

The Black Dwarf

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15 October 1968

Fortnightly 2s.

They say that in Mexico we have the most cultured army of all Latin America because it is continually in the universities''..... Page 5

WORKERS AND STUDENTS

DON'T

DEMAND

OCCUPY

YOUR SCHOOLS

YOUR FACTORIES

reports from: Leicester/Columbia/Hull/Birmingham/Japan/Frankfurt
Also: Peter Sedgwick on Herbert Marcuse/Rudi Dutschke on Capitalism
Fred Halliday In praise of Max Beloff/Alberto Moravia on the Cultural Revolution

ALL POWER TO THE CAMPUS SOVIETS!

Editorial

Students must make revolution

1968 has been the year of the student revolutionary. In the exploited world students have always been in the vanguard of the fight against imperialism and dictatorship; this year has been no exception and as we go to press students in a score of countries—such as Mexico, Brazil, Tunisia, Uruguay, Turkey—are locked in combat with their governments. In the socialist world students in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland have spearheaded the anti-Stalinist struggle.

In the advanced capitalist countries students have also played a leading revolutionary role—in the US, Germany, Italy, France and Japan.

But not in Britain. We are the only major capitalist country which has not produced a comparable student movement. There have been isolated cases of student insurrection, and students have been dominant in the anti-imperialist struggle, but there has not been a mass student movement.

Two issues confront the revolutionary student left at this moment: What role can a student movement play within a socialist strategy? What can the students do in Britain?

One thing is clear. Students cannot make the revolution by themselves. Occupying buildings and slugging policemen do not in themselves constitute the revolution. The role of the students is crucial, but limited. A university can only be completely liberated by liberating the whole of the society of which it is a part, and that can only be done by the working class, organised in a revolutionary party. France showed what the students can do—detonate a proletarian explosion; but it also showed that without a revolutionary organisation of the workers the explosion can be crushed.

The experience of students abroad shows the various revolutionary roles that students can play. They can campaign for student power; they can lead the anti-imperialist struggle; and they can play a crucial auxiliary role in the workers' revolution.

Student power is not a reformist, bourgeois demand: students have a right to control their courses and discipline their sexual and university lives. The undermining of capitalist ideology and control in the universities and their replacement by a socialist imagination receive our fullest support.

In the United States and Britain it has been students and youth who have played the leading role in the anti-imperialist struggle, not the workers. By openly challenging imperialist policies and showing the connection between them and domestic exploitation the students can contribute to the development of a revolutionary movement.

The relation of students to workers is the key to this revolutionary strategy. It would be a mistake to apply some mechanical formula to students—the ways in which they can contribute to the workers' movement depend on how strong the students are and what form of workers' movement is already in existence. Students can give material support to strikes; they can act as intellectuals, writers and agitators within a proletarian movement; but they cannot act as substitutes for proletarian, shop-floor militants.

In Britain, students have set up the Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation. The "Black Dwarf" believes that RSSF can play a leading role in building a revolutionary student movement, provided it accepts the fact that students have a diversity of revolutionary functions. It must not tie them down to a complacent isolation from workers' struggles or force them to ignore their own struggles within the university.

The major difficulty in Britain is that there is not a mass proletarian movement to which students can ally themselves. They must not only help, they must help to create, and as in France they can, by their example, help to detonate.

British youth is in ferment, though this ferment is taking a number of more or less apolitical forms; the Labour attack on the working class is gathering momentum. This is the context within which RSSF is working, and to which it must apply its energies. It cannot create a revolution by itself, and limitations of the working class movement in this country will be the limitations of its own revolutionary effectiveness. Realism and imagination must go hand in hand. The liberated university, the defeat of imperialism and the smashing of capitalism will follow.

On the fate of one student as decreed by the Authorities

On the 28th May 1968 I took a certain course of action, to challenge the system of examinations with specific reference to my finals papers — Part II for the joint degree of sociology and politics, at the University of Hull.

This action consisted of ripping up the first paper, and boycotting the other four papers. The year before I had taken Part I of the final degree — four papers, and passed without difficulty in all papers.

Clearly any student who knows that examinations are a purely arbitrary and subjective device for arranging students into grades, cannot readily prostitute his knowledge inside the examination-room.

My actions were consistent with facts about examinations, confirmed time and again by research. I remain more than willing to complete my course by other more sane methods of assessment, e.g. dissertations, which would actually involve far more work than the traditional examination.

However the response of the authorities demonstrates their lack of interest in any such rational changes. On July 31st I finally received an official communication from the University of Hull (after a lapse of two months!) which reads:-

"Following upon a special meeting of Senate held last week, it has been agreed:

- (1) That you presented yourself in May 1968 for Part II of the Final examination for the B.A. Joint degree in Political Studies and Sociology;
- (2) That you be not re-admitted to the University;
- (3) That you be allowed to take Part II of the Final examination in Political Studies and Sociology on one further occasion in June 1969;
- (4) That you be deemed not eligible for the award of honours when you take this examination.

Yours sincerely,
(Sgd.) W. D. Craig,
Registrar."

These decisions are little better than an insult both to myself, and to the official policy of the Students' Union (which demands alternatives to examinations as voluntary options for all students).

I had originally been provisionally accepted to do an M.A. in Political

Studies. Since that time there has been no suggestion that my academic record has been unsatisfactory. On the contrary my tutors have all supported me on the question of my continuing at the University as a full-time student.

My tutors are unanimous in their verdict that had I taken the examinations, then I would have passed comfortably. Thus it is clear that the decisions taken about my academic future were concerned not with my academic ability, but with my willingness to conform to archaic, and authoritarian examination regulations, which are not accepted as legitimate by the main body of students. In other words I will not be an obedient little boy in bowing to their authority, consequently I must be punished by being banished from the University except for the purpose of repenting my previous actions, by taking the examinations next May.

Further Section (4) is a calculated insult which does not even hold water, in that if a student has not failed any examinations, then the authorities are bound in good faith to award that student an honours degree, if he passes Part II, having already passed Part I of an honours degree.

However, my main concern is not to quibble with the regulations, and their interpretation of them, but rather to expose the mismanagement of our universities by an unrepresentative minority of the teaching staff, who are responsible neither to the majority of staff, nor to the majority of students. Hence they are able to calmly ignore the recommendations of my tutors, and even the head of one of my departments; they are able to overrule all those who have actually had some contact with me as a student, all those who are able to form some opinion concerning the quality of my academic work.

Since I have been at Hull I have not failed a single examination—in particular by refusing to sit for my examinations in May 1968 I cannot be deemed to have failed them. Thus the attempt of the authorities to switch in midstream the status of my degree is quite clearly a "political" manoeuvre on their part against a student who they regard as

an undesirable member of the University, because of his political views

and actions (re 'sit-in' etc.). Thus the response of Senate in overruling everyone else can be reasonably regarded as an act of irrational discrimination against the political views and actions of a student.

The regulations in no way forces them to attempt to eliminate my presence at the University, the Senate has used and abused the regulations as a shield for their less than worthy motives.

Power in the University is clearly concentrated at the top, and those at the top are clearly more concerned with regulations and their need to preserve their undemocratic authority, than to listen to those on the lower rungs of the academic pyramid, or to put the real aims of education before the rationale of a specific structure of power.

There are no academic grounds for not allowing me to continue as a full-time student—I wish to go on to do postgraduate work, this is also the wish of my tutors. My tutors unanimously accept the need to reform methods of assessment such that, if needs be, my qualifications would be completed thus enabling me to go ahead with postgraduate study, but I absolutely refuse to take any further examinations just because some unelected authority asserts itself by saying, "We say so", without being capable to defending their verdict as being in the interests of higher education.

In conclusion I would like to quote Karl Popper on the subject of educational authoritarianism, "The authoritarian will in general select those who obey, who believe, who respond to his influence. But in so doing he is bound to select mediocrities. For he excludes those who revolt, who doubt, who dare to resist his influence. Never can an authority admit that the intellectually courageous, i.e. those who dare to defy his authority, may be the most valuable type."

The students demand changes, the staff want changes, meanwhile the professorial elite builds academic castles on the sands of time—sooner or later the tide of change will sweep those castles away. In the meantime I will suffer the doubtful loss of the University's official blessing with regard to my future education.

TOM FAWTHROP.

Leicester - a broadening of fronts

Pete Gibbon

In particular terms, the struggle at Leicester last year was of no dramatic significance. In terms of a transformation of consciousness amongst a significant sector of students however, and in terms of strategic and tactical lessons, it had the importance of all forms of struggle.

Sit-in

Briefly, the events of last year were as follows: in January 1968 the claims of a mild but long-unanswered Union memorandum on student representation in University administrative bodies were pressed in a series of negotiations between Union officials and representatives of Senate. Toward the end of February the Senate drafted a preliminary reply which rejected almost wholly the Union's proposals. A series of sanctions were agreed on at a meeting of 35% of students at Leicester, and the Union president led the majority of those present into the main administrative block for a teach-in (due to last four hours) on the proposals, the decisions and the sanctions.

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At the end of a few hours, despite appeals by the president and his associates, the 'teach-in' became a 'sit-in' by voting to occupy the building indefinitely and to prevent entrance to it by anyone except students and outsiders who had anything relevant to add to the discussions which were beginning. The sit-in lasted four days, growing to a strength of four hundred. It was discontinued when Senate agreed to reopen negotiations—which are still uncompleted.

Sell-out

Three points seem to require clarification here: why were such modest proposals rejected by Senate, how was so much support mobilized behind them, and why, if this support was so strong, did it not press for a more satisfactory outcome to the struggle? First, the memorandum was turned down because it called into question structures of government which Senate's previous actions had implied were beyond question. A testimony to Senate's sensitivity on this point is that the proposals made, if implemented, would not only have rationalized the process of government itself but would have left untouched every real relation of

social control in the university — curricula, examinations, discipline, etc.

Second, Leicester was a university previously remarkable only for its students' extraordinary apathy. The Union officials took this to imply a lack of discontent and believed that through conducting a carefully-prepared publicity campaign they could foster enough interest to lead a revolution from above.

However, this campaign in fact unleashed a whole series of previously unarticulated grievances which overtook the attempt by union officials to embody them in one set of proposals and one form of action. This in turn answers the third question: the Union hierarchy enlisted the support of the majority of moderate conservative students in ending the sit-in which was threatening not

Follow-up

Socialist students at Leicester who understood the contradictions involved were able to articulate them in such a way that, in conjunction with the direct action itself, a large section of students who had previously only struck liberal attitudes were politicized.

During the sit-in the students had been virtually attacked in a thoroughly incoherent and vicious manner by the Leicester Mercury, the local evening paper. This, and similar personal attacks in the Daily Express led to a hardening of consciousness and a better appreciation of the treatment consistently meted out by the former to the local immigrant community.

The future

By the end of the session, activity at AIMS's public meetings had forced them to go underground. However, the struggle against them has by no means ended, and next session we hope it will take on more positive forms — such as an attempt to build socialist-orientated tenants' movements. Simultaneously we hope at Leicester, through the agency of RSSF, to move in a more concerted manner into workers' struggles in the town — while not ignoring of course, the opportunities to precipitate within the university the type of conflicts which can both raise a consciousness and prevent it being trapped at the level of struggles for minority representation.

London Tenants 15000 march

Keith Vaness

The struggle of the GLC tenants to smash the Rent rises reached a new watershed on Sunday, 22nd September, with the calling of a mass demonstration. Originally called by NATR (The National Association of Tenants and Residents — a thinly-veiled CP front), the demonstration looked like being a flop due to lack of publicity and organisation until the GLC Action Committee stepped in. The NATR march was called off and a rally in Trafalgar Square put in its place. However the Action Committee decided that a march was necessary and arranged, under the most difficult circumstances, to hold a march from West Smithfield to Trafalgar Square. The actual number of tenants on the march varied between 20,000 if you were optimistic steward and 2,000 if you read the gutter-press. However an accurate figure is probably between 10,000—12,000. This in itself was quite a good tribute and if you consider the fact that probably 5,000 more were waiting in Trafalgar Square, then the picture is clear. This was the biggest working class demonstration London has seen for many years. Another interesting point was the fact that the average age of demonstrators was much closer to 50 than 20. Women outnumbered men by at least a 3:2 ratio and this marks an upsurge of militancy in working class women that could well surprise the most optimistic observer. The virtual press-blackout the following day and the total absence of TV coverage about the demonstration is very instructive to those of us who are used to the barrage of nonsense which follows Vietnam marches. No stories of hooliganism, communist subversion or secret plots. In fact nothing at all! 1,500 SDS demonstrators in Germany got approximately 100 times the publicity in the press, so much for objective reporting!

Readers of The Black Dwarf should take extreme encouragement from the recent tenants activities. They should realise that the British working class is flexing its muscles and preparing for things to come. Your place is with the tenants and your slogan should be their slogan.

NOT A PENNY ON THE RENT!

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NOT A PENNY ON THE RENT!

HULL—the way forward

Pete Latache

At Hull University the senior academics have clearly discounted "student unrest". The events of previous term, in which the flexible responses of the Vice-Chancellor loom large, left students and staff with the appalling prospect of a series of joint student/staff committees. While this is seen with some complacency as a panacea for all that uncomprehended debate and marching about on the campus other rumours from the administration imagine a gigantic "sit-in" as part of "a national co-ordinated demonstration at the end of October." So the students face a schizotypic group, torn between self-congratulation and cosmic fantasies of unrest.

As the campus struggles become a permanent feature of the political scene, the "university cycle" assumes more significance. The key factor is the summer vacation in which Senate apparently replenishes its stock of repressive weapons and the students—well, contrary to the fantasies (and since the authorities provide *causis belli* in plenty anyway),—really write each other greetings from strange places. At Hull the latter end of the summer

was enlivened, if that is the right word, by joint Senate/Student committee negotiations to decide the details of a complex administrative pyramid to be set alongside the existing monstrosity. Against the good advice of a Left hardened by active experience of campus struggle, the Union had agreed to accept this reformist package as a basis of negotiation. Since this basis, of necessity, removed the contentious questions (the actual pre-existing structure of power) from the debate, the Senators could honestly report the negotiations to the press as "friendly". It is worth reporting that the most contentious issues appeared to be representation on the car-parking committee and the relative seniority of the Deans, issues which did not move the student delegation significantly.

So the new term commenced with the "parallel" boredom system of reform on the agenda for both Senate and the Students Union to ratify, if they will. Although it will be opposed by the Left on the grounds of irrelevance to the central question of power, it will probably gain acceptance in the Union—some of whose officers seem never to get

enough of a bad thing! At best it is an encroachment on prerogatives in some departments, and will enable the debate of some contentious issues. At worst it can be regarded as a kind of tin-opener which will help the students gain insight to the structure.

Besides mounting a campaign against this reformism the radical students return to deal with the problem of a total change in one-third of the student population. How far those press reports of last June have been retained is questionable, so a campaign of "anti education" is being run the first weekend of term. In this period by tradition, only the new students attend, and during three days are subjected to intensive propaganda by eminent authorities and their lackeys in the Student Union. Although these events continue, piquancy—if not actual interest—will be added this year by the intervention of our "Clearways Campaign" (the umbrella movement of the militant students). This will include counter-reception, questioning of ritual, guerrilla theatre, an active denunciation of those elements of the experience designed to confirm the student as pathetic idiot of

the system. The conjunction of two talks, titled respectively "The Role of the University in a Changing World" and "The Role of the Changing University World" does, for those students who attend either, offer two sharply delineated versions of their forthcoming reality. More positively, the Campaign is planning an "environment" day where the complex of politics and culture (or Kultur), light and word will attempt to relay a political message about involvement, etc., on campus in a situation which brings together the kinds of experience bourgeois society separates. Much help is hoped for from both those underground and those with their chin on the horizon of bourgeois society. New students will also get a broadsheet telling them what had been happening around here and why. The existence and style of these last two things owes a lot to the incorporation of the "hippie" community as one of the constituencies of the fight on this campus.

The Socialists on campus have the traditional duties of their heritage. To generalise the local campus conflict as a theoretical attack on the institution, presumptions and forms

of present higher education, to locate it in the structure of a class society and to attempt to turn opened student eyes outward. Here a federation of socialist clubs using the RSSF structure is essential. The Administrations preparations clearly show that the Vice-Chancellors, while extolling the virtues of individualism to us, have a well organised collective protection of their rights planned.

Finally, in the context of a summer of "frank and friendly" negotiations, experienced observers will recognise that the Administration has learned nothing from its own history. In a loose leaf addition to the "Student Handbook" we are informed that academic staff and students alike are to be issued with identity cards for use "in the sports centre and library". Needless to say this item has not been part of the aforementioned negotiations.

Once again an arrogant bureaucracy, ignorant of the nature of the institution it rules and unquestioning about its own purposes, faces a student body even less prepared than last year to accept that "daddy knows best".

REGENT STREET POLYTECHNIC Sociologists in Crisis

There is uproar in the Sociology Department at London's Regent Street Polytechnic. Communications have broken down between the management and the lecturers. Students are making critical remarks. A team of rank and file militants, sent by 'Solidarity' to investigate, report as follows:

1. **The Management.** This consists of a tightly knit complex of bankers, lawyers and politicians, bound together by Christian beliefs, conservative ideology, geriatric ineptitude and a lust (consummated) for power. The Director is Sir Eric Richardson, CBE, Ph.D., B.Eng., F.I.E.E., A.M.I.Mech.E., said to be interested in engineering.

2. **The Labour Force.** This consists of semi-skilled assembly line operatives (known as 'lecturers'). They come in two sizes: the 'gold watch' boys, who have been with the firm for years and are deeply integrated—and the 'casuals', whose status is somewhat inconsistent and whose relationship with the management is ill-defined. Politically most of them are frustrated liberals and radicals, whose critique of society is purely academic, when not enmeshed in methodism, existentialism

and sundry other diversions.

3. **The Product** (also known as 'students'): The intake is bi-sexual. Quality inspection is poor and there is said to be much built-in obsolescence. The output is systematically processed—at a rate of 30 per annum—into traditional middle-class patterns of thought.

4. **The Problem:** The Sociology Department is a thorn in the Director's flesh (he recently called them 'all bolsheviks and atheists'). Eric has been toying with the idea of abolishing the problem by abolishing the Department.

5. **The Conflict:** A deputation of sociologists recently called on the Director asking for 'better conditions and facilities for staff and students'. They were met with a blank refusal, threats of redundancy, hints that the site would be closed and warnings that no more labour would be recruited.

6. **The Investigation:** At first the operatives were hostile to our team of investigators and threatened to stop work if their output was timed. The difficulties were overcome when we infiltrated class rooms disguised as ventilation engineers.

7. **Recommendations:**

(a) that the walls of all lecture theatres be painted green, as it was found that the delivery rate of 'lectures' then increased by 30 w.p.m.

(b) that a Welfare Officer be appointed to listen to the operatives' complaints, thereby improving morale.

(c) that opportunities for social interaction among operatives be extended, provided it did not interfere with output.

(d) that the Ministry of Labour set up an office in the building to help those threatened with redundancy. Attention should be drawn to the fact that alternative work was available in Aberdeen.

(e) that operatives be directed to local government retraining centres, with a view of acquiring new skills, such as lecturing in veterinary science, classical Greek or Civil Engineering.

8. **Conclusions:** Although those made redundant might at first be resentful, the team was optimistic that they would eventually come to realise that mobility of skilled labour was in the national interest.

EDWARD LUDD.

In praise of Max Beloff: Saint Max II

Fred Halliday

It would be hard to find a man less suited to his post than Professor Max Beloff, for eleven years Gladstone Professor of Government and Public Administration at the University of Oxford. Beloff has long been known as a fervent supporter of British foreign policy, the NATO alliance and American imperialism. In the 1950s he had the engaging habit of criticising the U.S.A. for not accepting their colonial responsibilities: the U.S., he argued, had the same "destiny" as the colonial nations of Europe and they should realise this. "The important thing," he wrote, "is that the Americans

should come to understand the difference between doing the colonial job properly and doing it badly." ("The Great Powers," p. 213).

When the U.S. opposed the Suez intervention, they received a stern lesson in their imperialist duty from Beloff. "Englishmen will not easily forget", he thundered, "... the indifference to our national needs and those of our French allies that these actions showed" ("The Great Powers, p.189).

His latest offering, a rather slight collection of essays on **The Balance of Power**, is an open plea for a Russo-American division of the world

between them. Great-power chauvinism has never had a more devoted advocate—though many have been more persuasive.

His recent outbursts against student power have occasioned the argument that American students in Britain who oppose the Vietnam war and evade the draft should be deported to the U.S.A. Would he have favoured the deportation of anti-Nazi German students in the 1930s?

Over the past few months he has emerged, on television and in the press, as a hysterical opponent of student power, although many of his arguments have been so absurd and

so discredited his case that he is known in Oxford as "the student's best friend". He has attacked progressive students and teachers for being "unsuited" and "ill-equipped" for academic life; and has invoked the "disciplines" of his profession ("Sunday Telegraph" June 9th, 1968).

The fact is that no-one is more "unsuited" and "ill-equipped" than Beloff himself. A professor of politics, he spent the first fourteen years of his academic life studying and teaching **history**; of the thirteen or more books he has written only one, a collection of lectures on Federal Government in the

U.S.A., is about politics at all; and his meandering prose reveals a complete ignorance of contemporary political science. He has attacked other professors for their "lack of commitment" to teaching; as one who has attended Beloff's lectures, I can say that they were ill-prepared, and tediously unoriginal.

The only "discipline" Beloff's works reveal is a singular devotion to one, unerring formula: torpor interspersed with a dash of hysteria. The only "commitment" he has is to imperialist ideology.

Leafing through the books he has written, one wonders

how Beloff ever got his job in the first place. The answer is that he is a safe man, and that the British academic system tends to appoint safe men. It is better to appoint an unimaginative and mediocre impressario than a man whose ideas might challenge the established ideology—or upset a sherry party.

It is no wonder that Beloff is so terrified of university change. A man so devoid of qualification would quickly be exposed for what he is if students were allowed to challenge their teachers, and if conformism were not the number one academic virtue. Only a university

whose politics course is still floundering in Dicey, Popper and Berlin could choose or sustain such a man.

Beloff has attacked the Chinese for their "threadbare ideology and an overweening national pride"; but Beloff's own ideology is more than threadbare, it is transparent; his national pride gives the lie to any claims about "academic detachment". While his style and principles are those of the most tawdry nineteenth-century liberalism, his politics are that of a NATO adviser.

Marx devoted 277 pages of his **German Ideology** to attacking Max Bauer, Saint Max; now

a second Max has arisen, but Saint Max II deserves no such lengthy treatment—nor does he get it from any of his academic colleagues. His works are largely ignored. Every society throws up its apologists, and every society ignores them when their quality becomes too obvious.

The time has come to de-canonise Saint Max II, and those like him. A student movement should combat the structures and ideological content of university teaching of the kind that Beloff represents; and there could be no more cogent argument for the existence of such a movement than a man like Beloff.

Notes for students negotiating with the staff and administration

by Ronnie Miller

The occasional sitting at the negotiating table, as well as in the college entrance, constitutes part of our activity in the pursuit of student objectives. This arena of battle requires its own strategy and its own tactics, which must be based upon a thorough understanding of the practices and ploys of the opposition. L.S.E. experience suggests the vital need for perpetual vigilance against the following techniques used by the staff:

1 The deal-ear: Emphatic

This takes two forms: either they will tell you to speak up in a brusque fashion or they will pick on a word, stop you in mid-sentence and ask you to repeat it. This at best disconcerts, at worst makes one lose the whole thread of thought. The best defence to this in the first case is to stop and start again at a volume which is loud enough for it to be just apparent that the interruption was unnecessary and then gradually lower one's voice to a normal level. If a word is picked on, the reply is to say it again loudly so that one's annoyance at the interruption is apparent to everyone.

2 The pertinent "chip-in"

Here one is stopped in mid-spate by an observation that a minor piece of information is incorrect or that one has misunderstood a side issue (see the 'RED HERRINGS'). This again is personally embarrassing and one loses the force if not the thread of the argument. Defences are difficult as an interruption is often the lead-in for a major speech and then the ground is lost. However, one can attempt to out-speak the interruption and carry on talking as though no one else is speaking. Alternatively, if this fails and the point is a point and not a speech, one can then ignore it completely and carry on with the main argument or, at the most, discuss it in half a sentence. What is vital is not to get side-tracked onto a discussion of the interruption, even if it is important: ram home the point in hand first and, if necessary, deal with the interruption later.

3 The personal ridicule

Here you have made a blunder in discussion and this is pointed out in a humiliating fashion or your argument is thrown back at you in a distorted and ridiculous form (look out for a remark that begins "You aren't trying to say, are you, . . .") The vital thing here is not to deny the accusation or

must over-speak someone who is starting up at the same time as you. Because of this disadvantage, once one has the floor speak loud and long (though not boringly) and finish up strongly on the main point of the argument to avoid side-tracking of the discussion.

6 The ball-game

This happens when half a dozen academics discuss one after the other so that one gets a vague feeling that the students' part in the discussion is irrelevant and that the whole thing is really a friendly chat between the academics. This is really taking 'quick off the mark' to the logical conclusion. A good reply is not to break in but, by your bearing, make it apparent that you consider that part of the discussion a waste of time, then wait for it to die of its own accord. If this approach is used, however, it is essential to punch the point home by summarising the 'ball game' in a sentence (which can usually be done) in a slightly derisive tone, then ignore it completely and get on with the main point of the argument at the point where the last direct reply to a student took place. Alternatively one can use the 'pertinent chip-in' to start a speech but this needs confidence in the technique.

7 The see-saw

This is a forceful argument and appeals to logic for its weight. When students ask for control or influence in something, then back comes the reply that, for a fair view of things, one ought to consider the exact opposite. For example, if the students argue for control of a Refectory service, then one ought to consider the arguments in favour of Refectory control of the Union bar. This, which is superficially logical, is the most insidious form of irrelevancy approach. Here it is vital to crush even the acceptance that the point should be discussed. Argue firmly on the irrelevancy point (not on the agenda) and, if this fails, simply refuse to discuss

van; ignore it and get back to the main discussion, pointing out your dislike of examples for their own sake.

11 The kippered red herring

Here an example is cited quite legitimately to illustrate a point, but the academic takes an example which is extreme in all other respects, so much so that it can quite justifiably be called an imaginary situation. The aim is to discredit a worthy point by finding an extreme situation where it would not apply, or only with difficulty. Here one must emphasise the ludicrous nature of the extreme aspects and point out how unrealistic, unlikely and, therefore, inapplicable the example is. If this is done successfully, the red herring attempt is not merely defeated but the original point is strengthened.

12 The deaf ear implied

This is a straightforward trick and remarkably successful because of its innate simplicity. When a point is made, perhaps forcibly, to which there is no reply, the other side may simply ignore it and carry on with the previous point or start a new one. It is vital not to let this happen, and all students should work at that particular point, refusing to be drawn by any other line of argument. This is important because it is an even chance that that particular point is one to which the other side has no answer, and, therefore, the one which can win the case.

13 The ham-string trip-wire

In this situation the academics will try to torpedo the discussions before they have even begun. There are three approaches here: (a) it is not relevant, (b) we are not competent to discuss it, (c) it is not very rewarding to discuss it. With (a) and (c), the reply is that in your opinion it is relevant/rewarding and anyway this can only be ascertained for sure by discussing it. With (b), enquire who is competent and, if there are no students there, demand discussions with the next best. In any case, if you are certain that the conference you are at ought to discuss it, insist that they do and don't discuss anything else until they agree.

14 The ceteris/paribus reciprocal

This argument in a sense tends

ALL POWER TO THE CAMPUS SOVIETS

The tasks that confront the student movement this October are varied and difficult — but perhaps central to them is the question of an effective strategy concerning our approach towards institutions of higher education.

If we are not careful the movement will be divided between university (college) reformers, and revolutionaries who are content to use the campuses merely as recruiting grounds for the nearest picket-line. Such a polarized perspective can readily be exploited both by Vice-Chancellors and student "moderates" and bureaucrats, to politically ostracize and isolate the more militant students — it is a perspective which spells disaster but which was all too evident at the Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation (RSSF) conference in June.

The first fact that we have to face is that most students are not ideologically "turned-on," and thus operate in an essentially apolitical milieu. No matter how many slogans are shouted at the "masses", they are not suddenly going to repudiate their lack of political education. The initial step must therefore be to establish a level of communication, which may well focus on educational issues — and why not?

All too often the militants on campuses can be stigmatized on the grounds that "they are not really interested in educational issues," for the simple reason that they are too busy quoting Lenin to actually get down to the more tedious task of elaborating alternative conceptions of higher education thrust upon by us by — capitalism.

remote, they are substituting a vicarious participation in industrial struggle in lieu of their OWN STRUGGLE on every campus in the country. Changing the system means attacking capitalism on all fronts — economic, cultural, educational, welfare, which does imply that the first struggle begins by the demand for control over one's own work-situation, whatever that may be. (Needless to add this does not preclude activities in other struggles).

STUDENT POWER

All this does not mean that the student struggle should be conducted on reformist terms. Student power should be concerned with developing a mass movement—a movement which is forced by the very nature of colleges to explore the outer limits of university reform. It is not about having four or five students on the Senate. The rearguard of the movement will be more than willing to accept the efforts of principals to contain student revolt and therefore at the moment of confrontation, a battle is fought in every college between the vanguard of the left, and the rearguard of the right for the heart of the movement.

This is when we have to argue the case against endless negotiations, token representation, and escalating committees which function only to smother and suffocate the spontaneity of the movement. The hypocrisy of the

participation on governing boards, student choice in methods of assessment, control over discipline — which is likely to involve paralysing the existing structure in order to change it.

CAMPUS SOVIETS

However changes mentioned above are the only concrete expressions of a countervailing system of educational values—values which apart from standing the test of national debate within the imposed terms of reference of the existing structure—are nevertheless inseparably allied to the social content of a demand which is ultimately, of course dependent on Workers' Power and one of the most effective ways to assist their struggle is to develop our own educational challenge to capitalism.

However that situation is probably not close at hand. Therefore student Power has to be struggled for within the context of escalating demands within the university.

This means counterposing the principles of Soviet or Direct Democracy against the ineffectual workings of representative democracy. It has to begin in the running of the students' Union so that policy-making is the natural order of the day, for all students, not just an elite elected to a council, which in turn elects an executive. Working within a hierarchical framework is generally doomed to failure. Unless the majority of students can effectively participate in controlling their own policy (by virtue of agreement

MISSIONS will then report back to UNION MEETINGS where the real decisions will be taken—such that all the evils of government by bureaucracy, secrecy and manipulation is replaced by a process of direct and open decision-making based on the spontaneous participation of large numbers of students.

These are the organisation principles of Soviet Democracy (no connection with Brezhnev-style dictatorship) which operated in Workers' Councils in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956—and in the spontaneous creation of Soviets which emerge in the wake of every genuine revolution. These principles found new expression in the occupation of the Sorbonne last May, and student revolts in this country at Hornsey, Essex and Hull. The lesson of real democracy is that unless one has participation—one has nothing. Government by apathy is the abortion of democracy in which the formal institutions count for more than the actual social results, which were determined by the few, in the "democratic" absence of the many.

The Soviet style of politics is totally alien to our society, but yet as was demonstrated at Hornsey, Hull and Essex, a ready expression of our organisational needs. The mass meeting very often arrives at a general will of near unanimity on a number of issues, and can at all times recall and dismiss its functionaries and delegates. Within this framework of democracy there is little room

Tom Fawthrop

taneously struggle against the authoritarian form of organisation that the system fosters — which in no small way has contributed to the degeneration and corruption of the political parties of the left — both Social-Democratic — and Communist.

The banner of democracy in higher education may be conducted in a great variety of political frames of reference. However any struggle for democratization in any sector of capitalism can never be irrelevant to the overall struggle to change the system, which quite rightly focuses on industry.

Our effectiveness, however, as revolutionary socialist students is going to be dependent upon a rejection of any one-dimensional interpretation of Marxism, which fails to relate not only the needs of the capitalist economy to higher education but more importantly from the angle of student revolt — the real needs of higher education to the economy.

The major problem is the destruction of the narrow-minded conception of what politics is about, so that the large majority of students become more sensitive to relationships between their own struggle and the struggles of the wider society. The development of direct democracy on the campus can be instrumental in tearing asunder the "no entry" signs that capitalism puts on every movement, in the hope that struggles will forever beat in isolation against the citadels of wealth and power. France has already shown that these

thrown back at you in a distorted and ridiculous form (look out for a remark that begins "You aren't trying to say, are you, . . .") The vital thing here is not to deny the accusation or remark because then you impliedly accept their view of things and appear apologetic. Simply restate the point in different words or from a slightly different angle (if the attack is fierce, make the reply fierce such as starting off by saying "You don't seem to understand what I'm getting at. . .") Apart from these, there are a variety of methods which academics use to weaken the whole presentation of a case.

4 The chopping block
A case will be laid before you or perhaps a document and you will be asked for general comments: beware, this often provides a happy hunting ground for being beaten in argument, the weakest link in a chain of points bearing the full brunt of the attack. In such circumstances, give one opinion and one only and make that the main point. Also try turning the tables by asking them for a string of general comments but DON'T attack the weakest point, deal with the one which is most relevant.

5 Quick off the mark
Where an important point is made, an academic will be quick off the mark to follow on once the previous speaker has finished and this cuts you out. The only remedy is to do the same, though obviously this needs skill. If necessary, one

vital to crush even the acceptance that the point should be discussed. Argue firmly on the irrelevancy point (not on the agenda) and, if this fails, simply refuse to discuss it. This technique is a relation of the 'red herring' family which follows.

8 Red herring spawn
Here a side issue or point mentioned by a speaker is picked up and treated as the main line of discussion. Simply ignore this well-used technique and get back to the main line of argument.

9 The red herring mirage (a)
Here one cites an example in the process of putting forward a general point, (e.g. the library is an example of the general problem of overcrowding), and the example is seized upon as the basis of discussion, the real substance of the argument being lost in the meantime. Simply ignore the example and get back to the main point, at the same time stating that the example was an illustration and no more.

10 The red herring mirage (b)
This is an example from the other side which is raised with the deliberate intention of foisting it on the conference as the main line of discussion. The difference is that, instead of suggesting it oneself, it is held out as dialectic bait for the unwary student. The reason for its separation from the first type of mirage is that it seems to be more successful in leading one off the track. Again it is totally irrele-

vant to actually get down to the more tedious task of elaborating alternative conceptions of higher education thrust upon by us by — capitalism.

14 The ceteris/paribus reciprocal
This argument in a sense tends to be a mirror image of the above one. Instead of a topic being irrelevant to everything, the academic will argue that a particular subject is dependant and inter-related to a host of other subjects and that it can't be discussed in isolation. The result of this is that the thing doesn't get argued about at all or only in the context of a general discussion. It appears here that the academics have never heard of ceteris paribus but the facetious approach won't cut much ice with them. The best approach is to ignore the comment on inter-relation and just proceed to discuss the point, perhaps starting off by 'the ball game' and adopting an implied ceteris paribus approach. If this is reasonably skilful, the other side will be drawn into discussion on the subject.

15 The academic foxtrot
This is the clever trick of conceding on a small issue which gives the impression of being reasonable. This then makes an outright attack on another point appear less unreasonable. The basic method of avoiding this is to adopt the attitude of dealing with each case on its merits. Also, if attention is concentrated on main issues, this technique loses its importance. **Remember: One discussion — One subject**

the more tedious task of elaborating alternative conceptions of higher education thrust upon by us by — capitalism.

And capitalism, comrades, does not confine its activities to factories and the stock exchange but covers all aspects of life, including education! Socialist students passively accept the status quo in higher education on the grounds that it is NOT important. At the same time by revolutionary exhortations to the working class from which they are socially and politically

function only to smother and suffocate the spontaneity of the movement. The hypocrisy of the administration, and the weakness of the professional moderates has to be exposed such that the alternatives for the future of that college are clearly presented: on the one hand token reform in accordance with N.U.S. philosophy, on the other serious change which is concerned to transform the institution. Such serious changes would include — 50% student

work is generally doomed to failure. Unless the majority of students can effectively participate in controlling their own policy (by virtue of government by UNION MEETINGS every fortnight) the students will passively accept the leadership of the bureaucrats. And from the union meetings, the sovereign body of the students, all power should be delegated directly to other students, who will pursue particular aspects of educational policy-making as well as political policy-making inside COMMISSIONS. These COM-

on a number of issues and can at all times recall and dismiss its functionaries and delegates. Within this framework of democracy there is little room for elites and bureaucracy—and students are able to feel probably for the first time in their lives a sense of meaningful involvement in a collective process of those who take the orders, organising themselves in an effective way to counter the moves of those who give the orders — i.e. the authorities. **If we are to effectively fight a system, then we have to simul-**

movement in the hope that struggles will forever beat in isolation against the citadels of wealth and power. France has already shown that these problems can be overcome, not by sectarian dichotomies of the university versus the factory struggle, but by developing their common identity and purpose as a total movement for transforming capitalism into a society in which people are only afraid of one thing — and that is the freedom, which embodies the modern revolution of the advanced industrial societies.

ESSEX- To go back is impossible

DAVID TRIESMAN

From the end of February to the beginning of June, the University of Essex was either in a state of partial or total disorder. The constituted authority of the institution had the most tenuous contact with "control", and even that link was never reliable.

It had all started when Enoch Powell, making the sort of speech we usually call "inflammatory", actually inflamed us. Apart from efforts to decapitate him with an iron bar, several other serious offences were committed, like pouring beer over the chairman of the Conservatives, and the University decided to resort to its disciplinary functions.

We stopped them from doing so. From then till the sending down of three students in May, for their part in an anti-Porton Down demonstration, no one was really certain that the University had any disciplinary control at all. Indeed, the students and staff struck until the three were reinstated, in effect erasing any pretence at bureaucratic control within the University.

Of course, the root problems still exist, and they will until fundamental social issues are revolutionised. The disciplinary controls have to exist if they are to control dissidence, even dissidence about discipline, because dissidence will finally and inevitably disrupt the production of the quintessential capitalist utility, the skilled technical manager. And discipline is as much maintained by the exam system, which also has ultimate selection functions, as by tribunals.

One thing, then, is clear: it is around the control of the student's life, through rules, exams and the introduction of streaming in some

courses, and the control of their content that will be at the centre of the first actions at places like Essex. If we saw these struggles as purely internal issues, as matters for reform to be easily accomplished by winning a seat on Senate or having some bogus legal jargon added to the Statutes, we would be fighting bourgeois issues. But the militants at Essex have gone a long way beyond that point, have drawn the conclusions about the links between the outside controls and production demands and the inside mode of organisation. By making the links explicit, that is, by showing them to exist in action, the nature of the demands to break down the control of capital, is a revolutionary act, at least, potentially.

Being a potentially revolutionary act, we must expect Essex militants to themselves move outward into the community, in careful co-operation with local trades councils and other workers' organisations. There are many areas of life where the contradictions are manifestly the same for both groups — the control of land and property prices precludes the possibility of a fair chance in the rentier market for the poorest sections in a town like Colchester.

That section contains the poor worker, the pensioner, the widow, the medium income worker with a large family AND the student. No one can doubt the feeling in the air and this year, 60 miles north east of London, the long cold winter has to mark the period of a big step forward. To go back is impossible; we have to take the only road that's open.

LETTERS

POLITICS AND SPORT

I read Peter's article on the Mexico Olympics with some reservations. His arguments that sport encourages right-wing tendencies and is exerting a powerful influence over the working class as an opiate, are, seen objectively, obviously accurate. There is no doubt that the ruling class is diverting the workers' attention from political issues to purely recreational issues—but is it not rather a stimulant to the workers' natural inclination to avoid politics. It has been increasingly evident recently that the working class whose power you are trying so hard to wield, cannot absorb the broad conceptions of Marxist thinking which involve a clear realisation of the connexion between conflicting forces in the world today. Men with below average intelligence—at least, below average thinking capacity because of the lack of suitable education, cannot be expected to understand principles which do not directly and swiftly affect their own financial position. As you know, man is innately conservative.

Sport, then, is welcomed not forced. Do your 'democratic' ideas extend as far as deciding on behalf of an individual what his intellect should enjoy? Be practical. Man enjoys sport and although the fact

that he has done so for thousands of years does not necessarily prove anything, it does suggest that the situation is likely to continue for some time! Sport is used as a political panacea but it has at least one point in its favour: it provides an outlet for man's innate aggressive instincts (these cannot be disputed; they are essential to the very existence of the human race) which have previously manifested themselves in the holocaust of war. Man's nature is eternal. Don't waste time trying to change it; bear it in mind, and use it. Think positively.

PENELOPE TEATHER,
2 Cawcliffe Drive,
Brighouse, Yorks.

COHN-BENDIT FOR RECTOR

Dear Comrades,
As you know, Daniel Cohn-Bendit has been nominated for the rectorship of Glasgow University, and a committee has been formed to support him. This committee comprises members of several groups; G.U. Independent Socialist Club, Radical Students' Alliance, Glasgow Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist), and individuals from other tendencies.

Many expenses are incurred during a rectorial campaign, and we

have no financial support from any wealthy individual or organisation. The other candidates, Baroness Elliot and the Very Reverend Lord MacLeod are, of course, well supported and unlikely to meet any serious financial difficulties. This is not our case. We would be very pleased, therefore, if as much publicity as possible could be given to our campaign, and would be grateful if our article could be published in Black Dwarf.

This campaign is not an end in itself; our intention is not merely to obtain a good rector, but to abolish the entire system of education which exists at present, and to replace it with something better. It is most important that we are successful.

Although we already have the verbal acceptance of Cohn-Bendit, we are unable to contact him to obtain a written formal acceptance. If you know of his whereabouts, or how to contact him, please let us know.

We hope Black Dwarf continues to flourish, and that it will make a contribution to the revolution and the defeat of imperialism.

KEITH ATKINSON
g.u. Cohn-Bendit Rectorial
campaign.

British Anarchists To re-group?

The cleanest thing around the Co-operative Hall in Liverpool's Derby Lane over the weekend of September 21st-22nd was a group of about 150 anarchists attending the Annual Conference of the Anarchist Federation of Britain. The Conference as the fifth such to take place since the Federation was reconstituted in 1963.

That year saw the death throes of CND and many people — old and young — drifted into local anarchist groups, thinking that any part of the so-called peace movement was better than nothing. British anarchism mushroomed overnight. But quantity is no substitute for quality. And this conference may well be the last the Federation holds.

Ironically what will determine the survival of the AFB will be the very thing which gave it life — the determination of those same people who came out of CND to change

the rotten state and society we live in.

Much debate centred on a hard-hitting pamphlet on the 'Aims and Principles of Anarchism', produced by the more fanatical members of the Black Flag group. This, in its turn, recruits from the hard anarchists who refuse to concede any points to the traditional left.

They say that "the liberal seeks greater freedom within the structure of the society in which he lives; he rejects the method of class struggle which relate to the economic divisions of society". As a liberal comrade from Birmingham was to remark (to some derision) "There are two kinds of comrades and some are more anarchist than others".

This play on words in anathema to the hard left. John Retz, editor of 'Freedom', told me: "We must now face up to unpleasant facts. Much is expected of us. We are supposed to be the most revolution-

ary group in the country. But in the past we have been in the olympian position of being a small minority group. Now we must shed the liberal element before we can move forward as anarchists to the revolution."

Many felt that any collaboration with organisations working to change state policy from within was an indulgence to be borne with complaints, if, indeed, at all. The conference added up to a conclusion which has lessons for all. The liberal wing will not budge. But neither will the hard men. The British anarchist movement will consolidate itself into a small group of active and certainly dangerous men (that is to say — they represent a real threat to the state — no men of straw). The others will once more find themselves out in the cold — looking for another CND, another gang of do-gooders, another matey old-school-tie bureaucracy.

is difficult to talk about the purpose of a University. Even the Robbins Committee after the three years debate, evaded the problem; all but two pages of their report discusses quantitative rather than qualitative data

OUR CONCEPT OF A UNIVERSITY By some Radical Minds in Birmingham

those of the University staff to ever display any interest in their job entails appear to be one of two extreme views: there are those who believe that the University is a place where research is carried out and students are trained as and when society demands, and that 'academic freedom' is really no more than the freedom to waste valuable resources of society. On the other hand there are those who hold the concept of academic freedom sacred and rebel any attempt to destroy the University as a community of scholars concerned in the disinterested pursuit of truth. Both these views contain elements of the reality of the situation in which Universities find themselves today, and elements which any University must retain in the future. A University must always be involved in the improvement of technological skills and in the training of specialists in technological fields. At the same time Universities must remain detached from society, seeking to broaden the various spheres of knowledge, be they in the Humanities or the Sciences.

But this is not to go back to the days of the Ivory Tower: knowledge cannot be value-free and will always be related to the society with which it is concerned—for example, the principle of induction cannot be proved by empirical observation or by logical deduction and it serves as the basis for all scientific laws. We must accept

problems, they are chided for their impatient and immature idealism. The professors meanwhile are too absorbed in the power politics within the University to care about the results of power politics in the outside world. On the issue of the Overseas Student Fees increase the University authorities seemed less concerned at the injustice of the situation than at the fact that they had not been consulted.

LITTLE BOXES

The empirical outlook of Western ideology not only debases man's moral stature, turning him into a mindless tool performing functions that have no wider meaning, but cripples his creative faculties as well. Contemporary philosophy reflects this malaise in creativity. Our thinkers no longer wrestle to find solutions to problems that have always plagued man, but merely analyse what the words we use to express these problems mean. The purpose of the state becomes irrelevant, so long as we can define what the 'state' means.

Such a view can only stem from a satisfaction with the world tenable only to those who feed well from the West's well-stocked table. The dispossessed of poorer countries whose exploitation helps to feed, among others, the Western philosopher, may be forgiven if they believe the problems of the world are real and not merely a confusion of words. But philosophy is typical of most

words, those who can contribute directly to maintaining capitalism.

Post-Robbins higher education, but whether its graduates meet the needs of capitalist industry, among which the development of the student's status quo. **Knowledge is seen as a given body of 'facts' or 'rules' taught to those who will one day, if they are among the exceptional few, discover new 'facts' and 'rules' within the boundaries of their discipline. Students are sometimes taught to be critical, but it is a blinkered criticism that sees only straight ahead and does not look around.** Our students may be taught how to analyse problems into their component parts but seldom to relate these problems to others. The dogmatic insistence by the scholarly on intensive study in narrow fields develops the skills of the analyst at the expense of those of the synthesist, the man who can relate one problem to another and discover their relationship.

Analysis depends upon having problems, theories and facts neatly defined. Synthesis produces new problems, new theories, complete world views — even, dare we say it, new moral outlooks.

AUTHORITY STRUCTURES

Excessive concentration on analysis creates whole authority structures laying down the 'subjects' for analysis. The increasing specialisation of university departments mercilessly cuts the

rubbing shoulders with people of different disciplines, different views, etc., is really a myth.

If synthesis is an important tool of the scholar, then broader education is an important part of the scholar's education, and not merely a surface gloss to enable the bigotted specialist to appear human. If on the other hand, synthesis is not important, then broader education becomes irrelevant — a means whereby we can indulge in shallow gossip of current affairs and the arts to maintain our social status.

The university we should aim at is one where broader education is seen as a necessary part of scholarship and should therefore be organically linked to the student's discipline, rather than imposed from above. Students must be able to choose where to specialise and thus how to relate their specialism to other disciplines. It is only then that we shall educate scholars devoted to developing man's consciousness of himself and the world, rather than merely rooting in their own backyard.

KNOWLEDGE FACTORY

Those who claim the objectivity of the University fail to appreciate how much it acts within the framework laid down by capitalist society. Galbraith has said that the foremost defenders of capitalist dogma are not businessmen (who are faced with the task of making it work), but economists doing

who preach and strengthen the ideology of capitalism. The

imposed upon them. This ideal has to contend not only with the inertia of existing educational traditions, but also with the opposition of those who are interested in command of the industrial machinery, and who realise that such an educational system if made general would threaten their ability to use others for their own ends.' These words ring very true today. Students are growing increasingly impatient of being used to suit the needs of narrowly conceived vocations while their true vocation is undiscovered. Even the academic has become a narrow professional, his Ph.D. thesis a qualification for a lectureship rather than the product of a burning desire for knowledge.

The truly vocational education involves the development of the student's sense of purpose, so that he knows that his study is worthwhile and of service to humanity. This is a field in which the University fails miserably. The student drifts aimlessly from A levels to his degree, driven only by competition from others and his ambition to attain a secure niche in society's elite. Service to society is as foreign to him as service to the truth, for he has been carefully prevented from obtaining any knowledge of, or kinship to, the majority of people and institutions that make up that society.

Thus the University becomes a knowledge factory. It produces its research to suit those

system is vital. **The student is trained to jump over a series of hurdles — O-levels, A-levels, finals, etc., and to feel no pity for those who fall by the wayside.** After all, he has succeeded by 'individual effort.' The result of this intensely competitive system is to weaken his ties with others. Either they are failures and worthy of his contempt or pity, or potential rivals. Hence the social game that students play in sweating their guts out to pass exams whilst constantly pretending to their friends that they do not work. The student who claimed he worked hard would risk the humiliation of appearing dim if he failed, whereas if he successfully maintains his pretence of casual indolence he can always claim he didn't care anyway. The Examination system also ensures that success is pursued in socially defined terms: personal achievement is attained over other students and not in mastering knowledge.

But man is not necessarily competitive and competition breeds its own contradictions. The students who succeed have learned to weigh their life in terms of status rather than happiness, and student life has become notable for its anxiety rather than its joyfulness. The working class student in particular may have to lose all his ties with his family and community in pursuit of the status-orientated aims of our educational system. (For a detailed study of educationally success-

status. The non-conformity of the University is generally confined to a small minority of students who are not encouraged in their ways. The patterns of a student's personality are formed long before he leaves school and the University merely reinforces them. The majority of middle-class students are in harmony with the society that has bestowed so many advantages on them, while the working class student minority has to fight to maintain a grip on the social ladder and has little energy or interest left for developing originality. But the prime cause of conformity is the insecurity inherent in the educational system — an insecurity not based on having one's ideas challenged (which is healthy), but rooted in a lack of any apparent purpose in the academic rat-race, except gaining higher status. **The student must therefore judge himself through other people's eyes in the absence of any personally meaningful goals.** Students are alienated from their work and thus lack any self-motivation to study. **Their unity with their fellow-students is against the system (sharing worries about exams) rather than for it (sharing their enthusiasm for the course).** Any meaning in University life depends on acceptance by a group, hence the mutually exclusive cliques centred around Halls, departments, Union politics, drama, sport, etc. The 'hippie' student conforms to the accepted 'cool' non-conformity

demics. The result of such an inefficient bureaucracy is that **major issues are continually shuffled around committees until the problem becomes so urgent that a decision has to be made arbitrarily by someone at the top. The ineffectiveness of formal decision-making bodies means that real power rests in the hands of informal groups.** So the University operates without coherent direction, its administrators content to bargain away among the UGC, the worthy dignitaries and industrialists from the City who sit on University Council, and its professors, some long since rusted away in office. Student representation might not only make the system more democratic, but also more sane. At present the lack of any overall purpose in the University renders it defenceless against the worst features of pressure politics.

THE SCHOLASTIC NAVAL

It is no wonder then that the University, ashamed of itself, blankets its strange behaviour in an attempt to ward off the demands of the outside world. Instead of leading, it frantically defends its 'independence'—the right to contemplate its own scholastic navel. The University will never maintain its independence of spirit. Instead of continually compromising between the contradictory aims of serving the needs of industry and maintaining its own privileged position in society, **the University must seek to define and**

cannot be by empirical observation by logical deduction and serves as the basis for all laws. We must accept only because we find it useful, and no concept can be value-free. Knowledge cannot then rest on the application of rules to objective data. Not only can the validity of rules and their relevance be questioned, but the gathering of data itself is subject to value-judgments, both in the choice of the weighting of data. Even a scientist can choose which problems he wishes to solve; whether he seeks to improve the existing or to introduce more experimental refinements in the methods of war. The so-called 'objectivity' of science is more often a disguise for the real objects it serves. How Birmingham University can be 'objective' when it spends £29,000 worth of money on contracts a year? The University values the University to be concerned about the concept of 'responsibility' (a word meaning 'conformity to Society's accepted code of behaviour'), which it enforces through its disciplinary procedure. As soon as students demonstrate their willingness to accept the responsibility for solving the world's

philosophy, may be forgiven if they believe the problems of the world are real and not merely a confusion of words. But philosophy is typical of most disciplines in the University in its complacent acceptance of the common man. Its graduates are burned not with desire for the truth so much as desire for social acceptance based on an aristocratic cultural superiority. Now that technical efficiency has replaced cultural superiority as a means of gaining social status, so the university has adjusted accordingly.

Some have mistaken the increasing numbers entering higher education in this country as a sign of a growing egalitarianism concerned with the need to develop each person's potential. This is the most naive belief. The Robbins Commission was too busy licking its lips at the increase in economic growth that a higher proportion of graduates would produce to bother with anything so trivial as considering what sort of education students would be receiving. It is not idealism that has stimulated educational growth, but the industrial demands of an increasingly technological society for more highly trained manpower. The slogan is not 'higher education for all' but 'higher education for all who can benefit from it,' or in other

analyses whose authority structures laying down the 'subjects' for analysis. The increasing specialisation of university departments mercilessly cuts the fields of knowledge into manageable domestic gardens. Subject boundaries once rigidly delineated develop their own bureaucratic momentum as scholars fight to maintain the prestige of their own departments at the expense of their contribution to knowledge. This fragmentation of knowledge debases the university separating scholars not only from the world, but from each other, and weakening the creative potential of research. It heightens the authoritarian nature of the university as each student has to master a given body of knowledge instead of being able to follow his own nose and impose his own self-discipline. Too much analysis also bolsters conformity. Students can avoid questioning the whole machine if they are merely investigating a small cog. It educates students sceptical of theory, while passively uncritical of the present world, for they have never looked beyond it.

Now we can see why the traditional role of the university in developing scholastic ability by 'educating the whole man' by intensive narrow study while exposing him to the magic of

Thus the University becomes a knowledge factory. It produces its research to suit those who pay the bill without regard to its ultimate purpose, just as our factories make bombs — only undirected knowledge can be far more dangerous. Scholars measure their status in words rather than pounds, but otherwise resemble the businessmen they scorn, in not caring whether their work is of any use other than that of maintaining their prestige. To keep their position they teach students to follow the same road, turning them into yet more products eager to be used as industry's tools instead of standing independently as men.

ALIENATED STUDENT

Narrow specialisation, competition and conformity. The first of these three qualities that capitalism demands of its students has been dealt with. The second is vital to a society based on the profit motive. Students must not only be made willing to act as products for industry but to use others also. Industry requires its captains as well as its deckhands and they must have no scruples about viewing their fellow-men as objects to be overcome rather than as brothers. Here the Examination

centred around Hall's departments, Union politics, drama, sport, etc. The 'hippie' student conforms to the accepted 'cool' non-conformity of his own sub-culture. The student radical also conforms to his radical sub-culture, using the same stock terms of abuse and evoking the same stock response. Hence the disparity between the quantity of rhetoric expended over Vietnam and South Africa and its concrete results in terms of challenges to the system.

POWER

The way Birmingham University is run reflects the character of the education it provides. Supposedly it is democratic, and yet students and non-professional staff (who together make up 98 per cent. of its membership) hardly participate at all. Even Senate, composed of all the professors, and with overall academic power, act as a rubber stamp for Senate Executive, and if Professor Tobias is to be believed, serves no useful function at all. Power is fragmented into scores of committees (86 of them, with a combined membership of 1,700), which ensures that only the central administration has any broad perspective. Many professors sit on too many committees to be effective either as administrators or aca-

the contradictory aims of serving the needs of industry and maintaining its own privileged position in society, the University must seek to define and fulfil the real needs of society. Until the University shows some signs of wanting to educate original and independent human beings, conscious of their basic brotherhood with other men, instead of trying to turn out a well-programmed technocratic elite, students will be justified in rebelling against.

We do not suggest that the University consciously indoctrinates students with capitalistic ideology. But as Marx would point out, people are often the unknowing agents of history. After all, the staff have come through the same system themselves successfully, and have a vested interest in its continuance.

Universities, through being continually on the frontiers of knowledge, have a crucial role in articulating and shaping the deeply felt and often implicit beliefs of mankind. It would be a tragedy therefore if the University were to abandon its critical role and blindly accept the dominant attitudes of the times. There seems to be considerable evidence to suggest that it is in real danger of doing so.

International Revolutionary Students Conference Columbia University New York September 1968

ended promisingly enough. On the first day that students supposed to register for their courses the Columbia staged a demonstration to persuade the administration to register the 30-odd students suspended for their activities last spring, and this protest was successful enough to close down the registration centre for the day.

In retaliation the administration, headed by its acting president Andrew Cordier, whose work for the US government included the supervision of the coup that killed Patrice Lumumba, refused SDS permission to hold the opening session of the International Revolutionary Students Conference in the McMillin Hall. Recapturing, for the benefit of their foreign guests, the spirit of last spring, the students swept over the campus past outraged security guards (one rushed past me as fast as his advanced years would allow, muttering "the bastards") and liberated an auditorium where the first session was held.

The idea of the conference was to exchange ideas on strategy and practice. From the first two things obvious: the Europeans were far more sophisticated both in their knowledge and interpretation of political theory than their American comrades, while the latter proved how large a gap there was between

rhetoric and practice. However certain words, whoever used them, triggered off wild applause: "combative", "solidarity with (Panthers/Mexicans/NLF)", "revolutionary consciousness", "Che Guevara", and "the working class".

The level of theory was almost frighteningly high. The German SDS delegates showed how their universities, described as "barracks for disciplined idiots", now strongly organised into SDS chapters, altered student consciousness from reformist to revolutionary by making demands which the administration was unable to grant: political freedom on campus, participation in curricular and administrative decisions by students.

A second Italian delegate, after congratulating the English RSSF delegate for the cogency of his political analysis, complained that the French 22 March Movement movement failed because the Left did not sufficiently prepare the revolutionary consciousness of those elements of the population without

whom a true revolution is impossible: the working class. The Frenchman commented to me afterwards that the main debate was obviously going to be between those who believed in spontaneity and those who believed in planning. He was absolutely right.

After a run-down on the situation in Mexico, which took place in a slightly uneasy atmosphere as the time granted de facto by the administration for the use of the hall had run out, Mark Rudd, who mostly stayed commendably in the background throughout the conference, out of prudence or reticence, called for "action tonight". Everyone smiled their fear at everyone else, as many cops were expected, but it was "decided", in that peculiar way the members of Columbia SDS interpret a consensus, that there would first be a march around the campus to gather support—for we were some 800 strong—and then out to picket Cordier's house. This passed off without incident, but also without attracting the support of

other undergraduates on campus who merely watched from their dormitory windows, giving rise to some misgivings amongst the foreign contingents as to the true support for SDS in the university.

The second session was held in McMillin Hall after the liberal Students for a Restricted University had offered to book the place in their name. After the performance of some "revolutionary" music, a sonata for flute and piano by Pierre Boulez to which little attention was unfortunately paid, the French delegate's predictions came true and serious faction fighting developed. It started with a passionate appeal by the Mexican spokeswoman for an expression of solidarity with the Mexican students whose occupation of their university had just been brutally terminated by the Army. "We don't want to disrupt the conference," she said, "but our people are being killed." There was an immediate argument between those who wanted to rush to the Mexican Consulate or Travel Service (no one

was sure of their location), take them over, and hold the conference there, and those, notably the German and Italian contingent, who urged the necessity of planning for maximum effectiveness. It was decided to hold off till the morning, or at least till later, so that the exchange of ideas could continue. There was then a virulent dialogue between the French Trotskyist JCR delegate — who announced the retaking of the dormitories of Nanterre and the settlement therein of slum workers—and a French anarchist, from which nothing emerged except massive applause for the anarchist who derided all historical experience. From this point the conference unfortunately went downhill.

The much-discussed Mexican demonstration attracted 30 people. The important debate as to how to connect theory and praxis was almost totally inconclusive. The Germans said they had thoroughly prepared their students with theoretical work so that they understood what they were doing and the nature

of the system they were fighting, implying the Americans certainly did not, and an Italian was cheered for saying it was not the barricades that mattered so much as the more complex political activity that went with it. An American asked that the conference discuss the question how power was to be taken, but it was not cheered half as much as a girl who called the conference absurd. The highlight of the whole thing was not the extraordinarily dry lecture by Ernest Mandel, straight from the text-books, but an intervention by Abbie Hoffman, a leading member of those politicised surrealists, the Yippies. Jumping onto the speaker's desk and playing brilliantly with a yoyo, he was the first person to talk to the audience, and communicate the "fuck the world" philosophy so wildly applauded by American students in Columbia as in Chicago. The sad thing was, however, that his was the best received performance of the week.

ne people who seem to be fairing well these days in Mexico City are the newspaper vendors. They are able to sell their newspapers in a quarter of the usual time and have the rest of the day or night to themselves. The government controlled press gives a fraction of the news, but Mexicans are sophisticated and have learned to read between the lines

MEXICO—GOLD MEDAL FOR BRUTALITY Manuela Sanchez Our Mexican Correspondent

Occasionally a small paragraph of meaty material creeps in. For example, the Mexican daily, *El Dia* (moderately leftist in its international coverage, but, like its fellows, pro-government on domestic affairs) reported of the September 23rd battle in the Tlatelolco neighbourhood,

On numerous occasions the police chiefs and journalists had to intervene to prevent the granaderos (riot police), who seemed to be in an unusually exacerbated state, from beating those whom they had detained. Retentions were made indiscriminately.

(*El Dia*, Sept. 22, 1968, p-1) while *El Heraldo* (a conservative daily) reported the shooting of a granadero by an army lieutenant whose mother, sister, and cousin had been offended by the granadero's brutality. (*El Heraldo*, Sept. 22, 1968, p. 7A).

During the last few days bloody clashes between students and granaderos occurred in perhaps a hundred different places in the city, so that what Mexicans are not able to read in their newspapers, many of them have been able to observe from their own windows.

"During the Olympic year of 1968, Mexico throws open her gates and her heart to the people of all nations".

*Publications Department,
Organizing Committee of the
Nineteenth Olympiad.*

Next to students and young people who make the mistake of looking like students, those who feel most insecure are foreigners. Article 145 of the Federal Penal Code is a law which metes out punishment to persons guilty of "social

On the one hand because of the absurdity of supposing that anyone would distribute marijuana and heroin among students he hoped to get out and fighting in the streets. And on the other hand, because if anyone knows the nature and effect of drugs, it is the Mexican police. But so it goes. The search for foreigners to burn continues. A young architect who gives classes at the national school of Architecture had been studiously avoiding involvement. A Chilean citizen by birth he had lived most of his life in Mexico — sufficient time to learn what the extent of his civil rights would be if he were to be taken by the police. On the night of September 19th, policemen entered his home, surprised him upon his arrival, and took him prisoner. We read in *Excelciar* that, together with other foreigners, he has been sentenced to 5 years imprisonment, 50,000 pesos fine, and immediate deportation upon completing his sentence. From what we know of the Mexican penal system (e.g. see Oscar Lewis, *The Children of Sanchez*) and what we read of the exceptionally brutal treatment of political prisoners, Regis Debray is to be envied for the physical security that the publicity of his case afforded him.

Nothing very remarkable about Lincoln Gordon's speech. The only very remarkable thing is his sudden appearance on the scene, flying down from Baltimore to be the guest of honour at the American Chamber of Congress dinner. This otherwise unexplained journey, together with some equally inexplicable moves on the part of the Mexican government have troubling if not ominous implications.

The Rise, Decline and Resurgence of the Student Movement

The Mexican student movement has received some attention from the world news media, so that it is generally known that what, in mid July started as a minor brawl between students of two preparatory schools, due principally to intervention by the police, by mid-August had grown into a general strike of schools supported by students. The Repression - Growth phenomenon has operated in the standard manner. Several hundred students stage a peaceful demonstration to commemorate the anniversary of the Cuban Revolution; they are brutally beaten by the police; and the next day,

However, not every foreigner in Mexico City is feeling this painful sense of political insecurity. Mexico has had one visitor in recent weeks, who always seems to be on top of the situation, however far from home he wanders.

The Little Old Coup-Maker

knew how to destroy, but he knew nothing of how to build".

Gordon said that the education system must be changed to teach rebels that facile solutions are romantic illusions and that they must learn to think what to put in place of what they destroy.

the flowered Paseo de la Reforma, up Avenida Juarez to the Zocolo, the constitutional square. Their ranks are orderly and extremely well organised. In addition to the students, and large delegations of their parents, brothers and sisters, sizable contingents of railroad workers, oil workers, electricians, taxi drivers, and push cart peddlers, as well as small groups of peasants, many from outlying states of Mexico, participate. As a matter of policy, portraits of Mexican heroes: Emiliano Zapata, Benito Juarez, Miguel Hidalgo, etc., were carried in preference to el Che, Mao, Marx, etc. The attacks on President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz were sharp and direct—something unprecedented in modern Mexican history. Many of the signs, appropriately enough, deal with the Olympics, highlighting the irony of claiming 1968 as the "Year of Peace" in Mexico, and expressing a deeply felt disgust at the expenditure of thousands of millions of pesos on sports arenas, publicity, and housing for foreign athletes and their retinue by a government which is unable to find the resources to provide housing, medical services, primary education, etc., for a vast sector of its population. "Mexico will win the gold medal for repression", "Welcome to Mexico, seat of the Olympic butchery — 1968", read the placards. Others depict the olympic dove of peace with a knife in its breast; the five ring Olympic symbol as five smoking grenades; and a granadero racing along with his club held aloft like a flaming olympic torch.

The Rise, Decline and Resurgence of the Student Movement

the student movement counts

were no longer disposed to support the strike. The movement had reached the stage where it might have been broken, or at least controlled by ordinary political methods at which the Mexican government is expert. It would seem simple enough: some people you buy, some people you threaten, and some people (as is traditional in the Mexican student-government relation) you offer government positions.

The Death of Autonomy

The government has done none of those things. The situation was highly susceptible to political manipulation and control, and yet political methods were not applied. Instead, on the night of September 18th, several thousand army troops sealed off the University City, as the area is called, invaded the grounds of the National Autonomous University, and, in a room to room search of the gigantic educational complex, took close on 3,000 prisoners, among them several hundred professors and teaching staff, and a large group of parents who had been meeting to discuss support for the students.

The University, it will be remembered, is an autonomous institution — which refers to the fact that together with many institutions of higher learning in the federal entities of Mexico, it has won the right to govern itself, completely free from intervention by civil or military authorities. It is therefore unconstitutional for the police or the army to enter Ciudad Universitaria (University City) which is the defined boundary of the campus.

made so that order would be restored before the beginning of the Olympic Games on October 12. No concessions were forthcoming. The government position remained one of inextinguishable. By September 20, some of the most conservative sectors of the population seemed to have had enough of government intransigence. On that day *Ultimas Noticias* (p. 1) quoted the head of the National Chamber of Congress, a recognised political organ of business interests, as calling for moderation, flexibility and guarantees that no recriminations would be made against those in the National University who had taken part in the strike. Yet the government had remained rigid in its position and the provocation of students by the police has continued.

The "stupidity" of the government's insistent escalation of violence is difficult to explain except in terms of a right wing effort to set the stage for a military coup. With the Battle of Tlatelolco the Mexican people find themselves in a virtual state of siege.

The Battle of Ciudad Tlatelolco

In TLATELOLCO the last and most heroic resistance was made against the Spanish conqueror. In TLATELOLCO the indigenous people received the most precious gift of the evangelists — the scriptures. And NOW, in Tlatelolco, the most modern and progressive city of the age has risen. A city which preserves in its newly uncovered anthropological zone, the remains of both

adjacent plaza have been the site of some of the most violent and frequent clashes between students and police. The residents of the area, from their towering buildings have been afforded an exceptionally clear view of what the police intervention has meant for the strikers.

(It will be remembered that Vocational 7 was the victim of two machine gun attacks in August).

Thus, on September 22, when the students dug in for what they expected to be a gigantic army effort to take Vocational Number 7, the people of Tlatelolco sat down at their picture windows in what had become almost an evening ritual to see how the students would defend themselves. One resident of Ciudad Tlatelolco, observing the events from his window, described the Battle in this way:

"I got home yesterday at 4.30 in the afternoon and from my window counted 10 buses that the students had obviously captured and set up in front of the school to form a barricade. They had sealed off all streets leading into the area by directing traffic themselves, and sending all cars on into other routes.

"Around 5 o'clock they began to siphon gasoline out of the captured buses and those cars still parked in the area. Next they moved systematically from house to house collecting bottles and rags, and, as we later found out helped the people in the 15551E buildings to construct barricades, similar to the ones with which they had tormented the school.

"At 6 o'clock, looking out

quickly. Granaderos entered shooting tear gas bombs ahead of them. But relatively few of the students were in the school itself. Those who were there were on the roof, and very well prepared, with wet handkerchiefs over their noses and mouths. From that height they rained stones, molotov cocktails and the police's own tear gas bombs down upon the granaderos in the courtyard below.

"Probably the most impressive thing is that about this time a shout, or rather a thousand shouts from the windows of all the surrounding buildings, began to be heard. This shouting was kept up for seven hours, without a step. Abajo Asesinos! and Muera Diaz Ordaz, Asesino!

"On top of the same buildings from which these cries rose, students were hidden with supplies of rocks, iron tubing, bricks and bottles enough for a long siege. In this way the battle generalized. The army and granaderos turned their attention from the school which was virtually impenetrable, and began to attack the people of the 15551E buildings. For two hours the battle between these people — civilian population, and the national army — was waged. The people pelted the granaderos with every imaginable object they were able to find in the window, and not a few granaderos were scalded. All this time the chant was kept up. "Abajo Asesinos!", "Muera Diaz Ordaz!". At 9.00 the granaderos and soldiers began to retreat. It should be remembered that there were never more than 100 students involved in this struggle. All the rest were

foreigners. Article 145 of the Federal Penal Code is a law which metes out punishment to persons guilty of "social dissolution", a vaguely defined crime which empowers the police to arrest anyone (Mexican or foreign) for any reason at any time. Effectively the Mexicans are left without civil rights. Mexican citizens fair well, however, by comparison to the unhappy foreigner who is picked up under this law. The case of Pete Seeger's daughter, Mika, is by now well known. What is less widely known is that Mika was not a student here in Mexico, was not involved in the student movement, but was here on a tourist card, and was randomly picked up in the street by a car full of granaderos. Her arrest was part of a not very original effort by the Mexican government to make the "disturbances" appear to be the work of foreign agitators, mostly young veterans of the May Revolution in France. To that end, Mexicans with foreign last names were featured on the list of "principle agitators", and the police went so far as to record Mexican names like Emilio, Antonio and Maria Antonieta as Emile, Antoine, and Marie Antoinette, respectively, with duly 'frenchified' last names. These people, together with other Mexican students, were accused of distributing drugs at the University to incite their fellow students to riot (El Sol, July 30, p.1). The accusation seemed doubly ironic.

who always seems to be on top of the situation, however far from home he wanders.

The Little Old Coup-Maker

We were first made aware of Lincoln Gordon's impending arrival in Mexico when a cheerful voice on the English language station announced that he would be guest of honour at a meeting of the American Chamber of Congress (a group of former Rotarians, Elks, Shriners, Kiwanis, and their like who have managed to create "a little bit of home" right here in Mexico City). Why the famous designer, producer, and co-ordinator of Brazil '64 should choose to visit Mexico at this time is not clear. He did take the opportunity, while in Mexico City, to say a few words on, of all subjects, student violence. According to the report in The News (Mexico, D.F., August 30, p. 1-2)

... The violent activists "are the preachers of destruction for its own sake". They pretend to have a cause or sweeping away all forms of established order. "They have no notion of what to put in its place other than vague and empty phrases . . . The heroes of this group are Mao Tse-Tung and Che Guevara".

Of Che Guevara Dr. Gordon said, "His miserable failure as an economic administrator in Cuba demonstrated his total absence of constructive purpose . . . He

demonstration to commemorate the anniversary of the Cuban Revolution; they are brutally beaten by the police; and the next day, the student movement counts several thousand activists. The students of a preparatory school retreat into and occupy their building. The door to the school is blown off by a bazooka; the granaderos enter; several students are killed. The student movement grows. In broad daylight, close to one hundred men in plain clothes, face masks and unmarked cars machine gun the facade of Vocational School No. 5. At night they return with doubled strength, enter the school and beat up those students they still find within.

On the same evening (July 26th) the police took the occasion to break into and destroy the printing office of the Communist Party, which, it should be remembered is a legally registered Mexican political party. The printing office was located some miles distant from the site of the student demonstration on Avenida Juarez.

And so it goes, the movement gains strength. The incidents of submachine gunnings of occupied school buildings increase. So does the number of people who, enraged by this repression, join in solidarity with the students. On August 27, between 300,000 and 400,000 people march from the museum of Anthropology in Chapultepec park, along

live smoking grenades, and a granadero racing along with his club held aloft like a flaming olympic torch.

A great number of placards called for the liberation of Demitrio Vallejo, one time head of the railroad workers union, held prisoner since 1959 for social dissolution. Probably the slogan which came closest to the point was that which explained, "We are not agitators. Hunger and hopelessness are the agitators".

Decline and Resurgence of the Movement

Not only did the movement follow the standard pattern of growth, by mid September it has entered a period of decline all too familiar to anyone acquainted with a similar movement. On Friday, September 13th, a second march — this one silent — from Chapultepec park to the Zocolo was held. The demonstrators were astonishingly well disciplined and the effect of their silence was tremendously moving. However, the demonstrators amounted to only one third of the original group which had moved along this same route in August.

Soon we began to hear the standard troubling rumours: that the movement was suffering from internal divisions; that a large number of students had tired of the strike and wanted to take their exams and finish out the term; that many professors originally standing with the students

It is therefore unconstitutional for the police or the army to enter Ciudad Universitaria (University City) which is the defined boundary of the campus.

Ironically enough the intervention of the army was justified by the Secretaria de Gobernacion (the Ministry of Internal Affairs) as an effort to "re-establish the internal authority and safeguard the autonomy of the University" which was threatened by "alien persons" (presumably the students and their professors).

(El Herald, Sept. 29, p. 1 and 13A) Somehow familiar — the idea of invading a university to preserve its autonomy. We can think of another country which is given to invading nations to protect their sovereignty, annihilating populations so that they may live in freedom, and, generally speaking, destroying things in order to save them. In fact, the rhetoric which explains the military occupation of an autonomous university sounds positively Lincoln Gordon-esque.

Student Baiting

Far more disturbing than any similarity of rhetorical style, is the question of why the government has chosen to escalate a situation which during the last three months they might easily have calmed. On September 1, President Diaz Ordaz gave his annual report to the nation. Mexicans waited anxiously to hear what kind of concessions would be

Tlatelolco, the most modern and progressive city of the age has risen. A city which preserves in its newly uncovered anthropological zone, the remains of both prehistoric and colonial cultures. This city can be yours! This city is within your grasp!

Advertising brochure for apartment rental in Ciudad Tlatelolco.

Ciudad Tlatelolco is a modern development of high rise apartment houses near the heart of Mexico City. The buildings are of two kinds: private middle-income apartments renting to middle-class, white collar types, including considerable numbers of government workers; and public housing provided for low income government employees under the welfare program of the ISSSTE, the Institute of Social Security for Workers at the Service of the State. Until the night of September 22, the barrio was famous principally as the site of the Plaza of the Three Cultures, alluded to in the quotation above. Here the sixteenth century colonial church of the Apostle Santiago stands directly adjacent to recently excavated Aztec ruins in a plaza bounded on the north and south respectively by Vocational School Number 7, and the modern headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Relations, and to the east and west by high rise apartments of the ISSSTE. During the weeks of the student strike, Vocational School 7 and the

people in the ISSSTE buildings to construct barricades, similar to the ones with which they had tormented the school.

"At 6 o'clock, looking out of the kitchen window, I could see that the entire barrio was ringed with granaderos and army troops. Including only those I could see, I think there were more troops out there than I've ever seen together in one place in all my experience in Latin America. But the school was incredibly well fortified — although the students had no fire arms, or if they had them they never used them. Basically it was a trap to draw the granaderos into a building from which they would not emerge on their own feet.

"At 6.30 the soldiers and granaderos began to close in on the area, from Calle Almacenes, from the Reformas, from Manuel Gonzalez, and San Juan de Letran. Thousands and thousands of them. Helicopters were circling overhead to see the fortifications the students had made, and, unable to observe much from a distance, they flew down and wove in and out of the buildings in the area, at times flying so low that the students were able to pelt them with rocks, stones and clods of dirt.

"Sometime close to 6.30, a group of granaderos was sent out to overturn one of the buses that formed the barricade, thus opening a space through which the troops could pass. I think this took the students by surprise, because it was all done very

the granaderos and soldiers began to retreat. It should be remembered that there were never more than 100 students involved in this struggle. All the rest were plain common people. Women, children and old people as much as the men. When the granaderos began shooting their gas bombs into the windows of the ISSSTE building, setting fire to some of the rooms, it was certain that the people would not until they had driven out the troops.

"At 9.30, the people assaulted the Ministry of Foreign Relations, which you know is directly across from Vocational Number 7. Even after the people had set the Ministry a fire, the police forces came closer, but did not dare to cross the ruins to reach the building.

"All this time the school was silent, but from the towers of the middle class houses, the chant was kept up. 'Abajo Asesinos'. By now it was almost dawn, and with the daylight thousands of people came streaming into the barrio of Tlatelolco from all directions, on foot, in buses, in cars. They brought food, and gasoline and sometimes even money, or just expressions of their solidarity with the people of Tlatelolco.

"I think the people of Mexico will not support a situation in which the army is used against ordinary people in this way. At any rate, the Mexicans have had a revolution, and they will know how to fight."

Up against the wall, other fucker, this is a k-up"

Most of the slick commercial magazines have published yet a orgy of bourgeois analysis about the "youth rebellion", for the nth time that radical youth are nihilistic, in answer to the nihilism charge by Mark Rudd, chairman of the Columbia University chapter of Students for a Democratic Society, an organiser of the Columbia rebellion. Rudd's statements were made in a letter he wrote to Columbia president Grayson Kirk who, in a speech in Charlottesville, Va., was complaining about youthful antiauthoritarianism. Here are Kirk's brief statements and Rudd's letter, which was published on April 22, the day before Columbia students began their current protest.

Said Grayson Kirk:

"Our young people, in disturbing numbers, appear to reject all forms of authority, from whatever source derived, and they have taken refuge in a turbulent and inchoate nihilism whose sole objectives are destruction. I know of no time in our history when the gap between the generation has been wider or more potentially dangerous."

Said Mark Rudd:

Dear Grayson — Your charge of nihilism is indeed ominous; for if it were true, our nihilism would bring the whole civilized world, from Columbia to Rockefeller Center, crashing down upon all our heads. Though it is not true, your charge does represent something: you call it

the generation gap. I see it as a real conflict between those who run things now — you, Grayson Kirk — and those who feel oppressed by, and disgusted with, the society you rule — we, the young people.

You might want to know what is wrong with this society since, after all, you live in a very tight self-created dream world. We can point to the war in Vietnam as an example of the unimaginable wars of aggression you are prepared to fight to maintain your control over your empire (now you've been beaten by the Vietnamese, so you call for a tactical retreat). We can point to your using us as cannon fodder to fight your war. We can point out your mansion window to the ghetto below you've helped to create through your racist university expansion policies, through your unfair labour

practices, through your city government and your police. We can point to this university, your university, which trains us to be lawyers and engineers, and managers for your IBM, your Socony Mobil, your IDA, your Con Edison (or else to be scholars and teachers in more universities like this one). We can point, in sort, to our own meaningless studies, our identity crises, and our revulsion with being cogs in your corporate machines as a product of and reaction to a basically sick society.

Your cry of "nihilism" represents your inability to understand our positive values. If you were ever to go into a freshman class you would see that we are seeking a rational basis for society. We do have a vision of the way things could be: how the tremendous re-

sources of our economy could be used to eliminate want, how people in other countries could be free from your domination, how a university could produce knowledge for progress, not waste consumption and destruction (IDA), how men could be free to keep what they produce, to enjoy peaceful lives, to create. These are positive values—but since they mean the destruction of your order, you call them "nihilism." In the movement we are beginning to call this vision "socialism." It is a fine and honourable name, one which implies absolute opposition to your corporate capitalism and your government; it will soon be caught up by other young people who want to exert control over their own lives and their society.

You are quite right in feeling that the situation is "potentially dan-

gerous." For if we win, we will take control of your world, your corporation, your university and attempt to mould a world in which we and other people can live as human beings. Your power is directly threatened, since we will have to destroy that power before we take over. We begin by fighting you about your support of the war in Vietnam and American imperialism — IDA and the School of International Affairs. We will fight you about your control of black people in Morningside Heights, Harlem and the campus itself. And we will fight you about the type of mis-education you are trying to channel us through. We will have to destroy at times, even violently, in order to end your power and your system — but that is a far cry from nihilism.

Grayson, I doubt if you will

understand any of this, since your fantasies have shut out the world as it really is from your thinking. [Columbia] Vice-President Truman says the society is basically sound; you say the war in Vietnam was a well-intentioned accident. We, the young people, whom you so rightly fear, say that the society is sick and you and your capitalism are the sickness.

You call for order and respect for authority; we call for justice, freedom, and socialism.

There is only one thing left to say. It may sound nihilistic to you, since it is the opening shot in a war of liberation. I'll use the words of LeRoi Jones, whom I'm sure you don't like a whole lot: "Up against the wall, motherfucker, this is a stick-up."

Yours for freedom, Mark.

Salazar—an obituary

The man who has kept Portugal in a coma for forty years is now in one himself. He may not be dead when we go to press but this is his obituary, for he has long aspired to heaven, been helped for forty years by the angels and encouraged by the Pope at the shrine of Fatima. 'I believe in God but not in History', he has said, so let us rejoice at his departure into the celestial regions and off the map of History.

He was a perverse, old reactionary who made a virtue of swimming against the tide of history. Who indulged in a tortuous doctrine made up of personal truths and euphemisms, known in Portugal as Salazarism. We would like to put his euphemisms and his anachronistic, medieval ideas in the grave with him, but his successors will try their best to preserve them. Needless to say they will not succeed. Salazar's disgust at the 'unbridled idealism of today' is nothing compared to our disgust at the unbridled facism of yesterday. Let us expose the myth of 'benevolent despotism' and 'disinterested patriotism' with an accurate assessment of a malevolent despot whose lack of interest in the suffering of the Portuguese people was much stronger than his patriotism.

Salazar has gone and with him we hope has gone that most pernicious of myths — 'the happy Portuguese peasant', the myth of the virtue and warmth of poverty and exploitation. With his death there is a new ray of hope for the men and women of the Alentejo who hire themselves out from sunrise to sunset, toiling in the fields for 18 months at a stretch for a meagre 10 shillings and counting themselves lucky for there are many who do not work at all. For forty years they have been at the mercy of the weather, the harvests, the land owners and a vicious, repressive regime. Now West German money is being used on a massive plan to irrigate the Alentejo, so perhaps the wages of the peasantry will rise slightly, but the rise will be nothing compared to the rise in prongs for the West Germans.

'This happy nation of hard workers' tourists are often heard remarking. The average wage of a stonemason in Lisbon is about £1 a day, while that of an electrician is about 25/-. Certainly, where wages are at their highest, many of them are happy for they know no better, but when people speak of that great patriot Salazar, perhaps they should bear in mind that his 'love' for his country caused 100,000 of its citizens to leave it every year. Sometimes risking their safety and sometimes their lives they crossed frontiers, as hostile to Spain, to be less exploited but more alienated and wretched in countries such as France and West Germany. Meanwhile the Salazar regime has continued to thrive on tourist receipts and the foreign exchange which these immigrants send back to their families.

The death of Salazar comes at an opportune moment for as he is buried let us bury with him that old euphemism which he was so fond of quoting — 'There are no colonies — there are only parts of Portugal across the seas'. This concept is also being buried by the freedom fighters of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique. He used to tell the world 'Angola is a Portuguese creation and does not exist without Portugal. The only national conscience rooted in the Province is no Angolan but Portuguese; there are no Angolans, but Portuguese of Angola'. We say that there is no euphemism for the rape of the continent. That the cold indifference with which he treated time and history was shattered for once and for all by the outbreak of revolution in Angola in 1961. His regime was suddenly dragged, gibbering and distraught, into the 20th Century and sent off hot-foot to search for support and investment in that bottomless pit of speculation — the house of the German financier Krupp, who now came to Salazar's aid as he had once to Hitler's.

Into the grave must also go that oft repeated slogan, the inevitable stand-by of vacuous Salazarist diplomats in embassies all over the world, that Salazar brought order out of the chaos of 1926, that he has given peace to the Portuguese nation. What he has given the Portuguese nation is three bloody colonialist wars. While the people suffer from a brutal lack of social services, his Defence Budget for 1968 amounts to 8,700 million escudos, of which about two-thirds represents expenditure in Africa. This does not include various extraordinary sums which will no doubt be allocated to the Army in Africa during the course of the year. To boast of having kept his people out of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War would seem rather questionable in the present circumstances,

CALIFORNIA 1968 the sky's the limit

by Peter Buckman

Our U.S. Correspondent

The leaders of the demo had long since vanished from the scene; the police had kept out of sight; a few windows were broken and the wall of the Bank of America breached. Then the guns. The city reacted promptly by shutting down all opportunities for dissent. Meetings and assemblies were prohibited, the town was declared a "civil disaster area", and anyone "loitering" between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. was immediately picked up by the cops, though naturally those arrested were exclusively drawn from the ranks of those without creases in their trousers and whose hair covered more than the nape of their necks. For the next ten days everyone cooled it. The pigs had armaments ranging from the ubiquitous MACE to a "pepper gun" which can single out sections of a crowd for special blasting. Everyone stayed super-cool.

All that was nothing compared to what the blacks were going through. Huey Newton, founder of the Black Panthers, was last week found guilty of "voluntary manslaughter" in the killing of Police Officer Frey last October. The verdict is completely inconsistent, let alone indefensible. The prosecution's star witness was a bus driver who happened to be near the scene when Huey was stopped by Frey, insulted in the usual fashion ("Nigger" etc.), and frisked. Frey called up another cop, Officer Heanes, for support: they all knew Newton in the police department, and every pig had a list of the license numbers of all Panther cars. The prosecution claimed that Huey was carrying an illegal weapon, and that he was anxious not to have a stack of pot discovered. Huey denies having either pot or gun. The prosecution's star witness claims he saw Huey pull a gun and shoot at both pigs. There was another witness who claims Huey stopped his car and, being

wounded, asked to be driven to hospital, saying "I just shot two dudes". Curiously, this witness refused to testify in court. Even more curious is the alteration of the bus driver's evidence. What was quoted in court, from the tape made in the police station, was "I only had my lights on. I couldn't... I did get a clear view of his face." Defence attorney Charles Garry read this to the jury. But afterwards, when they were deliberating their verdict, he had the recording amplified and convinced the judge that what the driver actually said was "I couldn't... I didn't get a clear view of his face". The judge ordered the transcript altered. But when the new version was delivered to the jury in their room, the alteration was not pointed out to them. The usher merely said "Here is the transcript you ordered", and according to a member of the jury they didn't even bother to go over it again.

Curiouser and curiouser is the verdict. The bus driver testified he saw Huey shoot Frey and wound Officer Heanes. The jury acquitted Huey of wounding Heanes, and brought in "voluntary manslaughter" for Frey where the prosecutor had demanded a verdict of first degree murder, punishable by death. "Voluntary manslaughter" is killing under extreme provocation. The penalty is two to fifteen years. Huey told everyone to cool it while the case went to appeal. Meanwhile two uniformed cops in their official cop car emptied their official revolvers into the Black Panther headquarters in Oakland, which prominently displayed posters of Huey and Eldridge Cleaver, the Presidential candidate on the joint slate of the Black Panther and Peace & Freedom Parties. The place was wrecked — luckily Huey had warned everyone to stay away from the office. The two pigs were suspended, then fired,

and will probably stand trial for assault. This is California, 1968, where the police chief of Oakland, Charles Gain, in an angry press conference, three times referred to the fact that the Panthers have accused the police of being murderers. "These statements, he said, are 'intemperate', 'false', and 'irrational'." (In New York City Panthers about to enter a courtroom to attend the trial of one of their own were set on by scores of police in plain clothes, who called themselves the Law Enforcement League. Having blackjacked the Panthers to the ground, the pigs then stormed into the courtroom, causing the defence lawyer to complain he was being intimidated. The pigs' real target was the judge, who they accused of being "soft" on the blacks. May and Lindsay called for a full report. What it said has not been revealed.)

According to Huey's lawyer, the "manslaughter" verdict is a great victory, though he wouldn't say so to the straight press. It means that he is in a position to appeal for the reversal of the verdict without the death penalty hanging over Huey: he cannot be found guilty of murder in a retrial. Moreover the decision makes a liar out of the chief prosecution witness and proves that the decision was political: they dared not find Huey innocent. Victory, in some sense, it may be, but as far as the Panthers are concerned they will not stand being pushed much further before implementing their admittedly vague threat that "if Huey goes, the sky's the limit". To understand the reasons behind this threat it is necessary to go through a bit of history.

The black panther, Huey explained, is an animal who will not attack. If attacked, the panther backs up until there is no room to back. Then he strikes and wipes out his

attacker. The party—Huey's position in it is Minister of Defence — was founded in Oakland for self-defence of the black ghetto. The Panthers policed the police by following their cars around at a legal distance in their own cars, carrying arms legally and prominently displayed. Whenever a cop car stopped, so did the Panthers. The result was a decrease in brutality against ordinary members of the black community, and a sharp increase in harassment of the party leaders.

In contrast to white radical groups, the Panthers are not afraid to state their programme, a ten-point one divided into "what we want" and "what we believe". These demands include the power to determine the destiny of the black community; full employment — if white businessmen won't give it, the means of production should be taken from them and vested in the black community; "an end to the robbery by the white man of our black community" in the form of reparations: 100 years ago the blacks were promised 40 acres and two mules as restitution for slave labour. Now they will accept it in currency which will be distributed among black communities. **The Germans paid reparations for killing 6 million Jews. American racism has been responsible for the deaths of over 50 million black people: reparations are due.** Also demanded is decent housing, and if the whites won't build it the land should be made into co-operatives so that the community, with government aid, can build its own; education that exposes the true nature of decadent American society and that teaches the black people their true history and role; exemption for all black men from military service — why should they fight for a racist society that does not protect them?—and an end to police brutality and murder

of blacks by organising black self-defence groups (the party's original title was the Black Panther Party for Self-Defence), who should carry arms; freedom for all black people held in jail, since they have not received an impartial trial: all black people must be tried by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the American Constitution; and "land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of the black people as to their national destiny."

Eldridge Cleaver has defined the black communities as a "colony within the white mother country". This, of course, validates the black struggle for self-determination, following Fanon among others, but it does not necessarily carry with it the separatist attitude adopted by some groups who demand five states in which to live and do their thing. Most militants think the idea crazy old-fashioned: look how badly the Indians did on the reservations, they say, and besides, considering what the US does to foreign "colonies" like Santo Domingo when they get out of line, how will a colony within the country fare? The Panthers regard their self-determination of their communities necessary to establish power bases from which to challenge the white power system. They do not wish to return to the 19th-century for their political inspiration.

With so sophisticated and articulate a programme, plus the evidence of the intention to achieve it, it is hardly surprising that the pigs — acting on orders from the system — began picking on Panther leaders for anything from traffic offences to

suspicion of theft. Each time they were kept for the maximum time without being charged. Often they were arrested only for handing out leaflets. Both Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale, the co-founder of the Party, had their apartments broken into by pigs without warrants, both times when they were asleep with their wives. Severe beatings were routine, as were false charges on false evidence. Last April several Panthers in cars were menaced with guns by pigs in cars. Shooting began and the Panthers took shelter in a house. After about 90 minutes of shooting by some 50 members of the Oakland police, who set fire to the house and filled it with tear gas, the Panthers were forced to surrender. **With floodlights covering the house, 17-year-old Bobby Hutton walked out, hands high, unarmed. He was shot dead. Four Panthers attending the funeral later were MACEd and arrested on suspicion of robbery.** Having been kept three days, over a weekend, nothing could be proved and they were released.

It's facts like these make the Panthers talk of the sky being the limit. But their power is limited: they know the white community is prepared for genocide, to wipe out the blacks—11% of the population —if necessary. Therefore they stay cool. They are realists, none more so than Huey, their leader, arrested for an alleged traffic violation, unarmed, charged with the death of a pig in all probability caused by the other pig's gun, appealing against verdict whose inconsistency unmasks its political motivation, brought in by a jury containing one black man, a banker who was elected foreman. It is these circumstances — pathetically tragic — that ought to unite the white radical community in echoing the cry for political and legal justice and freedom: FREE HUEY!

We're ALL Revolutionaries Now

DAVID WIDGERY REPORTS ON THE RECENT SDS CONFERENCE AT FRANKFURT

We are all revolutionaries now and one of the increasingly popular ways for students to prove it, is the convening of international conferences on the subject. This summer has seen hectic revolu-

tion where in country after country the popular base for the mass parties of Stalinism and Reformism has ceased to exist and where the student movement is forced to aid the rebuilding of

danger for serious revolutionaries; on the other hand the more spectacular prophecies about the current crisis in international capitalism, the decline of reformist trade unionism and

schoolchildren and apprentices. It's very difficult to assess quite to what extent these campaigns will go beyond photogenic demonstration and political spectacle. There seems to be a reju-

whole generation of German revolutionaries were wiped out by the combined efforts of Stalin and Hitler. There seemed to be a danger that vicarious involvement with the struggles of the Third World might simply be an

omy and self activity remains strong and valuable. And the German taste for complex academic debate was indulged at considerable length in discussion of the role of women and

escudos, of which about two-thirds represents expenditure in Africa. This does not include various extraordinary sums which will no doubt be allocated to the Army in Africa during the course of the year. To boast of having kept his people out of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War would seem rather questionable in the present circumstances, but Salazar saw his role in Africa as do Smith and Voster in terms of a 'civilising mission'. As he has always seen 'civilisation' in terms of strengthening the escudo, he is being quite consistent, for certainly what is being fought out in Angola and Mozambique is the fact that the two countries are vital to the strength of the escudo, their joint exports constituting 60% of the total exports of Metropolitan Portugal. This is why the Portuguese reserves keep going up in spite of enormous military expenditure. As one well-known exile is often heard to remark — Salazar is running imperialism on credit. While Krupp's subsidiaries mine iron ore in Angola, while surplus labour is being siphoned out of Mozambique and down the mines in South Africa under conditions which have caused violent protests from the ILO, dams, roads, and underwater cables are being built to forge the Holy Alliance of repressive dictatorships in Southern Africa. This is a picture of the 'multiracial and pluricontinental ideal of the Salazarists, justified by one of their leaders in this way — 'From Minho to Timor, we are a single country, all citizens being equal. An illiterate can no more vote in Lisbon than in Luanda!

If there is anything to mourn about it is that Dr. Oliveira Salazar did not die a long time ago. He was a worthy symbol of his 'civilisation' and when symbols begin to crumble can the death of the 'civilisation' be far behind?

MO TEITELBAUM.

and one of the increasingly popular ways for students to prove it, is the convening of international conferences on the subject. This summer has seen hectic revolutionary gathering in Frankfurt, Oslo, New York and Massa Carrara where delegates, drifters, hobos and CIA men have variously produced blueprints for the forthcoming and eagerly awaited World Revolution. It's certainly good for students to be once again meeting specifically in the tradition of revolutionary internationalism rather than through the furniture of International Stalinism or in the dining clubs of European social democracy. But what is increasingly clear at such meetings is the shadowy and uneven level of the student movement's development and the tendency of many involved in it to believe what they read about themselves in the papers. The terrifying situa-

country the popular base for the mass parties of Stalinism and Reformism has ceased to exist and where the student movement is forced to aid the rebuilding of a socialist labour movement, is seen by many comrades as some sort of heavensent chance to insert a left leadership. Students are always prone to ideas of voluntarism; the new narodniks at many of these meetings seem to imagine that the heroic will of the student movement is able to talk a mass working class movement into existence. At a stage where, if we are honest with ourselves, the immediate perspective is to retain and defend the enclave of radical politics students have built and link it to political militants in industry and on the estates, some of the larger rhetorical schemes are a luxury we should do without. For the first time for twenty years over-pessimism might be a

aries; on the other hand the more spectacular prophecies about the current crisis in international capitalism, the decline of reformist trade unionism and the explosive power of student guerrillas is going to leave a lot of people extremely disappointed. The SDS Frankfurt Delegate Conference was not exempt from this verbal conjuring although in general SDS has the firmest and most healthy organisational base in Europe and a highly elaborate theoretic scaffolding to protect it. SDS sees itself in transition from a student protest movement into an organised political opposition to the drift towards repression and the right in German society. But while initiating campaigns against NATO, the German Judiciary and the U.S. Army, they have at the same time to build from scratch contacts with organised workers and keep hold of contacts with

It's very difficult to assess quite to what extent these campaigns will go beyond photogenic demonstration and political spectacle. There seems to be a reluctance among German comrades to look closely at what was actually achieved during the Emergency Laws campaign when massive, if shortlived, industrial work was done and whole factory combines bombarded with leaflets. At present the remains of this seems to be two 'projectgroups' active in Frankfurt and Berlin doing long term organisation in specific factories and within the Youth Section of the Trade Unions. After France, more and more comrades are interested in this kind of work and are approaching it with energy. But the transition from the university hothouse to the lower temperature and more concrete thinking of the factory is extremely difficult, especially so because a

revolutionaries were wiped out by the combined efforts of Stalin and Hitler. There seemed to be a danger that vicarious involvement with the struggles of the Third World might simply be replaced by vicarious involvement in the industrial struggle.

The tension between those with a fundamental orientation, the anti-authoritarian groups and the remnants of the traditional electoral Old Left expressed itself in protracted debate over organisation which ended in deadlock and a recall conference planned for November. SDS are aware of the need to tighten up their very chaotic structure and this was highlighted by the expulsion of 5 CP supporters who sabotaged barricades at Cologne University and supported the attack on SDS President Wolf at the World Youth Festival in Sofia. But the tradition of local auton-

strong and valuable. And the Germanic taste for complex academic debate was indulged at considerable length in discussion of the role of women and Technical education in modern capitalism . . . the 'woman's question' debate at one point interrupted by a lady with dyed hair throwing tomatoes at the Chairman in an extremely formal sort of way.

Certainly the accounts in the bourgeois press of the collapse of SDS are miles out, but many of the contradictions which have been concealed within SDS's very broad political spectrum are coming into the open. At present the state seems to be one of well informed confusion and political experiment in very many directions at the same time . . . after one spark set France alight, the rest of us are committed to throwing lighted matches around the room.

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The Black Dwarf's guide to The Portugese Opposition

Inside Portugal there is only one legal party, the fascist **National Union**. The internal opposition is weak: there is a moderately strong communist influence in the working class in Lisbon, and among the students at Lisbon University. There are also liberal, constitutionalist groupings among middle-class teachers and lawyers. In 1958 General Delgado ran as an opposition candidate in the presidential election and did so well that Salazar changed the constitution in 1959, abolishing the direct election of the president and substituting election by an electoral college.

The main opposition groups are:

1. **PCP: Portuguese Communist Party.** It works from Algiers, where Alvaro Cunhal, its leader, is based.

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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.

Pro-Russian; favours trade union action rather than insurrectionary preparation. The strongest and most solidly organised opposition group.

2. **FPLN: Patriotic Front for National Liberation.** A coalition of opposition groups, set up in 1962, based in Algiers. Has a monthly magazine, a radio station and an exile government, the **Portuguese Revolutionary Junta**. Dominated by the Communists, and originally headed by Delgado who later broke with them. In 1965 Delgado was lured into a trap by secret police in Spain, and murdered. Apart from PCP strength FPLN has no organisation within Portugal.

3. **FAP: Front for Popular Action.** A group of left dissidents who left the PCP 1964; headed by Francisco Rodriguez, former member of the PCP Politburo now in prison in Portugal. Wanted more militant policy; almost annihilated when main cadres arrested 1965-66.

4. **LUAR: League for Revolutionary Union and Action.** Created 1965-66 by left-wing army officers returning from colonial wars. Based on military action: two main achievements raiding a bank in Figueira de Foz and attacking and looting an army barracks, both in 1967. Recently some cadres arrested by Spanish police in Irun on way to Portugal; sentenced to prison in Spain. Others, including Palma their leader, subsequently arrested in

Portugal. Probably smashed by this. Little ideological position.

5. **ADS: Democratic and Socialist Action.** A middle-class liberal group, headed by Mario Soares who has now been eviled to African island of Sao Tomé. No mass support; consists of lawyers and other intellectuals. Issues protests.

6. **Left Catholics:** The Church in Portugal never occupied position it did in Spain; 1910 republican revolution in Portugal very anti-clericalist. But Cardinal Cerejeira, head of Church, student crony of Salazar's. Bishop of Oporto, Antonio Ferreira Gomes, exiled in Lourdes since 1961 for opposition to regime. In January 1962 a group of Catholic army officers seized barracks at Beja, but crushed. Group of intellectuals in **Pragma** group, inspired by changes in Vatican, banned by a regime 1967. Militant Angolan priests kept in exile in Portugal.

7. **Workers:** Strongest in Barreiro, Lisbon proletarian area on south bank of Tajo river. Hundreds of thousands working illegally abroad, especially in France. Strikes illegal, but frequent. Mostly PCP.

8. **Students:** Of three universities, Lisbon most politically militant. No movement comparable to Spanish one. 30% of all portuguese students interviewed in 1967 said they would have preferred to have been born outside Portugal.

Students and Capitalism

by Rudi Dutschke

Extracts from a book to be published by Gallimard soon.

1 Dying Capitalism

The ruling class has been decisively transformed. For a long time now it has ceased to be identified with the nominal owners of the means of production. Even in his own time Marx was able to perceive the imminent arrival of a new class—the industrial bureaucracy. This class in no way resolves the fundamental contradiction of bourgeois-capitalist society. Quite the reverse. This contradiction is becoming more acute and is leading bourgeois society into its final phase. Within this "class" all the functions of Capital are "socialised" — spread out among specific groups and institutions.

2 A Revolutionary Breach

But, if one element of the disinherited casts off the yolk of the "financial interests", it breaks up this network of needs and aspirations directed towards the ruling class, and the entire system is put into question, from top to bottom. Marcuse has written that "the breach opened in the uneasy conscience can become the pressure point for emancipation" It is precisely this breach in the uneasy conscience which we have begun to open up.

Our work in politics puts in question the administration and control of people—by our gestures of provoca-

tion, and by our mass actions. It is not necessary to make a fetish out of the fact that we have correctly, considering the historical conditions, limited our actions to the sphere of the university. A revolutionary dialectic of correct transitions must think of the "long march through the institutions" as a practical and critical activity that reaches into all the areas of social life in order to deepen in a subversive and critical manner the contradictions inherent in all institutions that make up the organisation of the everyday life of our society. For our movement, which has arrived at its period of cultural revolution, there no longer exists a privileged area in which to express exclusively its overall aspirations.

It is precisely this point which is the strength and at the same time the weakness of the dying capitalist system. It leaves no section of society out of its network of repression, and all human activities end up being contained within a structured framework which is held together by the "silent pressures of capital and its profits".

3 The Anti-Authoritarian Movement

Lukewarm opposition has been succeeded by spontaneous resistance—although still very often of a totally

non-organised kind. The strength of the anti-authoritarian movement comes from the fact that its members authentically express in their practical and critical activities the hopes, and the needs, of everyone. The streets of the cities are ours. The left, far too often, succumbs to the tendency to build the "proletariat" or the "masses" up into a metaphysical absolute, instead of grasping the concrete, if difficult, dialectic of the awakening of the masses, and understanding the temporary separation of the small but politically conscious extremists groups from the great mass of the people. The other danger we do not always manage to avoid is intellectual arrogance, and in the last analysis fear of the creative faculties of the masses when they do awaken. We must go beyond the old concepts of socialism, but a new concept can only arise in political struggle. Today it is not an abstract theory of history that unites us. It is existential disgust with a society which, lost in endless chatter, about liberty at the same time represses by methods as violent as they are subtle the hopes and immediate needs of the individual and the social and economic emancipation of the people in their struggle.

(This has been considerably abridged)

Japanese Revolutionary Students' Movement

Charlotte Nassim

Last January in the port of Sasebo there was an outbreak of fierce fighting between helmeted students armed with heavy sticks and police using water hoses and tear gas.

The students were attempting to prevent the U.S.S. Enterprise, a nuclear-powered attack aircraft carrier, from entering the port. In the midst of the fracas, and to the astonishment of onlookers, it became evident that some of the students were beating each other up—right under the noses of bewildered policemen. That this was an ideological dispute between supporters of different factions of one of the three Zengakurens may give some idea of the complexity of the Japanese student movement. The factions are embroiled in jealous claims of legitimate representation and conflicts of ideology; each faction publishes its own paper and uses an argot which is incomprehensible to outsiders.

Zengakuren stands for Zen Nippon Gakusei Jichikai Sorongo (National Federation of Students' Self-Governing Associations). From its formation in 1948 until 1955, the Zengakuren followed the Japan Communist Party and was encouraged to take a line of 'violent political struggle'. However the J.C.P. suddenly changed its strategy and adopted a moderate position, and in 1956 the Zengakuren broke away declaring that 'the prime aim of the student movement lies in the struggle to defend peace'. Starting in 1958 there was a proliferation of revolutionary student organisations and these split up, collaborated, or merged with each other in a confusion which can only be explained by the Japanese custom of regarding no decision as a decision unless it be unanimous. In any meeting of students proposals are given shouts of yes or no, there is no middle ground for discussion, dissenters form their own factions and start recruiting members for themselves.

There are now three groups claiming to be the real Zengakuren. One of these is still influenced and supported by the J.C.P. and is known

The Sampa Zengakuren (Three-Faction Zengakuren) is a somewhat uneasy coalition of three factions:—the Chūkaku-ha (Core Faction), the Shagakudo (League of Socialist Students) and the 'Liberation Faction' of the Shaseido (League of Socialist Youth). Each of these three factions still publishes its own paper. 107 of the 510 committed students' councils support the Sampa Zengakuren, and it has been the most prominent group in the public view because of its violent clashes with the police. The Chūkaku-ha is the most influential of the three factions and calls on its members to act as 'co-ordinators with peasants, citizens and labourers'.

Strongly opposed to both the other Zengakurens is the Kakumarū Zengakuren (Revolutionary Marxist Zengakuren). They claim to be the legitimate heirs of the original Zengakuren, but although they are in possession of the official Zengakuren Stamp, and have the right to send delegates to the International Student Federation, they control only a small minority (30) of the 426 councils. However, they regard themselves as a revolutionary elite, their theory being that revolution must begin with a mass student movement so that, unlike the other Zengakurens, they seek no relations with the unions or political parties. The Kakumarū Zengakuren is very critical of the International Communist Movement and is trying to organise a new Anti-War International.

There are other fragments of the student movement, notably the peaceful Kōzō Kaikaku-ha (Structural Reform Faction) which controls 38 of the councils, but none of them claim to have inherited the Zengakuren mantle. Anarchist groups are few and far between.

So far the students have not

HERBERT MARCUSE

PETER SEDGWICK

Herbert Marcuse is a social and political philosopher with a long Left-wing history; he was one of the founding members of Liebknecht's and Luxemburg's Spartakusbund in 1918, was active in the pre-war Marxist Institut für Sozialforschung (Institute for Social Research), and since moving to live in the United States after the rise of Nazism has produced fascinating and important work on the development of Marxist thought and on problems of contemporary culture.

He is now being cited, in virtually every review of the theoretical foundations of present-day student radicalism, as a major critical influence of our time. Indeed, "the three M's"—Marx, Marcuse and Mao—are reported to form the intellectual trinity which inspires the activism of Italy's insurgent students. It is said also that his influence is powerful in his old homeland of Germany, among the SDS. **Having read Marcuse's work attentively over a number of years, I find it hard to trace any very precise connections between his most characteristic ideas and anything that is being written, said or done on the international Left nowadays.** However, I will make the attempt, in the hope that those who have a clearer idea of the present radical movement and its theoretical origins will correct and supplement these remarks.

Marcuse's output in the English language can be divided into three phases, which overlap somewhat. The first consists of his *Reason and Revolution* (1942) and *Soviet Marxism* (1958) which analyse respectively the rise (from Hegel to Marx) and the decline (from Lenin to Khrushchev) of those critical, subversive social ideas which are traditionally grouped under the heading of Marxism (later "Marxism-Leninism"). These are important books both for the historian of social ideas and for any revolutionary who wants to trace the shifts in the meaning of concepts, over entire epochs, which can make or break a radical theory of society. They imply no specific practical or tactical payoff in terms of action; I mention this not as a criticism of the work, but to indicate the difficulty in establishing a lineage from the present movement to Marcuse.

The second set of writings is concerned with the forms of intellectual domination and repression which are said by Marcuse to be prevalent in advanced capitalist society. During his first twenty years of sojourning in the United States, Marcuse became impressed by the virtual absence of any substantial movement of social criticism or rebellion in the USA, and concluded that capitalism had entered a new totalitarian stage of development, in

our era of advanced technology. The laws of the system being unbreakable, and unrelievedly hideous, revolt is possible only for minorities in a marginal or exterior relationship to the main social process. The critical "outsiders" of the *Reason and Revolution* appendix would seem to be lonely stoics like Marcuse himself, writing in the depressive shadow of the Joe McCarthy era; in *One-Dimensional Man* they include the lowliest, most oppressed groups in American society, the inmates of slums, ghettos, prisons, mental institutions, etc. Their rebellion is at this time seen by Marcuse as an elemental, almost hopeless outburst of "outcasts", the new paupers who have replaced the labour movement that has grown too fat to fight. As marginal minorities, they cannot be expected to win against the main tendencies of the engulfing "whole" and Marcuse does not expect them to. His interpretation of the Black freedom movement of course does little justice to its organisation, articulacy and confidence.

Marcuse says much the same thing, at greater length, in his book *One-Dimensional Man*, published in 1964. Here he goes much further, alleging that a drastic change in the terms of human thought has now taken place in the West. Critical and radical ideas have now become impossible to formulate within the realm of discourse that is accepted as rational by our society. Every conceivable activity of the human spirit—artistic, philosophical, scientific, or simply playful—contributes to the maintenance of "the whole", the repressive structure of capitalism. Science is counter-revolutionary because it seeks to control nature, and hence human nature. Art, however radical in form or content, can only function as an entertainment for the conformist and well-off. Ordinary and academic language are alike permeated by a sort of Orwellian "Newspeak" which denies not only any possibility, but also any meaning, to concepts which transcend the existing order of things. Marcuse reserves some of his severest strictures for sexual permissiveness and laxity, which are apparently diverting the masses from the knowledge of their oppression, and depleting them of the energy that should be sublimated into revolutionary forms of creativity. (This last theme, of what Marcuse calls "repressive de-sublimation", is argued more fully in his *Eros and Civilisation*, published in 1954.)

The last few sentences may sound like a grotesque caricature of Marcuse's case. They are, however,

of individual responsibility and largely apart from a group of mates. This, however, could only apply to a tiny proportion of the work-force even in an advanced capitalist society. Semi-automated industry, with its relentless industrial rhythms, occupies many thousands of workers in a typical Western economy. In France it was these sectors (cars and aircraft) that proved to be in the vanguard of militancy, responding rapidly to the "student spark". Highly mechanised industries in Britain (from cars to computerised banks) have also been associated with a level of consciousness whose militancy may be dispersed and fragmented, but is still very far from Marcuse's vision of the machine-dominated worker.

The climatic struggle in France and its less spectacular daily counterpart in Britain also puts paid to the idea, common to many radical thinkers apart from Marcuse, that the industrial struggle over wages can only radicalise workers when they are fighting at a subsistence level of income. Questions of power and control in industry and in society, especially as the State attempts to become an arbiter of wage levels, are inseparably linked to workers' demands for money. The struggle in France was fought by the workers both in terms of wages and in terms of power. The Left has gained among the working class both by exposing the incompetence and timidity of the CP-CGT apparatus as wage-bargainers and by campaigning around a broader perspective of control. The CFDT now outnumbers the CGT in membership as a result of playing this double tactic; how far either the CFDT or the PSU themselves can offer more than a rhetoric and a style is still of course an open question.

It is quite possible that a fully automated sector of industry,

contradictions set up in the United States by the Vietnam war. The progress of revolution now seems to him to depend on the forging of a link between guerrilla struggle in the Third World and the rebellious youth movements of the "affluent society"; and in Europe "the political revitalisation of the working-class movement on an international scale" is a perspective worth thinking and fighting towards. Others of course have said as much, with more consistency; and even so guarded a statement is an unconfessed recantation of the thousands of words that Marcus has written to the contrary.

Marcuse's article "Repressive Tolerance", published in 1965 as one of the outstanding set of essays by three American scholars, entitled *A Critique of Pure Tolerance*, displays fully the ambiguities of his most recent stance. It is in part a superb attack on the conventional liberal wisdom of political pluralism, which sees society as an open forum for equally matched contending views. It is also a first-rate defence of revolutionary violence and of rationality in history, the rationality, however, stops when Marcuse starts to argue once again that present-day society consists of "manipulated and indoctrinated individuals who parrot, as their own, the opinions of their masters," except for "such enclaves as the intelligentsia". Now that "society has entered the phase of total administration and indoctrination", Marcuse advocates "the withdrawal of toleration of speech and assembly from groups and movements which promote aggressive policies, armament, chauvinism, discrimination on the grounds of race and religion, or which oppose the extension of public services, social security, medical care, etc."

Marcuse's third phase is marked only in a few pieces of writing, and is doubtless still evolving. He has now acknowledged that organised radical movements are actually functioning outside the margin of the outcasts; paradoxically, their development in the crucial late Fifties and early Sixties eluded him while he was developing his most pessimistic position. In a recent interview (published in *New Left*

Who is to conduct this expropriation

either—these helpless parrots who have undergone "moronization". Marcuse's appeal is explicitly to the small oppositional enclaves. It is a programme of sporadic putschism to be conducted by them indiscriminately against all official institutions, parties and media.

This campaign, implemented by that fortunate minority that Marcuse is prepared to admit as "rational beings", will lead to "the democratic educational dictatorship of free men", which in the present society is "a small number indeed."

Marcuse looks back, for justification of this open appeal to meritocracy, to the arguments of that classic snob of liberal leader elitism, John Stuart Mill, for whom the exercise of tolerance was "to apply only to human beings in the maturity of their faculties". For Mill this definition would exclude children, minors and "barbarians". For Marcuse it would exclude everybody except those who agree with his own highly idiosyncratic interpretation of society and history, since the distinction between what is progressive and what is reactionary is "not a matter of value-preference but of rational criteria." Consequently if you disagree with Marcuse you are irrational and hence unfit to be tolerated.

Marcuse explicitly attacks the criterion of "clear and present danger" which both in liberal and in Marxist theory has offered the sole grounds for withdrawing basic civil rights from groups and individuals. (Even Stalinism, it may be noted, paid hypocrisy's tribute to this criterion in its manufacture of conspiracies and plots; for unless they could be displayed to the public as offering "clear and present danger", dissidents could not be suppressed and exterminated.) In Marcuse's view "the whole post-fascist period is one of clear and present danger". This statement is adequate for him to clear the distinction between the violence of revolutionary masses in a period of civil war and the putschism of educated elite groups who decide for themselves what the moronised masses may read or organise for.

Having developed a mechanistic and elitist view of society in a period where he wrote off all possibilities for revolutionary action, Marcuse is now trying to graft radical proposals upon his old unreconstructed social vision. I hope that I am right in my conclusion that Marcuse's politics, whatever the commentators say to the contrary, have actually no influence upon the theory and the tactics of the movement that we have today. If we have Marcuseans among

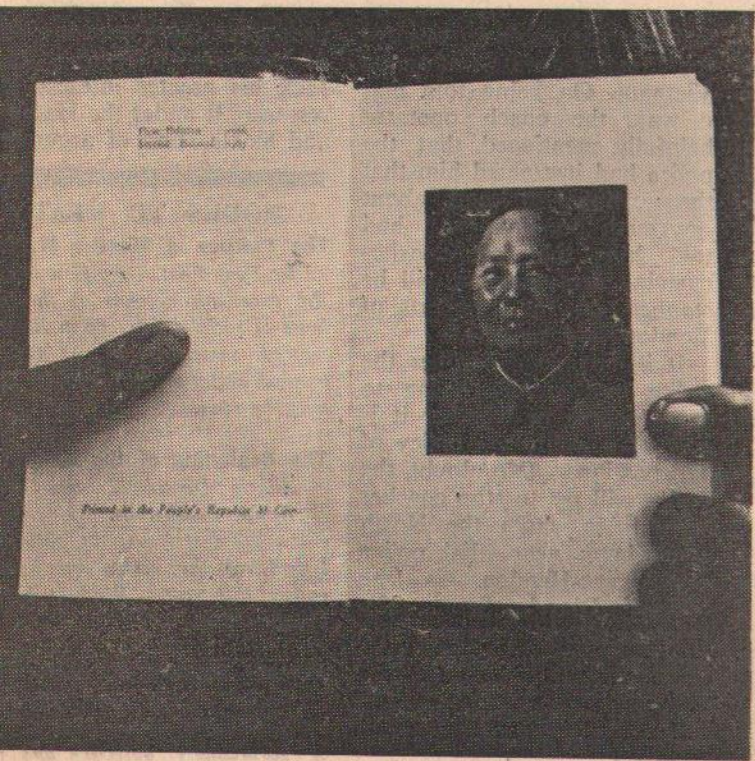
...factions and start recruiting members for themselves.

There are now three groups claiming to be the real Zengakuren. One of these is still influenced and supported by the J.C.P. and is known as the J.C.P. Zengakuren. Leaders of this group see themselves as the "democratic intelligentsia"; they favour discussion, negotiation, and if necessary strikes against the faculty over university matters. The J.C.P. Zengakuren occupies itself with purely student affairs — university regulations and facilities — much more than the other organisations, whose raison d'être is more overtly political. This explains why they have a large following—at least on paper—of Students' Self-Governing Councils. But in fact, many of the members scorn the J.C.P. Zengakuren's passivity in off-campus politics. Of the 829 student councils in the Japanese universities and colleges, only 510 are committed to the support of any of the Zengakuren factions; and of these 330 support the J.C.P. Zengakuren.

...tural Reform Faction) which controls 38 of the councils, but none of them claim to have inherited the Zengakuren mantle. Anarchist groups are few and far between.

So far the students have not achieved much, though they have succeeded in preventing certain increases of tuition fees. Only a very small minority of Japanese students feel able to take part in violent action; at most 10,000 can be mobilized from the whole country. The average student approves of this minority, but is inhibited by violence and feels that the student leaders have become more revolutionaries than students and are out of touch with the rest.

The real test will come in 1970 when the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty may be revised. The students are radically opposed to the treaty and their pacifism is shared by most Japanese. It has been predicted that over 100,000 students will take action in protest against continuation of the treaty.



Not all Nigerians eat Ibos. Beware of capitalist propaganda. Ojukwe and Gowan represent West Africa's bourgeoisie elite and the same vested interests that their feudal predecessors did. The people in conversation are uncompromisingly militant, not to be duped by the West any more. Local heroes take second place to Nkrumah, Patrice Lumumba, Seku Toure, King, Carmichael and Otis Reading. Black power is swiftly coming to West Africa. And as this photograph shows so is the Cultural Revolution.

B.D. CORRESPONDENT.

...sublimation, is argued more fully in his *Eros and Civilization*, published in 1954.)

The last few sentences may sound like a grotesque caricature of Marcuse's case. They are, however, a summary of what he actually states, not as risks, as chances, as tendencies that might be overcome by struggle, but as over-riding determining laws of human consciousness in

...words from Mallory's paper (*International Socialist Journal*, April 1965) seem remarkably prophetic in view of the French events this year.

It is quite possible that a fully automated sector of industry, equipped with transfer machines and numerical control apparatus, would generate a "middle-class" type of consciousness among its operators, who would work with a great deal

...functioning outside the margin of sure this is censorship, but open censorship, but open directed against the more or less hidden censorship that permeates the free media."

Who is to conduct this expropriation of the media and the ban on civil rights? Not the capitalist State—Marcuse rightly sees the uselessness of appealing to official society to commit suicide. Not the masses

...conclusion that Marcuse's politics, whatever the commentators say to the contrary, have actually no influence upon the theory and the tactics of the movement that we have today. If we have Marcusians amongst us, it would be interesting to hear their views. Reactionary as these might be, they would deserve at least our tolerance.

WHY THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Alberto Moravia

The Chinese cultural revolution is the most important political event that has taken place in the Communist world since de-Stalinization.

It is common knowledge that in the Communist world there are various levels of economic development because of the various periods in which the industrial revolution began in different areas. Corresponding to these various economic levels there are, obviously, various levels of enthusiasm, freshness, and revolutionary romanticism. Now the Chinese Cultural Revolution not only has sensationally revealed these differences but, because of the conflict and ruptures it has provoked, also seems to have created within the Communist bloc an internal dialectic which until now not even the revolt in Budapest, or Yugoslavian dissidence, had succeeded in establishing. The fact that Soviet Russia has had noteworthy industrial development since 1917 and that China, on the other hand, was still, in 1949, predominantly a country of peasants has suddenly appeared, thanks to the Cultural Revolution, as the main cause of the ideological conflict between China and the Soviet Union. What does this mean? It means that to explain what is happening in China today one must not look for personal and individual causes, such as Mao's age, the struggle for power, the influence of Mao's wife, etc.; rather, and correctly so, one must look behind the ideological conflict for the material causes.

The personal element, however, contrary to what is generally thought, is more important in Communist countries than in capitalist countries, at least at the level of government. In the West, economic differences between countries are only mildly translated into ideologies, both because of the predominant empiricism, especially in the Anglo-Saxon world, and because the Western economies are less planned and consequently less willed than Eastern economies. It is common knowledge that the economy of Communist countries is planned, and the plans are the expression of the will of limited governing bodies or even of an isolated leader. Hence

the personalized character of victories and defeats in the economic field, almost as if the development of an economy were not a collective but an individual phenomenon. In China the identification of the will of the head of state with the economic and social condition of the people is more marked, I should say, than in any other Communist country. The personal history of Mao is, as a matter of fact, indivisible from that of the Chinese revolution, to such a degree that to narrate the life of Mao, as one can see from Edgar Snow's book, is equivalent to narrating the history of the last fifty years of the Chinese people.

To understand, at least in part, what has happened in China since June 1966, one must go back to remote 1927. In general, one can say that the disagreement between Mao and the Soviet Union—which, in my opinion, is at the root of the Cultural Revolution—goes back to that year. At that time the Chinese Communist Party, which had only recently been formed, was completely under the influence of Stalin. Mao himself—who was one of its leaders—with a revolutionary innocence that was shared at the time by many in the West, probably did not doubt that the remote dictator in Moscow was somehow infallible. But Stalin, through a series of mistaken instructions and false moves resulting from an abstract and infatuated ignorance of real conditions of China, provoked a terrible political and military catastrophe. For tactical reasons Stalin at all costs wanted Mao and the Communists to collaborate with Chiang Kai-shek and the nationalist Kuomintang. Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang suddenly turned on Mao and wherever possible massacred his followers. Thousands of Communists were slain in Canton, Shanghai, and Peking. Bao survived the disaster by a miracle and with the remains of his small army undertook the famous march north.

It is beside the point here to

describe Stalin's errors in detail. Suffice to say that among them were two basic mistakes that Mao certainly must have remembered, when forty years later he unleashed the Cultural Revolution. The first mistake was to think that China, in its social composition, was similar to the Soviet Union and that consequently it had to be the labouring peasants in the country that would make the revolution. The second mistake was that, no matter how things went, everything had to be done through party bureaucracy and by means of party party bureaucracy. What happened has already been told. As long as Mao believed in the infallibility of Stalin, he piled up one defeat after another. When he shook off his awe of Stalin and turned to the peasants and the country and, bypassing party bureaucracy and ideology, acted directly and in person, his success was immediate. Most important of all, he must have felt that his feet were finally on solid ground.

Obedying the Soviet Union in 1927 brought Mao misfortune; thirty years later, in 1957, challenging the Soviet Union brought him misfortune. It is always Soviet Union, after all, in the adverse times of Mao's life. What happened in 1957, that year of years? The Great Leap Forward occurred, the attempt to transform backward Chinese peasants into modern agricultural workers of the Russian or American type, and to saddle state agricultural concerns with the greater part of steel production. I am referring here to Mao's irrational, wilful, and, in a word, romantic decision to set up steel furnaces—inevitably rudimentary and unsatisfactory—in the communes or state farms. The problem was industrial competition with the Soviet Union and the West. The solution, typically Maoist, was to have steel produced not just by two or three large factories but also, and principally, by the Chinese peasant masses. Every farm was to produce a small quantity of steel. China is immense; production could not but be immense, like China

itself. But, this time, turning to the masses—enthusiastic, yes, but inexperienced and backward—brought disaster. Steel production fell, and because of the disorder created by so much change, agricultural production also fell.

In the face of the failure of the Great Leap Forward, Mao should perhaps have blamed himself, or, as when the fault is shared by many, blame no one. But Mao had a different reaction. What was at the root of the error, at the root of the disaster? The fact that the Soviet Union, with whom he wished to compete, was a revisionist country, a country on the road to prosperity, that is, to capitalism.

This reflection found unexpected and bitter confirmation in the Soviet Union's behaviour in the face of China's difficulties. The wilful and populist romanticism of Mao found no understanding or solidarity in the Soviet Union. Right away there were admonitions and ideological insinuations. Then came Khrushchev's sarcastic public remarks about the Great Leap. And finally—a very serious step, in fact equivalent to an act of cold war—the sudden and complete withdrawal of Russian technical advisers.

By these measures the Soviet Union probably hoped to restore its own authority in China, reduce Mao to obedience, and prevent economic development in China that would conflict with the totality of the Communist bloc. But Mao only saw in them the obtuse and satiated hostility of a country headed towards prosperity for a poor country; of a country, in Lin Piao's formula, that was already part of the urban world against a country that was still part of the peasant world. Thus Russia—absurdly, but, it should be emphasized, with perfect logic—was rejected as a Western, capitalist country.

What could have made Mao change his mind? Only this: that the Soviet Union, the second industrial power in the world, reduce its pace to that of China, still a predominantly artisan and peasant country;

that Russia in revolutionary solidarity share with China its technicians, its resources, its means—in short, its prosperity. Obviously this was not possible, though Mao later considered it a logical sequence. Thus through a rationalization of personal disappointment and national failure, the Soviet Union became in Mao's eyes just another Western power, nothing more or less.

The United States, England, France, and Germany did not have technical advisers, political and economic missions or interests in China, much less an element within the Chinese party and state bureaucracy that supported their view of the world and worked for its fulfilment. Russia did. And that, I think, is why so many things in China are or seem to be Soviet: the many boulevards of Peking, the nineteenth-century style of the modern buildings and their interior decoration, the very mixture in everyday Chinese life of drastic austerity and popular patriotism. In the same way, there must have been many Chinese who wittingly or unwittingly believed in Soviet ideology and wished that China would imitate it and model itself on the Soviet Union. These people were excellent Communists, of course, who had always believed that Russia was the guiding state of the Communist bloc and that China was a friend of Russia. Many of them had been personal friends of Mao's since the years of the Long March and even earlier. They occupied responsible posts in the state and party bureaucracy. It was against them and against everything they were thought to represent (i.e. Soviet revisionism and Western interests and culture) that Mao's romantic and populist fury was unleashed.

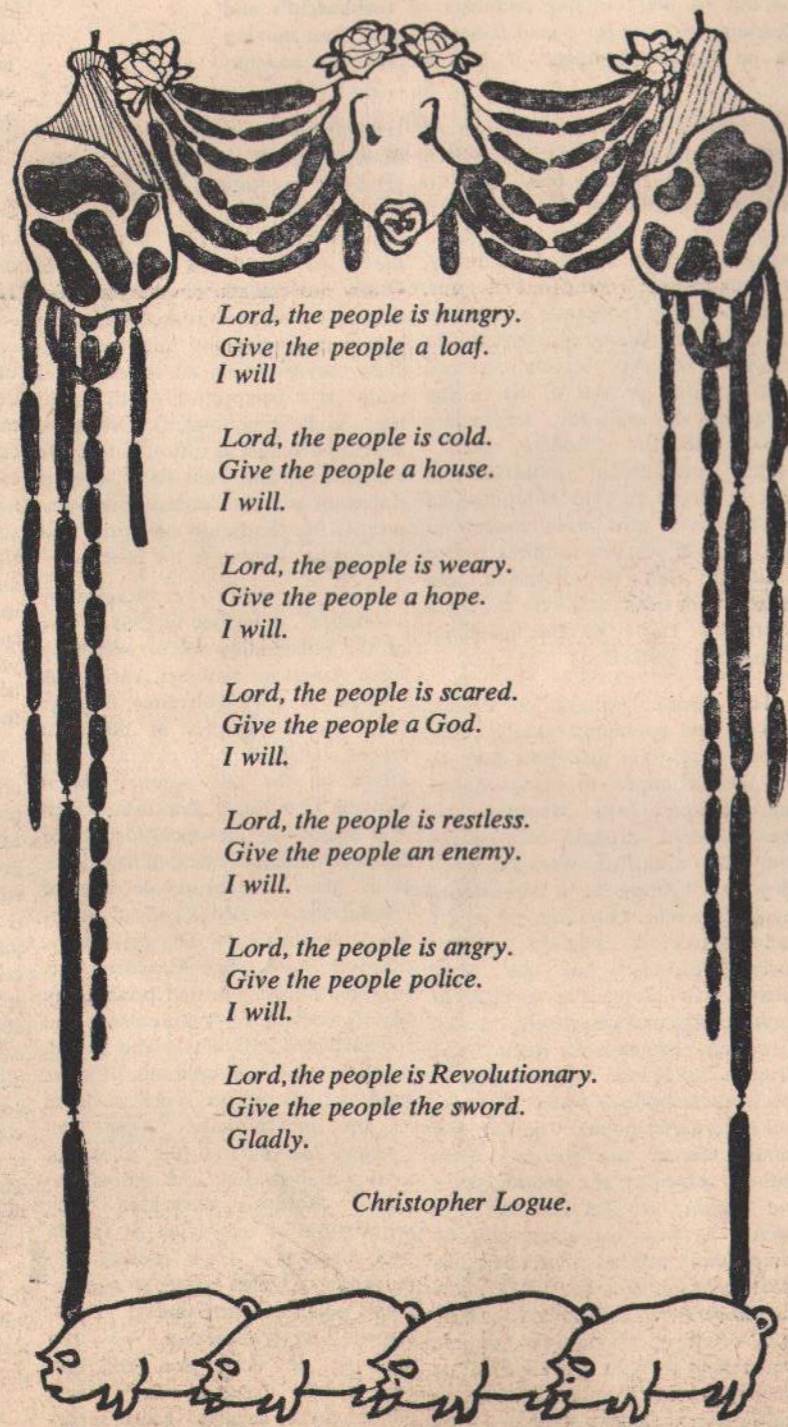
Characteristically, the great purge (the Cultural Revolution is, in substance, also a gigantic purge or purification) was not carried out by a Stalinist secret police. There is no secret police in China. Moreover, inasmuch as the purge was designed to strike chiefly at the bureaucracy like all the others. No

Mao on this occasion, as on many others, followed his heart, which had remained faithful, innocently and nostalgically, to the strenuous years of the civil war, and appealed, as he had then, to the masses, particularly to the young and the very young among them. He no longer seemed to stand on solid ground, or to have the strength he had before. But with the Cultural Revolution, through contact with the masses, he once again planted his feet firmly on the ground and recovered his strength. In one year, fifty million Red Guards surged, in a new Children's Crusade, from one end of China to the other. Millions of poster newspapers appeared. There were hundreds of thousands of parades, demonstrations, meetings. More than ten million Red Guards were received personally in Peking. And all China was turned upside down: agricultural and industrial production diminished, the state bureaucracy was overturned, party bureaucracy was destroyed. Several provinces were in the hands of Maoists; others, in the hands of anti-Maoists and this is only a partial list of the explosive results of Mao's appeal to the masses. But the barrier of bureaucracy and the party had fallen. And, even more important, the ground had been prepared for a universal revolutionary ideology that tomorrow perhaps may be able to compete with the Soviet ideology. More important still, the foundations may also have been laid for an egalitarian and technological society in which social advancement does not come through consumption as the result of profit as in the United States, or through prosperity as the prize of power as in Russia, but through the diversity and the quality of technical capabilities — a technocracy consisting of diversely qualified cadres and working masses in which everyone is provided with the necessary but not the superfluous.

(This is an extract from a forthcoming book by Alberto Moravia, *THE RED BOOK AND THE GREAT WALL*, Secker & Warburg, 25s.)

DIARY OF EVENTS

Prayers before Meals



Monday, October 14th
 ANGRY ARTS-FILM SOCIETY:
 Cuba Si — Chris Marker's partisan documentary of the aims, the mood and the rhythm of People's Cuba.
 NEWCASTLE SOCIALIST SOCIETY:
 1 p.m. Union Debating Chamber. Speaker: Tariq Ali.
 NEWCASTLE VSC:
 7.30 p.m. Old Assembly Rooms. Tariq Ali on the October Mobilisation.

Tuesday, October 15th
 EDINBURGH: VSC.
 7.30 p.m. Hume Tower.
 Tariq Ali on Vietnam and its implications for Revolutionary left in Britain.

Wednesday, October 16th
 DUNDEE UNIVERSITY LABOUR CLUB
 1 p.m. University Building.
 Tariq Ali on The Collapse of British Social Democracy.
 GLASGOW VIETNAM AD-HOC COMMITTEE:
 7.30 p.m., Typographical Halls, Clyde Street.
 Tariq Ali on October 27th Demo.

Thursday, October 17th
 STRATHCLYDE UNIVERSITY VSC:
 12.30 p.m., Union Hall.
 Tariq Ali on VSC.
 GLASGOW UNIVERSITY R.S.A.:
 7.30 p.m., Men's Union.
 Tariq Ali on 'Student Power'.

Lord, the people is hungry.
 Give the people a loaf.
 I will

Lord, the people is cold.
 Give the people a house.
 I will.

Lord, the people is weary.
 Give the people a hope.
 I will.

Lord, the people is scared.
 Give the people a God.
 I will.

Lord, the people is restless.
 Give the people an enemy.
 I will.

Lord, the people is angry.
 Give the people police.
 I will.

Lord, the people is Revolutionary.
 Give the people the sword.
 Gladly.

Christopher Logue.

GO HOME YOUNG MAN

Richard Neville

The lesson of Daniel Cohn-Bendit's disruptive internationalism has not been lost on the world's immigration authorities. They are making it more difficult for young people to cross borders. The Human Family, a roving theatrical troupe, have been expelled from Holland. The French police, in what are known to the press as "operations anti-beatnik", have been arresting and deporting foreigners persistently since May.

In parts of Spain, longhairs are rounded up once a week, their passports confiscated and sent to the nearest border.

In Yugoslavia and Argentina, local heavies have formed "barber gangs" which forcibly shear hapless hirsute foreigners. (The official Argentinian explanation is: "Hippies have given up their parents, home and food in order to harden themselves for leading a Communist Revolution").

And according to Robert Pontin, a British inmate of a Turkish gaol, the Turkish Government 3 weeks ago passed a new passport law forbidding hippies or beatniks from entering the country. Forty beatniks (or "house-niks" as the Turkish police affectionately call them) were deported on the day the bill became law.

This will effectively reduce overland travel to the Middle East and Asia. (The international pot trail begins at Istanbul). Hippies are also being harrassed in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Morocco.

Hair, the musical, travelled in rapid comfort all the way from Greenwich Village to the Eamon Andrews show; but hair, the human fibre, can stop you crossing your nearest border.

Robert Pontin, who has written desperate letters to *International Times* and *OZ*, also warns against getting busted in Turkey. He is serving an eight year, four month sentence for carrying cannabis. Others are serving 30 years. "And we don't receive amnesties" says Pontin, "although murderers do".

I doubt if the British Consul is unduly ruffled over Pontin's plight. Consular officials are usually more concerned with manipulating juicy business deals and hosting the perfect cocktail party, than sending metaphorical gunboats up the Bosphorus to rescue "beastly junkies".

Although W. H. Smith & Sons Ltd. are generally more renowned for what they don't sell than for what they do, they are currently marketing an interesting sociological document called: 'Routledge's Complete Letter Writer' — entirely new and revised edition. It is a serious guide for contemporary correspondents. Its sample letters include: A Letter of Proposal from a Young Gentleman to a Young Lady, with Favourable and Unfavourable replies ("I do love you, but it is in the way a sister loves a brother"); There is a Letter of Request for the Character of a Cook ("Is she honest, clean, and economical?"); a Letter of Complaint to a Butcher and an Invitation to a Funeral from the Family Solicitor.

The most enlightening epistle, for Black Dwarf, is how to answer an Invitation to Subscribe to a Charity:

Dear Mr. Manders,
 I have read your letter with great pain. It is indeed a terrible state of affairs. But it is my firm conviction that indiscriminate giving is the worst possible thing for the cause of the poor. The only real cure is to make certain of the continuity of employment. I would gladly subscribe to any scheme to bring that about. But in the present condition of the labour market I feel sure that it is really useless to do anything that will merely temporarily alleviate, and not definitely eradicate, poverty.

Yours very truly,
 M. Beecher.

Remember that for Oxfam.

DWARF DIARY

VIVA MICHELE!

On August 26 armed guerrillas of the revolutionary Guatemalan FAR movement assassinated the yankee ambassador John Gordan-Mein in Guatemala City. This is the first time in history that a yankee ambassador has been eliminated by revolutionary forces.

It has now emerged that one of the assassins was a 31 year-old French student Michele Firk who had acted as a getaway driver for the guerrillas on previous occasions. Michele had rented a small house in a poor quarter of the City, and after the assassination the police closed in. On September 7 police knocked on her door, but before they could capture her she committed suicide.

Talking to her sister last spring she said "I shall not hesitate. If I must be captured by the police I shall kill myself. I do not want to run the risk of talking under torture..." And in a letter she wrote "What I want to be is a revolutionary fighter".

Michele Firk fought and died for the Guatemalan Revolution. The elimination of Gordon-Mien has fired the imagination of the revolutionary movement throughout Latin America.

Ambassador Bunker watch out!

Private Eye or its Editor, Richard Ingrams (Shrewsbury and University College, Oxford). The stuff he writes is vintage public school humour and on occasion is extremely funny, in much the same way as the public schools themselves. The fact is, however, that the 'political columns' of the paper are edited by Paul Foot (Shrewsbury and University College, Oxford) who is a member of a revolutionary socialist political organisation. Some of the material is therefore taken seriously by socialists and it is for this reason that Comrade Foot has a responsibility to his political organisation. Rightly or wrongly many will take the Cuba story as a reflection of Comrade Foot's own views. Either he should insist that the CIA section of *Private Eye* is signed by its contributors (e.g. Richard West) or he should dissociate himself from the vile crap which his magazine occasionally puts out.

NATO MOVES TO KINGS COLLEGE

General Sir John Winthrop Hackett, former Commander-in-Chief of the Rhine Army and commander of NATO's Northern Army Group, has been appointed principal of King's College, London.

Our military Correspondent writes:—

Sir John's transfer comes as no surprise to NATO circles. For months he had been arguing that he was fed up with NATO and wanted to go where the action was. When it was pointed out that Britain was as yet not involved militarily in the Vietnam war and

your nephew or the razor blades you were thinking of using to shave with, send them down in advance under plain wrapper. THE COACHES MUST GET THROUGH. WE WILL NOT BE PROVOKED, SCARED OR FRAMED BY ANY POLICE METHODS.

OBI EGBUNA

While the Federal Nigerians have destroyed the Biafran village where Obi Egbuna was born, and while his mother is reported missing, Obi Egbuna languishes in a British jail. Obi is a Black Power leader and a television playwright. He has been in prison for ten weeks and bail has been refused on the advice of the police, naturally. What has been interesting has been the total lack of any response from either Egbuna's fellow playwrights or any publicity from the BBC which puts his plays on the box. Would the response have been the same if a white playwright (David Mercer or Denis Potter, for example) had been arrested and refused bail for ten weeks? We think not. Either Obi's case should commence at the relevant court or he should be given bail. Surely the fact that British bombs have probably destroyed his home and killed his mother should be enough to appease even the most racist magistrate in London.

FITT for Democracy

The recent outbreak of violence on the part of the hooligans who comprise the Northern Ireland police force should surprise no one familiar with the repression and cor-

TURKISH DELIGHTS

A note from the Turkish Foreign Ministry sent out to all its foreign embassies has recently reached the Dwarf

VIVA ROSA LUXEMBURG!

Subculture

The street-fighting Popgroup

Roland Muldoon

The street-fighting Pop group

Roland Muldoon

The last article I wrote in this column was so severely mutilated by an "economising" editor that it wasn't worth printing at all. (If one didn't know better, you might suspect C.I.A. divide and rule tactics.) But for anyone who did bother to read it, it might be of use to explain that the mystical "we" I referred to was in fact the Cartoon Archetypical Slogan Theatre. (A revolutionary theatre group.—Ed.)

Pop music for years has been a useful way of reading the pulse of society. The Top Twenty over the last 15 years reflects the best and the worst of the so called 'younger generation'. Regular mum's darlings Frankie Vaughan and Engelbert Humperdink have been willing tools of the capitalist society, their images have been cardboard imitations of Hollywood stars. These so-called celebrities are the types that you are likely to meet when you win the pools. Glittering out of their television sets, they are the symbols of all our yesterdays and the Cold War. But on the other hand there has been the violent pulse of a hard Rock world. We saw the light in Little Richard and Eddie Cochrane and then, as we came of age, groups like the Rolling Stones and The Who reflected our stuttering statements: "Get off our backs". Records like the Stones' "Satisfaction" and "Don't play with Fire" and The Who's "Substitute" are classics of our time. They constitute the seed of the new sub-cultural revolution.

Beatles as "socialist in practice if not in theory". They say it's all one happy world when they appear on television with smiling immigrants and David Frost. And on the back of their latest money-maker is a lecture for all of us who have forgotten that "all you need is love", called Revolution. That record is selling well in Wallace's America and I think it is the first of many "intelligent" establishment propaganda records. So, these blue eyed fellows of the Maharashi of Hollywood don't 'dig Mao'. I doubt if he cares. He's got the biggest fan club in the world. I care because I have looked up to them as a group and I know that millions still do, and I think, wrongly, that the interest shown in them by the establishment is an acceptance of us all. It's my opinion that the beatles are deliberately safeguarding their capitalist investment. But as they themselves say "It's all a big con".

At present times are a changing fast and all over the globe youth is becoming the vanguard of revolutionary agitation. The one-time easy to put down 'younger generation' is growing up and looking for a fight. Soon, we hope, the young workers and students are going to be so united and strong that even in this old cess-pit of decaying capitalists the banner of libertarian socialism will be seen as the only hope. But as we grow more conscious of the struggle to come, so, of course, does our enemy. And this is where the Beatles come in. I disliked them intensely during their commercial and MBE bit. But they seemed to emerge from all that and were at least amusing albeit negatively. I went round saying that Sergeant Pepper was a pop equivalent of Under Milk Wood. Now it seems that what was in the past simply an aesthetic preference for the Stones, now emerges as a part of the struggle for the hearts and the minds of youth. Englebert keeps the old in sugary slumber in Coronation Street, while the Beatles are trying to beguile us with their 'iness'. These innocent lads from Liverpool try to tell us that they are using their millions for what cosy Paul tells us is a sort of "Western communism". And what caused trendy Tynan to describe the

What a difference it is to know that the too often persecuted Rolling Stones have answered it all with their record "Street Fighting Man". How long will it be before the big record companies only release records that justify the status-quo. The recent trouble the Stones had in releasing their album cover—The shit-house wall covered in graffiti—shows that censorship's creeping in. The Nice who's record America is still No. 25 in the Hit-Parade express a fear of following up with any more political records because of the assault on them by 'decent minded' people. Meanwhile groups like "Country Joe and the Fish" in America still carry on making political records. This will carry on as long as capitalism there is a market in "anti-social" records. But the way things are looking this might come to an end soon. One can only hope that the Stones and The Who etc. will carry on saying what they want to say on their records. But I can see the time when we will see political pop-groups that aren't paid gigantic sums of money and are forced to go really underground. Although I've liked the Beatles in the past I hope that they get so fucked up with their money making that they become as obscure as Cliff Richards and on the debris they leave behind I hope we will see a new pop-group emerge — a 'street-fighting' pop-group committed to the movement.

TURKISH DELIGHTS

A note from the Turkish Foreign Ministry sent out to all its foreign embassies has recently reached the Dwarf. Our Turkish correspondent has confirmed that it is not a practical joke on the part of Turkish civil servants. The note reads thus:

"Rowdy student leaders such as Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Marcuse, Tariq Ali, Regis Debray (whose whereabouts are unknown but who might try and enter Turkey from any frontier). Yevtushenko and British woman guitarist Margaret Seeger are under no circumstances to be given entry visas to Turkey."

Amusing though this may be it corresponds with an extremely repressive situation inside Turkey itself. Lack of space prevented us from printing an article on the subject in this issue of the Dwarf, but evidence is beginning to mount of a secret list which is being circulated among top government officials in Turkey. Known appropriately enough as THE INDONESIA FILE it is a list of over 10,000 Marxists, Stalinists, Leftish liberals and progressives who are to be wiped out at the first sign of any serious trouble. Needless to say there are various copies of this list. One of them is with the CIA who gave the final OK after their agents had checked off the names on the list. All that on-hopes is that their Indonesia list is as efficient and un-to-date as their list of 'student leaders'.

PRIVATE C-EYE-A

For the last two or three years various CIA contacts have been trying to sell stories to the British Press on how Che had been murdered by Fidel because Fidel was 'after Che's wife'. This drivel was not published by any newspaper at that time. An altered version has, however, recently been published in the 'colour section' of Private Eye. The story written by Richard West is a devastating example of political wit and sophistication ("... bearded loony Castro's hysterical tirade"). It compares Castro to Peron and peddles a few other slanders with the kind permission of the CIA. Normally we would not pay any attention to the apolitical frivolities of

For months he had been arguing that he was fed up with NATO and wanted to go where the action was. When it was pointed out that Britain was as yet not involved militarily in the Vietnam war and that the Federal Nigerian government was averse to visits from senior British officers, Sir John remarked that he was in fact talking about Britain. He had heard that there'd been some trouble with student demonstrations and he might become a top military adviser to the Vice-Chancellor's Committee. His request was accepted and there is no doubt that Sir John's appointment will bring a badly-needed breath of fresh air to our fuddy-duddy educational institutions.

SOFTLY, SOFTLY

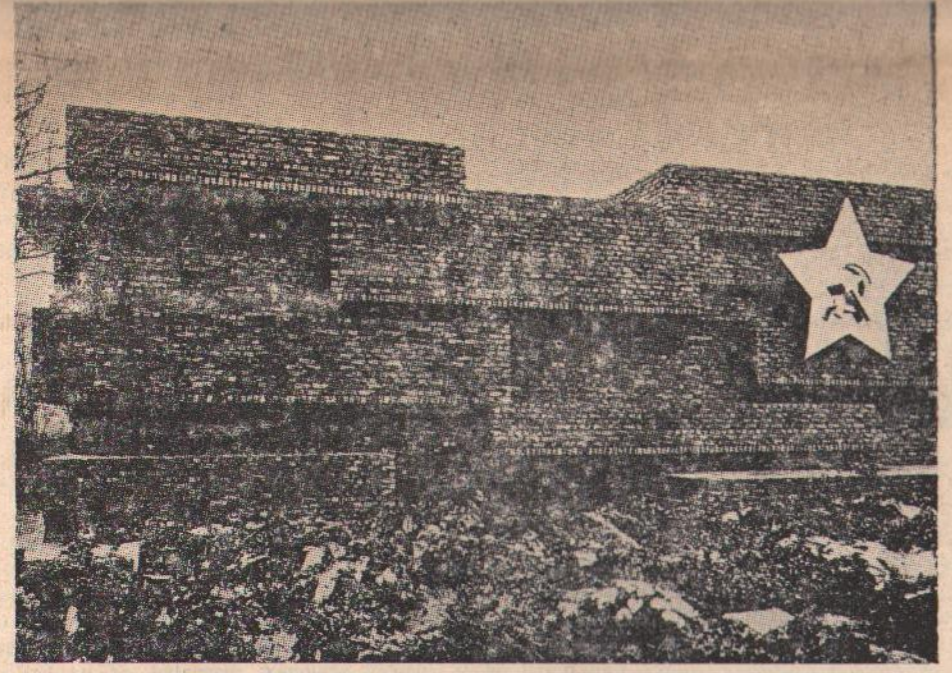
When one of our Humber-side dwarfs phoned up a local coach company to book coaches to go down to London at midnight on Saturday, October 26 (a sensible time to go down), the coach operator before being told, asked whether the booking was for the London demonstration on Vietnam. On being told that it was, the coach operator helpfully mentioned that the police had instructed him that they wanted to know about any such bookings and had told him that all coaches carrying demonstrators will be stopped on the outskirts of London and searched.

It is not clear whether the police are simply trying to scare people or whether it is part of a deliberate policy of provocation. (No doubt the police will try to stop coaches coming in from the North somewhere near the police centre at Hendon — (see 'Dwarf Diary', Sept. 22). Demonstrators coming into London will obviously take the appropriate steps to prevent the police from holding their coaches at police stations. Clearly any demonstrators travelling by coach and approaching London later than about 10 a.m. on the Sunday morning will be regarded as fair game by the police and they will no doubt do their best to prevent demonstrators getting to Charing Cross by 2 p.m. The lesson is clear — get into London on Saturday the 26th or first thing Sunday morning. And as for those fireworks or marbles you were thinking of bringing down for

FITTING for Democracy
The recent outbreak of violence on the part of the hoodlums who comprise the Northern Ireland police force should surprise no one familiar with the repression and corruption which prevails there. The presence in the House of Commons of Mr. Gerry Fitt, the Republican Socialist M.P. from Belfast, has been useful in exposing some of the 'democratic traditions' which are encouraged by the Ulster Tories, but usually the issue has been played down, both by the mass media and the Labour Government. Two days before Parliament was recalled to discuss the Czech crisis the police thugs broke up a civil rights procession in N. Ireland. The demonstrators were walking from Coalisland to Dungannon. Their demands were: More houses, more jobs and One Man One Vote. The police erected barricades and dispersed the demonstrators. When Fitt mentioned the dictatorial state of affairs to the Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, the latter replied that while of course he was interested to hear when there were breaches of democracy under the Union Jack his greater interest was restoring it under the Hammer and Sickle. End of argument.

BOOKS TO READ

- The Politics of Harold Wilson;** by Paul Foot, Penguin 6s. An excellent account of the collapse of social-democracy in Britain, marred somewhat by a narrow-minded sectarian last chapter, but must be read.
- The Beginning of the End;** by Angelo Quattrochi and Tom Nairn, Panther 6s. A lyrical description, in parts too lyrical, of the events in France earlier this year. Read it before October 27th.
- French Revolution 1968;** by Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, Penguin 6s. A surprisingly objective and immensely readable account of the French revolt by two OBSERVER correspondents. The role of the French C.P. is exposed by careful documentation as clearly counter-revolutionary.
- The Red Book and the Great Wall;** by Alberto Moravia, Secker, 25s. Though one disagrees with some of Moravia's views it is an interesting account of his visit to People's China. A chapter is reprinted in this issue of the Dwarf.



Monument to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Berlin, 1926. The massing of horizontal forms foreshadows some of Wright's later houses. The monument is a thick wall treated as a massive relief. (Courtesy, Museum of Modern Art)

The opening of Mies van der Rohe's new temple-like art gallery in West Berlin last month was certainly enhanced by the demonstrations of cultural revolutionaries ('Museums to the museum!') who pointed out how sad it was that the old master's first building in Berlin for 30 years should be a propaganda-

exercise for German neo-capitalism. And called for the rebuilding of Mies' marvellous Luxenburg-Liebknrecht memorial of 1926, smashed up by the Nazis, abandoned by the Stalinists. It was good to see clean, crew-cut American acolytes, glancing nervously over their shoulders, before signing their names in support.

As our Comrades of Diagnose reminded, the 50th anniversary of the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht will fall on January 15. Black Dwarf readers wanting to mark the date meaningfully should write to us at the Dwarf office.

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