

# The Black Dwarf

Est 1817 Vol 13 Number 7

27 October 1968

Fortnightly 1s 6d

## The Demonstration October 27th





Life & Time Inc. 1965

**What to do if you're arrested**  
**Britain's 'nonviolent' tradition**  
**When the pope went on strike**  
**Marx/Engels/Mick Jagger/BB Rowthorne/Malcolm Caldwell**  
**Warsaw/Derry/Peking/Vietnam**

the street is our medium

demonstrations against the war in Vietnam have, throughout western Europe and the United States, played a vital role in radicalising large numbers of young people and bringing them into direct contact with revolutionary politics. Wherever we look we see the epic resistance of Vietnamese people has galvanised the revolutionary Left, or, at any rate, a large section of it into direct action.

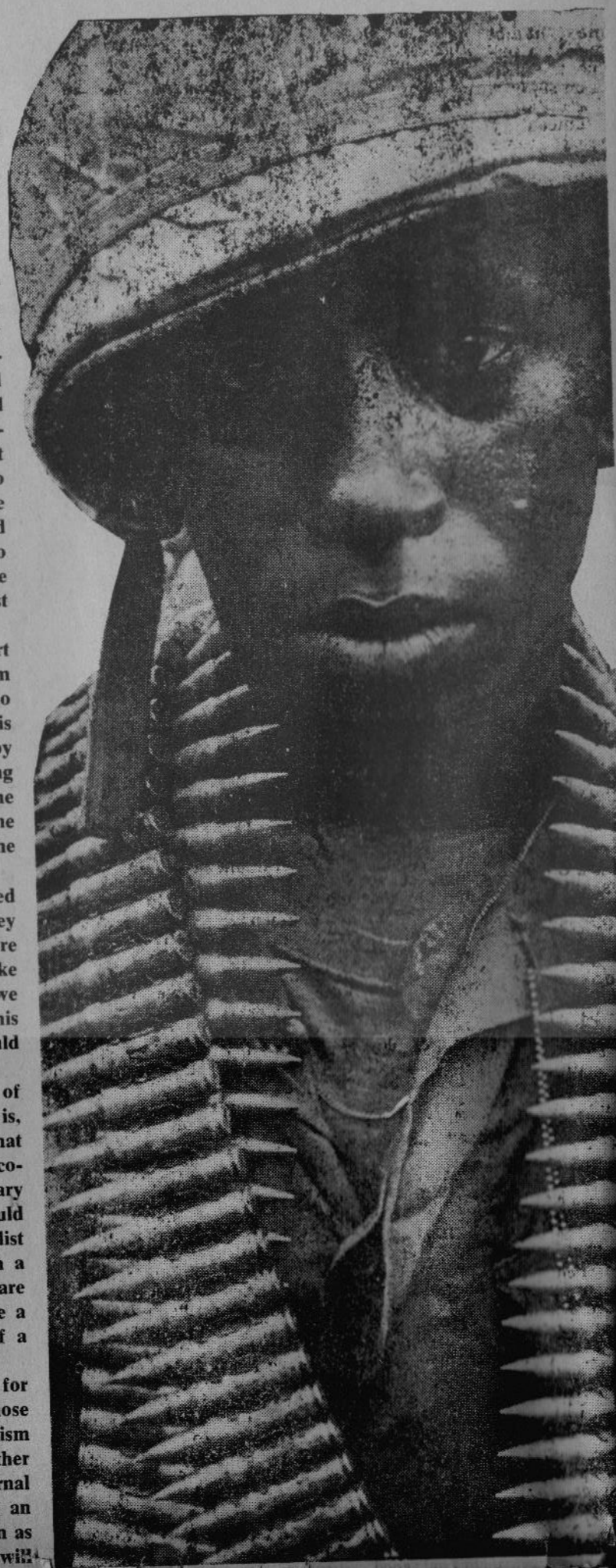
Britain has been no exception. The familiar tactics of left-formists typified by a refusal to take sides in public and a reliance on parliamentary cretinism have been swept away by militants throughout the country. We do not want any more teachers on Vietnam - our minds are made up. We support the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and want it to defeat United States Imperialism. We do not want any more petitions to Parliament. The House of Commons is as irrelevant as those who sit beside it. The political beliefs some of the 'left' M.P.'s claim to profess have not been put into practice and can NOT be within the existing social structure. The brand of social-democracy preached and practiced by Mr. Harold Wilson has shown to all who care to be that the main function of the Labour government is to preserve the existing social structure at all costs. That is why the racist Home Secretary Callaghan describes us as political 'hooligans'.

We say that the hooligans in this country are those who support American hooliganism in Vietnam; who pandered to Powellism and prevented the Asian immigrants from entering Britain; who have been trying to bash the working class organisations of this country by sneers and innuendos which were employed by Goebbels. We say that the hooligans are those who are negotiating with the racist Ian Smith behind the backs of the Black leaders of Zimbabwe; who have recognised the fascist regime of Greece; who are by remaining in NATO helping to crush the rebel lions in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea.

And when these hooligans reject successive resolutions passed by the annual conferences of their own party then we say that they leave us no alternative but the streets. At the moment they are merely irritated by us but when large groups of workers on strike take to the streets or start occupying their places of work then we shall begin to see the real, ugly face of the ruling class in this country. It will be as brutal as any other ruling class. There should be no doubt about that and militants should prepare for this.

October 27 will be an important day on the calendar of socialist protest in this country whatever the outcome. The point is, however to look beyond October. 'The Black Dwarf' believes that all left-wing groups should get together and set up a joint co-ordinating committee to be called The Extra-Parliamentary Opposition. Apart from dealing with issues at home this body could lay the basis for the construction of a proper revolutionary socialist party, the need for which has been felt for a long time. Such a party cannot be built in isolation from the mass of those who are active on the streets against the Vietnam war because they are a politicised vanguard and will of necessity form the cadres of a new party.

The movement is completely fed-up with the sectarianism for which the British left is so notorious. We are fed-up with those who devote more time attacking other socialists than capitalism itself or those who spend most of their time in accusing each other of being 'police agents'. The time has come to stop this internal wrangling and to move forward after October 27 and set up an Extra-Parliamentary Opposition. October 27 should not be seen as an end in itself but as the beginning of a new movement which will destroy it.



# Street arrests

**IF YOU ARE ARRESTED** insist on your right to do the following:

- 1) Telephone from the police station to your solicitor or OLD (October Legal Defence Service) at the Black Dwarf 437 5369 or 734 8839.
- 2) Apply immediately for bail.
- 3) Ensure that a responsible member of the community is willing to stand surety, if required, and is contactable as soon after arrest as possible. Insist on your right to telephone him to inform him where you are.
- 4) Fingerprints are not required to be given, particularly if name and address, which are immediately capable of verification, have been given.
- 5) When the seriousness of the charge warrants it,\* apply for legal aid:
  - a) by filling in 5 foolscap forms which you may have to demand.
  - b) by application in open court.
  - 6) In all cases of assault and obviously in more serious cases, apply for a remand where the police themselves fail to do so.

\* including all cases of assault on police officers.

**IF YOU ARE ARRESTED**

- 1 Remain calm.
- 2 Have the telephone number of the October 27th Legal Defence Committee with you at all times. It is 734-4827.
- 3 Take the number of the cop who ACTUALLY arrests you. This is VERY IMPORTANT as you will later be 'assigned' an 'arresting officer' who you may never have seen before who will testify to your guilt.
- 4 DON'T TALK TO THE COPS. Make no statement of any kind. Give your correct name and address.

5 Get names of witnesses. Note presence and identity of photographers who may have taken pictures of events at time of arrest.

6 IT IS YOUR RIGHT TO
 

- (a) Make one telephone call.
- (b) To have bail speedily set.
- (c) To consult a lawyer of your choice.
- (d) To remain silent.

7 As soon as possible, learn the names of all the people arrested with you. Determine whether they have bail resources. If they have outside contacts who can raise the money, find out how to get in touch with these contacts. Try to help your comrades.

8 As soon as anyone arrested can make a telephone call, call the OLD at 734-4827. Tell them
 

- (a) where you are being detained and what you have been charged with.
- (b) The names of all the people arrested and their bail resources.

9 When you are out on bail, come to the OLD Offices at 7 Carlisle Street, London W1 Bring with you
 

- (a) a bail receipt;
- (b) the times and place of your hearing;
- (c) copies of charges;
- (d) a description of the events surrounding your arrest which includes your NAME, ADDRESS, PHONE, NARRATIVE OF EVENTS (excluding political rhetoric) IDENTIFICATION OF POLICE, WITNESSES, PHOTOGRAPHERS, MEDICAL INFORMATION, NAME OF YOUR LAWYER IF ANY, STATEMENTS OF ANYONE WHO HAS KNOWLEDGE OF YOUR CASE.

10 IN COURT demand to be represented by an OLD lawyer, but if one is not available, a lawyer appointed by the court is better than nothing. Make sure the lawyer knows your background history which is important when setting bail for postponed hearings.

11 Ask your lawyer to demand an immediate hearing.

**MEDICAL AID DEFENCE**

Because it is never certain to what lengths the cops may go when 'controlling' a crowd, we have medical aid people ready to help you if you have been attacked and can't get other medical help at once.

We must be ready. This time the police may use tear gas to attack the crowd. This is what to do:

- 1 Take short even breaths. Do not gulp as the gas will only get deeper into the lungs.
- 2 If gas gets in your eyes, ON NO ACCOUNT RUB THEM.
- 3 If you have been gassed, YOU MUST NOT DRINK FOR THREE HOURS although you may feel very thirsty. Stay cool.
- 4 If you can, soak a handkerchief in water and breath through it. Best of all (apart from a gas mask) is a cheap cotton surgical mask, kept wet in a polythene bag, and dampened with lemon juice from a small squeeze bottle. This is quite good against CS.

For further help get in touch with MAD 437-5369.

OLD AND MAD SAY VENCEREMOS!

Medical aid for the demo.

A fleet of ambulances will be operating during the demonstration to transport injured to various field hospitals, the main one being at the LSE. If you are in need of medical attention, make your way to one of the following points where ambulances will be waiting:

Australia House  
New Zealand House  
Horse Guards Avenue  
or the streets between Grosvenor Square and Park Lane.

The Medical aid teams will be distinguishable by black crosses on white background. If you are in trouble and unable to reach any of these places, telephone LSE; the telephone number will be on leaflets distributed during the march.

In case tear gas is used it is well worth buying a smog mask from your chemist; they cost about 2/6 and are quite effective against ordinary gas

Communication Centre for Help if you need it  
Somewhere where people love you:

October Legal Defence Committee, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1 734-4827  
Central Medical Communications, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1 437-5369



ngling and to move forward after October 27 and set up an  
extra-Parliamentary Opposition. October 27 should not be seen as  
end in itself but as the beginning of a new movement which will  
destroy it.

# On street fighting

Fred Engels

Let us have no illusions about it: a real victory of an insurrection over the military in street fighting, a victory as between two armies, is one of the rarest exceptions. And the insurgents counted on it just as rarely. For them it was solely a question of making the troops yield to moral influences which, in a fight between the armies of two warring countries, do not come into play at all or do so to a much smaller extent. If they succeed in this, the troops fail to respond, or the commanding officers lose their heads, and the insurrection wins. If they do not succeed in this, then, even where the military are in the minority, the superiority of better equipment and training, of single leadership, of the planned employment of the military forces and of discipline makes itself felt. The most that an insurrection can achieve in the way of actual tactical operations is the proper construction and defence of a single barricade. Mutual support, the disposition and employment of reserves—in short, concerted and co-ordinated action of the individual detachments, indispensable even for the defence of one section of a town, not to speak of the whole of a large town, will be attainable only to a very limited extent, and most of the time not at all. Concentration of the military forces at a decisive point is, of course, out of the question here. Hence passive defence is the prevailing form of fighting: the attack will rise here and there, but only by way of exception, to occasional thrusts and flank assaults; as a rule, however, it will be limited to occupation of positions abandoned by retreating troops. In addition, the military have at their disposal artillery and fully equipped corps of trained engineers, resources of war which, in nearly every case, the insurgents entirely lack. No wonder, then, that even the greatest heroism—Paris, June 1848; Vienna, October 1848; Dres-

den, May 1849—ended in the defeat of the insurrection as soon as the leaders of the attack, unhampered by political considerations, acted from the purely military standpoint, and their soldiers remained reliable. The numerous successes of the insurgents up to 1848 were due to a great variety of causes. In Paris, in July 1830 and February 1848, as in most of the Spanish street fighting, a citizens' guard stood between the insurgents and the military. This guard either sided directly with the insurrection, or else by its lukewarm, indecisive attitude caused the troops likewise to vacillate, and supplied the insurrection with arms into the bargain. Where this citizens' guard opposed the insurrection from the outset, as in June 1848 in Paris, the insurrection was vanquished. In Berlin in 1848, the people were victorious partly through a considerable accession of new fighting forces during the night and the morning of (March) the 19th, partly as a result of the exhaustion and bad victualling of the troops, and, finally, partly as a result of the paralysis that was seizing the command. But in all cases the fight was won because the troops failed to respond, because the commanding officers lost the faculty to decide or because their hands were tied. Even in the classic time of street fighting, therefore, the barricade produced more of a moral than a material effect. It was a means of shaking the steadfastness of the military. If it held out until this was attained, victory was won; if not, there was defeat. This is the main point, which must be kept in view, likewise, when the chances of possible future street fighting are examined. Already in 1849, these chances were pretty poor. Everywhere the bourgeoisie had thrown in its lot with the governments. "culture and property" had hailed and feasted the military moving against insurrection. The spell of the barricade

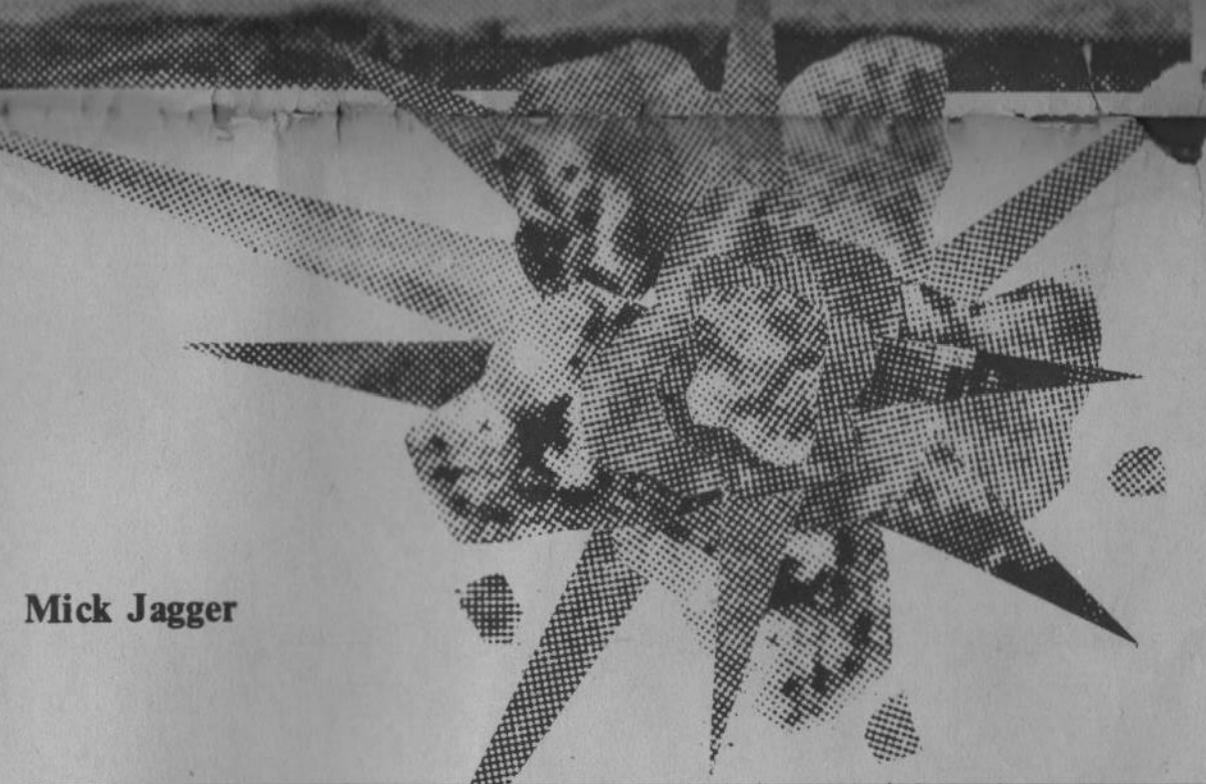
# WARNING

## THE JUDGMENTS OF GOD ARE SOON TO BE POURED OUT UPON THE EARTH!

was broken; the soldier no longer saw behind it "the people," but rebels, agitators, plunderers, levellers, the scum of society; the officer had in the course of time become versed in the tactical forms of street fighting, he no longer marched straight ahead and without cover against the improvised breastwork, but went round it through gardens, yards and houses. And this was now successful, with a little skill, in nine cases out of ten. But since then there have been very many more changes, and all in favour of the military. If the big towns have become considerably bigger, the armies have become bigger still. Paris and Berlin have, since 1848, grown less than four-fold, but their garrisons have grown more than that. By means of the railways, these garrisons can, in twenty-four hours, be more than doubled, and in forty-eight hours they can be increased to huge armies. The arming of this enormously increased number of troops has become incomparably more effective. In 1848 the smooth-bore, muzzle-loading percussion rifle, today the small-calibre, breech-loading magazine rifle, which shoots four times as far, ten times as accurately and ten times as fast as the former. At that time the relatively ineffective round shot and grapeshot of the artillery; today the percussion shells of which one is sufficient to demolish the best barricade. At that time the pick-axe of the sapper for breaking through fire walls; today the dynamite cartridge. On the other hand, all the conditions of the insurgents' side have grown worse. An insurrection with which all sections of the people sympathize will hardly recur; in the class struggle all the middle strata will probably never group themselves round the proletariat so exclusively that in comparison the party of reaction gathered round the bourgeoisie will well-nigh disappear. The "people," therefore, will always

appear divided, and thus a most powerful lever, so extraordinarily effective in 1848, is gone. If modern soldiers who have seen service can over to the insurrectionists, the arming of them would become so much the more difficult. The hunting and fancy guns of the munitions shop even if not previously made unusable by removal of part of the lock by order of the police—are from being a match for the magazine rifle of the soldier, even in close fighting. Up to 1848 it was possible to make the necessary ammunition oneself out of powder and lead; today the cartridges differ for each rifle, and are everywhere alike in one point, namely, that they are a complicated product of big industry, and therefore not to be manufactured 'ex tempore,' with result that most rifles are useless long as one does not possess ammunition specially suited to the rifle. And, finally, since 1848 the new built quarters of the big cities have been laid out in long, straight, broad streets, as though made to give effect to the new cannon and rifle. The revolutionist would have to be mad who himself chose the narrow working class districts in the North or East of Berlin for a barricade fight. Does that mean that in the future street fighting will no longer play any role? Certainly not. It only means that the conditions since 1848 have become far more favourable for civilian fighters and far more favourable for the military. In future, street fighting can, therefore, be victorious only if this disadvantage of the last fifty years has any effect on it. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long, persistent work is necessary for civilian fighters and they are now pursuing, and with a success which drives the enemy to despair. On September 4, 1870, the government of Louis Bonaparte was overthrown and the republic proclaimed, and on October 31 of the same year there took place the unsuccessful attempt of the Blanquists to make an insurrection against the government of "National Defence" Revolution or on September 4 and October 31, 1870; in Paris, the open attack to the passive barricade (see 40-86) —Ed.

Mick Jagger



Everywhere I hear the sound of marching, charging feet boys  
 Cause sommers here and the time is right for fighting in the street  
 — CHORUS  
 So what can a poor boy do, cept to sing  
 For a rock n'roll band, cause in sleepy London town there's no place for a Street Fighting Man.  
 Hey said the time is right for a palace revolution  
 But where I live the game to play is compromise solution  
 CHORUS

Hey said my name is called disturbance  
 I'll shoot and scream I'll KILL THE KING  
 I'll rail at all his servants  
 So what can a poor boy do cept to sing  
 For a rock n'roll band cause in sleepy London town there's no place for a Street Fighting Man

Mick Jagger Oct 1968

(British record companies have refused to release the new Stones song, STREET FIGHTING MAN, as a single. We asked Mick Jagger to write out the words of the song for Dwarf readers and he kindly agreed to do this. We reproduce them below — we understand why it wasn't released. — Editor)



# Mao Tse Tung

Malcolm Caldwell

the Revolution, China landed in a poverty as legendary as India's. Troops and traders of industrialised western countries roughshod over her sovereignty and exploiting almost at will. The mandarins, who had long employed mercenaries and merchants in their proper place (lowly, since they were people for money and living off the land like a scholar and philosopher), were astonished at the avarice, greed and philistinism of the western barbarians. They protested vainly — to Queen Victoria and the hypocritical British trade mission, saying: '... in coveting for an extreme, they have no qualms for injuring others. Let us ask where is your conscience?' Their exhortations, however, fell on deaf ears, for the mandarins failed to grasp the elementary fact that the haughty western individualism, with its ostensibly rational and utilitarian principle, rested at heart on the principle that money plus power equals right.

Notwithstanding the intrusion of the European powers and the consequent impoverishment and degradation of China were to the mandarins, it was the people who bore the brunt of oppression. To the timeless hazards of disease, pestilence and predatory capitalism were now added the danger of being kicked (or even thrown) into the ditch by a long-nosed man who had drunk too much at his 'Gentlemen Only' club or cantonment. The people rebelled against the treatment. At first—despite great courage and persistence—the Chinese country were foiled by the foreign powers and by local warlords in their pay. Abject poverty and the toil continued to be their lot.

Today all this has changed. As it was changed by her rape, China has not asserted her own independence with a firmness that defies denial. She has also championed liberation elsewhere and scrupulously defended the sovereignty of all countries (there are no Chinese troops or bases beyond her own borders). Internally, hunger—a constant shadow in the past—has gone; there is no way, wrote a recent

visitor, '... of proving or disproving (this) claim, except that foreigners of all political persuasions have travelled extensively in China and reported no starvation. I myself was on the lookout for undernourishment, but saw no evidence of it even in the poorest regions I visited.' In India, Indonesia, and elsewhere in 'free' Asia it is still all too easy to discover human victims of hunger oedema and starvation. In addition, China is now one of the world's largest exporters of rice. A spectacular advance has been made in public health, hygiene and medicine—in itself a major contribution to liberating China's millions. Industrialization has so far advanced that now there is hardly anything America can produce that China cannot. In every important industrial index China has vaulted far ahead of her 'free' 'democratic' neighbour India, and Chinese manufactured goods stock emporia throughout Asia. 'Coming from the Soviet Union,' wrote another recent visitor, 'one is astonished by the much greater range and availability of consumer goods in China. In big or small towns and even in villages the shops are full of goods...'

How great a part in this remarkable transformation was played by Mao Tse-tung himself? Mao was born on December 26, 1893, in the village of Shaoshan, Hunan province, of a peasant family. It was poor enough to require his field labour from the age of six onwards, and to interrupt at the age of 13 the education he had fought for. At 16 he ran away from home to concentrate on his education. He was at once caught up in the ferment of discussion that was sweeping the country from end to end: how can China be saved? He himself was soon plunged in political work. His belief in the limitless potential of the Chinese people and his keen interest in the peasant revolts and guerrillas of China's past were already beginning to harden into his characteristic political approach when China began to learn of the Russian Revolution. Mao quickly assimilated his own youthful thinking to Marxism, and he was active in the formation of the Chinese

Communist Party in 1920-21. From that point, he devoted his life to the socialist transformation of China, to 'serving the people'. For over two decades he was national liberator and guerrilla leader of his people, and he led them at last out of the wilderness. He suffered setbacks without number, he saw comrades and colleagues jeopardize everything with adventurist and dogmatic lines (such as urban putschs or concentrating on China's handful of industrial workers), he lost members of his own family at the hands of the enemy, including a wife and a son.

**In his brilliant China: Yellow Peril? Red Hope?, Richard Hensman wrote: 'The best single guide to contemporary China is the writings of Mao Tse-tung. We may not like him or his work, but we cannot ignore that he is by far the most important single factor in the creation of the 'new' China. Thought and action were continuous with each other for Mao, and Mao's own life epitomizes China's development. The Boxer movement took place when he was a boy. He was a youth when the 1911 Revolution took place and also when Yuan Shih Kai, with imperialist support, supplanted Sun Yat Sen. He was involved in the May 4 Movement, the formation of the Chinese Communist Party, the formation of the Kuomintang Government of 1925 and the Chiang coup of 1927; he led the formation of the Kiangsi Soviet and the Long March to Yenan. He is certainly the heir of Sun Yat Sen.'**

The more obvious manifestations of present-day Maoism—the portraits, the little red books, the continuous invocation of his name—have revived the allegation that Mao is simply an Asian Stalin. The criticism is unfounded. Mao has never been a one-man dictator, nor has he ruled by capricious personal power or by terror. No one in the communist hierarchy, however opposed on some issue to Mao, has ever suffered the fate of those who dared to cross or contradict Stalin. Many of Mao's opponents in the hierarchy, having been disgraced by demotion after Party and public criticism, have subsequently been reinstated (Marshal Hsu Hsiang-chien and Politburo member Chen Yun for example). Mao doesn't execute his opponents. He hasn't the personal power to do so, but in



any case his chosen method of doing things is to rely upon the masses'. 'The minority should be protected,' said the 1966 Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, 'because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views. When there is debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.' The Cultural Revolution is, among other things, a mass movement bringing pressure to bear on those in the Party elite who do not agree with Mao's line. But even the arch-opponents have not disappeared.

Mao also echoes universals in his rejection of selfishness and self-centredness. It is for this reason, I think, that his appeal in the West (his appeal elsewhere is obvious) goes far beyond those whose adherence to Maoism is narrowly political and dogmatic. He appeals to a generation sickened of materialism and the entire official, received, western life-style. The beat or hippie reaction is, in the end, unsatisfactory: drugs, distinctive dress and guitars are, in the final analysis, no less material means to self-gratification than large dry martinis, grey flannel suits and stereos in the suburbs. The style varies but not the content. What was missing was an objective truly outside the self—a social objective (politics in fact) plus, very importantly, hope. The putative apathy of the rural poor of the third world was as nothing compared with the despairing apathy of the urbanites. Mao offers hope, both in his insistence on the capacity of men in all circumstances to grasp and not be grasped by these circumstances (no

situation, after all, could be quite as desperate to all appearance as his own in 1927 or in 1934, the year he set out with his surviving followers on the Long March), and in reiteration of one of these simple ethical precepts that recur in different forms in different periods of human history—namely that in serving others, and with others in a common cause, Man can find himself more truly than in pandering to the self (whether through a house in Virginia Waters or through LSD in a London bedsitter). From the rural value system he brought and articulated counters to the neurotic competitiveness, self-seeking and dependence on technological artefacts of the urban jungle. In this respect alone he challenged the values of the urban country par excellence—the United States. In addition, he came to personify, as no other person apart from Ho Chi Minh, the world struggle against American imperialism. This is why his portrait and his little red book are to be seen on youth demonstrations throughout the western world. I have frequently been struck by similarities in tone between Mao's condemnations of the West and its culture and those of Sorokin. Perhaps it is not surprising. Sorokin in his youth had been a revolutionary peasant leader too, and regarded the western world as it had become through industrialisation and individualism with horror. Against the overwhelmingly prevalent tide, both struck out back towards sounder shores than those afforded by the now conventional anarchy of values and morals.

It would be incorrect and foolish to claim that Mao has achieved all that he has sought to achieve, or even that all he has sought to achieve has been right and good.

It is hard to pick a way between the vices and virtues of puritanism—priggishness and self-righteousness on the one hand, and egalitarianism and self-denial on the other. It will be equally hard to find a new basis for culture after the destructive traumas to which the decline of the West has exposed it (between an empty bean can with an artist's signature on it and the 'Rent Collection Courtyard' there is an immense territory to explore). But Mao, under the influence of Chinese classical teachings as well as Marxism, believing that human nature is basically good, has a basic attitude to society and its cultural manifestations and reflections rooted in the twin imperatives 'serve the people' and trust the masses. It is an attitude striking for its distance from that revealed by the cynicism and elitism of our current western world, whether expressed by Wilson's contempt for those who elected him or by the Beatles' contempt for those who buy their records (for the pop-music industry is as pseudo-democratic culturally as parliament and elections are socially).

Before leaving the question of his personal historical standing, it should be pointed out, without the slightest disparagement of Fidel and Che, but simply in the interests of a sense of proportion in these matters, that Cuba's revolution is not strictly comparable with China's. Cuba's average income before the revolution was some five to six times higher than that of pre-revolutionary China (and indeed of 'free' Asia today). The guerrilla campaign lasted two years, not twenty. The biggest battles involved hundreds where China's engaged millions. Seven million people were liberated beside Mao's seven

hundred million. Mao's constituents were part of the world's coloured majority, Che's and Fidel's were not. None of the Cuban leaders can claim to rival Mao's corpus of socialist writing and theory from his 'Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society' (1926) onwards.

It remains to consider the wider implications of Mao's thought and example. I believe this boils down to consideration of aspects of the urban rural dichotomy. In the first place, Mao's faith in the peasantry (still the large majority of the human race) contrasts strongly with the attitude taken towards it by some sections of the western Left. Mao believed that the potential force of the poor peasantry was '... a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back...'; his correct diagnosis and harnessing of this latent power liberated China. However, a prevalent European view is expressed by Paul Foot in his Penguin The Politics of Harold Wilson where he says: 'The Third World is hopelessly imprisoned in its own impoverishment... in a downward spiral to still further disillusionment and apathy... The hopes for the Third World, and for world socialism, must be placed on change and revolution in the industrial world.' Apart altogether from brushing aside the Chinese experience and example (nowhere in the world were there more impoverished people than in pre-revolutionary China), this judgement totally ignores what is happening today in Asia and Africa. It ignores, for example, Laos (a country without industrial workers) most of which has been liberated by the peasantry against savage American military repression; far from apathy the Laotians have displayed, in the caves and underground shelters U.S. bombing reduces them to, real creative initiative in production, medicine and education. It ignores Burma, where American sources conservatively estimate that the peasant guerrillas now control two-fifths of the country. It ignores the national liberation struggles, inspired by Maoist thought, everywhere in the third world. Unhappily, too, it has something about it of the dying gasp of imperialism—a last despairing effort to keep the reins of human destiny in western hands.

But I believe there is something more involved over and above the question of the respective political roles of the industrial worker (i.e. the West) and the peasant (i.e. the tri-continents) in the future of world socialism. In the first place, Mao has consistently stressed the primacy of Man over Machine.

Against the technologically-centered obsessions of the urban heartlands he has opposed the human spirit and the human will. The deep-seated robot-myth, the fear that Machine will take over from Man, that servant is becoming master, he attacks head on. 'Men,' he insists, for example, 'are more important than weapons.' In China he was able to show this; he fought without material aid while his enemies had infinite access to it. The spiritual atom bomb is more powerful than the scientists' physical atom bomb; the power of men liberated dwarfs the achievements of men enslaved to machinery. As America's military technology becomes more and more 'sophisticated' in Vietnam, the peasant people yet hand out defeat after defeat to their machine-embalmed oppressors. The re-affirmation of Man's primacy strikes chords everywhere.

Nearly fifty years ago, Bertrand Russell wrote, after a stay in China, of the then Young China movement as follows: 'If the Chinese were to adopt the Western philosophy of life, they would, as soon as they had made themselves safe against foreign aggression, embark upon aggression on their own account... They would exploit their material resources with a view to producing a few bloated plutocrats at home and millions dying of hunger abroad. Such are the results which the West achieves by the application of science. If China were led astray by the lure of brutal power, she might repel her enemies outwardly, but would have yielded to them inwardly. It is not unlikely that the great military nations of the modern world will bring about their own destruction by their inability to abstain from war, which will become with every year that passes, more scientific and more devastating. If China joins in this madness, China will perish like the rest. But if Chinese reformers can have the moderation to stop when they have made China capable of self-defence, and to abstain from the further step of foreign conquest; if, when they have become safe at home, they can turn aside from the materialistic activities imposed by the Powers, and devote their time to science and art and the inauguration of a better economic system—then China will have played the part in the world for which she is fitted, and will have given to mankind as a whole new hope in the moment of greatest need.' I believe China, under Mao, is fulfilling these hopes.

on, 25th June, 1855.

is today the English hierarchy. Such is the Church, its sister. Countless attempts at reorganization have been made in the Established Church, the High and the Low, attempts to come to an understanding with the Dissenters thus to set up a compact to oppose the profane of the nation. There has been a rapid succession of measures of religious coercion. The pious of Shaftesbury, formerly known as Lord Ashley, bewailed the fact in the House of Lords that England alone five millions become wholly alienated not from the Church but from Christianity altogether. 'Compelle intrare,' replies the Established Church. It leaves to Lord Ashley and similar dissenting, sectarian and hysterical pietists to pull the chestnuts out of the fire.

The first measure of religious coercion was the Beer Bill, which shut down all places of public entertainment on Sundays, except between 6 and 10 p.m. This was smuggled through the use at the end of sparsely attended sitting, after the pietists bought the support of the public-house owners of London guaranteeing them that the licence system would continue, that is, that big capital would retain its monopoly. Then came the Sunday Trading Bill, which now passed its third reading in the Commons and separate uses of which have just been discussed by commissions in both Houses. This new coercive measure too was ensured the support of big capital, because only all shopkeepers keep open

on Sunday and the proprietors of the big shops are quite willing to do away with the Sunday competition of the small fry by parliamentary means. In both cases there is a conspiracy of the Church with monopoly capital, but in both cases there are religious penal laws against the consciences of the privileged classes at rest. The Beer Bill was as far from hitting the aristocratic clubs as the Sunday Trading Bill is from hitting the Sunday occupations of genteel society. The workers get their wages late on Saturday; they are the only ones for whom shops open on Sundays. They are the only ones compelled to make their purchases, small as they are, on Sundays. The new bill is therefore directed against them alone. In the eighteenth century the French aristocracy said: For us, Voltaire; for the people, the mass and the tithes. In the nineteenth century the English aristocracy says: For us, pious phrases; for the people, Christian practice. The classical saint of Christianity mortified his body for the salvation of the souls of the masses; the modern, educated saint mortifies the bodies of the masses for the salvation of his own soul. This alliance of a dissipated, degenerating and pleasure-seeking aristocracy with a church propped up by the filthy profits calculated upon by the big brewers and monopolizing wholesalers was the occasion yesterday of a mass demonstration in Hyde Park, the like of which London has not seen since the death of George IV, 'the first gentleman of Europe.' We were spectators from beginning to end and do not think we are exaggerating in saying that the English Revolution began yesterday in Hyde Park. The latest news

from the Crimea acted as an effective ferment upon this 'unparliamentary,' 'extra-parliamentary' and anti-parliamentary demonstration. Lord Robert Grosvenor, who fathered the Sunday Trading Bill, when reproached on the score of this measure being directed solely against the poor and not against the rich classes, retorted that the aristocracy was largely refraining from employing its servants and horses on Sundays. 'The last few days of the past week the following poster, put out by the Chartists and affixed to all the walls of London, announced in huge letters: 'New Sunday Bill prohibiting newspapers, shaving, smoking, eating and drinking and all kinds of recreation and nourishment, both corporal and spiritual, which the poor people still enjoy at the present time. An open-air meeting of artisans, workers and 'the lower orders' generally of the capital will take place in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon to see how religiously the aristocracy is observing the Sabbath and how anxious it is not to employ its servants and horses on that day, as Lord Robert Grosvenor said in his speech. The meeting is called for three o'clock on the right bank of the Serpentine' (a small river in Hyde Park), 'on the side towards Kensington Gardens. Come and bring your wives and children in order that they may profit by the example their 'betters' set them!' It should be borne in mind, of course that what Longchamps\* means to the Parisians, the road along the Serpentine in Hyde Park means to English high society — the place where an afternoon, particularly on Sunday, they parade their magnificent horses and carriages with all their

trappings, followed by swarms of lackeys. It will be realized from the above placard that the struggle against clericalism assumes the same character in England as every other serious struggle there — the character of a class struggle waged by the poor against the rich, the people against the aristocracy, the 'lower orders' against their 'betters'. At three o'clock approximately 50,000 people had gathered at the spot announced on the right bank of the Serpentine in Hyde Park immense meadows. Gradually the assembled multitude swelled to a total of at least 200,000 due to additions from the other bank. Milling groups of people could be seen shoved about from place to place. The police, who were present in force, were obviously endeavouring to deprive the organizers of the meeting of what Archimedes has asked for to move the earth, namely, a place to stand upon. Finally a rather large crowd made a firm stand and Bligh the Chartist constituted himself chairman on a small eminence in the midst of the throng. No sooner had he begun his harangue than Police Inspector Banks at the head of 40 truncheon-swinging constables explained to him that the Park was the private property of the Crown and that meeting might be held in it. After some pourparlers in which Bligh sought to demonstrate that parks were public property and in which Banks rejoined that he had strict orders to arrest him if he should insist on carrying out his intention, Bligh shouted amidst the bellowing of the masses surrounding him: 'Her Majesty's police declare that Hyde Park is private property of the Crown and that Her

Majesty is unwilling to let her land be used by the people for their meetings. So let's move to Oxford Market.' With the ironical cry: 'God save the Queen!' the throng broke up to journey to Oxford Market. But meanwhile, Finlen, a member of the Chartist executive, rushed to a tree some distance away followed by a crowd who in a twinkling formed so close and compact a circle around him that the police abandoned their attempt to get at him. 'Six days a week,' he said, 'we are treated like slaves and now Parliament wants to rob us of the bit of freedom we still have on the seventh. These oligarchs and capitalists allied with sanctimonious parsons wish to do penance by mortifying us instead of themselves for the unconscionable murder in the Crimea of the sons of the people.' We left this group to approach another where a speaker stretched out on the ground addressed his audience from this horizontal position. Suddenly shouts could be heard on all sides: 'Let's go to the road, to the carriages!' The heaping of insults upon horse riders and occupants of carriages had meanwhile already begun. The constables, who constantly received reinforcements from the city, drove the promenading pedestrians off the carriage road. They thus helped to bring it about that either side of it was lined deep with people, from Apsley House up Rotten-Row along the Serpentine as far as Kensington Gardens — a distance of more than a quarter of an hour. The spectators consisted of about two-thirds workers and one-third members of the middle class, all with women and children. The procession of

elegant ladies and gentlemen, 'commoners and Lords,' in their high coaches-and-four with liveried lackeys in front and behind, joined, to be sure, by a few mounted venerables slightly under the weather from the effects of wine, did not this time pass by in review but played the role of involuntary actors who were made to run the gauntlet. A babel of jeering, taunting, discordant ejaculations, in which no language is as rich as English, soon bore down upon them from both sides. As it was an improvised concert, instruments were lacking. The chorus therefore had only its own organs at its disposal and was compelled to confine itself to vocal music. And what a devil's concert it was: a cacophony of grunting, hissing, whistling, squeaking, snarling, growling, croaking, shrieking, groaning, rattling, howling, gnashing sounds! A music that could drive one mad and move a stone. To this must be added outbursts of genuine old-English humour peculiarly mixed with long-contained seething wrath. 'Go to church!' were the only articulate sounds that could be distinguished. One lady soothingly offered a prayer-book in orthodox binding from her carriage in her outstretched hand. 'Give it to your horses to read!' came the thundering reply, echoing a thousand voices. When the horses started to shy, rear, buck and finally run away, jeopardizing the lives of their genteel burdens, the contemptuous din grew louder, more menacing, more ruthless. Noble lords and ladies, among them Lady Granville, the wife of a minister and President of the Privy Council, were forced to alight and use

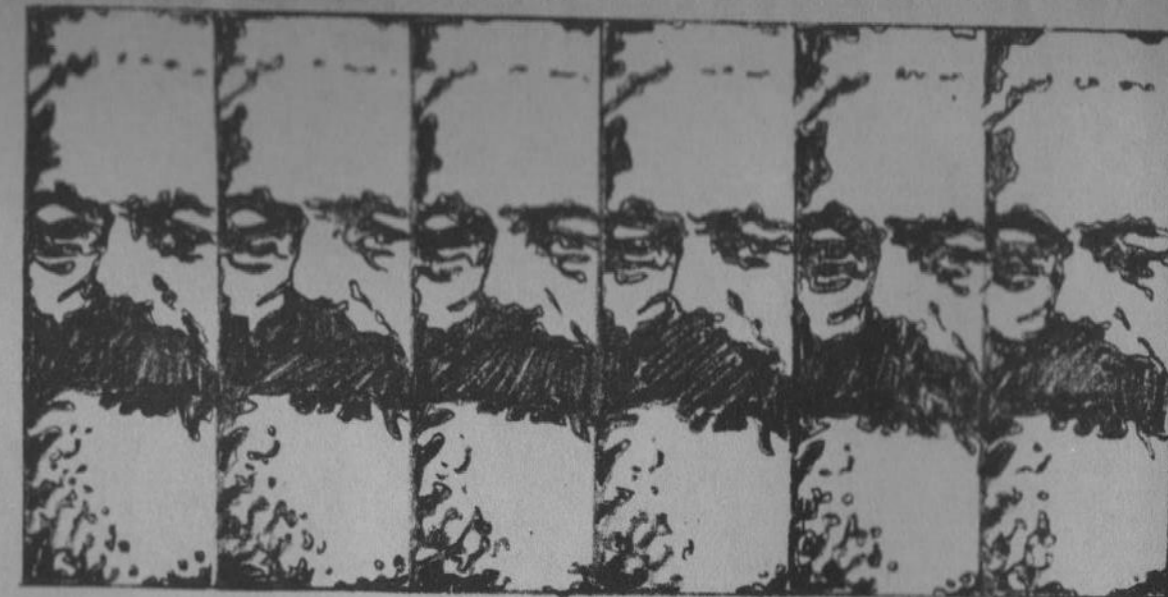
their own legs. When elderly gentlemen rode past wearing broad-brimmed hats and otherwise so appared as to betray their special claim to perfectitude in matters of belief, the strident outbursts of fury were extinguished, as if in obedience to a command, by inextinguishable laughter. One of these gentlemen lost his patience. Like Mephistopheles he made an impolite gesture, sticking out his tongue at the enemy. 'He is a windbag, a parliamentary man! He fights with his own weapons!' someone shouted on one side of the road. 'He is a psalm-singing saint!' was the antistrophe from the opposite side. Meanwhile the metropolitan electric telegraph had informed all police stations that a riot was about to break out in Hyde Park and the police were ordered to the theatre of military operations. Soon one detachment of them after another marched at short intervals through the double file of people, from Apsley House to Kensington Gardens, each received with the popular ditty: 'Where are the geese?' 'Ask the police!' This was a hint at a notorious theft of geese recently committed by a constable in Clerkenwell. The spectacle lasted three hours. Only English lungs could perform such a feat. During the performance opinions such as, 'This is only the beginning!' 'That is the first step!' 'We hate them!' and the like were voiced by various groups. While rage was inscribed on the faces of the workers, such smiles of blissful self-satisfaction covered the physiognomies of the middle classes as we had never seen there before. Shortly before the end the demonstration increased in

violence. Canes were raised in menace of the carriages and through the welter of discordant noises could be heard the cry of 'you rascals!' During the three hours zealous Chartists, men and women, ploughed their way through the throng, distributing leaflets which stated in big type: 'Reorganization of Chartism! A big public meeting will take place next Tuesday, 26th June, in the Literary and Scientific Institute in Friar Street, Doctors' Commons, to elect delegates to a conference for the reorganization of Chartism in the capital. Admission free.' Most of the London papers carry today only a brief account of the events in Hyde Park. No leading articles as yet, except in Lord Palmerston's 'Morning Post'. It claims that 'a spectacle both disgraceful and dangerous in the extreme has taken place in Hyde Park, an open violation of law and decency — an illegal interference by physical force in the free action of the Legislature.' It urges that 'this scene must not be allowed to be repeated the following Sunday, as was threatened.' At the same time, however, it declares that the 'fanatical' Lord Grosvenor is solely 'responsible' for this mischief being the man who provoked the 'just indignation of the people.' As if Parliament had not adopted Lord Grosvenor's bill in three readings! Or perhaps he too brought his influence to bear 'by physical force on the free action of the Legislature?'

\*Longchamps: a hippodrome in the outskirts of Paris. — Ed.

## Marx at a chartist demo

It is an old and historically established maxim that obsolete social forces, nominally still in possession of all the attributes of power and continuing to vegetate long after the basis of their existence has rotted away, inasmuch as the heirs are quarrelling among themselves over the inheritance even before the obituary notice has been printed and the testament read — that these forces once more summon their strength before their agony of death, pass from the defensive to the offensive, challenge instead of giving way, and seek to draw the most extreme conclusions from premises which have not only been put in question but already condemned.



tence on the capacity of men in circumstances to grasp and not grasped by these circumstances to achieve has been right and good.

twenty. The biggest battles involved hundreds where China's engaged millions. Seven million people were liberated beside Mao's seven (1-continues) in the first place, Mao has consistently stressed the primacy of Man over Machine.

# 's oppose war: A succession of incidents and protests inside the American army by G.I.'s, both in the United States and Vietnam, indicates that the soldiers, far from passively accepting the war, are subject to the same anti-war moods now spreading in the general American population.

without a stable and army, it would be virtually for US imperialism to aggression, not only in but anywhere else. Any towards bringing about the of the army - towards GIs to actively challenge their government's in Vietnam would be contribution towards of imperialism.

American government can ignore a mass mobilization 00 students: could it afford a mass mobilization of GIs?

al army opposition was ally revealed in the refusal st 24, at Fort Hood, Texas, black soldiers to go to to 'protect' the Democratic onvention. Also, it has been that there have been two the army camp stockades Binh and Tan Son Nhut in . Alongside this has been opping opposition inside the the Vietnam protest move- America attempts to win

support among GIs. Ever since the massive intervention in Vietnam by the Americans, the anti-war movement has been trying to evolve a successful strategy towards the troops.

One wing of the movement approached the problem of induction into the army as a 'moral' question, and insisted upon focusing its efforts upon the tactic of draft resistance and desertion. Another argued for the necessity of socialists and anti-war activists to go into the army and consciously their anti-war activities continue there. Draft resistance and desertion there. Draft said, could at best only this wing appeal to a tiny minority of the soldiers and those about to be drafted. Too big a jump in consciousness was being asked of GIs. The consequences were too drastic: either a long prison sentence in Canada or some other or exile in a foreign country.

Alan Myers, Sp/4, a GI who has been threatened with victimization because of his anti-war activities, expressed what the attitude should

come to see the anti-war movement as the people who defend the be to **The Mobilizer**, journal of the Student Mobilization Committee.

'The anti-war movement's defense of civil liberties of GIs is immensely important. The GI soldier's right to hold opinions, to speak their minds, whether they're for or against the war . . .

'That kind of activity makes GIs realize that the anti-war movement is their friend, first of all because it defends the GI's rights, and second, because the anti-war movement is not only defending their civil liberties, but is also trying to save their lives by preventing them from being sent to Vietnam to be killed.'

It should not have surprised anyone that the first notable success for this approach, after a series of legal cases involving GI's rights around the country, came in San Francisco last April 27, the area where opposition to the war is most widespread. A small contingent of GIs from Fort Ord and Hamilton Air Force Base, with 30

of them coming from Hamilton, led a massive 30,000 Vietnam demonstration, carrying a sign, 'GIs for Peace'.

Out of this action was formed an exclusively GI anti-war group which began to organize and lay plans for future activity. On August 10, over 150 GIs supported by over 800 civilians attended a 'GI Teach In' at Berkley. Only active duty GIs and recently returned veterans spoke, either as part of the regular programme or in the 'open mike' session when GIs from every branch of the armed services got up and stated their resentments and opposition to the war, and to encourage others to campaign against it.

The reaction of the army brass to these events has been to single the organizers of the activities. Michael Locks, Airman First Class and 2nd Lieutenant Hugh F. Smith. But the brass are obviously jittery. This can be seen in the text of a telegram from army brass to the United States Air Force Communications Center, which was leaked

to the GI activists and was used by them to help publicize an October 12 mass mobilization of GIs in San Francisco.

The following is a reprint of the original:

**Personal from General McConnell from General Estes.**

'SUB. 2nd Lieutenant Hugh F. Smith FV3179560. I am informed that facts and circumstances of this matter have been discussed with you by General Manss and Capucci and that there is secretarial interest. (Secretary of the army - E.T.). Smith is organising a 'Peace in Vietnam' demonstration for men in uniform to take place in San Francisco. He applied for and received a permit for a demonstration to be held on 21st September. Subsequently, permit changed to 12th October. Strongly believe this demonstration should be quashed if possible because of possible severe impact on military discipline throughout the services. There is no AFR (Air Force Regulations - E. T.) specifically proscribing this activity. AFR35-78 is pointed

solely to civil rights demonstrations. Since there are national policy considerations in such an order it should emanate from DOD (Department of Defense - E. T.) or at least Air Force level. I recommend this be done at once so that Smith will realise that if he proceeds he subjects himself with certainty to criminal punitive action.

'In the absence of a regulation or order specifically prohibiting such activity believe any criminal prosecution would be tenuous to say the least, particularly in view of the political climate of the day.

'If the foregoing is unattainable, I reluctantly recommend that we be given the authority to proceed with dispatch with AFR36-3 action which has been recommended by the commander 349MAW and concurred in by General Sherill, commander 22AF. I realize this would result in a discharge under honourable conditions, but the disposition of Smith is relatively unimportant as compared to the highly undesirable impact on

military discipline if armed forces personnel are permitted to demonstrate in uniform against national defense policies with impunity. 'The Pentagon, Washington DC, 29th August, 1968.'

Both Locks and Hughs were immediately notified of their transferral to another base, one of them a staging base for Vietnam. With the help of civil liberties groups who rallied to their defense, these moves were defeated.

In two other related cases, the military brass took punitive measures against two members of the Young Socialist Alliance, Walter Kos, stationed in Fort Bragg, Carolina, and Sp/4 Allan Myers (already mentioned) in Fort Dix, New Jersey. Both faced court martial for distributing anti-war material on their bases, a blatant violation of their constitutional rights: their records as soldiers had not been challenged. Kos's crime was in distributing a GI newspaper and Myers's was in giving out a leaflet of the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee, entitled,

'Support Our Men in Vietnam - Bring the GIs Home Now.' After the anti-war movement, along with the civil liberties organizations, rallied to his defense, Myers won his fight. Kos's case is still pending, although because of the pressure some of the restrictions imposed upon him have been lifted.

Another sign of the increase in anti-war mood among the soldiers is seen in the mushrooming of a series of underground, GI produced newspapers, opposed to the war. The best known are 'Vietnam GI' and 'Task Force'. These papers are hated by the army brass and any GI caught circulating them are often victimized. Nevertheless they get around and are taken on to the bases by local anti-war activists. Individual copies of the papers are often read by as many as twenty soldiers, passing from hand to hand. 'Task Force' in the first four days of its appearance, sold over 5,000 copies. The 'Black Dwarf' readers should get these papers and distribute them to US soldiers in England. **E. Tate**



## The Decline and Fall of U.S. Morale

by Donald Duncan

(Extract from Ramparts)

into 1965, most GI's were "lifers" (the word now used by short-term soldiers to describe career personnel), and although they had empirical access to the country, could see the contradictions and hear the gripes, for the most part they felt certain they were "doing a job." The militaristic belief that citizens have a duty to serve in the military was well ingrained.

In 1966, with the huge build-up of American forces, came a different soldier—and with him came chaos. The streets of Saigon were choked with GI's; prices soared; there was standing room only in bars and night clubs; incidents among soldiers, and between soldiers and Vietnamese, became all too common. Most importantly, access and mobility began to have an effect on morale opposite to that intended. To correct the situation, the military enacted a crash program to remove all "nonessential" soldiers from the larger towns and cities, and a mammoth "positive information" program. As the number of troops increased, the number of military information specialists and small

R&R (rest and recuperation) leave during his 12 months—out-of-country. If he is fortunate enough to be assigned to a fire base atop one of the many mountains, he will be allowed one in-country R&R—but it cannot be taken in Saigon. The leave must be taken in some place like Vung Tau (formerly Cap St. Jacques), once the playground of the French and now the main in-country R&R center.

Vung Tau is isolated on a peninsula which juts out into the South China Sea at the mouth of the Saigon River. Its once quiet, tree-lined streets are now cluttered with GI's and hundreds of shanty bars. The tranquility of the long white beaches is fractured by the chrome whistles of the Special Services lifeguards who watch over acres of sunburned soldiers water skiing, body surfing and sailboating. The GI's pursuit of happiness is unhampered by the presence of Vietnamese—today in Vung Tau, the Vietnamese are a minority.

This may well be the first time in history that an army has been isolated from the populace not to deny information to the

ber of people back home whose opinions he values and who think and feel the way he does.

Examples of the changing attitudes are numerous. For instance, in a command bunker at Fire Base 29, a combat medic joyfully announced in front of his commanding officer and his fellow GI's that he had only three days left. Then he started dumping on his unit and the MEDCAP (Medical and Civil Affairs) program. He was obviously the envy of all those present, and the commanding officer walked quietly from the bunker. And in November, when General Westmoreland was calling the battle of Loc Ninh a victory, others were pointing out that the same enemy force "destroyed" at Loc Ninh attacked Bu Dong ten days later. When MACV (Military Assistance Command in Viet-Nam) stated that they had known all along that the Tet offensive was coming, laughter among the GI's was unanimous. No one knows better than the soldier how surprised the brass would be if they realized that the attacks had not been taken place without the assistance of what

uttered these sentiments in a speech he gave before that body.

In an interview, Mr. Nhuon added: "I can no longer control my people because I cannot control the destruction. I am not their representative; because I am of the government, to my people I now represent only destruction."

ONE AFTERNOON WHILE I WAS grabbing a hamburger at the USO, two GI's from a "log" command were at the next table going through the Stars and Stripes. Turning to the centerfold, one soldier suddenly burst out with, "Sons of bitches!"

"What is it?" asked the other.

"This, that's what." The soldier showed his companion a two-page spread. Most of the pictures were of damaged houses and rubble that had once been houses. The captions said that, whereas the allies had been taking great pains to avoid excessive damage in the house-to-house fighting in Cholon, the VC hadn't been quite so considerate. The destruction was the result of

people. He writes his "positive" stories, but he offsets what he considers hypocrisy by talking to as well as with other GI's. As a group, I found the information specialists second only to the junior officers as the most cynical and dissident element in Viet-Nam.

Another part of the military's problem is mail from home, traditionally a high priority item. Logistics aside, mail is now presenting the military with a new problem. Many GI's, aware that they are being systematically propagandized within a limited frame of reference, deliberately seek out sources for divergent views. One such source is the small tabloids put out by various groups in the States and sent free to the GI's.

When these tabloids first started showing up in the GI's mail, they were so obviously written by people with no conception of the dilemma of their target audience that the military gleefully allowed them to be distributed. But new tabloids have appeared, and at least one, "Viet-Nam GI" is written solely by Viet-Nam veterans. At least two pages in each issue are devoted to letters

the U.S. Army has shipped over 200 million pounds of supplies out of Viet-Nam. The total includes 34.76 million pounds of equipment issued to troop units which are returned to base depots, unused, for lack of need. Much of the remaining equipment never gets off the beach, much less out of the crates. Yet excess material continues to pile up on those same beaches.

Hundreds of supply specialists have had to be sent to Viet-Nam just to identify the material in the piles—the labels have long ago bleached out or washed away in open storage. Equipment not rusted or rotted away is "retrograded" to Japan, Okinawa or Thailand. To the original cost of these excess supplies must be added the shipping, reshipping and handling costs, and the cost in terms of extra men and equipment needed to handle such bulk.

The culprit, the Army says, is that inflexible money-saver, the computer. The computer has been programmed for automatic requisitions—supplies to be shipped when asked for or not. Left unexplained is the dastardly cards that keep cranking

environment and plunked down foreign and unnatural collectivity. For some time before I revisited Vietnam, whenever my opinion about troop morale was sought I assured my audience I believed it to be good, that the United States military, like any army, was expending a little effort to assure that our men were sufficiently motivated to make them an effective force and to cushion them against privation and hardship. As time went on, however, despite the prattle of military experts as Bob Hope and Martha Raye, doubts began to form in my mind. Part of this was the result of an increase in friendly mail, in response to certain of my articles, from GI's in Viet-Nam. More pertinent, I realized that the government was suddenly expending an inordinate amount of energy and resources to convince the soldiers and the folks at home that morale and esprit were high. So I decided to see for myself.

Over Viet-Nam today large columns of black smoke rise to violate the clear blue of the Asian sky. And it's napalm. It's burning shit. Amid a host of indicators, few symbolize the changed nature of the war and the military in Viet-Nam as those black columns. From the DMZ to the Delta, on denuded mountain tops and in these camps, each morning hundreds of men are detailed to extract thousands of cut-off oil drums from beneath an equal number of privies. After moving the containers a short distance, the unfortunates on duty detail (men who no doubt arrived in Viet-Nam believing themselves to be the vanguard of freedom's frontiers) pour diesel into the contents, ignite it and periodically flush the flaming excretion until it is cooled. As he keeps shuffling to windward, each individual can contemplate his lot ("And what did you do in the war, Daddy?") or calculate the thousands of man hours expended each week on this shit.

I found the Army changed. It has changed because there is a new soldier in Viet-Nam, a man who comes from that part of our society which is vital and turbulent. To generalize on the soldier in Viet-Nam would be as unrealistic as generalizing on the youth here at home, but it is safe to say that this new soldier is no more prone to accept officialdom's explanations than he was when he was a civilian. In fact, what sets him apart from the GI's of a few years ago is the fact that he is really still a draftee—his basic training somehow didn't count. The new draftee or enlistee has not been involved passively or actively in the "great debate" for a couple of years now; he is well informed, and information has been made an enemy of the military establishment. Through 1965 and into 1966, soldiers and military personnel of all services, not only the Army, assigned to Viet-Nam were mobile. By mobility, I refer to the individual's access to areas outside his normal day-to-day environment. Whenever a man's presence was not essential, he was engaged to go into town and "blow it out." Not only could a field soldier reach his favorite city fairly easily, but city-bound soldiers could visit remote camps and get away from the "paper war." This was considered good for morale—and it was. Well

military enacted a crash program to move all "nonessential" soldiers from the larger towns and cities, and a mammoth "positive information" program. As the number of troops increased, the number of military information specialists and small unit newspapers increased geometrically.

**I**N WHAT APPEARS TO BE a deliberate attempt to isolate as many troops as possible from the Vietnamese, the military has created a series of camps in the Corps Tactical Zones (CTZ), each camp the size of a modest city. Normal procedure has been to select a site which is well removed from population centers but central to an area of operation; to bulldoze the area, surround it with mines and barbed wire and construct camps that closely resemble Camp Funston at Fort Riley, Kansas.

The 4th Division "Highlanders" Camp Enari illustrates the point. The division is responsible for the highlands area of II CTZ, and is homesteading a huge new complex, well outside of Pleiku. The camp is complete with its own water and power supplies, an airstrip, a PX, information offices, a supply depot, a swimming pool, several clubs—in short, it's a self-sufficient city. There are more than 5000 soldiers stationed at this headquarters post—more than one-fourth of the division's total strength. These men, in addition to being "home" guards, support three large forward bases, which in turn support a series of fire bases atop the mountains, which in turn protect the support bases on the valley floors. Indeed, so many troops are occupied with supporting those who are supporting, that less than one-third of the division can be spared for offensive action. Cam Ranh, Chu Lai and Long Binh are three other similarly isolated enclaves where GI's can be deluged with "positive" information.

Replacements for the 4th Division arrive by jet at Cam Ranh Bay (American); within 48 hours they are flown to an airfield (American) near Pleiku where they are immediately put aboard a bus (American) and driven to Camp Enari (American). There they are given briefings by officers who take turns lecturing them on the typical do's and don'ts: "Take your malaria pills . . . there is a strain of VD here that can't be cured . . . don't mess around with the Vietnamese or Montagnards working around the camp . . . don't be telling the press war stories or how bad things are 'cause things aren't bad. You tell the press stories and they print them and that's what causes all these peace marches and things. . . . If you see something you don't understand ask the cadre to explain it—that's why we're here . . ." Each point is driven home with a horror story, a liberal waving of the Manual for Courts-Martial, the threat of LB (Long Binh jail) or the threat of a shit detail—the latter being no idle figure of speech.

After nine days of orientation and training ("to wash off any civilian that might have accumulated while you were on embarkation leave"), each soldier is assigned to what will probably be his job for the next 12 months. If he is assigned to Enari or a forward support base such as Dak To, that is where he will remain; his knowledge of Viet-Nam will be restricted, hopefully, to that area limited by the barbed wire which surrounds the camp. He will be allowed one

occasion of happiness in the presence of Vietnamese—today in Vung Tau, the Vietnamese are a minority.

This may well be the first time in history that an army has been isolated from the populace not to deny information to the enemy but to deny information to the troops. Unfortunately, however, the program hasn't worked, and all the time-proven gimmicks to improve morale seem only to have created more problems.

**A**LTHOUGH CRITICISMS OF OUR Viet-Nam policies and practices can be heard from military personnel all over the country, it does not mean that the soldiers in Viet-Nam are ready to mutiny, throw down their weapons and embrace the enemy. On the contrary. Despite the contradictions, despite the futility of not getting anywhere, most soldiers want to believe that they are right, that they haven't been sold a bill of goods, that what they are doing is important. Most avoid debating the war at all; when they can't avoid it, they fall back on Ruskisms and emotion. Unfortunately, in spite of themselves and the efforts of the military, information of the unprocessed variety seeps through. It comes from the GI's own observations, or from what another soldier has seen and related, and it is having its effects.

Missing among the troops in Viet-Nam is the sense of union that normally develops among individuals who live and work together. The interests of the black soldier, for instance, are not those of his white contemporary, and he is in Viet-Nam for very different reasons. The military is still an economic refuge for blacks, but the black soldier is becoming aware of what's happening in the cities at home, and the idea of being sent home to fight his own people in the ghetto is beginning to haunt him more and more. In addition, although there is mutual assistance on the job and "soul brother" relationships sometimes develop across racial lines, the difference in backgrounds and interests is still conspicuously present. Complaints are heard about a lack of "soul" nights at the service clubs, and in the rear areas even the camaraderie of the foxhole is sadly lacking.

Fights occur, and with increasing frequency, between the "lifers" and the "short-termers" (the category is determined more by attitude and state of mind than by rank, time in service or means of induction). When off-duty, the two go their separate ways, as do the blacks and the whites. Another division is between the "alkies" (usually lifers) and the "pot-heads" (usually short-termers). The feeling against grass users seems to rise in proportion to alcohol intake. The very sight of a man known to use grass is often enough to send an "alkie" into a blind rage. In one instance near Bien Hoa, a company party turned into a near riot when the "alkies" became infuriated because too many men were not drinking, preferring instead to slip outside and share a joint.

For decades, the Army has managed to control a large number of soldiers with a minimum of supervision by exploiting group approval. But the new soldier couldn't care less about being accepted by his military peers. He looks elsewhere for respect and he knows that there are any num-

ber of them out there. There was coming, laughter among them was unanimous. No one knew what the soldier how surprised the troops realized that the attacks had not taken place without the assistance of what they had thought were Vietnamese friends. Daily announcements of imminent attacks are now greeted evenly as a rather transparent attempt by brass to avoid being caught again with their faces

**T**HE VAGARIES OF our policymakers have even had the effects on the Marines. In November, elements of the First and Fourth Marines were placed in a static position at Khe Sanh where they were told that the losses they would suffer from artillery and rocket fire were necessary because Khe Sanh was "essential." Predictably, the defense of Khe Sanh was termed a victory. But in July, the base was suddenly declared nonessential and evacuated. It is doubtful that there is one Marine who was personally sorry leave, but the withdrawal created much bitterness. While the bulldozers were ripping the runways and bunkers, a correspondent asked a "grunt" what he thought about the withdrawal. "Go tell it to the dead" was his snarled reply.

When the story was related to Lieutenant Colonel Allen (Mc)—who continually reminds his listeners that he is a PhD with an IQ of 130—he responded: "The trouble is the grunt can't understand a war of attrition and perhaps they can't. To a man helpless crouching day after day watching his buddies being killed and wounded, questionable kill-ratio statistics inflicted on an unknown, unseen enemy are small consolation. After so much suffering, to turn around and admit it was all a mistake, 'But with a new plan . . .'"

The lethargy, lack of aggressiveness if you like, is not restricted to enlisted personnel. Except in "elites," a junior officer seldom gains the confidence of his men by endangering them with "gung ho" acts. Time and again hard-liners state that they were get out and going back to school to become teachers. "I'd like to stay in until I make rain, for reserve purposes, but if I do I'll up back here, and I'm never coming back to Nam."

Mass firepower, originally used to offset a shortage of line troops and to forestall outraged cries over high casualties, has become the young officer's out. This is not a comment on bravery but on attitude. Because of the junior officers' attitude, the military has had to replace leadership with technology. This in turn resulted in increasing hostility on the part of the Vietnamese toward the Americans. Vietnamese reaction to the whole destruction of Saigon's District VII typical: "How many of our innocent people's lives were taken in exchange for VC body, and how many hundreds of thousands of their houses were burned destroyed in exchange for an AK-47? . . . This is not fighting, this is merely destruction for enjoyment's sake. . . . These are not the words of an NLF proponent but of the man who was almost single-handedly responsible for making District VII a strong government enclave—Ngoc Nhuuan, a member of the National Assembly, who

admitted that had once been a soldier. The captain said that, whereas the allies had been seeking great gains to avoid excessive damage to the house-to-house fighting in Cholon, the VC hadn't been quite so considerate. The destruction was the result of wanton enemy acts.

"Oh, man, that's a batch of 'Whaddya mean? There's the pictures.' 'Lookit. I was here all last week working the shuttle. Those buildings were destroyed by American planes and ARVN tanks. It wasn't even house-to-house fighting, it was more like urban renewal. ARVN was too busy looting to do any serious fighting.' 'You mean the Army's put this story 180 degrees?'"

"Exactly. Hell, how do you think those colonels got killed in Cholon last Sunday? Tanks and choppers had been hitting that area all afternoon."

The incident the GI's were referring to created such an outcry that a decision was made to use "actual" house-to-house fighting techniques to rout the holdouts in Gia Dinh, another Saigon suburb. To find troops that still knew how to fight that way, the military had to bring in American and Vietnamese Special Forces all the way from Nha Trang.

The battle for Hill 875 last November was one of the rare times the Army has launched an assault without first "softening" the objective with massive firepower. Two U.S. battalions were decimated in order to gain a hill which nobody needed. Although Westmoreland called it a victory, today even the brass concede that it was a disaster.

The military's efforts to overcome the prevailing attitude have been impressive if not successful. To restrict healthy, virile young men to the monotony of base camps or mountain tops, months on end, can of itself destroy morale. The military, in its infallible wisdom, has decided that hot food and hard work can take the place of freedom of movement and women. To provide the food, each morning the 4th Division dispatches helicopters to its base camps. For the remainder of the day, the choppers shuttle groceries, beer, gumdrops, mail and ammo from the valley floor to the surrounding peaks. On Colonel Tambaugh's hill behind Dak To, those men not burning or unloading groceries are busy tearing down old bunkers and building new ones. In accordance with the military precept that men don't think while they're working, everyone in Viet-Nam works at least a 12-hour day. This means somebody has to keep thinking up things for the GI's to do—housekeeping chores, inspections and the like. The meaningless work only reinforces the new soldier's knowledge that his presence in Viet-Nam has no real value.

I have already mentioned the plethora of small unit information papers created to present the GI with "positive" stories. Many of the reporters for these papers have been selected from among the short-termers because of a shortage of qualified personnel among the lifers. Men are chosen for the job because they have a command of the language, powers of analytic observation and the ability to translate their observations into language. To perform his mission, the reporter has to move around, have access to what's happening, and talk with many

the dilemma of their target audience that the military gleefully allowed them to be distributed. But new tabloids have appeared, and at least one, "Viet-Nam GI," is written solely by Viet-Nam veterans. At least two pages in each issue are devoted to letters from GI's expressing their frank opinions on the war, the lifers and the military. The reception has been such that "Viet-Nam GI" is now publishing two separate editions, one for the overseas GI's and one for those Stateside. Now the heretofore silent soldier in Viet-Nam knows he not only has a peer group back home, but also one in Nam—and they seek each other out. The military's problem is how to allow one publication to get through and embargo another without making manifest that it is denying information to the troops.

**T**HE ENTERTAINMENT PROGRAM, while welcome, certainly has not had the expected results. Typical fare on the Armed Forces TV network is Lucille Ball, Danny Thomas, or a "Clean-Cuts in a Beautiful America" special. The time normally devoted to car and soap commercials is filled with U.S. Savings Bonds appeals, Your American Heritage, Military Courtesy bits, and so on. Not surprisingly, the most popular shows are the news and sportscasts.

Radio is a little better. Among the lifers the hillbilly music programs are the most popular. "Matt Dillon, the first man they wanna know, and the last man they wanna meet" is probably second. For the short-timers, a "rock" program featuring a DJ who has a penchant for "Haight" and "soul" talk is the most popular—a phenomenon which probably had much to do with the decision to "can" (pre-record) all future programs from the States.

The military also makes transport to even the most remote enclaves available for live entertainers and daily distributes thousands of cans of film which are shown even in covered bunkers atop the mountains. Both are welcomed by the soldier—but they also remind him of where he is not. The USO-sponsored entertainers, who come in varying shades of mediocrity, come back extolling the high morale of the men on the field, marvelling that the men seldom complain. Of course—who wants to talk about the charming bunker he's occupied for three months? The entertainer represents the other world, the one he wants to hear about. Reporters (especially women) receive the same response as do the Red Cross Do-Nut Dollies who, although they don't entertain per se, are always welcome. The soldier doesn't want sympathy or a pat on the head. He wants information and a girl (not necessarily in that order).

Other indicators of the efforts to motivate the GI are the increase of on-post clubs, swimming pools, theaters, water skiing at places like Cam Ranh Bay, fast promotions and the old favorite—the passing out of numerous awards and decorations. Though welcome, they only add to the homesteading appearance of the U.S. military.

It would be interesting to have a breakdown on the amount of money spent for all these items, plus make-work equipment and housekeeping materials, homesteading facilities, etc. The determination that our boys will lack for nothing has, of course, resulted in huge excesses. In the past year

The culprit, the Army says, is that incredible money-saver, the computer. The computer has been programmed for automatic requisitions—supplies to be shipped when asked for or not. Left unexplained is the dastardly cards that keep cranking out unneeded shipping orders cannot be found and removed.

**I**N AN EFFORT TO FIND some reason for the overall lethargy, I considered the peace talks. After all, the leaders of any army take a gamble when, while exhorting their troops to maximum effort, they indicate a willingness to settle for less than ultimate victory. It was logical to assume that, as in Korea, the peace talks might result in psychological letdown; that a "who-wants-to-be-the-last-man-killed-in-a-war" syndrome would manifest itself. But after countless talks with lifers and short-termers alike, it became obvious that the threat of peace was having more effect on the stock market than on the GI. Though most hoped for the best from the talks, not one soldier believed anything would happen to effect his DEROS (Date Estimated Return from Overseas).

The feeling is that even if a cease-fire occurred right now, most GI's would be stuck in Viet-Nam for their full 12-month tour anyway. And since only a relatively small percentage of the troops are engaged in actual combat, a cease-fire would have little effect on the majority of GI's.

The 12-month rotation plan has a positive effect on morale in that it eliminates the individual's feeling that the war could last forever for him—an important factor in an unpopular war where only the smallest percentage of our populace is actually exposed to the threat of being killed. This positive aspect, however, is partially offset by an inherent "short-timers" syndrome effect—the tendency for individuals to grow more cautious as their tour gets short. The military feels the subsequent loss in combat efficiency is worth it in order to get the optimum number of troops "blooded"—a circumstance considered to be a great asset by the militarists. In General Westmoreland's words: "I bet the Russian Army is jealous as hell. Our troops are here getting all this experience. . . . Those Russian generals would love to be here. . . . Any true professional wants to march to the sound of gunfire."

The only way the military could stop the growing dissent and the flow of information would be to come down hard on those spreading it. But those responsible are an amorphous group; there is no plan, no program, no organization. Thus, the military would have to pick off each individual and stick them in the already overcrowded stockades. Few things, however, are as devastating to the morale and esprit of a unit as a high incidence of courts-martial.

Huddled over our drinks in an on-post bar at Qui Nhon, I asked my Spec Four companion what he thought the effect of drafting graduate students would be. A graduate himself, his face broke into a wide grin.

"For the Army, it's going to be a disaster," he replied. Leaning back, he raised his glass and, oblivious to the NCO's and officers alike, he proposed an increasingly popular toast:



# Cleaver raps

I HAVE NEVER LIKED Ronald Reagan. Even back in the days of his bad movies... flicks that never made me on to any glow—I felt about the way I felt about such nonviolent boys as Roy Rogers and Gene Autry: that they were never going to cause any pain or allow anything to happen. They were just there, occupying space and taking my time, my money and my attention. There was a sort of unreality in their style. One knew that movies were made to a make-believe bag, but the unreality espoused on the screen by the flat faces of such Pabulum-fed actors as Reagan reflected to me—black ghetto anger me—a sickening mixed bag of morose laughter and perfect Colgate whiteness.

But what happened was that Ronnie made a TV show. Equipped with opulent sponsors and some slick scriptwriters, the mediocrity of his grade-B talent was glossed over and concealed by the make-up of a rhetoric fashioned by a

committee of crew-cut wordmongers. With all this going for him, it was natural for him to turn to politics when Hollywood's keenest make-up artists began to find it increasingly difficult to deal with the wrinkles that were slowly turning his face into a replica of well furrowed, depleted single-crop soil.

He was in the best of all states to get into his thing. California had demonstrated its ability to relate to the politics of the absurd by electing to office such blobs of political putty as Richard Nixon and Max Rafferty. And having picked the proper place, he could not have chosen a better style. Ronnie used a pat formula that said: pick the toughest problems confronting the people and launch blistering attacks upon all sincere efforts to come to grips with these problems; offer as an alternative a conglomeration of simple-minded clichés and catch phrases that go back to the Mayflower; sing The Star-Spangled Banner and smile broadly, effusively, as you

wave the flag at the people; use a fighting "I'm fed up" form of delivery, and always remember that when nothing else works, there is always the tried and proven gambit of demagogic politicians, especially in California—viciously attack the perennial whipping boys of the American Dream: subversion concealed in the words of textbooks, the "decadence of universities and the misguided students being duped by a handful of professors who are under the subtle influence of the Communist Conspiracy."

Well, it worked. Mickey Mouse is governor and Donald Duck is a candidate for the U.S. Senate. That is what we have to worry about. And deal with.

It has been said that the people get the rulers they deserve. I do not believe, however, that America has the rulers it deserves. The State of California, emphatically, could not deserve the rulers it has. Yet we have them, and this is an election year. And what an election year: this is the nightmare election year

of the American Dream.

Everything is out in the open this year. Nobody is trying very hard to conceal anything. As usual, the key issue in the election is what to do about the niggers—only this time, the question is being rewritten to read, what to do with the niggers. From the point of view of the niggers themselves, the question has also been rewritten and now reads, what are we going to do about it?

A surprising development—one which offers the possibility, perhaps the only possibility, of a monkey wrench being tossed into the smoke dreams of the racists—is that a sizable portion of white Americans are in revolt against the system. So the issue of Law and Order, or Crime in the Streets, becomes key.

Big deal. Who in the hell do you think you are, telling me that I can't talk, telling the students and faculty members at UC Berkeley that they cannot have me deliver ten lectures? I'm going to do it whether you like it or not. In fact, my

desire now is to deliver 20 lectures. You, Donald Duck Rafferty, Big Mama Unruh, and that admitted member of the racist John Birch Society who introduced that resolution into the Legislature to censure those responsible for inviting me to lecture in the first place—all and each of you can kiss my black ass because I recognize you for what you are, racist demagogues who have their eye on the ballot box come November. The students and the faculty members at Berkeley are trying to salvage the American people from the brink of chaos that you pigs have brought on. Your thirst and greed for power is so great that you don't care whether or not in your lust you destroy the vital processes of a barbaric society that is trying in its parts to become civilized.

I don't know what the outcome of all this will be, but I do know that I, for one, will never kiss your ass. I will never submit to your demagogic machinations. I think you are a cowardly, craven-

hearted wretch. You are not a man. You are a punk. Since you have insulted me by calling me a racist, I would like to have the opportunity to balance the books. All I ask is a sporting chance. Therefore, Mickey Mouse, I challenge you to a duel, to the death, and you can choose the weapons. And if you can't relate to that, right on. Walk, chicken, with you ass picked clean.

IN CALIFORNIA, MICKEY MOUSE looked out from his perch in Disneyland for an opening to get himself back into the act, having been kicked off the stage in Miami by a pig who had been in the game a little longer. From where he lurked, Mickey Mouse fixed his blank stare on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley. He had received a tip that a situation tailored to his needs existed on that campus. Eldridge Cleaver, the apotheosis of the American nightmare: loudmouthed nigger, ex-convict, rapist, advocate of violence, Presidential candidate—retained by the Berkeley sub-

versives to teach a class on the University campus, i.e. to corrupt the morals of lily-white American youth. So Ronnie Baby, doing his Republican duty, emerged from his pen to take up the cudgels of battle: "If Eldridge Cleaver is allowed to teach our children, they may come home some night and slit our throats. Therefore, the people of the State of California will not stand for this!"

Right on, Mickey Mouse. There are those of us who know what you are into, and we don't like it. Furthermore, we are going to deal with it, with you, to put an end to your absurd oinking in the faces of the people. So that all those bullshits that you went through with the Board of Regents, forcing them to emasculate the course in which I was to participate as a guest lecturer, don't mean anything to me. It displeased you, I understand, that even the Board of Regents did not buy you whole hog; that, in fact, they agreed to allow me to deliver one lecture.

# Poland '68

Douglas Gill

My friend described for me how Warsaw had taken to James Bond. You may see in that city nearly every kind of film, and, though the range has recently diminished, there were, in the spring and early summer, films by Losey and the Beatles, Westerns, sexy stuff, with Dr Kildare and Bonanza appearing on the tele. The audiences are not deprived, therefore, of all contact with the West. But they may not see James Bond: this has been officially laid down. At one point, however, the film industry was anxious that the leading cinematic lights, together with the representatives of Polish culture, should be exposed to this archetypal product of the West. A special showing of the Bond films was arranged.

The tickets, distributed in advance, were soon reaching the highest prices on the black market, for under the circumstances it was readily believed that the films were something special. My friend had secured himself a ticket, but was impelled to see the show. Could he sneak in at the door, slip through the crush of cinematic VIPs? Not a chance: the ushers, vigilant and burly men, examined every ticket. My friend approached an usher. Would he let him in? No, it could not be done. Some persuasive words, a similar response. Would some zlotys clear the way? 25 were offered on offer and refused; would 50 see a change of mind? Well, a hundred then, now a quite substantial sum. No, the man could not be moved.

My friend waited and watched the audience move in, his appetite to see the film continually growing. The last invited guests were in, the doors swung to, and through the glass window the lights began rapidly to dim. My friend rushed forward, pushed the burly men aside, and, once in the cinema, bounded through the dark on hands and knees.

He reported his disgust to me. The violence and synthetic sex, the formless, mindless nature of the films, appalled him; he had not perhaps expected more, but to see them thus presented here in this illicit fashion, to know that they gained in notoriety and influence because of their suppression—this was a degrading conjugation of events.

Polish cultural life, indeed, is a victim of the revolution from above. Socialism came to Poland not through the actions of the working class, through the factories and the streets; it came imported from the east, installed by Russian troops in 1944. This sanction continued to preserve Poland and while it has now taken on an existence of its own, that existence is bounded by the limitations of its birth. It is not without its virtues, but its future progress is unclear.

The condition of the film industry provides an interesting example. The government decided that the film industry was important and had to be created. Accordingly, a complicated structure was

# Police strike

Richard Hyman

Before 1918 there had been two small police strikes—the first in 1872—but though some improvements in conditions had resulted, on both occasions the authorities were able to victimise the strike leaders. Neither strike involved any attempt to form a police trade union.

Despite serious and continuing grievances, such an attempt was not made until 1913. The immediate pre-war years saw an unprecedented eruption of 'labour unrest', striking terror into the ruling class. In three years trade union membership almost doubled, drawing in sections of workers—manual and white-collar—who were previously totally unorganised. Strike figures reached record levels. At the same time, increasing numbers of workers were attracted to revolutionary socialist doctrines.

The union launched in 1913 was intended first for London police, but recruitment was soon extended to the provinces, and January 1914 saw a change of name to the National Union of Police and Prison Officers. The official reaction to police trade unionism was totally hostile, and victimisation of members appeared a real danger. Branch activities and recruitment were therefore carried out in secret, and a national committee was chosen whose members were not serving policemen.

By 1917 the union's militant demands, voiced in its monthly magazine, had attracted a membership of several thousands. Then an internal leadership dispute led to Syme's removal from control, and a new executive of serving policemen took over. They decided on a conciliatory approach to the authorities, changing the union rules to exclude strike action and requesting recognition. Though the Home Secretary remained adamant in refusing this, no immediate action was taken against those who had now openly admitted their leading role in the union.

The situation changed in August 1918 when a prominent

# A reply to labour lies about the economy

Bob Rowthorn

Growing resistance to the Government's Prices and Incomes Policy is making 1968 into the most strike-prone year since the war and the trends suggest that 1969 will be worse. Workers long accustomed to rising living standards are finding themselves hard put to defend their past gains. Only the most misleading manipulation of official statistics could enable Barbara Castle to assert at this year's Labour Party Conference that real wages have not fallen since devaluation. When seasonal abnormalities are removed, something she neglected to do, the Government's own figures show that retail prices rose by nearly 2% more than weekly earnings in the eight months following devaluation. This is hardly surprising as the Chancellor of the Exchequer's stated aim has been to reduce consumption by 2% during 1968.

The Labour leaders' defence of a policy so much at variance with their promises of a 'planned growth of incomes' is simple enough. Britain has been overspending its income by about £500m a year and is now deeply in debt to foreign bankers who are demanding payment. Since we are in no position to refuse drastic steps must be taken to reverse the trends of recent years. Roy Jenkins estimates that altogether expenditure must be cut about

£36 a week for every family of four. We have to pay their officers well and provide them with special quarters and so on. Furthermore their troops do no productive work. Let us assume, therefore, that our troops would cost £3,000 a head including annual equipment expenditures. This will give a total cost of £450m a year.

## Higher Wages: Where is the Money to come from?

Arms Cuts	£1,400,000,000
Maximum income of £36 a week	£2,000,000,000
Full Employment	£2,400,000,000
Total	£5,600,000,000
less	
Jenkins' Target saving	£1,000,000,000
Remainder	£4,600,000,000

equals £85 a year after tax for every man, woman and child in Britain. or £6-10s a week after tax for every family of four.

Now in any socialist country surrounded by a hostile world the paramilitary forces in the form of worker and student militias play a vital role. Suppose we assume a total for these of 2 million equipped mainly with rifles, machine-guns, anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons. The cost will be composed of the salaries of the



whilst being trained. Apprentices, sixthformers, and students tend to have lower incomes than other workers of the same age which is clearly wrong. But the difference is nothing like large enough to justify the increase in income associated with qualification, particularly at the higher levels where a degree or its equivalent may be worth as much as an extra thousand a year or more after tax. We must, therefore, widen our definition of the privileged to include doctors, dentists, managers, academics and others like them.

To see what could be saved by eliminating these privileges suppose we take £31 a week after tax, or roughly £36 a week before tax, as a reasonable maximum income in Britain today. According to the Inland Revenue 2.3 million or about 8% of income receivers are at present getting more than this amount. Most of these are self-employed, salary earners, or rentiers. Thirty-nine out of forty wage earners receive less as do nine out of ten salary earners.

Savings would be even larger than those from arms cuts. If the 1966 Inland Revenue statistics are

imported from the east, installed by Russian troops in 1944. This sanction continued to preserve it; and while it has now taken on an existence of its own, that existence is bounded by the limitations of its birth. It is not without its virtues, but its future progress is unclear.

Condition of the film industry provides an interesting example. The government decided that such an industry was important and had to be created. Accordingly, a complicated structure was set up in which teams of producers, directors, writers were encouraged to arise and make films according to their inclinations. The crude commercial considerations by which the British cinema is restrained were at once avoided, for reimbursement to the teams by no means totally depends on box office receipts, and is related to a system of critical assessment organised within the industry itself; a maximum scale was fixed beyond which the directors, actors, and the like could not enrich themselves.

Over the years, therefore, and created out of nothing, there arose an industry and a school of film-making potentially streets ahead of anything now possible in Britain. Chains of cinema monopolies do not gain a stranglehold upon the industry itself, and the producers, freed from many of the problems of raising money from the banks, do not end up making films which will have an instant and commercial success.

A film industry created wholly from above may take on a life of its own, but it will remain responsible to those who originally installed it. The government judged, during the student demonstrations in the spring, that the Lodz film school was the centre of undesirable ideas, that experimental films should also be avoided. The school director was fired and, for the year 1968-69 no new students will be admitted to the school. The intention is to restrain the formation of ideas considered anti-socialist, but the condition of the industry necessarily deteriorates and those who work within it grow cynical and disillusioned.

If the cinema declines as a result of restraints placed upon it from above, the standards which in the past it has maintained are also undermined by a process at once insidious and subtle. The government is faced at every level by criticisms of its performance, and one small but important aspect of the way in which it has responded lies in the importing of soap operas like Bonanza, Dr Kildare, Sherlock Holmes, and their screening on the tele. Perhaps it hopes to keep the population quiet. A government implementing socialism it may claim to be, but its vast programme of industrialisation has not created a working class with a revolutionary consciousness, merely one which judges all by the yardstick of material progress and which, manipulated into existence, is often apathetic. For nearly twenty years, the government crushed catholicism, nationalism, pro-Americanism, and such other reactionary tendencies as it was able to combat; but nothing in the nature of a real conflict has emerged between revolutionary and reactionary social forces—merely the imposition of socialist measures from above. It earned much unpopularity, but, while Poland was threatened by the West and above all, required to industrialise, it could keep itself together. In the political field, Polish nationalism, a compound of spurious territorial claims, traditionally associated with hostility towards the Russians, Germans, Czechs, and every other neighbour, is encouraged once again; worse, a degree of anti-semitism is permitted to arise. In the cultural field, the desire for popularity leads the government to introduce, for example, quantities of Western junk on the tele; and standards further sink as all those making television serials set out to compete along these lines. The medium then becomes neglected by those with talent and imagination.

From this vicious circle, which holds true in every field of national life, Poland seems unable to escape. It is a country without a revolutionary tradition, and the working class movement before the war gained very little ground; socialist measures are imposed with the best intentions in the world, industrialisation under public ownership becomes very far advanced, but the working class which rapidly arises is politically apathetic and wishes only to advance its living standards. Education has been much extended, and the proportion of students with working class backgrounds naturally increased; political education, however, is particularly deficient, and the sophistication of the students rather small. Marxism is confused with the Stalinists excesses, the study of the works of Rosa Luxemburg—the greatest Pole of all—are officially discouraged, and the student movement in the cities in the spring, while taking to the streets or occupying university buildings, pressed for liberalisation in terms which would have done credit to a philosopher like J. S. Mill.

I found life in Poland a very welcome change, and to return to Britain after three months there was to realise that capitalism stinks. But however far ahead of Britain the socialist institutions of Poland may be, that society can surely go no further in the absence of a definite socialist consciousness; and there seems no way in which this can come about. "We want a Polish Dubcek" was a slogan much bannered in the streets in March, but there was little realisation among those to whom I talked, who had taken part in those events, that the reform of Czech socialism, the end of Stalinist excesses, can take place only because that system was installed by the working class, in the factories, by the ballot box, and, finally, armed and on the streets. On the basis of the actions of 1948, there is nothing that Czech society cannot now achieve; Poland's future is circumscribed by the limitations of its past.

rules to exclude strike action and demanding recognition. Though the Home Secretary remains adamant in refusing this, no immediate action was taken against those who had now openly admitted their leading role in the union.

The situation changed in August 1918 when a prominent London member, PC Tinsel, was dismissed on the grounds of his union membership. The union leaders immediately abandoned their no-strike pledge and demanded his reinstatement within two days. The authorities refused to take this ultimatum seriously; but they had misjudged disastrously the temper of the police. On August 30th virtually all 12,000 of the Metropolitan force stopped work; the next day the government surrendered. The Prime Minister, Lloyd George, interred personally to agree a settlement which provided for the dismissed man's reinstatement, a guarantee of the right to organise, a 4 per cent increase in basic pay, and additional bonus and pension improvements.

An official counter-attack was however soon to follow. Lloyd George was to become notorious for his broken pledges to trade unionists, and this case was typical. Despite the terms of the strike settlement, it was announced at the NUPPO would not be recognised; and though the police might remain members, this right would be withdrawn in the event of any 'interference with discipline'. To lead the offense, a new Chief Commissioner was appointed: General Macready, famous previously as leader of the government forces against miners in Tonypandy, and later to achieve further glories with the black and Tans.

In 1919 came the showdown. The union leaders, encouraged by the previous success, became increasingly vocal in demanding formal recognition and further wage increases. But at the same time, the authorities were gently undermining rank and file support: first by establishing a 'Representative Board', with separate representation for each grade of police, to discuss general conditions of service; then by providing pay increases without any negotiation with the union.

Macready soon felt his position strong enough to begin a policy of victimisation, and active London member, PC Spackman, was dismissed. The union again reacted militantly, and a ballot showed a massive major for strike action to begin in June. Macready in turn warned that any striker would be dismissed instantly; simultaneously the authorities announced further pay increases. At this critical stage union leaders lost their nerve, and decided to postpone the strike indefinitely. Having exposed the union's weakness, the government moved at once into the final stages of its attack. In July it introduced legislation to make police membership of a trade union gain, as a substitute a tame organisation would be created, the Pe Federation.

Faced with the threat of extinction, the union leaders again vacillated. At the beginning of August they finally issued a call for an immediate strike to defend the right to organise. But the response in London was poorer than one in ten came out—and in the rest of the country derisive. The only exception was Merseyside, where half the force stopped work, riots broke out, and troops were sent in. Little more than 1000 of the country's police supported the strike call, and were dismissed. The Police Act became law, and from September 1919 police trade unionism was illegal. (The union itself remains a paper existence for many years, an impotent spokesman for dismissed strikers).

The rise of the NUPPO was a brief but spirited attempt by the British police, despite their tools and instruments of the machinery of oppression of the bourgeoisie, to ally themselves with the working-class movement. Their rest was due in part to the half-hearted support they received from organised labour. Does this historic event offer a spark of hope, that, when the crisis comes, the rank and file of our comrades like may yet join the right side in the class struggle?

who are demanding payment. Since we are in no position to refuse drastic steps must be taken to reverse the trends of recent years. Roy Jenkins estimates that altogether expenditure must be cut by about £1,000m a year. Arms cuts and a special levy on the rich will provide part of the money but, he says, the scope for such savings is limited and the workers must therefore accept some sacrifices. Real wages must be cut, taxes raised, and plans for expanding the social services postponed.

Now there are reasons for doubting Jenkins' statement that Britain needs to save £1,000m a year to become solvent and thereby independent. But let us give him the benefit of the doubt and assume that £1,000m is the right figure. Does it then follow as he claims that the workers must accept sacrifices because there is no other way of saving enough money, or is it simply Labour's unwillingness to make these savings which makes them behave as they are doing?

To answer this question we must look at the patterns of income, expenditure, and waste in our society.

The first and most obvious place for saving is armaments. In 1967 military expenditure including civil defence cost £2,412m some £406m more than in 1964 the last year of Tory rule. As a proportion of National Income it has, despite official claims to the contrary, risen slightly from 7.5% in 1964 to 7.7% in 1967. The recently announced cuts are to use the Government's own description of its social service economies 'cuts in an expanding programme.

From a capitalist point of view much of this is money well spent, particularly as it happens to be other people's money, although even on the Right there are doubts amongst the Powellites. But from a socialist point of view it is either waste, pure and simple, or else is positively evil.

Of course, even a socialist Britain would, in the absence of world socialism, have to be armed but both the nature and cost of its military forces would be radically different.

The exact size of this force would naturally depend on the external political situation at the time and any estimate cannot be better than a wild guess, but for comparison let us look at the Cuban armed forces—121,000, Canada 107,000, South Africa 22,000, Hungary 109,000, Denmark 50,000, and Sweden 82,000. Let us assume a regular force of 150,000 for Britain. This will be roughly one man for every 360 citizens—or a bit less than the Chinese who have one for every 280.

What would regular forces of this size cost? Swedish armed forces which are very well-equipped cost about £3,500 a head. This is more than ours would cost as the Swedes

and student militias play a vital role. Suppose we assume a total for these of 2 million—equipped mainly with rifles, machine-guns, anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons. The cost will be composed of two elements. One afternoon's training a week during working hours which might cost on average £2 a head in lost output and perhaps a further £3 on equipment making a total of £5 per man per week. Even this may be an over-estimate for the afternoon's training might be enjoyable and could not fairly be called cost. If £5 a week is about right then the total cost of the militia will be £10m a week or £520m a year.

All told then Britain could have a well-equipped regular military force of 150,000 plus an armed and trained militia of 2 million for less than £1,000m a year. Is there anyone who can deny that such a force would serve the ends of socialism better than the present forces. The huge worker and student militias organised democratically on a factory, college, or other appropriate level would provide a powerful weapon in the hands of the working people to ensure that power did not escape them. Combined with the regular forces stationed at home they would constitute a far more effective invader than do the existing forces which are spread from one end of the world to another.

The savings would be fantastic—over £1,400m or nearly one and a half times what the Government is trying to save from all quarters put together.

Next comes the income of the privileged. The Labour Party has always defined these as the very rich property owners and has been able to claim quite correctly that the amount they consume is relatively insignificant.

But this is now and has always been a misleading way of approaching the questions of inequality and exploitation. The privileged are not the very rich but the 'comfortable' getting more than £2,000 a year before tax. Some are rentiers pure and simple doing no kind of work at all. But the bulk are salary earners or self-employed. Some of their income, perhaps a fifth or so, comes directly from property in the form of houses they rent or shares they own. Most, however, is what is called earned income. Now Labour like other social democratic parties has never really confronted the fact that much 'earned' income is really property income in disguise, being a return either on property employed in business by the self-employed, or else is a return on disguised property in the form of education which is assuming increasing importance as the number of trained people increases.

Of course, some of the extra income trained people receive is a reward for sacrifices they have made

and student militias play a vital role. Suppose we assume a total for these of 2 million—equipped mainly with rifles, machine-guns, anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons. The cost will be composed of two elements. One afternoon's training a week during working hours which might cost on average £2 a head in lost output and perhaps a further £3 on equipment making a total of £5 per man per week. Even this may be an over-estimate for the afternoon's training might be enjoyable and could not fairly be called cost. If £5 a week is about right then the total cost of the militia will be £10m a week or £520m a year.

Finally we come to the biggest waste of all. There are at present 585,000 workers registered as unemployed in Britain and several times that number who have left the labour force altogether as there is no work available. Most of this waste is directly attributable to Government policy. To prevent imports from getting out of hand output is being deliberately kept down. Worse still, to weaken the bargaining power of the working class the Government is talking of maintaining indefinitely a 'margin of spare capacity' or to put the matter more bluntly spare men.

In a socialist Britain neither of these would be necessary. With a planned import policy output would not have to be restricted, and there would be no question of anyone using economic sanctions against the workers as they would be in control. How much would full employment save? Far more than most people realise. According to an article in *Economic Trends* a fall of ¼% in the unemployment level leads on average to a rise of about 1% in output. This means that a fall from the present level of 2½% down to 1%, which is almost certainly not the minimum possible, would raise output by 6% or in money terms £2,400m. In other words the Government's unemployment policies are costing at least £2,400m a year in lost output.

Altogether these add up to the fantastic total of £5,600m. Even after subtracting Mr. Jenkins' target of £1,000m saving this leaves £4,600m which could be used for raising wages, improving the social services, or helping revolutionary countries abroad. This is equivalent to £85 a year after tax for every man woman and child in the country. For a family of four this amounts to £6-10s a week after tax. Compared to these figures the engineers' claims for an all round increase of 30s a week and certain other improvements does not seem excessive. If anything it seems too modest.

And this is only the tip of the iceberg. It takes no account of the resources wasted in administering and protecting capitalist wealth nor in looking after capitalism's casualties. Nor does it take account of the waste involved in capitalism's individualist solutions to social problems.

# Spontaneity or organisation

Peter Buckman

use, suddenly, things are beginning to  
; because, now, a radical movement is  
and running; because, finally, our  
ration is doing its thing invincibly, the  
ways of protesting are discredited. Talk  
programmes' or 'planning' or 'strategy'  
andoned, as old-fashioned dogma, in  
of 'tactics'. We prove ourselves in  
ontations with the forces of law and  
r in a series of demonstrations that are  
onger seen as 'single-issue campaigns'  
really, was CND), but as part of a  
ating campaign against the system  
and all it stands for.

this is new, in our time at least. We all  
mber the Aldermaston marches and  
world-wide campaigns against nuclear  
bons, and while we don't deride them,  
style owes nothing to them. We have  
too much political manipulation, in  
ago as well as Westminster, in Moscow  
ell as Bonn, to greet with anything but  
ion the notion that 'the people have a  
or to listen seriously to those who talk  
at 'the politics of persuasion'. We know  
about power, and what we are trying to  
s to use our power most effectively to  
sh repression and replace it with orga-  
nisations which will allow everyone to  
se their own authority.

we have developed all this with great  
ness, and its inspiration was largely  
rican. Those of us who had marched,  
had been behind the banners, who had  
down and ended up smiling at the  
algar Square lions from inside their  
tains, didn't do so because we had any  
we were persuading people to  
ningful action. We had watched Gaits-  
fighting and fighting again in 1960 and  
knew he would win. We watched de  
lle come to power and Kennedy sponsor  
Bay of Pigs invasion and the Social-  
ocratic parties of Europe join in ruling  
itions and we knew we were losing. But  
marched because there was nothing else  
o, because we thought it was 'building  
eeling', because - we were desperate.

ut while all this was going on America  
stirring. We were exercised about  
reville: all over the American South  
ns were organised in lunch counters  
refused to serve blacks. We muttered  
ut Cuba while Americans formed Fair  
y for Cuba Committees and demonstrated  
ently about the breaking-off of diplomatic  
tions. SDS and SNCC were formed as  
vist organisations; student participation  
Southern voter-registration drives  
eased despite intimidation and murder,  
it did in increasingly militant demonstra-  
s for peace, Cuba, and, in 1964, against  
growing US involvement in Vietnam.  
at year too the Free Speech Movement  
s founded in Berkeley - and at last an  
ue was found in which we all felt involved.

At this stage we in Europe relied too  
ch on our history. We treated Vietnam  
the same way as CND had treated nuclear  
armament - as a single-issue campaign  
persuasion. We did not realise how  
olved the Americans were in a qualitative  
examination of social values. Our

admiration for their bravery in the South -  
for which, incidentally, not a single group or  
demonstration of solidarity was organised  
in our continent - was tempered by our  
patronising view of their apparent naivety.  
We were victims of the Top Nation propa-  
ganda: we didn't get what they had to  
protest about because we thought we were  
the ones in trouble. And we were dispirited  
by our own failures of protest, our theorists  
divorced from our demonstrators as our  
demonstrators were divorced from the rest  
of the community. Our most serious failure  
was not in realising the in-built momentum  
all the issues of American protest had  
towards the creation of a militant radical  
movement. We thought we had all the  
ideology, and that we were only waiting for  
the issues to make themselves manifest; the  
Americans had all the issues, and their  
ideology was slowly emerging from them.

All this history is necessary to show that,  
in my view, the European, or certainly the  
English, equivalent of the New Left made  
two mistakes which have seriously bedevilled  
its activities: first, we treated Vietnam as a  
single issue, second, a much more recent  
thing, we enthusiastically adopted the  
'spontaneity' thing without realising that the  
background from which it came had been  
building up to it for years - and, moreover,  
is going beyond it.

The bitter experience and defeats of  
street-fighting in America, or elsewhere, has  
not of course discredited the notion of  
confrontation. The refusal of the Left to talk  
in terms of 'programmes' has not discredited  
socialism, which is more than a programme,  
being a way of life. Though the euphoria  
induced by the militancy of the last year or  
so has not faded, and though we owe little  
to the past, when so much was said and so  
little achieved, the ideas of street-battles  
and sit-ins did not spring fully formed from  
anyone's head. To talk as if nothing existed  
beyond the immediate action is to give in  
to the bewilderment we all feel at the way  
things work, and fail. What's happening  
amongst the campuses and the blacks is  
vastly exciting; on the other hand, all the  
talk in England and America about carrying  
the struggle to the working-class, it's got  
nowhere near as far as the French or the  
Italians, and even there it's uncertain how  
long the alliance will last. So many people  
put all their faith in an action that will reveal  
the next step. That's fine: we wouldn't be in  
a position to reassess what is happening if  
taking action hadn't broken the ties of the  
straitjacket we were in. And of course we  
don't want 'programmes' that are nothing  
but the offer of a different set of dogmas.  
But why is American confrontation already  
subtly different to what it was in the spring,  
if not because their experience is moving  
them on?

The blacks stayed away from Chicago.  
SDS advised its members to do the same.  
The ghettos did not erupt the way everyone  
had predicted. The radicals on the  
campuses are feeling out the way they can  
be most effective, because it is recognised  
that the euphoria that follows a successful

happening need never have existed in the  
face of the frustration and bitterness that  
follows a series of defeats. And when it  
comes to force, we haven't got it. We haven't  
explored the sources of our real strength -  
the working class, yes, of course - because  
we've been too put off by the fact that some  
of them march for Enoch or vote for  
Wallace. We've been trying to persuade  
them of something they're not interested in,  
and when that failed we all set about doing  
our thing, out of despair.

Spontaneity has revolutionised the climate  
of protest. Yet it must be remembered that  
it is a climate that thrives only on success:  
failure will poison it. Also, as long as it  
remains on the level of spontaneity only,  
it will merely lurch merrily from incident to  
incident without capitalising on the  
momentum it could build up. American expe-  
rience has shown that any radical  
movement contains its own dynamic: it is  
no longer necessary to suffer defeat after  
defeat because you think it might build an  
illusory faith that the system will collapse.  
None of this excluded the painful need for  
confrontations. But we cannot leave it at  
that. We cannot go home after the 27th with  
a bloody head and forget about it till next  
time. Vietnam, for Britain, is only a  
beginning, but it must not remain the only  
focus for protest. Does it strike no one as  
odd that two of the most radical activities -  
those of the underground, and those of the  
art colleges - are anti-political? What about  
our teachers, shop-stewards, civil servnts,  
nurses? Don't they have something to  
protest about?

To enforce spontaneity is as bad as  
enforcing a worse programme. We must  
remember that the movement draws its  
energy from the existence of real grievances  
that affect a majority of the people. Vietnam  
is only one of them, and for the English it  
is more of a dreadful symbol than a real  
experience. International solidarity demands  
that we protest as violently as we are able  
over British complicity in the American  
repression. But we have our own issues, as  
real, as pressing. We will maybe have to  
do a lot more listening before they become  
obvious to us. But we cannot claim to act  
spontaneously on our own problems when  
we are inspired from abroad and inhibited  
by our own dismal past. The Americans  
laid the groundwork. The Europeans have  
built the first floor. We have not yet reached  
the stage when we can indulge in free  
expression over the wall paper: first we have  
to put up the walls. We have reached the  
happy stage - long ago reached in America  
- when those we respect combine theory  
and practice. We have to act, but we have  
also to read and think and articulate more,  
because the fate of our comrades every-  
where proves that we cannot afford to fail.  
'Action without theory,' as the overly dog-  
matic Ernest Mandel put it, 'will not be  
conscious action; theory without action will  
not be scientific theory.'

(14th October 1966)

# An open letter to John Lennon

John Hoyland

Dear John

So they've done you after all. I didn't  
think they ever would. It's a nasty experience,  
and I offer you my sympathy, for what it's  
worth. But I hope you won't be depressed about  
it. In fact I hope this experience will help  
you understand certain things that you seemed  
a bit blind to before. (That sounds patronising  
But I can't think how else to put it ...)

Above all: perhaps now you'll see what it  
is you're (we're) up against. Not nasty people  
Not even neurosis, or spiritual undernourish-  
ment. What we're confronted with is a repres-  
sive, vicious, authoritarian system. A system  
which is inhuman and immoral, because it  
deprives 99% of humanity of the right to live  
their lives their own way. A system which  
will screw you if you step out of line and  
behave just a tiny bit differently from the  
way those in power want.

Such a system - such a society - is so  
racked by contradiction and tension and unhapp-  
iness that all relationships within it are  
poisoned. You know this. You know, from your  
own experience, how little control over their  
lives working-class people are permitted to  
have. You know what a sick, evil, and brutal-  
ising business it is to be a "success" in this  
kind of rat-race. How can love and kindness  
between human-beings grow in such a society?  
It can't. Don't you see that now? The system  
has got to be changed before people can live  
the full, loving lives that you have said you  
want.

Now do you see what was wrong with your  
record "Revolution"? That record was no more  
revolutionary than Mrs. Dale's Diary. In order  
to change the world we've got to understand  
what's wrong with the world. And then -  
destroy it. Ruthlessly. This is not cruelty or  
madness. It is one of the most passionate  
forms of love. Because what we're fighting is  
suffering, oppression, humiliation - the  
immense toll of unhappiness caused by capital-  
ism. And any "love" which does not pit itself  
against these things is sloppy and irrelevant.

There is no such thing as a polite revolu-  
tion. That doesn't mean that violence is always  
the right way, or even that you should necess-  
arily turn up on the next demonstration.  
(There are other ways of challenging the  
system. But it does mean understanding that  
the privileged will do almost anything - will  
murder and torture and destroy, will foster  
ignorance and apathy and selfishness at home  
and will burn children abroad - rather than

hand over their power.

What will you do when Apple is as big as  
Marks and Spencers, and one day its employees  
decide to take it over and run it for them-  
selves? Will you let them get on with it? Or  
will you call in the police - because you are  
a business-man, and Business-Men Must Protect  
Their Interests?

One last thing. You've written some marvell-  
ous, honest, beautiful music. (And it's an  
indication of the wierd effect capitalism has  
had on you that you felt it was necessary to  
pretend that in doing so you were only conning  
people.) But recently your music has lost its  
bite. At a time when the music of the Stones  
has been getting stronger and stronger. Why?  
Because we're living in a world that is  
splitting down the middle. The split is between  
the rich and the poor, the powerful and the  
powerless. You can see it here, and in the  
jungles of Vietnam, and in the mountains of  
South America, and in the ghettos of the U.S.  
and in the Universities all over the world.  
It's the great drama of the second half of the  
twentieth century - the battle for human  
dignity fought by the exploited and the  
underprivileged of the world. The Stones,  
helped along a bit by their experiences with  
the law, have understood this and they've  
understood that the life and authenticity of  
their music - quite apart from their personal  
integrity - demanded that they take part in  
this drama - that they refuse to accept the  
system that's up our lives. You did it  
for a bit when you were taking acid - the only  
time in your career when you stepped outside  
the cheeky chappy slot the establishment had  
slid you in to, and the time when your music  
was at its best. But they didn't bust you (Why  
not, John?), and the way was open for you to  
come to represent not rebellion, or love, or  
poetry, or mysticism, but Big Business...

But after all, they still hate you, even  
if you are a company director. They hate you  
because you act funny and because you're  
working-class (in origin at least) and you're  
undisciplined and you weren't in the army and,  
above all, you've been going out with a  
foreigner. So now it's happened.

As I said before, don't be too upset about  
it. In an unjust and corrupt society there  
is no dishonour in being arrested, and  
certainly none of us on the left are going to  
think any the worse of you for it.

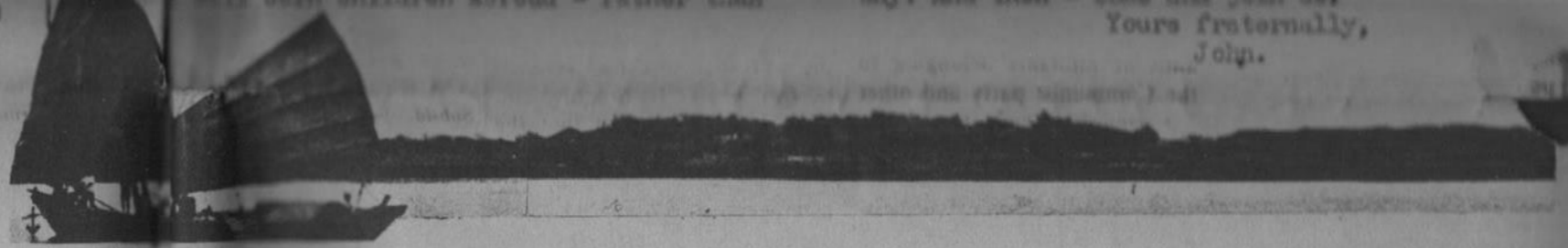
But learn from it, John. Look at the  
society we're living in, and ask yourself:  
why? And then - come and join us.

Yours fraternally,  
John.

the same way as CND had treated nuclear disarmament - as a single-issue campaign of persuasion. We did not realise how involved the Americans were in a qualitative re-examination of social values. Our

The ghetto did not erupt... everyone had predicted. The radicals on the campuses are feeling out the way they can be most effective, because it is recognised that the euphoria that follows a successful

...action; theory without action will not be scientific theory.



# Britain's violent past

Sheila Rowbotham

## SERIOUS RIOT IN LONDON - MONSTER PROCESSIONS IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE. THE POLICE OVERWHELMED THE GUARDS CALLED OUT HEAVY FIGHTING.'

Reynolds Newspaper, 20th November, 1887).

### Bloody Sunday, 13th November, 1887.

After police broke up meetings in October Socialists held a series of demonstrations culminating in a procession to Westminster Abbey during a service to protest against unemployment.

Radicals organised demonstration to protest against imprisonment of an Irish nationalist. Government banned demonstration, garrisoned Thames bridges.

Demonstrators ignored ban.

As the Clerkenwell contingent reached Bloomsbury end of St. Martins: 'The police, mounted and on foot, charged in among the people, striking indiscriminately in all directions and causing complete disorder in the ranks of the processionists. I witnessed several cases of injury to men who had been struck on the head and face by the police. In a short time the bands were dispersed and the police had captured the remnants of the banners... the action of the police... was received with yells, of execration and groans and hooting.'

Rotherhithe, Bermondsey, Peckham, Deptford, Battersea contingents beaten back on Thames bridge.

Cordon of police round Trafalgar Square. Life Guards within call. John Burns and Cunningham Graham arrested in the course of trying to break into the square after a fierce struggle.

'During the melee, the police freely used their weapons, and the people, who were armed with iron bars, pokers, gas pipes and short sticks, and even knives, resisted them in a most determined manner. Sticks were flourished in the air and a most resolute rush was made to break through the police ranks when the reserves inside the square rallied to the support of the main body and a score of police troopers charged.'

Afterwards:

Many thousands of special constables sworn in.

Trafalgar Square in state of intermittent siege for next fortnight, occupied by large police garrison.

28th November: Alfred Linnell killed.

December: Funeral procession.

Bob Smillie, President, Miners' Federation, on police action in Dublin 1913 against strikes in which 2 workers were killed, 400 wounded and 200 arrests made:

'If revolution is going to be forced upon my people... I say it is our duty, legal or

illegal, to train our people to defend themselves... It is the duty of the greater trade union movement, when a question of this gravity arises to discuss seriously the idea of a strike of all the workers.'

W. Gallacher and J. R. Campbell.

Direct Action 1919:

Workers' control in industry... involves a revolutionary struggle for power. We do not believe it is possible to any great extent to win control by wringing step by step concession from the capitalists... it cannot be solved by the workers remaining passive and expecting an assembly of political supermen to change the world for them.'

### "VICTORY OF PETERLOO". MEETING IN MANCHESTER FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, 1819.

Samuel Bamford:

'Stand fast, I said, they are riding upon us. Stand fast. And there was a general cry in our quarter of "Stand fast". The cavalry were in confusion; they evidently could not, with all the weight of man and horse, penetrate that compact mass of human beings and their sabres were plied to hew away through naked held-up hands and defenceless heads.'

William Harrison, Cotton spinner:

'As I was running away three soldiers came down upon me one after another; there was whiz this way and whiz that way, backwards and forwards... and I, as they were going to strike, threw myself on my face, so that, if they cut, it should be on my bottom.'

The Coroner:

You act as well as speak?

Harrison:

Yes: I'm real Lancashire blunt, Sir; I speak the truth; whenever any cried out 'mercy' they said: 'Damn you, what brought you here?'

11 killed - several hundred wounded; more than 100 women and girls.



Samuel Bamford explaining why the radical demonstrators drilled:

'We had been frequently taunted by the Press, with our ragged dirty appearance at these assemblages; with the confusion of our proceedings, and the mob-like crowds in which our numbers were mustered.'

A clerical magistrate from the bench:

'I believe you are a downright blackguard reformer. Some of your reformers ought to be hanged, and some of you are sure to be hanged - the rope is already round your necks.'

A Yorkshire freeholder:

'Armed or unarmed, Sir, I consider such meetings as that held at Manchester, to be nothing more or less than risings of the people; and I believe that these risings of the people, if suffered to continue, would end in open rebellion.'

1830. Duke of Wellington's response to the labourer's revolt in the Southern Counties:

'I induced the magistrates to put themselves on horseback each at the head of his own servants and retainers, grooms, huntsmen, game-keepers, armed with horse whips, pistols, fowling pieces and what they could get, and to attack these mobs, disperse them, and take and put in confinement those who could not escape.'

Joseph Swan hat-maker of Macclesfield, arrested 1819 for selling radical pamphlets and a poem. In chains and shunted from jail to jail. Eventually sentenced to two years for blasphemous libel and six months for seditious libel. 1831: still selling. Asked in court why. Answered:

Swann:

'I sell them for the good of my fellow countrymen; to let them see how they are misrepresented in Parliament... I wish to let the people know how they are humbugged...'

Bench:

'Hold your tongue a moment.'

Swann:

'I shall not for I wish every man to read these publications...'

Bench:

'You are very insolent, therefore you are committed to three months imprisonment in Knutsford House of Correction, to hard labour.'

Swann:

'I've nothing to thank you for; and whenever I come out I'll hawk them again.'

Joseph Swann forcibly removed from dock.

William Lest. 1833: Public meeting Union of the Work; Classes at Cold Bath Fields - now Mount Pleasant.

'The process... had no sooner commenced than the police made a furious onslaught on the assembled multitude, knocking down indiscriminately, men, women and children; great numbers of them being very dangerously wounded.'

Robert Cus, policeman, stabbed 'by a person who he had struck with his truncheon,' the Jury returned the verdict: 'Justifiable homicide.'

1866: Demonstration Hyde Park, campaign for working class vote. Demand that park be opened to meetings. Scuffle with police and railing attended.

Matthew Auld: Culture and Anarchy. 'The working class were therefore beginning to assert and put into practice an Englishman's right to do what he likes, hoot as he likes, threaten as he likes, smash as he likes. All this I tend to anarchy... He comes in immen numbers and is rather raw and rough.'

John Burnt Unemployment demonstration, 1886, ascribed by the Times Weekly Edition, 12 February, 1886:

'There was great roar of voices as the man with the flag mounted the stonework overlooking the square... he (denounced) the House of Commons as composed of capitalists who had fattened on the labour of the wong men, and in this category he included dlords, railway directors and employers... To hang these, he said, would be waste good rope, and as no good to the pec was to be expected from these 'representaes' there must be a resolution to alter present state of things. The people who were out of work did not want relief but justice.'



A Young pioneer on watch for enemy planes

Brave fighters happily tell each other how they wiped out the enemy



**WORLD BANKERS' POWER**

The enormous political power of international capitalists and the way they function has been variously documented and analysed in such recent socialist works as those of M. Arratt-Brown 'After Imperialism', Mandel 'Marxist Economic Theory' and Baran & Sweezy 'Monopoly Capital'.

Here, as supplementary notes, are brief extracts from the writings of orthodox journalists on the way the world's bankers are attempting to consolidate their world power over the workers (although these journalists don't spell it out that way).

First, this is what T. A. Wise had to say in the August issue of 'Forbes' magazine, in an article about the hazards merchant bank:

"The hard financial core of capitalism in the free world is composed of not more than 60 firms, partnerships, and corporations, owned or controlled by some 1,000 men. These men head investment-banking houses in New York City, merchant-banking enterprises in London, banques d'affaires in Paris, and similar institutions in Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Sweden, and Australia. Among them they raise, directly or indirectly, an estimated 75% of the £17,000 million in fresh capital needed each year to fuel the long-term growth of the industrialised nations... today a majority interest in Lazard Brothers, which has key directors in New York, Paris and London, is controlled by Pearson's grandson (Pearson luckily made millions out of land he had taken over in Mexico at the beginning of the century before going in with Lazard's). Weetman John Churchill Pearson, the third Viscount Cowdray and one of Britain's wealthiest men, his fortune is estimated at roughly £100 million, including his interest in Pearson & Son, the family's private investment company... which owns the Financial Times and has a 50% interest in The Economist."

Secondly, an extract from a Paul Ferris piece, which originally appeared in 'The Observer' and is included in his book, out this month, 'The Money Game'.

man running it. Davis writes: 'For most people, of course, the real issue is not what a lengthy engineering strike would cost Mr. Scanlon's union, but what it would cost the country.'

What a load of codswallop. What it would cost the country indeed! Why not be franker Mr. Davis and say it: What would it cost British capitalism and the owners of capital. The tendency to substitute 'country' for 'capitalism' is too nauseatingly familiar to most socialists.

It is the function of journalists such as Davis to continue to confuse and mystify the public. It is the duty of socialists to continue to expose this continually and relentlessly.

**THE INDONESIA DOSSIER**

There was always a phoney element in the British Government's pose of defender of Malaysia against Indonesia. In fact, successive Tory and Labour Governments have essentially been concerned with protecting capital investments in the area and with repressing socialist movements.

It is more than a coincidence that the British Labour Government is now prepared to make some partial military withdrawals from the Far East at a time when the vicious Indonesian Government is consolidating one of the most brutal mass murders of our time.

As Ernest Mandel put it in the excellent Merit pamphlet 'The Catastrophe of Indonesia':

"Since October 1965, thousands of militants belonging to the Communist party and other left groupings have been murdered in a veritable white terror"

a loan of £50,000 was announced. (This works out at £2 for every Suharto murder.) It has since been announced by the British Embassy that a further loan will be considered this autumn.

**A DAY IN THE LIFE OF PETER DUKES**

Peter Dukes is a comrade, a Dwarf and a militant socialist. Some nights ago he went with various other comrades to the various underground stations squirting OCTOBER 27 with red paint. Unfortunately Peter was arrested. Normally in cases like this 'offender' is fined £5 or £10 depending on whether the sentencing magistrates had a good night or not. In this case Peter was charged at Bow Street and he pleaded guilty. Instead of being fined he was sent for two weeks at Brixton prison. Bail was at first refused but granted later on the following conditions:

(a) If Dukes agreed to psychiatric treatment. (This is a new Stalinist-type twist and those arrested on October 27 should bear it in mind).

(b) If he agreed to stay at home on October 27.

The cause of British justice being served the magistrate retired for a brief recess.

**FIREMEN OF ENGLAND, UNITE!**

It is gratifying to read that the Fire Brigades Union of Northern Ireland has written to the Home Secretary James Callaghan dissociating itself from the use of water jets and cannons during the repressive measures ordered by Callaghan's Irish equivalent. The letter maintained that the

**Subculture**

"MAKING IT HAPPEN" by Roland Muldoon

There is a shortage of people in the Left who understand what it takes to use mass-communication methods in competition with the system. Most of the poster work done for the Left is often esoteric. It both fails to explain itself and to appeal to anybody but the converted. Amongst the designers in the Left there seems to be an unhealthy fear of using methods devised by Capitalist advertising mainly because it seeks to propagate unsolicited information. If one realises that through advertising, Capitalism is able to stimulate the production and distribution of our daily crap, then one should look at it with reverence similar to that of Marx investigating basic Capitalism.

It's a common fallacy that people are noticing socialist advertising just because it states something that we feel people should be interested in. For instance, current advertising for this demonstration appeals at first sight only to those who recognise the NLF flag and fails to point out 'on impact' why anyone should demonstrate. For a long time now there has been a successful branch of advertising that has been developing the so-called 'honesty' style. Recent ads for charities ranging from Biafra to the Salvation Army, has been a great success with the bourgeois Liberals because of its frank approach to starvation, poverty, etc. I am not suggesting that we should adopt these methods ourselves, but they are a good example of pioneering work done in the anti-lineal media explosion. These campaigns, operating on small budget, have had a gigantic effect. At present there are a new wave of poster producers amongst the extra-parliamentary Left, who have yet mainly failed to do anything but use outmoded methods based on cartoons and the use of the simple juxta-position and irony styles. It seems to me that they should make a conscious effort to understand how to fight in

the jungle of modern Capitalism rather than borrowing romantic ideas from the past or styles successful only in the third world. I realize that I will be accused of saying that you can sell Socialism, but I insist that one to understand fully the tactics employed by one's enemies and the full revolutionary use can be made of their advanced methods of communication.

It seems to me that goes for street theatre and other activities as well (although here we can't learn from the outmoded established art form of theatre). It is our duty to show that we are the leaders in the fight for an advanced social understanding. It's no good using methods of presentation that went out of fashion before Capitalism just because they are used successfully among the peasants in China. Our style must be one that uses the most modern and progressive use of presentation that both reflects contemporary man and a quality which should suggest the superiority of the socialist collective. This must be as obvious as its message. The group must seem to have another function than that of romantic propaganda. It must be seen to be interested in itself and the intelligence of its audience.

I know that all this is very difficult because like all political people one must face the daily contradictions in one's existence. One must realise the trap in just being well meaning. The superhuman effort of working during the day and at night having to discipline oneself to a constant re-appraisal of methods used can only be done by those seeking to really communicate and not just indulge in social therapy. It is also difficult because we have no money and the enemy is rich with materials and outlets, but just like any embryonic revolutionary movement, we have to adapt ourselves to real conditions and not just to think that by doing 'something' we are justifying our existence.



**What's happenin'**

**CAST - Cartoon Archetypical Slogan Theatre**

Small mobile revolutionary theatre group; has four short plays (20-30 mins.) available for evening and weekend bookings by political and student groups, trade unions, folk clubs, etc.; also film of last October's demonstration featuring CAST, Adrian Mitchell, police violence, etc.; charges according to what you can afford plus travelling costs. Contact: John Porter, 161 West End Lane, N.W.6. 01-328 2409 (Needs money towards setting up own theatre and club).

**ANGRY ARTS FILM SOCIETY**

Subsidiary of Stop-It Committee; aims to fill information gap by showing documentary films of the third world and revolutions; current season (one

**SUNDAY, 27th OCTOBER**

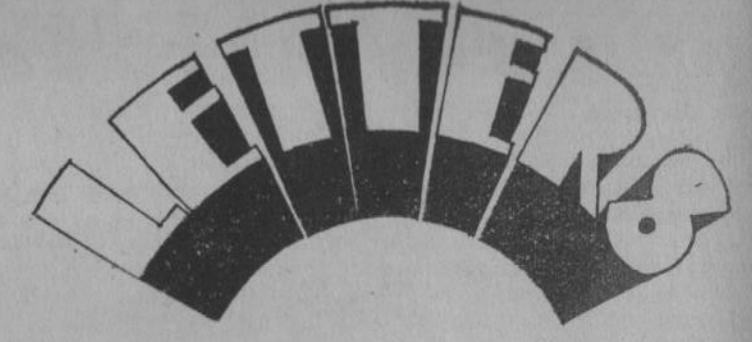
2 p.m. Charing Cross embankment - you know what!

**MONDAY, 28th OCTOBER**

London VSC meeting to discuss effects of demo. Conway Hall - 7-30 p.m.

**TUESDAY, 29th OCTOBER**

'Aggression' - a lecture by Joshua Fox, MA, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, EC1, 6-45 p.m. admission



The weekend demonstration at Londonderry evoked some painful memories of injustice. I used to live about forty miles from that city. My family and predecessors were protestants who did not discriminate against catholics and who steered clear of extremist protestant organisations - Orangemen.

In early 1930's, my grandfather (mother's father), a kind gentle man, then in his seventies, signed a petition for the release of a catholic prisoner - for doing so - five Orangemen dragged him from his bed in the middle of the night - took him some distance away - left him tarred and feathered - he died several months later. My father said he knew who those men were and was anxious that justice was implemented - but my mother's influential 'respectable' relatives preferred the matter to be hushed up, and so it was. Because my father (a farmer) extensively employed catholic workers - not out of a patronising motivation but a human compassionate one and as well, paid fair wages (in the days before standard rates of pay were specified) there were, over the years, several acts of sabotage perpetrated against the farm - one in particular, had it not been detected in time, could have easily wrecked up harvesting machinery so abruptly that a worker's life would have been endangered, - there were other things such as arson.

I first experienced personal acute sense of injustice as a child (as you know schools were/still are segregated) - it was alright on my way to school - I was alone and exchanged friendly hello's with catholic

Dear Comrades, Tom Fawthrop's article 'All Power to the Campus Soviets' in your last issue re-confirmed a vital point - that the first struggle begins by the demand for control over one's own work situation. I have been working for the last six years in commerce - in a relatively small family company employing some 80 people. I have made money very successfully for my employers and in the process have made very little - in relative through all this divorced from any terms - for myself. I have felt through all this divorced from any militant student activity although I have taken part in all the Vietnam marches. I have felt equally divorced from organised labour on the shop floor and in the big factories since no real groupings were possible in a small sales office. However, after many months nagging explanation of capital and socialism I can now report a new horizon in our company. We have organised a militant confrontation with the management and forced them to meet us on our terms - in our time. We have demanded representation on management committees and considerable improvements in our working conditions. The battle has, of course, only just begun but the management of this company are now faced with an entirely new and completely unknown situation. It will - we believe - force them to make concessions which they would otherwise throw out with the rubbish. Their whole authority - the authority of capital - is being undermined and challenged. The staff of this company are completely united against the management and in militant mood. Providing we do not let individuals be subverted we will win.

I hold out my experience in this as an example of what can be achieved even in the confines of small 'capitalist enterprise' - and, of course, it means a great deal for some of us, to feel more genuinely a part of the militant protest in this country. A protest which is only

Dear Comrades,

Tom Fawthrop's article 'All Power to the Campus Soviets' in your last issue re-confirmed a vital point - that the first struggle begins by the demand for control over one's own work situation.

I have been working for the last six years in commerce - in a relatively small family company employing some 80 people. I have made money very successfully for my employers and in the process have made very little - in relative through all this divorced from any terms - for myself. I have felt through all this divorced from any militant student activity although I have taken part in all the Vietnam marches.

I have felt equally divorced from organised labour on the shop floor and in the big factories since no real groupings were possible in a small sales office.

However, after many months nagging explanation of capital and socialism I can now report a new horizon in our company.

We have organised a militant confrontation with the management and forced them to meet us on our terms - in our time. We have demanded representation on management committees and considerable improvements in our working conditions.

The battle has, of course, only just begun but the management of this company are now faced with an entirely new and completely unknown situation. It will - we believe - force them to make concessions which they would otherwise throw out with the rubbish. Their whole authority - the authority of capital - is being undermined and challenged. The staff of this company are completely united against the management and in militant mood. Providing we do not let individuals be subverted we will win.

I hold out my experience in this as an example of what can be achieved even in the confines of small 'capitalist enterprise' - and, of course, it means a great deal for some of us, to feel more genuinely a part of the militant protest in this country. A protest which is only

Since October 1965, thousands of militants belonging to the Communist party and other left groupings have been murdered in a veritable white terror. This sweeping massacre has met with hardly a word of disapproval in the Western press, so 'humanist' and so sensitive when it comes to defending the 'sanctity of the human being' when a victorious revolution eliminates butchers who have committed unspeakable crimes, as occurred at the time of the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959.

"But innumerable victims have fallen in the wave of terror that has swept Indonesia. Sukarno himself has officially admitted 87,000 dead. At the Tricontinental Conference Fidel Castro spoke of 100,000 dead. Western observers in Indonesia have put the figure at 120,000 to 125,000 murdered workers and militants, and certain sources speak of 150,000 to 200,000 dead. . . .

"The report of the special correspondent of Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung on the events in Bali, the island formerly considered to be a Communist fortress, is terrifying. He tells about bodies lying along the roads, or heaped in pits, or half-burned villages in which peasants dare not leave the shells of their huts. There is likewise a nightmarish account of the hysterical fear that has caught up large numbers, so that people suspected of being Communist have killed their alleged comrades with their own hands in order to show the ferocious army men that 'they were not Communist.'

"In addition to the dead, there are innumerable other victims of the repression. The figure has been given of 250,000 militants or sympathisers of the extreme left in prison."

There was not a single word of protest by the British Labour Government. And the Indonesian Government's repression under Suharto is continuing. Every week cases of executions in Indonesia are tucked away in the newspapers. Just what is the response of the Labour Government? In February of this year,

Since October 1965, thousands of militants belonging to the Communist party and other left groupings have been murdered in a veritable white terror. This sweeping massacre has met with hardly a word of disapproval in the Western press, so 'humanist' and so sensitive when it comes to defending the 'sanctity of the human being' when a victorious revolution eliminates butchers who have committed unspeakable crimes, as occurred at the time of the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959.

"But innumerable victims have fallen in the wave of terror that has swept Indonesia. Sukarno himself has officially admitted 87,000 dead. At the Tricontinental Conference Fidel Castro spoke of 100,000 dead. Western observers in Indonesia have put the figure at 120,000 to 125,000 murdered workers and militants, and certain sources speak of 150,000 to 200,000 dead. . . .

"The report of the special correspondent of Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung on the events in Bali, the island formerly considered to be a Communist fortress, is terrifying. He tells about bodies lying along the roads, or heaped in pits, or half-burned villages in which peasants dare not leave the shells of their huts. There is likewise a nightmarish account of the hysterical fear that has caught up large numbers, so that people suspected of being Communist have killed their alleged comrades with their own hands in order to show the ferocious army men that 'they were not Communist.'

"In addition to the dead, there are innumerable other victims of the repression. The figure has been given of 250,000 militants or sympathisers of the extreme left in prison."

There was not a single word of protest by the British Labour Government. And the Indonesian Government's repression under Suharto is continuing. Every week cases of executions in Indonesia are tucked away in the newspapers. Just what is the response of the Labour Government? In February of this year,

Since October 1965, thousands of militants belonging to the Communist party and other left groupings have been murdered in a veritable white terror. This sweeping massacre has met with hardly a word of disapproval in the Western press, so 'humanist' and so sensitive when it comes to defending the 'sanctity of the human being' when a victorious revolution eliminates butchers who have committed unspeakable crimes, as occurred at the time of the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959.

"But innumerable victims have fallen in the wave of terror that has swept Indonesia. Sukarno himself has officially admitted 87,000 dead. At the Tricontinental Conference Fidel Castro spoke of 100,000 dead. Western observers in Indonesia have put the figure at 120,000 to 125,000 murdered workers and militants, and certain sources speak of 150,000 to 200,000 dead. . . .

"The report of the special correspondent of Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung on the events in Bali, the island formerly considered to be a Communist fortress, is terrifying. He tells about bodies lying along the roads, or heaped in pits, or half-burned villages in which peasants dare not leave the shells of their huts. There is likewise a nightmarish account of the hysterical fear that has caught up large numbers, so that people suspected of being Communist have killed their alleged comrades with their own hands in order to show the ferocious army men that 'they were not Communist.'

"In addition to the dead, there are innumerable other victims of the repression. The figure has been given of 250,000 militants or sympathisers of the extreme left in prison."

There was not a single word of protest by the British Labour Government. And the Indonesian Government's repression under Suharto is continuing. Every week cases of executions in Indonesia are tucked away in the newspapers. Just what is the response of the Labour Government? In February of this year,

Since October 1965, thousands of militants belonging to the Communist party and other left groupings have been murdered in a veritable white terror. This sweeping massacre has met with hardly a word of disapproval in the Western press, so 'humanist' and so sensitive when it comes to defending the 'sanctity of the human being' when a victorious revolution eliminates butchers who have committed unspeakable crimes, as occurred at the time of the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959.

"But innumerable victims have fallen in the wave of terror that has swept Indonesia. Sukarno himself has officially admitted 87,000 dead. At the Tricontinental Conference Fidel Castro spoke of 100,000 dead. Western observers in Indonesia have put the figure at 120,000 to 125,000 murdered workers and militants, and certain sources speak of 150,000 to 200,000 dead. . . .

"The report of the special correspondent of Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung on the events in Bali, the island formerly considered to be a Communist fortress, is terrifying. He tells about bodies lying along the roads, or heaped in pits, or half-burned villages in which peasants dare not leave the shells of their huts. There is likewise a nightmarish account of the hysterical fear that has caught up large numbers, so that people suspected of being Communist have killed their alleged comrades with their own hands in order to show the ferocious army men that 'they were not Communist.'

"In addition to the dead, there are innumerable other victims of the repression. The figure has been given of 250,000 militants or sympathisers of the extreme left in prison."

There was not a single word of protest by the British Labour Government. And the Indonesian Government's repression under Suharto is continuing. Every week cases of executions in Indonesia are tucked away in the newspapers. Just what is the response of the Labour Government? In February of this year,

# Revolt in France

## MAY - JUNE 1968

168 pages, with photographs  
Compiled from  
**Intercontinental Press**  
and  
**The Militant**

Pioneer Book Service,  
8, Toynbee St.,  
London E.1.

# 16/6

add 1/6  
POST

End Lane, N.W.1. 01-226 2400 (Needs money towards setting up own theatre and club).

**ANGRY ARTS FILM SOCIETY**  
Subsidiary of Stop-It Committee; aims to fill information gap by showing documentary films of the third world and revolutions; current season (one show per month, two performances) at Unity Theatre includes China, Bolivia following the death of Che Guevara, Portuguese Guinea, and North Vietnam plus newsreels of protest activity in U.S.; membership 2/6 for season; details - c/o Stop-It Committee, 59 Fleet St., E.C.4.  
American Newsreels available on hire, also information on films suitable for shows to left-wing audiences from; same address.

**UNITY THEATRE**  
Old and once-effective agitational club theatre trying hard to re-establish itself; desperately needs new members with theatre or organisational talents and strong political basis; Active membership £1 a year; Associate membership (tickets and bar only) 7/6 a year; plays on Thurs., Fri., Sat., Sun., 7-45 p.m.; folkclub 8-30 p.m. every Wed.; some other activities; could be useful meeting place for left; meeting Sun. 3rd November 3 p.m. to discuss future policy and set up new organisational structure; 1 Goldington St., N.W.1. EUS 8647.

**GUERRILLA**  
Groups of political poets available for reading at meetings, demos, shows; contact: Donald Gardner or Kate Sanders, 17 Vardens Rd., S.W.11. 223 5616.

**POSTER WORKSHOP**  
Screenprints posters for political groups, tenants associations, trade unions; from your designs or theirs; free or for cost of materials if you can afford it; needs copywriters, designers and other helpers with knowledge of advertising techniques; also needs money for materials and to pay rent and donations of paper and card for printing on. 60 Camden Rd., N.W.1.

**AGITPROP**  
Information exchange keeps card index of individuals and groups willing to give their professional or creative talents to left-wing organisations; includes: lawyers, designers, writers, singers, street theatre groups, organisers, architects, poets, painters, admen, doctors, etc.; contact: 6 Southcote Rd., N.19. 607 0155. If you want help to re-style your journal, design and produce a poster or leaflet, set up a fund-raising concert or street demo, get in touch. If you want to put yourself on the index, ask for questionnaire. Needs funds to set up permanent office.

**LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE**  
Left and underground press agency to ensure that left press has information of protest and revolutionary activities in this and other countries. Needs information from your organisation of important meetings and other activities. Flat 4. 30 Holland Park Gardens, W.14. 603 5469.

**TIME OUT**  
New comprehensive 'What's On' for London area; cover all forms of left and underground entertainment including poetry sessions and electronic music plus meetings and demos; offers free publicity to anyone with an event of interest, make sure your meetings, etc. are included. 24 St. George's Court, Gloucester Rd., S.W.7. 584 7434 (Tony Elliott).  
Issues cover 3 week periods; on sale from news-stands at 1/6.

The Black Dwarf is now available in Scotland from  
**Ian Gordon,**  
27 Saughton Hall Terrace,  
Edinburgh 12  
031-337-7459  
Write or phone for trade rates.

**CHICAGO - MEXICO - DERRY NOW LONDON!**  
March with the East London contingent of Vietnam Solidarity organisations on Sunday, October 27  
Start: Stepney Town Hall  
Cable St. at 10 a.m.  
route to embankment to join main demonstration

**CHE GUEVARA'S BOLIVIAN DIARIES**  
with an Introduction  
by Fidel Castro.

5s. post free from  
**THE BLACK DWARF,**  
7, Carlisle Street,  
London, W.1.

were/still are segregated) - it was alright on my way to school - I was alone and exchanged friendly hello's with catholic children going in opposite direction to their school - hometime was a different matter - then I was always with the other children - meeting the group of catholic children was always a bitter confrontation - an exchange of insults and stones - I remember always standing aside from my friends - frightened bewildered helpless . . . I still remember.

L.C.

11½ems for Mr Tariq Ali  
Yours,  
R. ALLEN.

**THE BLACK DWARF NEEDS YOU**  
DO YOU HELP ORGANISE A SOCIALIST SOCIETY, TENANTS' ASSOCIATION, VSC GROUP, FILM SOCIETY, etc.?  
**SELL THE BLACK DWARF!**  
BD must grow to survive — this is your paper,  
If you think you can help, send an order for as many copies as you can sell, on a sale or return basis, to:—  
**THE BLACK DWARF**  
7, Carlisle Street,  
London, W.1.  
01-734-4827

**STUDENT CONFERENCE**  
Student Movements In China and the West  
Weekend November 2nd-3rd, 10-30 a.m. to 5-30 p.m.  
'The Roebuck'  
108 Tottenham Court Road, W1.  
Tickets 5s.  
Apply at Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding, 24 Warren Street, W1.  
Tel. 387-0074

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

**NEW REDUCED SUBSCRIPTION RATES**

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

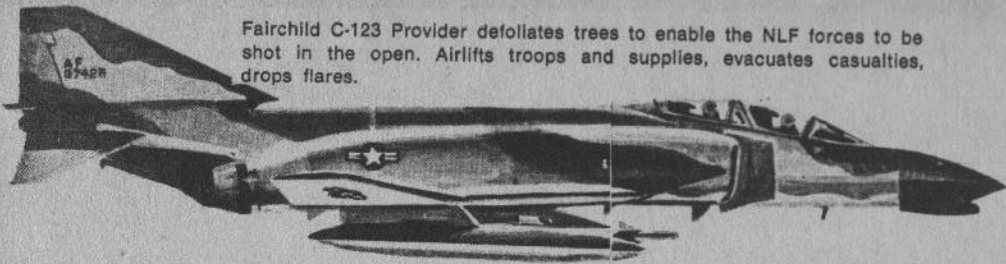
New subscribers completing this form will receive the big CHE poster (20" x 30") free.

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

Name .....

Address .....

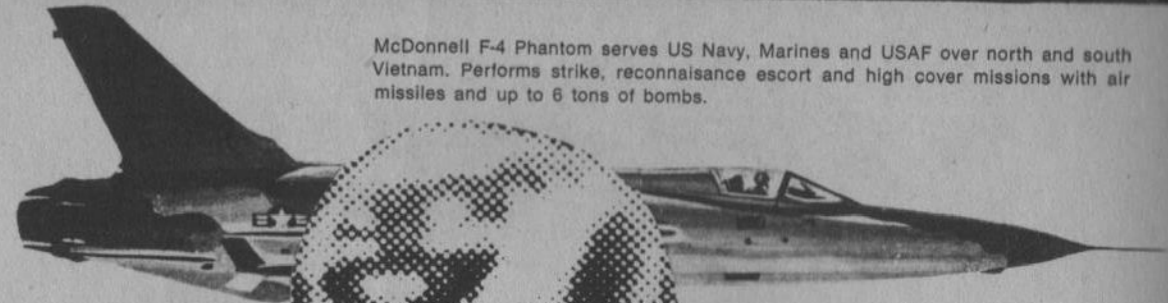
The BLACK DWARF, 7 Carlisle Street, W.1.  
Telephone: 01-734 4827  
Trade terms on application.



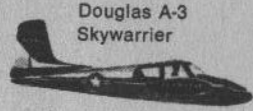
Fairchild C-123 Provider defoliates trees to enable the NLF forces to be shot in the open. Airlifts troops and supplies, evacuates casualties, drops flares.



Cessna U-3A blue canoe used by USAF for utility transport between bases.



McDonnell F-4 Phantom serves US Navy, Marines and USAF over north and south Vietnam. Performs strike, reconnaissance escort and high cover missions with air missiles and up to 6 tons of bombs.



Douglas A-3 Skywarrior



Republic F-105 Thunderchief USAF fighter bomber. Armed with vulcan cannon, a typical load: two 450 gallon fuel tanks and six 750lb. bombs.



McDonnell RF-101 Voodoo unarmed reconnaissance aircraft, photographs villages, hospitals etc before and after fighter bomber strikes.



The big 'plane below is a Douglas A-4 sky hawk used by US Navy and Marines from carriers and ashore in the daylight attack role.

THIS TABLE LISTS THE SIX CRITICAL MATERIALS NEEDED TO MAKE A JET ENGINE

material	lbs used in engine	imports to US as % of consumption	where material is produced

**NAPALM BOMB**  
One of a list of weapons favoured by the FAC's is napalm, a form of jetified gasoline. It comes in

**THE BEATLES ARE BEST**  
Here is a random collection of some other devices used by the US in Vietnam:

**THIS TABLE LISTS THE SIX CRITICAL MATERIALS NEEDED TO MAKE A JET ENGINE**

material	lbs used in engine	imports to US as % of consumption	where material is produced
Tungsten	80-100	24%	US 30% S. Korea 19% Australia 8% Bolivia 8% Portugal 7%
Columbium	10-12	100%	Brazil 54% Canada 21% Mozambique 18%
Chromium	2,500-2,800	100%	S. Africa 31% Turkey 19% Rhodesia 19% Phillipines 18% Iran 5%
Molybendum	90-100	0%	US 79% Canada 10% Chile 9%
Cobalt	30-40	100%	Congo 60% Morocco 13% Canada 12% Zambia 11%

**ALL ABOUT THE JET ENGINE**

One reason why it has taken so long to develop the gas turbine jet commercially is that there are few materials that can withstand red heat and at the same time take the stress of 20,000 revolutions per minute. Many of the materials used have to be imported to the US from underdeveloped countries.

'By strengthening Vietnam and helping ensure the safety of the South Pacific and South East Asia, we gradually develop the great trade potential of this area.' **US State Department.**

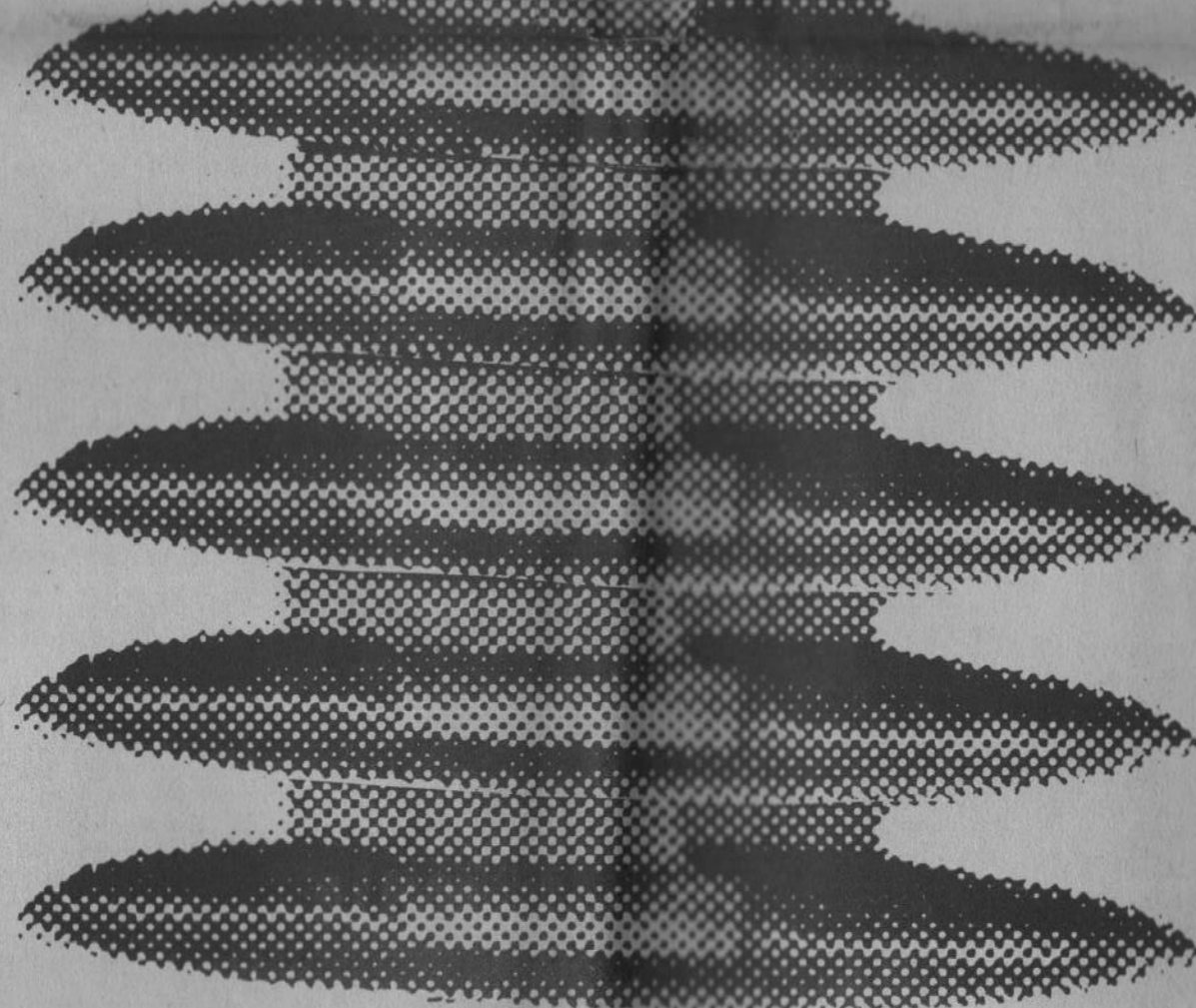
It is part of US foreign policy to see to it, that its supplies of raw materials are assured. From this it can be seen that the war in Vietnam is being fought in the interest of US imperialism to protect itself from losing power in those underdeveloped countries that supply the US with the raw materials necessary to fight the war in Vietnam.

**THE COST OF WAR**

The US Defence Dept. controls the world's most sophisticated war machine. In all the wars before Vietnam, to kill one enemy soldier, on average, has cost the Dept. the following amounts:  
In 1776 £10; 1860 £34; 1917 £211; 1942 £642. This year to kill one guerilla costs-£2,635.

**THE FORWARD AIR CONTROLLER**

Files the single engine Cessna which supplies most of the information for the tactical air control centre in Saigon, it is their mistaken suspicions which result in the bombing of friendly villages.



**BASIS OF REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE**

1. Revolutionary leaders consider mass support the primary condition for success - keeping this support is the main objective throughout the struggle.
2. The political factors are of primary importance in the struggle.
3. Popular support for the revolutionaries relies on discontent with the existing government.
4. The conditions for the revolution are not created by conspiracy but arise from the failure of the ruling elite to respond to rapid social change.
5. A guerilla movement concentrates on 'out-administering' not 'out-fighting' the enemy.
6. The use of terror is selective. It is not the main reason for the support of the population to the cause.

**SOME VIETCONG WEAPONS**

The arsenal of the revolutionaries is neither as sophisticated nor as expensive as that of the US forces. But it is very effective.

**BAKED BEAN**

Grenade with pin removed inserted in tin can, when trip wire pulls it out, the device explodes.

**ESCAPE TUNNEL**

1. Entrance under floor mat
2. Punji spike pit
3. Grenade trap
4. Camouflaged lid to main room
5. Main room with sleeping facilities bamboo breathing tube etc
6. Arrow trap on escape route
7. Final 'open once only' escape hatch.

**CANADIAN MANUFACTURED BREN**  
originally made for the Chinese nationalists in World War II went from Chiang to Mao to Ho.

**BREAD LOAF MINE**

Home cooking - hand made sheet metal box filled with TNT, electrically detonated.

**PUNJI SPIKE**

sharpened bamboo, hardened over fire, dipped in : and used in a wide variety of booby traps: Malayan Gate, The falling Mace.

**WHAT GUERRILLAS DO**

Mao's three rules and eight remarks:  
Rules

1. All actions are subject to central command
2. Do not steal from the people
3. Be neither selfish nor unjust.

Remarks

1. Close the door when you leave a house
2. Roll up the bedding on which you have slept
3. Be courteous
4. Be honest in your transactions
5. Return what you borrow
6. Replace what you break
7. Do not bathe in the presence of women
8. Do not, without authority, search the wallets of those you arrest.

**SOME INFLUENTIAL GUERRILLAS**

Mao tse Tung; b. 1883, devised the classic three phases of revolutionary war:

1. Guerilla warfare
2. Semi-mobilisation
3. Conventional or general counter offensive.

'The guerilla must swim amid the population as a fish must in water'.

Che Guevara, dead Cuban and Argentinian revolutionary, wrote 'La Guerra de Guerilla'.

'If you are going to put a mine on a trail, lay it on the right hand side'.

Vo Nguyen Giap: he has put Mao's three stages into practice in Vietnam. The US forces with 565,000 men are fighting a losing military battle against 250,000 guerillas.

**THE BEATLES ARE BEST**

Here is a random collection of some other devices used by the US in Vietnam:

**BARBED TAPE BEATLES**

Supplied in rolls, like movie film, with the spikes projecting along the edges, it comes in a handy dispenser which gives it a neat twist as it unrolls.

**THE IMPROVED HAND GRENADE**  
With greater strike than before up to 750 red hot barbs can penetrate the 'casualty area'.

**CHEMICAL GRENADES**

Nerve gas has, of course, been standard equipment since 15 August 1964.

**PLASTIC MINES**

Cannot be detected by magnetic detectors, are convenient to carry (only 4 oz per item) and can be quickly strewn along a path.

**BEHAVIOUR MONITOR**

A device being perfected by Honeywell to isolate and control electro-chemical impulses in the human brain. This will enable the army to control people's reflexes and mental processes over considerable distances. Also useful for monitoring people in the field to check on their behaviour and reactions.

**M79 GRENADE LAUNCHER**

Light weight, fires 550 rounds per minute with a range of 1,000 yards.

**M16 RIFLE**

.223 calibre, fires high speed bullets that tumble as they travel, causing fragmentation rather than penetration.

**M14 RIFLE**

Standard issue to US forces, semi or fully automatic.

**FURTHER INFORMATION**

Write to: Interarmco Ltd, 10 Princes Street, Alexandria, Washington, USA. They sell western as well as Soviet, Czech and Chinese second hand weapons.

**EDITORIAL AND PRODUCTION GROUP:** Tariq Ali, Clive Goodwin, Adrian Mitchell, Robin Flor, David Mercer, Mo Tittelbaum, Fred Halliday, Barney Fulcher, Roger Smith, Warren Sharpe. Published by The Black Dwarf 7 Carlisle Street, London W1 Printed by Chapple Ltd. Bala, N. Wales, Distributed by Moore Harness Limited, 11 Lever Street, EC 1 01 253-4286