES



On Friday, August 2nd, the Chief of the Political Police of the Basque Province of Guipuzcoa was shot dead. It was a daring political act which punished the Spanish people.

The Political Police Chief, Meliton Manzanas, was an expert "Gestapo"; he joined the special political force at a time when it was being organised by Himmler in Spain, that in the early 40s. Meliton Manzanas was a vital part of the repressive apparatus in the Basque country; not so much as a perverted enforcer of political prisoners but because he was a sort of living hive. He had always lived near

The Basque proletariat is old and it is by no means of exclusively Basque origin, because throughout this century Vizcaya has been one of the main centres of immigration. The political traditions of this proletariat are historically well defined; it was the founding ground of the PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol) and in a way also of the Communist Party. The current president of the Spanish C.P., the famous

this is the force which Franco and his backers in the State Department fear the most!

ETA knows all this and their political line as well as their strategy are based on these historical facts. The ETA leaders have understood:

- (a) That not all inhabitants of the Basque country are Basque. Those of Basque origin may even be a minority.
- (b) The industrial proletariat, which has the most militant tradition in the whole of the peninsula, will attach more importance to the class struggle than to

# BRITAIN'S PARLIAMENTARY HYPOCRISY

Ray Challinor

The most telling argument used against student demonstrations is that they should limit themselves to making protests through the proper constitutional channels. The parliamentary tradition in Britain appears to be extremely powerful. It is to this that press and politicians hypocritically refer when they want to discredit the student movement.

So why not confine ourselves to the traditional methods? The short answer is that Britain can no longer be considered, in any meaningful sense, to be a democracy. The old methods are consequently futile.

To prove my point, let me examine the Government's educational policy. In 1964, Labour was returned with a modest programme of reforms. Surely now, after almost four years in power, it is reasonable to expect that the Government will be fulfilling its promises. So let me detail these election pledges, as contained in the Transport House pamphlet, "Education", published in February 1964:—

1. More of the nation's resources devoted to education—a broken promise.
2. A reduction in the size of primary and secondary classes to a maximum of 30—a broken promise.
3. The raising of the school leaving age to 16—a broken promise.
4. The reorganisation of family allowances so that they rise with age, and particularly for children staying on at school after the school leaving age—a broken promise.
5. Adequate teachers' pay and an expansion of teachers' training colleges.—Training colleges expanded, but teachers' pay still inadequate. Last award equivalent to the cost of half a Polaris submarine.
6. An end to the 11-plus, and a reorganisation of State secondary schools on comprehensive lines — Vast majority of schemes not truly comprehensive since leave areas of privilege unscathed.
7. A greatly expanded provision of technical education and sufficient university places to ensure that no qualified person is refused a place.—Technical education expanded to meet the needs of capitalist industry, but the inadequacy of university provisions greater than ever.
8. Free university education for all those accepted by a university. — A broken pledge.
9. The abolition of the college entrance system at Oxford and Cambridge.—A broken promise.

On examination, Edward

Short, and his predecessors at the Department of Education and Science, have gained no marks out of ten. None of the ten points have been carried out in their entirety. The Minister's educational progress is lamentable—indeed, non-existent. Yet, this programme was essential, as the Transport House pamphlet says (p.18), "to build a just society, free of class divisions . . . (and) tap the vast reserves of talent that now lie unused."

The frustration at present felt in universities, colleges and schools is a direct consequence of the Labour Government. In 1964, it painted a picture of a rosy future; it has produced a most dismal present. We are experiencing the feeling of going backwards educationally: expenditure is cut, building programmes reduced, unemployment among teachers is likely this winter.

All this, of course, must have repercussions on the general attitude of people most vitally affected by the erosion of educational standards. How, for instance, can students have faith in traditional methods of bourgeois democracy? How could they ever hope to demonstrate their feelings more powerfully than the electorate has already done, to no avail—voting for Labour's programme of modest reforms at two general elections, on the second occasion returning

Wilson with a large 97-seat majority?

But the matter goes deeper than this. It is not simply that the Labour government has violated its election mandate and countless annual conference resolutions. By its conduct, the Labour Government has shown that whenever democracy conflicts with the needs of capitalism, it is the former that is sacrificed, not the latter. To represent large numbers of pound notes is more important, under the existing set-up, than to represent large numbers of people.

Basic human needs go unsatisfied because the Government must always place the interests of big business first. Families are allowed to live in poverty, young and old can suffer from malnutrition since it is important for money to go on the form of higher profits and capital gains rather than higher welfare benefits. Similarly, the hospital service is being allowed to deteriorate and, alarmingly, the death rate is rising for the first time this century. Yet, the finance for a much improved health service could easily be found — if the Government would seriously tackle the problem of taxing the rich.

The point to stress is the universality of the current crisis of capitalism: to criticise a particular aspect naturally leads to a more thorough-going critique.

This is what has happened to the students. Most of them started with minor misgivings over parts of the educational system which they directly experienced. But an analysis of the sickness of the classroom led them to discover what a sham bourgeois democracy was and then, a stage further, to see how utterly corrupt and depraved is capitalism.

The student movement is, at a fundamental level, a reaffirmation of the democratic principle. First, because it is a protest against the manipulation of the people in the interests of the few. Second, because it believes the people should determine their own destiny, making their own decisions on matters that vitally concern them. And, third, because, among many other things, it wants the introduction of the reforms — improvements to education, health and the social services — for which Labour in 1964 gained a mandate and has failed to implement.

The government's failure to carry out the wishes of the electorate and with the students. Really it is two voices with the same majority is the cause for its grievance. Together they have helped to give Harold Wilson the distinction of being the most hated and disreputable prime minister of the century. It is we who are the democrats, not him.

## Workers Control: Not Participation

The May wind from France shook the Labour leaders. Now the proposals of the L.P. N.E.C. ("INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY") for more workers' participation in running industry, look like an attempt to steal de Gaulle's new clothes before he even has a chance to wear them! That the NEC now acts on the 1967 report of the Committee it set up under Jack Jones, is part of the post-May reckonings of the bosses

(presumably on the Steel Board model, of worker-directors who immediately ceased to be workers in any sense!). Clearly they want to draw the union bureaucrats into new responsibilities and closer collaboration with the management—as junior partners, powerless against the dominant capitalists, their state and the laws of their economy: i.e. to institutionalise class collaboration by way of a con-trick. The proposals

"participation" proposals steps towards workers' control — or a deliberate side-tracking of the campaign for workers' control? And this attempt by the Labour leadership to steal the steam laboriously built up by the WORKERS' CONTROL CAMPAIGN, raises other questions which TRIBUNE doesn't ask: about the nature of that campaign. These questions must be asked if the NEC is to be exposed.

Real workers' control is possible only as the local concomitant of workers' state power, or as a transitional regime in the revolutionary upsurge (which, if not consolidated, will be followed by defeat). Militant shop floor organisations are, of course, permanently fighting for an extension of controls on the unbridled powers of management. An eruption and qualitative deepening of this presupposes a real shake-up for the whole system. But under a

tion which consistently pushes the Marxist understanding of the State, the scab nature of the Labour and trade union bureaucracy, and which fights both. Reformists and union bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary — i.e. false — synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without



... as a vital part of the re- apparatus in the Basque ...; not so much as a perverted ... of political prisoners but ... he was a sort of living ... He had always lived near ... ench border, a strategic point ... tching the travels of under- ... activists. In the early after- ... of August 2nd he was shot on ... rchase of his house. The house ... nly four minutes from the ... and rain had emptied the ... of Irun. During the summer, ... ad to the border is packed ... ars. It seems that the 'killer' ... trace.

... ound ... are now asking themselves ... aning and the possible conse- ... s of this assassination. After ... major act of terrorism the im- ... t question is, where are we

... assassination was surprising, ... ublic could not believe that ... the young nationalist-revolu- ... opposition group, would be ... e of, or prepared to put their ... into practice. However, the ... p has been continuous: re- ... bank robberies to get funds, ... of arms and dynamite, explo- ... . At the end of April a ... Guard died on the road to San ... an. The press said that he ... en assassinated by two acti- ... Four or five hours after this ... the Civil Guard shot the ETA ... Txabi Echevarrieta. A mili- ... ribunal sentenced his com- ... to death after a summary ... ater, this man, Sarasqueta, ... ardoned, undoubtedly due to ... e of public opinion and also ... s "compensated" for that of ... ivil Guard and an "armed ... could thus be preserved. I ... forget what a Basque small ... ssman told me in a voice that ... ed very sincere: "We had ... ed that if they killed Saras- ... we too would take to the

... there won't be an armed ... The ETA continues what ... like an orderly plan of sub- ... in the Basque country, a ... y which the nationalists do ... sider to be part of Spain.

... Nationalism ... onalism has a popular base in ... asque country but it does not ... a working-class base. At least ... t.

... ked at from Spain, the four ... e provinces (Vizcaya, Guipuz- ... Alava and Navarra) are an ... of comparatively high living ... rds and heavy industry, ... ya and Guipuzcoa have the ... t population density in Spain. ... were industrialized relatively ... Heavy industry established ... in Vizcaya during the last ... of the 19th Century. Light ... ering followed in the neigh- ... ng province of Guipuzcoa. ... days even Vitoria, Alava's ... d, is an expanding industrial

... The political tradition of the pro- letariat are historically well defined; it was the founding ground of the PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol) and in a way also of the Communist Party. The current president of the Spanish C.P., the famous "Pasionaria", was born in the mining area of the Encartaciones, only a few miles from Bilbao. The working class of Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa, and now that of Vitoria as well, are the human and political base of the Basque country. In the industrial areas Basques and Spaniards are difficult to tell apart, and this is even more noticeable where immigration has been heaviest—near the Bilbao estuary, for example. Here work is hardest and most impersonal; there is little room for national myths. By and large, the workers of Vizcaya are simply workers exploited by the Basque-Spanish industrialists. The Basque oligarchy doesn't side with the Basque workers when it comes to economic interests. **Basque patriotism avoids the basic problems.**

... The Popular Basis of Basque Nationalism ... Where then is the popular basis of Basque nationalism. Above all in rural and fishing areas, where the Basque language, the traditions and the Basque origin of the population have been preserved. Their consciousness of having a way of life different from the rest of Spain became stronger during the Civil War, when the Basques, for the first time in their history, had to defend their "nation". The republican government had given the Basque country an Estatute of Autonomy. The Basques fought for the Spanish Republic but they did so through Basque "nationality". The repressive policies used by Franco's government to combat nationalism aggravated the Basque question. **In the past, Basque nationalism as a political ideology had been pushed by some sectors of Basque capitalism to counter the rise of the working-class movement.** Franco's victory, which was the victory of the most reactionary section of capitalism, drove the nationalists into opposition. Those who did not follow that road of radicalization signed their own death sentence as a political force. To the Basques, Franco's government appeared clearly as a repressive government. Franco's Civil Governors are really helping ETA with their grossly exaggerated stories about "audacious and dangerous terrorists".

... Who constitutes a threat to the Regime ... A town like Bilbao, which according to its City Council has some 300,000 inhabitants, is surrounded by industrial centres of 20,000, 30,000 and 120,000 inhabitants, overwhelmingly working-class; they are proletarian towns. This is the gigantic octopus which for over half a century has threatened the power of capital, whether it was dressed up as monarchic restoration, fascism, or neo-capitalism in the making—and

... (b) The industrial proletariat, which has the most militant tradition in the whole of the peninsula, will attach more importance to the class struggle than to nationalist.

... (c) Given its present stage of development, Basque industry will require more and more immigration from poorer areas of the peninsula.

... (d) Any fight for national liberation which takes contemporary conditions into account must be Marxist in nature.

... It would be very simple but very false to think that the ETA leaders have embraced revolutionary violence because they read Ho, Giap, Che, etc. The strategy of ETA results from an unavoidable choice. It results from operating in the Basque country, whose working class has not been decisively influenced by the traditional nationalist organisations, which were bourgeois committees financed by Basque capital. ETA today, while practising a terrorism more or less propagandistic, is represented on the Workers' Commissions, the genuine and semi-clandestine trade union or working class in the Basque country and in the rest of Spain.

... In its fight against the regime, the terrorism of ETA seems to aim at provoking a ferocious repression which will antagonise the people and drive them to violent struggle. But there is a more subtle and more logical justification. Given that the Workers' Commissions and the political parties with some working-class basis do not seem to be planning to use revolutionary violence, the actions of the ETA terrorists may well aim at radicalising the fight in all quarters, or alternatively, make the old Marxist parties lose their youth branches.

... On another level, ETA, by making its presence constantly felt in the life of the Basque country through daring actions, widely distributed propaganda, demonstrations, assassination of hated policemen, etc., wants to become the only representative of the Basque people in the future.

... State of Emergency in Guipuzcoa ... The regime has fallen into the trap. Due to the assassination of Meliton Manzanar a state of emergency has been declared in Guipuzcoa, which means the abolition of all constitutional guarantees. The regime, which has little hope of catching the author, tries to dismantle a ghost organisation that operates through comandos in only one of the provinces. With their massive arrests of suspects, some relevant but also many priests and ex-militants of nationalist organisations now totally inactive, the regime is doing precisely what ETA wants: to create favourable ground for its future activity and to show the weakness of a political system that governs through police terror.

... industry, look like an attempt to steal de Gaulle's new clothes before he even has a chance to wear them! That the NEC now acts on the 1967 report of the Committee it set up under Jack Jones, is part of the post-May reckonings of the bosses and their servants: the system needs more safety valves. The NEC proposals are also meant as a safety valve for the anger of the Party Conference in September—as a sop, "a little bit of socialism."

... Legislation is proposed on the right of the workers (i.e. Union leaders) to:— (1) information on Company affairs; (2) consultation; (3) representation on the Boards

... the management—as junior partners—powerless against the dominant capitalists, their state and the laws of their economy: i.e. to institutionalise class collaboration by way of a con-trick. The proposals are designed to strengthen the employers, the state and the Union machines—against the workers' interests. Thus the proposals on information are irrelevant. Posed to workers in struggle, the slogan OPEN THE BOOKS can lead them forward. But accessibility of information to tame union leaders under the patronage of the bosses' state is a different matter entirely. TRIBUNE has asked: are the

... colonial policies, has always attempted to project an image of herself as the builder of a multi-racial, 'colour-blind' society—a new racial, 'colour-blind' society—a 'new Brazil' in Africa. Her show-piece is the 'assimilado' system whereby when an African has abandoned his home, his culture and his traditions and his language, and his considered by the local administrator to have reached a sufficient degree of 'civilisation', i.e. of education, of proficiency in Portuguese, and has the outlook of a Portuguese he can become 'assimilated'. He then receives a different type of identity card from that of the ordinary 'non-civilised' or 'indigenous' African and is supposedly on equal terms with the white man. Even if this system could be considered beneficial to the African, as operated by Portugal it is a failure. In the first as similados do not get equal treatment, economically or socially, though their position is slightly better than that of the **Indigena**; secondly a total of 4,554 'assimilated' Africans out of an African population of around 6 million (1955 census figures), cannot be considered anything more than a red herring, to draw attention away from the oppressed conditions of the bulk of the population.

... Resistance to Portuguese rule grew throughout the 1950s, taking the form of strikes on the docks and in the plantations, and of non-violent demonstrations. All African organisations were banned or infiltrated. This phase of the struggle culminated in 1960 in a demonstration at Mueda, in northern Mozambique, which was asking for elections to be held. Police opened fire on the unarmed crowd, and over 500 people were killed. It finally became clear that a regime which maintained itself by violence would never allow itself to be over-

... thrown by peaceful means. FRELIMO was formed in 1962 with the fusion of three existing movements into a single front. The three priorities set out at its first Congress were: political organisation within Mozambique, a military training programme and an educational programme. As the struggle has developed, and more territory has been liberated, these programmes have expanded.

... Responsibility for the wellbeing of over 800,000 people now rests with FRELIMO, and this involves more than regaining their land. Social reconstruction cannot wait until total liberation but must be begun with such resources as are available; the people must be helped to take advantage of their new freedom. Thus since the retreat of the Portuguese administration and the concession companies land has been redistributed and is being organised on a co-operative system. Instead of cotton, to be sold at a fixed price to the company, food is grown, and a surplus produced to supply the needs of the sections of the army which cannot produce for themselves, and of those who have been forced to leave their homes as a result of the war. Some cash crops are still grown, however, and these are exported to cover the cost of importing essential manufactured goods such as textiles, farming tools, shoes, and so on. Local domestic industry is also being set up on a small scale to produce salt and soap, and marketing co-operatives deal with internal as well as external trade.

... Bush primary schools have now been established for 11,000 children, in accordance with the priority for education laid down by the first Congress (97% of Mozambique's African population is illiterate). These schools, though hampered for lack of personnel and equipment, teach a new syllabus prepared to fit the needs of the new Mozambique.

... Another aspect of social welfare is health, and medical centres now exist throughout the liberated areas, ranging from simple first-aid posts to relatively well-equipped clinics. These cater for the local population and the wounded, and also conduct campaigns of preventive medicine. Medical statistics are being collected, the Portuguese ones having been found to be inaccurate.

... While the first priority must be the extension of the armed struggle, rudimentary though they are FRELIMO's social programmes represent a real advance over the days of Portuguese administration. They too are a part of the war for liberation, for they are the foundations on which a new society can be built and once these are laid there can be no retreat. Mozambique's struggle, like that of Angola, is a part of the struggle which is taking place everywhere in southern Africa today. A blow against Portugal is a blow against racialism and minority rule. Positive support for FRELIMO is support for the oppressed who are now standing up to fight.

... Footnote 1: FRELIMO has just held its second National Congress inside Mozambique, attended by 160 delegates from every part of the country. A full report of proceedings is not yet available.

... Footnote 2: Anyone wishing to contribute towards FRELIMO's programmes, or who would like more information about Mozambique, should contact: The Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, 1 Antrim Road, London NW3.

... 01-722 9030

... Mozambique: Guerillas continue struggle

... Dwarf Correspondent

... 25th September this year will be the fourth anniversary of the declaration of armed struggle in Mozambique. It was in 1964 that the Mozambican people, under the leadership of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) struck the first blows for freedom with a series of small military actions.

... Since that day military strength has grown from a force of 250 to an army of over 8,000 men and women, trained and equipped. Approximately one fifth of the countryside is now under the virtual control of FRELIMO, and the army is pushing south. In March this year a new military front was opened in the western province of Tete, a rich and fertile area where Portugal plans to settle one million white immigrants and where the Cabora Bassa dam, which will supply south Africa with hydro-electricity, will be built. South Africa, has already sent several companies of troops to guard the dam site and fight alongside the Portuguese army in the region.

... When FRELIMO was formed in 1962 it was as the result of decades of attempts at political organisation, and decades of oppression and repression by the Portuguese colonial administration. It was after the 1884 Treaty of Berlin that Portugal began a systematic campaign of conquest, and though she won her last major battle in 1898 isolated uprisings continued until the early 1920s. Portugal was, however, able to impose her rule on Mozambique, a rule of authoritarianism and near-slavery, though it was largely after Salazar came to power in 1926 that the legislation with which to enforce it was created.

... A structure developed in which forced labour was common; forced cultivation, under the concession company system, equally so; a fixed quota of Mozambicans went each year to work in the mines of South Africa under an agreement

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.

... will be followed by deft Fabian bureaucracy (who have a Fabian theory and practice on the state and class struggle) assembling behind such a slogan, create confusion and a verbal, literary—i.e. false—synthesis between Fabian socialism (with its cold nationalisation by the bourgeois state with or without **Inorganic** workers' "participation") and the working class. That Wilson hopes to thrive on the current amorphous state of the workers' control campaign indicates the need—taking the current Campaign level and the NEC proposals as starting point—to campaign for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of what is involved. — WORKERS' FIGHT.



# BIAFRA

## Let them eat oil

By Fitch and Oppenheimer

Appalled by the magnitude of the Nigerian tragedy, Western readers search uncomprehendingly for its cause. What happened to the country with one quarter of the entire black population of Africa; the country that Newsweek once described as endowed with "so many of the qualities that seem to be missing in other emerging states—a working democracy, a sound economy, a free press, a moderate pro-Western government . . ."; the country Time called Africa's "counterweight to chaos"?

The somewhat racist answer offered by the American and English press is that the whole disaster is the consequence of "tribalism". White Anglo-America, with its distrust of all things black, can comprehend the situation only as an exercise in atavism and ritualistic blood-letting. "There are forces let loose in Biafra", says the Sunday Times Magazine, one of the publications most sympathetic to the Biafrans, "that white men cannot understand." This is pure white chauvinism talking, for Westerners can easily understand the forces let loose in Nigeria — one of the most important of them is oil.

The large European and American oil companies have a total investment in Nigeria of over a billion dollars. And even more important, Nigerian oil production was the fastest growing in the world—in 1966 alone it increased an incredible

finally done in by British diplomacy. After negotiating a treaty with Queen Victoria, Ja Ja was lured into further negotiations, shanghaied by the British consul, and deported to the West Indies; he never returned.

While British justice was being brought to the peoples of the south, the system of "indirect rule" was being installed in the Moslem north to preserve the feudal way of life of the Hausa and Fulani peoples. No missionaries or missionary schools were allowed, and slavery was tacitly encouraged. The rule of the sultans and emirs, replete with their systems of private courts, retainers and harems, was bolstered by British guns. The south, carved into a string of protectorates under direct British rule, remained artificially cut off from contact with the north. In this way, the British kept the palm oil flowing unchecked to the sea.

Nigeria's second oil age dates from 1953, when Western petroleum companies finally struck oil after some 20 years of exploration and drilling. The Suez crisis in 1956—although it didn't cut off any of the West's lucrative Near Eastern oil sources—frightened the major producers into reconsidering the merits of Nigerian oil, despite its relatively high production cost. If Nigeria could be developed as an alternative to Middle Eastern oil, the Western petroleum industry might be able to weather the vagaries of

—the main producers—to give Nigeria "most favoured African nation" treatment. In other words, Nigeria would get at least as large a cut of revenues as that which the oil companies had recently granted Libya.

Gulf, producing 50,000 barrels a day, refused outright; Shell and British Petroleum, producing 350,000 barrels a day, mainly around Port Harcourt in the Eastern Region, stalled for time. The oil companies began to toy with the idea that if the Nigerian government in Lagos persisted in making things difficult for them, perhaps the Ibos might be a better lot to do business with after all.

To all intents and purposes, an Ibo secession plan had been in progress ever since the massacres of the 1966 counter-coup. And the eastern province was already withholding a sizable portion of the oil tax revenues which it received from the companies and was supposed to pass on to the central government. It had also taken the sale of farm produce into its own hands, instead of routing it through the Nigerian Produce Marketing Company in Lagos.

With oil the Federal government's largest source of foreign exchange earnings—and with 75 per cent of the oil located in the Eastern Region—the future of the Federal government looked very bleak indeed. Worse still, on May 30, 1967, the Eastern Region formally seceded, declaring itself the independent Re-

public of Biafra. The British section of the House of Morgan, is also a special advisor to the U.S. Morgan Guaranty Bank. Lord McFadzean is a government-appointed head of the British National Export Council.

These luminaries of Shell and BP may not run Great Britain, but when it comes to oil, their counsel is heeded with scrupulous attention in the Foreign Office.

Moreover, from their perspective it must seem that, as with General Motors and the U.S.A., what is good for the oil companies is good for the country. General Gowon's demands for increased revenue, the moguls probably reasoned, would cost them hundreds of millions of pounds in the long run. Why not take a flyer on Colonel Ojukwu's little Biafran state? Its small size and population were a positive advantage from the oilgarchs' point of view. The ideal oil state, of course, would be one with just enough land on which to place oil rigs and just enough people to guard the pipelines—a combination which is closely approximated by the sheikdoms of South Arabia.

Following the secession of May 30, 1967, both sides moved cautiously on the oil question. Lagos immediately blockaded Biafra's coast—but let the tankers through. The oil companies scrambled to pump out all the oil they could to fill the gap caused by the Arab-Israeli War. The major question for the

court, "Effective sovereignty" owned French oil company for Biafra seemed a lost cause.

And secession was becoming extremely costly for the oil companies. As the war dragged on, their petroleum investments lay fallow. Each day of war also increased the possibility of damage to those investments—to the pipelines, the refinery at Port Harcourt, and the terminal at Bonny. Although advancing Federal troops had proclaimed that they intended to handle the Port Harcourt refinery with kid gloves, the refinery still suffered 15 million dollars' worth of damage.

As the prospect of a Biafran victory receded, the oil policies of the Federal government reverted to their pre-1966 humility. Lagos was behaving with admirable circumspection, a virtue that was not lost on the companies. Despite its blockade, the Federal government never went so far as to nationalise the oil fields under its control. Nor did it take the usual wartime measures to control banks, currency and foreign exchange. The banks and trading companies—Barclays (Britain's largest bank, with several hundred Nigerian branches), Standard Bank (controlled by Chase Manhattan) and the United Africa Company (subsidiary of Unilever, the world's second largest non-U.S. corporation)—were pleasantly surprised by the freedom with which they were allowed to go about their business.

Actually, the French were betting less on a Biafran military victory than they were on a collapse of the Federal government's war effort through internal dissension and lack of organisational capacity. Nor was the French government eager to come down firmly on the side which might prove to be a big loser. Thus, despite the French commercial activity in Biafra, recognition was not immediately forthcoming. Instead, De Gaulle left the formalities of official recognition to his two most trustworthy African retainers—President Bongo of Gabon and Felix houphouet-Boigny of the

### MEMO FOR HAROLD WILSON

"Of course, it would be millions of times better 'for the country' if our youth could study and develop in peace! Who will dispute that? But unfortunately they will not be able to do so until the political system which is now ruining their young energies is finally abolished. The government will never forgive the youth their 'interference in politics' and the youth will never refrain from such interference. The student youth everywhere have taken a most active part in the fight for political freedom. George Sand long ago gave the right answer to the philistines who condemn them for this: if everything that is good and noble in youth is directed against the existing system, that is the best proof that the system is worthless."

G. Plekhanov, Selected Philosophical Works, Volume 1, p.431

## The Pope goes west

By Richard Neville

It's been an interesting month. The Chicago police have revived *The Theatre of Cruelty* and the Pope has returned from Colombia.

While he was there he made two suggestions—that the big landowners should be more heavily taxed and that the government should seek more foreign aid.

He had a bad word for contraception, which was a pity, since Colombia, because of poor medical services, has an infant mortality rate seven times higher than Great Britain.

The Pope also remarked on living conditions. He said that they should be improved. Nobody would disagree with him—especially the people whose ceilings fell in when the US Government helicopter he borrowed flew overhead.

Five thousand starving children, known to the wits of Bogota as "stray dogs" were cleared off the street during the Holy Father's visit.

A student demonstrating against His Holiness was shot to death by a group of devout policemen.

During one of his speeches he told the peasants that poverty was a virtue which should be patiently borne. This must have delighted them—over a hundred peasants die every day from starvation.

Naturally the Vicar of Christ spoke out against the Revolution. And very sensible of him, too, in a country

in hopeless poverty and 5% are what the *Daily Mirror* calls "distastefully rich".

Referring to the events in Czechoslovakia the Pope declared he would renounce his trip instantly if that would help to prevent the worsening of evils that oppress that nation.

However, as his staying or going would make absolutely no difference at all he, and 18 chosen Cardinals, hopped on their private Boeing 707. The flight cost \$80,000—a sum that would take the average Colombian 200 years to earn.

While the people died of starvation and hungry kids were driven off the street, the Cathedral was redecorated in cream and gold for the visit; in addition the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes had a new statue. The priest who runs that church, Monsignor Bernado Ortega said:

"It has a simple crown of solid gold set with precious stones given voluntarily by the people of the parish."

But another Bolivian priest, Father Mosset, who lives with his hungry flock in the countryside was accused of being a Communist and given a severe reprimand.

Though the Pope left no practical aid behind him, he did leave spiritual aid in the form of the texts of the 23 speeches he made during his trip.

Exactly how much comfort these will bring to the 60% of the population who can't read is question-



total investment in Nigeria of over a billion dollars. And even more important, Nigerian oil production was the fastest growing in the world—in 1966 alone it increased an incredible 53 per cent.

Today, the United States is represented in Nigeria and Biafra by Gulf, Mobil, Texaco, Standard Oil of California and Phillips; the French by ERAP; the Italians by ENI; the British by Royal Dutch Shell and British Petroleum (BP). The latter two, operating as a consortium, are the biggest producers.

Curiously enough, Nigeria has gone through two "oil ages"—the modern Petroleum Age was preceded by the Age of Palm Oil. For in the 19th century it was palm oil—the main ingredient in soap—that drew European traders to the Niger River and led to the British conquest of the "Nigerian Protectorate".

The richness of the palm oil resources in the Northern Region was a 19th century commercial legend. But European merchants could never really make a killing on the oil, because of the bargaining power of the Ibo merchant chiefs who acted as middlemen between the Europeans and the palm oil producers. This drain provided the vehicle for the entry of Sir George Goldie, the piratical "father of Nigeria". Goldie saw that the key to obtaining the oil wealth lay in breaking the monopoly of the Ibo chiefs by dealing directly with the northerners. Armed with a royal charter from Queen Victoria which gave him a "legal" monopoly on all trade in the region, Goldie used river gunboats to blast away his Ibo competitors. He then had the British colonial secretary threaten his French competition with war if they tried to encroach on Goldie's section of the Niger.

Ibos still remember Sir George's handling of their greatest historical figure, Ja Ja, King of Opobo. Ja Ja had built a thriving commercial empire in palm oil and was strong enough to withstand the European traders' attempts to run him out of the Oil Rivers region. He was

its relatively high production cost. If Nigeria could be developed as an alternative to Middle Eastern oil, the Western petroleum industry might be able to weather the vagaries of Arab nationalism.

The only problem was that three-fourths of the Nigerian oil seemed to be located in the Eastern Region—now Biafra—an area inhabited not by the Moslem, largely pastoral Hausa-Fulani, but by the ambitious, business-minded and democratic Ibos, who had given Sir George Goldie so much trouble back in the palm oil age.

Still, the Ibos were not a major obstacle to the oilmen as long as northern sultans and emirs ran Nigeria. After the military coup of January 15, 1966, however, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister, and his mentor, the Sardauna of Sokoto, were murdered.

The coup was led by Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi, an Ibo, and backed by a group of young officers, most of whom were also Ibo. The young officers specifically wanted to end the feudalistic private courts and personal favouritism with a representative government. They also wanted the oil companies to pay more taxes.

Within a little more than six months, however, on July 29, 1966, a counter-coup led by Major General Yakubu Gowon put the northerners back in control of the Federation—and wiped out 400 Ibo Army officers and enlisted men in the process. Throughout the months of September and October, pogroms were launched by northern soldiers and local police against Ibos living in the north. By some estimates, over 30,000 were killed, and nearly two million refugees streamed back into the Eastern Region.

At the same time, in order to maintain its credibility in the north, the Gowon government had been pressured into taking as hard a line in negotiations with the oil companies as had its Ibo predecessors under General Ironsi. Mr. Abdul Attah, a Finance Ministry official, asked Shell-BP and Gulf

the oil located in the Eastern Region—the future of the Federal government looked very bleak indeed. Worse still, on May 30, 1967, the Eastern Region formally seceded, declaring itself the independent Republic of Biafra, headed by Lieutenant Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu.

The question now was this: who was to get the oil revenues? In the complex diplomatic negotiations, the posture of the oil companies would be decisive in determining who would eat and who would starve, who would get guns and who would go defenceless. Behind the oil companies' diplomacy lay not only billions of dollars in assets and hundreds of millions of dollars in liquid capital in company treasuries, but also the combined power of the Dutch and British governments, who, with their substantial stock in Shell and British Petroleum, sustained a lively and intimate interest in Nigerian affairs.

Shell and British Petroleum are the world's largest and third largest corporations outside the U.S., with combined sales of over ten billion dollars—more than three times the GNP of Nigeria. Their corporate directors tend to be very well connected indeed in the circles where British diplomacy is formulated.

British Petroleum's directors include Lord Cobbold, also governor of the Bank of England—Britain's equivalent of the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank; W. J. Kewswick, an ordinary director of the Bank of England; and Sir Humphrey Trevelyan, the British Foreign Office's premier oil diplomat (whose experience includes serving as ambassador to Egypt during the Suez crisis in 1956, ambassador to Iraq during the 1958 upheaval, and South Arabian high commissioner in 1967).

Shell's board of directors, while equally well connected in the British government, has a somewhat more American flavour: Eugene Black is a director of the Chase Manhattan Bank and until recently, head of the World Bank. Lord Shawcross, an ex-Labour member of Parliament turned director of

Lagos immediately blockaded Biafra's coast—but let the tankers through. The oil companies scrambled to pump out all the oil they could to fill the gap caused by the Arab-Israeli War.

The major question for the companies was whether or not Biafra could display "effective sovereignty." June negotiations with Biafran envoys in New York saw the companies in their most pro-Biafran mood. A "compromise" was suggested on the revenue payments: 57.5 per cent paid to Biafra, cash-on-the-barrelhead, the rest to be placed in an escrow account in the name of Biafra. If Ojukwu could "maintain order" in Biafra, the balance would be his. On July 3rd, Shell-BP revealed an agreement to make a "token payment" of 700,000 dollars to Biafra.

But Shell-BP was hedging its bets. It didn't come out openly for Biafra. To placate the Federal government, it pleaded that the payment had been made "under duress." After all, some of the oil wells were within Federal territory, and Lagos might recapture the refinery. This was essentially the line taken by Britain Commonwealth Secretary Bowdon, who explained to the House of Commons how the government was betting on both horses: "At this stage there can be no recognition of the Eastern Region (our emphasis)"—implying, as The Economist pointed out, that recognition might be on its way. This would save face all around. With luck, Biafra would be happy, and Lagos "realistic" enough not to blockade the oil.

Lagos, however, did extend the blockade to oil. Production stopped in the midwest and in Biafra. Only Gulf's offshore waiting tankers. And the war fields continued to pump their 50,000 barrels per day into waiting tankers. And the war went on.

Gradually, the oil companies found they'd been wise to hedge their bets on Biafra. The oil blockade was not broken, and Ojukwu's troops were disappointing on the battlefield. By late July, Bonny had fallen, followed by Enugu, the Biafran capital, and finally Port Har-

world's second largest non-U.S. corporation) were pleasantly surprised by the freedom with which they were allowed to go about their business.

Ordinary Nigerians, however, did not escape the costs of war. Compulsory saving was introduced; strikebreaking laws and compulsory arbitration were enforced; the cost of living rose. As Federal troops advanced into Biafra, the oil companies retreated from their earlier positions. The "token payment," they lied, had never been made.

In August, 1967, just after the Biafran defeat at Bonny, Shell-BP "discovered" a clause in its contract with Nigeria enabling the oil companies to postpone royalty payments from the customary July 1st until March 31st, 1968, the end of fiscal 1967. The Lagos government declared its willingness to wait. And, with great fanfare, General Gowon announced to the press that the goal of the Federal government was to win the war before April 1st, 1968, when Biafra was due to receive its payment.

As the deadline approached, Biafran victory seemed even more unlikely—but Biafra still controlled the pipelines. If the war dragged on, Shell-BP would be in trouble. British Petroleum had lost 280 million dollars in 1967, and it couldn't stand another year like that. The Shell-BP response was twofold. In March, 1968, they announced a 42-million-dollar "crash programme" to build pipelines and terminal and storage facilities within Federal territory. And in April, 1968, Shell-BP signed a new agreement with the Federal government.

The British government is now irrevocably committed to the Federal government. But the French, heretofore holding none of the Nigerian franchises, have little to lose by giving a bit of encouragement to the Biafrans. And, purely diplomatic considerations aside, the French, who were forced out of Nigeria

by Sir George Goldie in the days of palm oil, just might start petroleum flowing their way.

The largest French entrepreneurial efforts in Biafra centre around the activities of the state-

forthcoming. Instead, De Gaulle left the formalities of official recognition to his two most trustworthy African retainers—President Bongo of Gabon and Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast. As for the real thing—formal French recognition—De Gaulle would wait and see.

For the moment, however, all these commercial and diplomatic negotiations, both French and British, are merely speculation about Biafra's future. As long as the war continues, oil production remains at a standstill. The companies have not earned a cent since the conflict began. And they know they must get back into full production before another Middle Eastern blowup.

So the companies want the war to end, and—except for the French—they want the Federal government to win. And so they must enthusiastically second FBI agent Joseph Palmer, the American assistant secretary of State for African Affairs, who asks the Biafrans to "compromise" and save themselves.

But Biafra can't simply give up. As the Federal troops advance, Colonel Ojukwu speaks of a second phase of combat; a people's war behind enemy lines. This is no mere militaristic bravado; there is genuine fear of renewed massacres. Moreover, for the Ibos, surrender under the newly promulgated Nigerian Federal structure would mean accepting the division of Biafra into three parts—with the Ibos crowded into a single section containing almost no oil lands whatsoever. As in the years before oil production began, they would have to emigrate from their homelands to earn their living as clerks, farm labourers and itinerant merchants. After the massacres in the north and atrocities of the present civil war, such a Diaspora represents to the Ibos the end of their people.

Bob Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer are the authors of "Ghana: End of an Illusion" (Monthly Review Press, 1966); they were married on July 26th, 1968.

a virtue which should be constantly borne. This must have cost them—over a hundred peasants die every day from starvation.

Naturally the Vicar of Christ spoke out against the Revolution. And very sensible of him, too, in a country where 80% of the population live

Though the Pope left no practical aid behind him, he did leave spiritual aid in the form of the texts of the 23 speeches he made during his trip.

Exactly how much comfort these will bring to the 60% of the population who can't read is questionable.

# Anarchists in conference

(A Dwarf Correspondent)

The International Anarchist Congress was held in the marble quarrying town of Massa Carrara (Italy). It was attended by delegates from a large number of countries, but resolved itself into a conflict between two opposite points of view. On the one hand was the fossilised bureaucracy that had decided to create an International Federation solely in order to give itself some vestige of support in its national federations. It wished the congress to devote time to parliamentary-type motions and reports from non-existent organisations stating, from the point of view of exiles, how revolutionary the countries they had not seen for a lifetime really were. On the other hand was a militant core that insisted that such a state of affairs could no longer be tolerated within the anarchist movement.

This was not a clash of age as stated in most of the world's press; people such as Federica Montseny had been real bureaucrats a third of a century before and were mythical ones now. It had been hoped by those controlling the congress to keep out what they called disruptive elements; this was prevented by the British delegation, which had decided to give out British delegate's papers to anyone from any country prevented from speaking.

Stuart Christie, for the AFB (Anarchists Federation of Britain) made it clear he was speaking not merely for British Anarchists but for revolutionary anarchists generally, when he asked why the most militant groups such as the 22nd March, FJL, Noir & Rouge, etc., were excluded. It was absurd for ex-

ministers such as Montseny, and pro-American Cubans, to be invited; and when the former attacked Cohn-Bendit for associating with revolutionary Marxists, he pointed out that this was a curious case of "purity"; after all, Cohn-Bendit associated, as we would do, with those revolutionary Marxists interested in abolishing capitalism; not, as Montseny had done, with the CP and others who had an interest in preserving it.

He condemned the idea of merely putting forward motions condemning aggression in the manner of political parties. Cohn-Bendit attacked the so-called anarchists from Miami—they were not the Cuban anarchists at all, he said, they were just an exile group living on CIA handouts. The real Cuban anarchists were in Cuba "fighting the dictatorship".

On these lines the congress divided; on the one hand, those who wanted an institution of revolution; on the other hand, those like the Swiss and British delegations—and the many other groups from around the Continent who came in on a "British" ticket—who pointed the way for a spontaneous revolutionary movement. An enormous discussion went on outside the congress amongst the large numbers who had been attracted to it. As summed up by Noir & Rouge, the revolutionaries were against an anarchism harking back to Proudhon, with bureaucrats reproducing old hierarchical structures. Our aim was not the struggle for anarchism as an abstract ideal but a revolutionary struggle with the most libertarian character possible

CARTOON Archetypal Slogan Theatre, revolutionary socialist theatre group needs rehearsal space. At present working on play for GLC tenants. Please ring KIL 2409 if you can help.

VSC POSTER in shape of NLF flag in three colours with relevant slogans. Priced 6d. For information ring 01-480-6789 or write to Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, 120 Commercial Road, London E.1.

NEWSREEL: filmed reports from the radical America left. Twelve 10-12 minute films have been released, including: October '67 Pentagon Confrontation; Up-Against-the-Wall Mother-Fuckers' Garbage Protest; Riot Control Weapons. Further information, and bookings from: Angry Arts Film Society, 10 Downside Crescent, London, N.W.3, SW1-3228.



# DWARF DIARY

## FREE GRANTS FOR ALL!

Are you an African student? Are you 'leftish' or even vaguely 'leftish'? Are you poor and do you need a free scholarship to the United States? If you are all this and more then don't hesitate to ring Mr Michael Pistor, the kind, warm-hearted Education Officer at the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square. For some years now Mr Pistor, formerly stationed in the Camerouns, has been playing host to leftish African students in close touch with certain national liberation movements. They are wined and dined and offered free scholarships at American Universities or free jaunts on a somewhat spurious project known as 'Leadership Exchange'. Little wonder then that Mr Pistor is an undoubted expert on the various struggles in Africa and is probably better informed than most commentators stationed in Africa itself. Small wonder also that when the Nigerian war against Biafra began to assume genocidal proportions there was a meeting of Biafran and Nigerian students to discuss the matter. The meeting was held under Mr Pistor's auspices and was the first and last of its kind. Mr Pistor told the Dwarf that he was definitely not working for the CIA.

## BURN DEUTSCHER, BURN

One of the things which worried the Russian enormously about pre-invasion Czechoslovakia was the 'subversive' ideas which were gain-

ing ground in Prague, particularly amongst the students. Various student journals had been publishing Trotskyite literature. Isaac Deutscher's *Stalin* and *The Unfinished Revolution* were being serialised and photographs of Trotsky had been published—for the first time in any Communist State apart from Cuba. It is not surprising, therefore, that a few days after the Russian tanks rolled into Prague the Czech CP sent out a top priority to all activists: **BURN ALL PROVOCATIVE MATERIAL.** What were they referring to? Books by Galbraith. *TIME* magazine. Not at all. What was burnt was copies of magazines containing Deutscher's work. The instruction was duly obeyed and most of the copies burnt! Comrade Deutscher would have been flattered.

## PATHETIC NEWS

One of the more noxious aspects of the cinema today is that in many theatres one is sometimes unfortunate enough to sit through Pathe News. We usually tend to laugh at the nauseous tones of the commentator telling us coyly that the scratch on Prince Charles' cheek was not a shaving cut but had been caused by a 'lady friend'. What is encouraging is that the derisive hoots of laughter which greet Pathetic News seem to grow louder. Despite this, however, why is it that such drivel is churned out regularly to mislead the average viewer. A recent newsreel, showing the Anti-Russian demo on Czechoslovakia,

contrasts the Labour Party speaker with the 'mob' i.e. us! The commentator remarks: "Present was the trouble-making element which London has come to know and despise in the past few months." End of unbiased, objective commentary! What rights do these cunts have to speak on behalf of Londoners in their smooth, specially-cultivated Tory accents? Surely Pathetic News is a thing of the past. It has been made completely irrelevant by television. The soporific reactionary trash they produce is a disgrace even to bourgeois 'democracy'. Their coverage of second-rate sport, royalty and animals in zoos is of interest to no one and should be flushed down the lavatory as soon as possible.

## CANNON'S LAW

One of the more nauseating sights at the centenary congress of the TUC was the sight of Mr Les Cannon of the Electrical Trades Union mouthing in that nasty style he has developed the old cold-war clichés against the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. He was most concerned that the TUC cut off the few links it does have with its Russian counterpart. We cannot talk to aggressors seemed to be the message. We will never condone the use of force.

It is reported that a few trade unionists had to leave the hall during Mr Cannon's speech as they were literally feeling sick! We sympathise with them. Mr Cannon is of

course a loyal defender of American Imperialism in Vietnam and usually defends the US position and the Labour Government's support of it quite shamelessly. But even if he didn't would the TUC have passed a motion saying that all links with American trade unions should be cut off. Not on your life. AFL-CIO delegates are still permitted to defend their government's butchery in Vietnam. The brothers at the TUC of course 'understand the difficulties the Americans face.' And anyway if they broke off links they would forfeit all the free trips to America—a favour which some of the members of the General Council would not be able to do without.

## REPRESSION IN WALES

The recent bomb attacks on a RAF centre in South Wales are by no means isolated attacks. There have been bomb incidents in Wales for the last few years and there is at least one bomb incident a week in Wales. Cardiff after 10 p.m. is like a city under Martial Law with police patrols guarding government buildings and Labour Party offices. To attribute the unrest as the Secretary for Wales has done to 'a cowardly bunch of thugs' is to avoid facing the problem. The unrest extends deep into the soul of Wales. Union meetings are attracting 2000-3000 members and the youth in particular are developing a socialist consciousness.

Four hundred Branch constables and officers are based in Cardiff

under the command of Jock Wilson well-known as the scourge of the London Left not too long ago. It is their duty to 'root out extremists' and prevent incidents when Bonnie Prince Charlie is investitured. What is amusing is that all the Special Branches including their gallant leader are all Scotsmen. Which brings back memories of the troubles in Merthyr in the 30's when it was a Scots battalion which dealt with the 'troublemakers'.

## THIS ENGLAND

"It has always been an axiom of British foreign policy that we stand up for smaller nations." — *New Statesman*, Editorial, 6th September 1968.

It is rapidly becoming an axiom of the *New Statesman* to print crap like this in its editorial columns.

## BBC CHARADES

A few days ago the BBC showed a film on Ramsay MacDonald which should have been seen by viewers some weeks ago but was postponed owing to the Czech crisis. In the film there is an interview with Sir Oswald Mosley as indeed there should be. Mosley was a Minister in MacDonald's Government and a potential Labour Prime Minister. The bureaucrat in charge, however, objected to the Mosley interview and ordered the deletion of some relevant comments on unemployment in the 30's spoken by Mosley. The producer was outraged but suffered the philistinism.

It comes as a surprise, therefore, to learn that the BBC is filming an hour long profile/interview with Sir Oswald Mosley to be shown in the near future. Wake up Paul Fox.

## NO COMMENT

VANCOUVER, Monday. Sir Ronald Howe, former Chief Constable of the CID at Scotland Yard, says violence is increasing in Britain because "we are letting in too many coloured people."

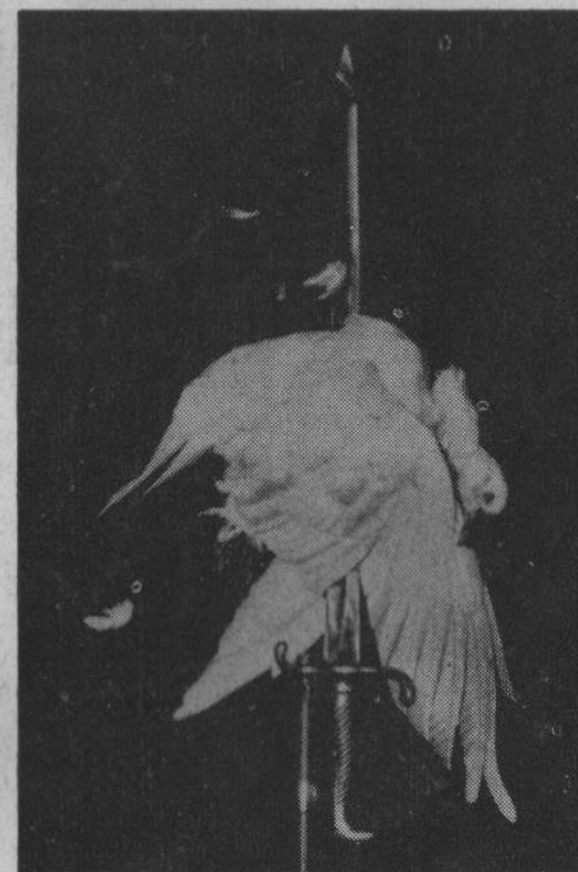
Sir Ronald, who arrived in Vancouver on a pleasure cruise, said in an interview yesterday:

"England has existed for thousands of years without them (coloured people) and why should we have them now."

He had no patience with "sickly sentimentalists" who, in his words, would "leave police powerless to protect 95 per cent of the population from the other five per cent criminal element."

Sir Ronald is in favour of using tear-gas chemical to control riots, and restoring capital punishment. British prisons, he said, were building up a hard core of criminals who had nothing to lose by shooting a warder.—Associated Press.

Another victim of the invasion of Czechoslovakia is the John Heartfield exhibition. The work of the great German communist propaganda-designer was to have opened in Camden next month under Arts Council auspices, but for months the F.O. was doing its best to sabotage



John Heartfield  
An example  
of his work

it with one excuse after another—the latest being that the letters DDR mustn't appear on the catalogue. So, come August 21 and the Tory leader on Camden bravely answers the appeal from *Literani Listy* for a cultural boycott, and claims credit for the cancellation.

Fuck him. The exhibition would

have presented a powerful arsenal of revolutionary graphic weapons which is of much more use to Czech comrades in their struggle than all the odious hypocrisies of Douglas-Home or Crossman; while the content of Heartfield's work is quite as vicious as Ulbricht's as was of Hitler.

## MISSING BARMAN?

Janet Daley

Some months ago a new barman in our local pub treated my husband and a friend of ours to a most intriguing bit of information about his plans: he was, he said, only working in the pub for a short interval between military service and the beginning of his new career with the police force. He had only recently completed his army service, a part of which had been spent in Hong Kong. He recounted how having left the army, HE HAD BEEN APPROACHED BY THE POLICE who were interested in recruiting him, they said, for their new riot control squad. They were particularly interested in him, they explained, because of his riot control experience in Hong Kong. They were especially anxious to recruit as many former military personnel as possible. Our barman, attracted by the job secur-

as 'ordinary constables'. They had no plans for any para-military riot control corps. I phoned the Home Office. They were similarly aghast. "You are willing to give me a categorical denial then, that such a squad is being formed?" Yes, they were. Our barman was now long gone. My information was too thin for me to continue much further.

Then came that spate of headlines about planned extremist violence at the October rally. The Times, in an uncharacteristically contradictory account claimed both that it was a fact that police secret agents had discovered an arms cache, etc., and that Scotland Yard had officially denied having held secret investigations with such findings. Who else but the police, of course, could have led the eminently responsible Times to print the first claim? Surely The

tense, alarmed atmosphere came a small news item from Scotland Yard: almost as an after-thought they mentioned that due to the possibility of mob violence, they were sending many of their ordinary policemen (it was stressed) for brief training sojourns in crowd control at a Hendon training centre. But this training consisted only, they assured us, of 'refresher courses'.

Admittedly indulging in speculation, let us imagine a mythological police force, panic-stricken by revolutionary activity in neighbouring countries, deciding that they must create their own effective force for suppression lest 'fanatically' idealistic youths in their land take hope from foreign uprisings. Inconveniently, however, our imaginary police force resides in a nation with a long tradi-

tion seem the epitome of judicious and unhysterical forethought. They carefully leak, not only to the highly questionable gossip-mongering press but to those pillars of respectability among newspapers, hair-raising discoveries of imminent blood-baths and planned revolutionary carry-ons while at the same time arranging for their official spokesman to deny the proceeding of such investigations (thereby sparing themselves the burden of proof).

And what is the image left in the public mind? An eminently reasonable police force harassed in the carrying out of its duty by irresponsible, rumour-flogging journalists. And what is the public image of left-wing demonstrators and activists (none of whom have been arrested or charged) and whose alleged actions are the subject of such speculation and denials?

## An open letter to Fidel Castro

DEAR FIDEL:

We are writing to you in connection with the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the armed forces of the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and East Germany. An invasion which you have described as a 'flagrant violation of Czech sovereignty', but which nevertheless you have gone on to justify in political terms.

Having read your speech on the subject we gather that your main excuse for supporting Czech intervention was your belief that the new regime was: "marching towards capitalism and inexorably towards imperialism—we did not have the slightest doubt about that".

We disagree with you Comrade. There was not the slightest evidence to suggest that the socialised property relations which prevail inside Czechoslovakia were in danger. Does this mean that we justify the economic policies of the Dubček regime. No! A hundred times no! But then there is very little difference between the economic trends in Czechoslovakia and other East European countries including the Soviet Union. If the Czechs were moving "inexorably towards capitalism" then so are the Russians, so are the Poles, the Bulgarians and the Rumanians. Surely you know of the

## GUNS Adrian Mitchell

They seem to have all the guns. Most of the guns in Britain are British/American government property, Police property Or the property of gentry-gangsters Who are British/American government property.

Nobody I love has a gun. Not in Britain.

The rich are rich because they fuck people about. They call it the Quality of Leadership And they have special school-machines producing Leaders to fuck people about, internationally.

People with guns Tend to fuck other people about. The people they tend to fuck about Are people who don't have guns.

None of my friends has a machine-gun ready, Let alone a tank.

A few yards ahead of us, a row of truncheons.



They were particularly in-  
 ed in him, they explained,  
 use of his riot control experience  
 Hong Kong. They were especially  
 ous to recruit as many former  
 ary personnel as possible. Our  
 man, attracted by the job secur-  
 had signed up. He was shortly,  
 old us, to go off to a police centre  
 London for training. Shortly after,  
 vanished as he had predicted,  
 urrently to take up his new career.  
 phoned Scotland Yard for a  
 ment. They reacted with shocked  
 or: they knew nothing of such  
 quad. They recruited men only

fact that police secret agents had dis-  
 covered an arms cache, etc., and  
 that Scotland Yard had officially  
 denied having held secret investiga-  
 tions with such findings. Who else  
 but the police, of course, could have  
 led the eminently responsible Times  
 to print the first claim? Surely The  
 Times would not have printed hearsay  
 — only an authoritative statement  
 from somewhere in the police force  
 would have led to their printing the  
 account at all even though they  
 pointed out that the official spokes-  
 man of Scotland Yard had made a  
 denial.

In the midst of wild stories and a

activity in neighbouring  
 countries, deciding that they must  
 create their own effective force for  
 suppression lest 'fanatically' idealistic  
 youths in their land take hope from  
 foreign uprisings. Inconveniently,  
 however, our imaginary police force  
 resides in a nation with a long tradi-  
 tion of civilized tolerance for dissent  
 and a consequent distaste for militar-  
 ism and repression on the part of its  
 police. Alas! In order to make their  
 new militant steps palatable, the  
 police authorities must whip up  
 public terror and outrage at would-  
 be violence-mongers to a sufficient  
 degree to make their own action

able police force harassed in the  
 carrying out of its duty by irrespon-  
 sible, rumour-flogging journalists.  
 And what is the public image of  
 left-wing demonstrators and activists  
 (none of whom have been arrested  
 or charged, and whose alleged  
 accumulation and bomb-making is  
 still unproved?)

And what is the public response  
 when, softened up by this campaign,  
 they hear the Big Daddy of police  
 announcements: that the police have,  
 in fact, created a militaristic, riot-  
 control branch so that their land can  
 have a CRS of its very own?

# UBCULTURE

Roland Muldoon

Following in the wake of the rise  
 revolutionary consciousness has  
 the demand for a socialist sub-  
 culture. But so far all that has  
 been is a conglomeration of half-  
 formed and often misapplied ideas that  
 unfortunately reflect the uncertainty  
 general schizophrenia of the Move-  
 . . . in the wrong way. It is  
 easy to come up with a widely  
 an example of this, so Centre  
 will have to suffice. Although this  
 movement never claimed to be re-  
 volutionary, it expressed a desire to  
 culture to the workers. It had  
 provincial tour, which was an abys-  
 failure, and then retreated to  
 Roundhouse. There it attempted  
 collect money to convert that  
 ing into a mausoleum 'worthy'  
 Stalin himself. When unable to  
 working class support, it attempt-  
 to borrow money from the  
 blishment. Caught between the  
 fire of the two, it produced  
 ng.

Therefore, what remains is a lot of  
 devoted people who, when all is said  
 and done, amount to a couple of  
 drama groups, folk singers, and a  
 few good poets. There is also the  
 emergence of art design as a recog-  
 nised weapon, the beginnings of a  
 left-wing press, and Unity, a run-  
 down old theatre of the orthodox  
 left (which often seems more inter-  
 ested in West End recognition than  
 the sub-culture).

What then are we to do? It is  
 important for our embryonic move-  
 ment to be backed up (in this age  
 of mass media) with an art move-  
 ment that reflects the classical and  
 modern alienations of the workers,  
 students and intellectuals.

When we started three years ago  
 we presented material about the  
 classical alienation facing the young  
 everyman in the western world. This  
 was well received by all types of  
 audiences but generally those which

constitute what is now referred to as  
 the extra-parliamentary opposition.

So as we have developed we are  
 presented with the problem of ap-  
 proaching three types of audiences.  
 First the progressive left and here  
 we have tried to avoid the obvious  
 pitfalls of preaching to the converted  
 by trying to reflect its own schizo-  
 phrenia . . . in, we hope, the correct  
 way. The second audience is the  
 youth, who are generally much more  
 aware than their elders because of  
 the pop-explosion and therefore we  
 have set out plays somewhere in that  
 media. The third is the most difficult  
 —and that is the workers. This is a  
 hard market to define and very often  
 they dislike the material which  
 appeals to the other two. As yet we  
 have not come up with a satisfactory  
 answer in any way to their particular  
 type of demand and so we are cur-  
 rently trying to develop a play which  
 will interest them but will not be  
 covered by bourgeois culture.

We do, however, feel it essential that  
 we create an ambience with all those  
 concerned in creating a sub-culture  
 (and not requiring recognition for  
 its own sake). We should get together  
 because it simply isn't good enough  
 just to feel that you are trying to  
 do something and not reaching the  
 widest audience possible. It tends to  
 become a nightmare; you have to  
 sort out what's happening and, when  
 doing this, you begrudgingly realise  
 that the ICA and imitators in the  
 hippy underground generally have  
 more effect. They present, at least  
 to the youth of this country, a rival  
 culture. Ultimately, however, those  
 with genuine intention will emerge  
 as a strong minority. In the short  
 term we are expecting people attract-  
 ed away from bourgeois society to  
 sort out where they are for them-  
 selves or at the worst and in the  
 absence of other alternatives to let  
 the *International Times* and the  
*Melody Maker* and the Arts Lab to  
 do it for them.



disagree with you Comrade. There was not the slightest evidence  
 to suggest that the socialised property relations which prevail inside Czecho-  
 slovakia were in danger. Does this mean that we justify the economic  
 policies of the Dubček regime. No! A hundred times no! But then there  
 is very little difference between the economic trends in Czechoslovakia and  
 other East European countries including the Soviet Union. If the Czechs  
 were moving "inexorably towards capitalism" then so are the Russians, so  
 are the Poles, the Bulgarians and the Rumanians. Surely you know of the  
 financial deals the Soviet bureaucracy has contracted with capitalism.  
 Surely you know the deal made with Italian capital to produce Fiat cars  
 in the Soviet Union—to name but one firm!

There is also talk of 'imperialist elements' in Czechoslovakia. What  
 elements are these? West German tourists? There are more of them in  
 Bulgaria! Americans? There are more of them in the Soviet Union itself!  
 Capitalist propaganda? It flourishes throughout Eastern Europe.

No Fidel! What the leadership of the CPSU feared most was the pen-  
 etration of critical COMMUNIST ideas inside a communist state. They are  
 frightened that the example might spread as indeed it will. What they fear  
 is NOT the penetration of capital but the penetration of ideas. What they  
 fear is that soon the new generation inside the Soviet Union itself will  
 begin to demand that the platform of the Left Opposition be published!  
 That the butchery, both physical and intellectual, perpetrated by Stalinism  
 be exposed for once and for all and that the present bureaucratic regime  
 in the Soviet Union be exposed as having betrayed the fundamental tenets  
 of Leninism.

Fidel you imply that a few 'honest revolutionaries' asked for Soviet  
 intervention. The Koldar clique—all three of them—are neither honest nor  
 revolutionaries. They are the most backward and Stalinist elements inside  
 the bureaucracy who want to preserve the status quo. They are the  
 Escalantes of Eastern Europe!!

Of course there are bourgeois forces present in Czechoslovakia as there  
 are in most communist countries but they had been politically sterilised by  
 the actions of the Czech communists. If anything has revived them it is the  
 Soviet intervention. The Dubček regime had laid the basis for a genuine  
 political revolution which would have progressed with the growth of a  
 genuine revolutionary movement in the whole of Europe. The Stalinists in  
 the Kremlin have tried to crush this, but in the long run they will not  
 succeed. How can they. History is beginning to catch up with them.

Fidel you know better than us that revolutionary socialism cannot be  
 forced down people's throats at bayonet point. If it is politically justifiable  
 for a Communist country to intervene in order to remove a regime it  
 dislikes, how can we argue that it is wrong for Yankee Imperialism to try  
 and preserve its client states by military force? The moral base of Marx-  
 ism must not be debased.

Stalinism has converted the ideas of Marx and Lenin into a sterile  
 dogma in much the same way as a Roman Catholic catechism. Stalinism  
 has made Eastern Europe completely apolitical so that it cannot understand  
 the nature of the struggles taking place in Vietnam, Latin America and  
 Africa. It will take time for revolutionary politics to flower inside Eastern  
 Europe and the Soviet Union again but flower they will and when they  
 begin to bloom it will sound the death-knell of neo-capitalism in Western  
 Europe.

The Soviet Union refuses to recognise that the main enemy is U.S.  
 Imperialism. How can it with its declared aim of 'peaceful co-existence'.  
 The Soviet Union prefers to concentrate its wrath on 'German re-  
 vanchism' which it knows full well is merely an off-shoot of a larger  
 monster.

Soviet intervention has come as a blow to the anti-imperialist move-  
 ment in the West.

It is for all these reasons that we are saddened by your support of  
 the Russian intervention because we, Fidel, never thought that you could  
 ever be on the same side, albeit objectively, as men like Monje and others  
 of his ilk in Latin America. Men who have dishonoured Marxism and are  
 betraying the Revolution. All of us have supported the achievements of the  
 Cuban Revolution! Most of us have visited Cuba since its liberation! We  
 still do! We are in complete solidarity with the struggle begun by Che in  
 the jungles of Bolivia and we shall continue to help in the struggle against  
 U.S. Imperialism. But it is precisely because of our political position on  
 these questions that we ask you Fidel: WHY???

Tariq Ali, Roger Smith,  
 Clive Goodwin, Irving Teitelbaum,  
 David Mercer, 7 Carlisle St., London, W.1.

**EDITORIAL AND PRODUCTION GROUP:** Tariq Ali, Clive Goodwin,  
 Adrian Mitchell, Robin Fior, David Mercer, Mo Teitelbaum, Fred  
 Halliday, Barney Fulcher, Roger Tyrrell, Warren Sharpe. **Published**  
 by **The Black Dwarf**, 7, Carlisle St., London W.1. Printed by A. J.  
 Chapple Ltd., Bala, N. Wales. Distributed by Moore Harness Ltd.,  
 11 Lever St., E.C1. 01-253 4286.

**FOREIGN SUBS PER ANNUM:**  
 U.S.A./Canada/India/Pakistan: £5 16s. 6d. (By Air); £3 16s. (Ordinary);  
 Cuba/North Vietnam/China/New Zealand/Australia: £6 8s (By Air);  
 £3 18s. (Ordinary); Czechoslovakia/Yugoslavia/W. Europe: £4 (By Air).

People with guns  
 Tend to fuck over people about.  
 The people they tend to fuck about  
 Are people who don't have guns.  
 None of my friends has a machine-gun ready,  
 Let alone a tank.  
 A few yards ahead of us, a row of truncheons,  
 Behind the truncheons, rifles,  
 Behind the rifles, grenades,  
 Behind the grenades, machine-guns,  
 Behind the machine-guns, tanks,  
 Behind the tanks, bombs.  
 And behind the bombs — the rich.  
 The rich are as stupid as guns.  
 They will be killed by their own guns.  
 In every capital  
 The fuckedabout of the world are linking arms.  
 The people of the world  
 Want the world.  
 We are going to take it.

**The Black Dwarf**

GET YOUR COPY HERE

I don't want a copy, I want the real thing

**NEW REDUCED SUBSCRIPTION RATES**

6 months (13 issues) £1 post free  
 12 months (26 issues) £2 post free

New subscribers completing this form will receive the big CHE poster (20" x 30") free.

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

Name .....

Address .....

The BLACK DWARF, 7 Carlisle Street, W.1.  
 Telephone: 01-734 4827

Trade terms on application.