

The Black Dwarf

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**Fred Halliday on the Dialectics of Christmas.
Imperialism by Malcolm Caldwell.**

DIALECTICS OF CHRISTMAS

From earliest childhood we know the stereotypes of Christmas—gifts, turkey and pudding, decorations, snow, festivity and drink. Yet the very familiarity of Christmas and its yearly occurrence tend to preclude a critical and full understanding of its role in our society. Moreover it might appear excessively morbid to lay the cold hands of analysis on what is par excellence the occasion for light-hearted enjoyment and alcoholic oblivion.

But this very universality and magnitude of Christmas make it the major communal festival of late-capitalist society, lived by all and understood by none; and the festivals of late-capitalism, no less than those of feudal and tribal societies, serve important functions in preserving the cohesion and unity of those societies. They are occasions of exuberance in a world of repression, and so they are both festivals in spite of repression and festivals of repression. The release of counter-repressive feeling in social ritual reinforces the power of oppression as society marshals spontaneous feelings of freedom in order to reinforce its own unfree ideology and structure. At the same time these festivals are a recurring proof that it is possible to overthrow repression if the liberating forces in society are released in a different way and the yearly return of Christmas is a yearly reminder of the possibility of overthrowing the society we have and replacing it with another. Herein lies the dialectic of Christmas.

The cultural forms now surrounding Christmas are the result of thousands of years of accumulation of myth and symbol, and as each epoch bequeathes its symbols to the next the meaning is transformed and shaped by the new social systems which adopt them. In the case of Christmas all kinds of pagan, Roman, Persian, Jewish, Celtic, Teutonic and Christian elements have been mixed up to produce the festival as we now know it. Although today we are oppressed by the weight of Christmas as fixed tradition, its form is determined by a long historical and social evolution. Yet its very origins are based on myth and falsehood. Christmas is alleged to be a Christian festival, celebrating the birth of Christ, the son of God, on December 25th in the year 0. The historical Christ was not born in December, but in June or July; he was not born in the year 0 but just before, or just after; and Christmas is a pagan festival used by early Christians as a means of diverting pagan loyalties into following the new religion.

Christ was born in Bethlehem, Joseph's home town, where his parents had gone for a census, because people in the Roman empire had to go to their home towns to be registered when there was a census. Roman censuses were conducted in the summer—when it is easier to travel—and there were ones just before and just after the year 0, not in that year itself. The celebration of a festival of festivity and rebirth in late December is found in many pagan societies. The basic astronomical factor involved is the winter solstice—around December 22—when the days start to get longer. The Romans celebrated the period December 17-24 as the Saturnalia, an occasion for feasting, dancing and dressing up. In the north, including Britain, there was a more sombre festival of Yule when fertility rights for the coming year were celebrated; part of this consisted in the making of special rich foods—the origin of the modern turkey and plum pudding. In ancient Persia, the sun-worshippers celebrated the feast as that of the rebirth of the sun, invincible and a saviour.

Although Christianity itself is obviously the product of previous religions of the ancient world, the early Christians themselves did not celebrate Christmas as a major festival until the fourth century. At that time two oriental religions, Christianity and Mithraism—a sun-worshipping cult—were competing for the following of the suppressed classes and peoples of the decaying Roman empire. The leaders of Christianity decided therefore to adopt the pagan date and to celebrate it as the birth of Christ and an occasion of rejoicing, hoping thereby to win followers of Mithraism and Roman religion. Instead of the celebration of Saturn or of the birth of the sun as saviour, they worshipped Christ as saviour.

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Christian purposes was common. The halo was also taken straight from Mithraism as a symbol—the sun—of divinity; and the crib was borrowed from the cult of Adonis, also alleged to have been born in a stable.)

Sex and Class

Since this early tactical move in the politics of conversion, Christmas has picked up all sorts of other cultural symbols, and has served different functions of the different societies in which it has flourished. The Jewish festival of lights, Hanukkah, led to the practice of putting up coloured lights at Christmastime—although the fact that it is dark a lot at that time of year must also have helped.

Another addition came from the feast of St. Nicholas, celebrated on December 6th. St. Nicholas was an early Christian bishop, patron of scholars, sailors and children—as well as of Czarist Russia. His patronage of children and relation to giving gifts are derived from two grossly ideological legends about him. According to one, some little rich boys were killed by a wicked butcher who chopped them up and pickled them; St. Nicholas stuck them together again and returned them to their parents alive and well. Another story concerns a merchant who was suddenly thrown into poverty and was going to sell off his daughters as prostitutes, when along came St. Nicholas in secret and gave them the dowries they needed to marry according to their station. The latent sexual and class content of these legends is obvious. However, in the Anglo-Saxon world at least, the giving of presents was transferred from December 6th to Christmas Day, while St. Nicholas himself was banalised and secularised into Santa Claus—an American corruption of his name in Dutch.

Christmas as we now know it took shape in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The eighteenth century coaches and houses on cards reflect its early congealment; the growth of cards with the expansion of the cheap post in the 1860s, and the popularisation of the Christmas tree by Prince Albert are later additions. What we now have is this complex totality of myths and symbols, but their varied origins are subordinate to the function which Christianity serves for the preservation of late-capitalist society. It is not merely cultural inertia or human nostalgia that enables Christmas to be celebrated each year—but the inner dynamic of capitalist society itself.

Ideology

First of all Christmas serves to reinforce certain crucial ideological ties in bourgeois society. The two central figures of feudal society—monarch and Pope—are both given special billing at Christmastime, this time in the service of capitalist mystification. (The cancellation of the Queen's message this year is only a result of over-exposure earlier in the summer.) Their messages stress the unity of Church and Empire. Christmas may be experienced as a predominantly secular occasion but religious ideology is trumpeted through the radio and TV programmes, carols and culture of the period; and the once yearly visits to Church to witness the spectacle serve to

and old. The boosting of monarchic ideology is also an intrinsic part of Christmas. The myth of "Christ the King" is found in a plethora of carols and cards, and if this is not enough there is always Good King Wenceslas, tossing crumbs to the Bohemian peasantry. The temporary and mystified resolution of social relations in the Wenceslas carol is found in all kinds of festivals of this period. In ancient Rome slaves were temporarily freed during the Saturnalia; landlords in Russia would give their serfs presents at Christmastime; and this ideological suppression of class relations finds its modern drunken embodiment in the office party and the factory dance.

More generally Christmastime is characterised by the ideology of "peace on earth" and "goodwill to all men". However genuine and deep these aspirations are they also serve to displace the need for change onto an abstract wish, or onto a spiritual saviour. They obscure the need for conflict if peace and goodwill are to be possible. A universal awareness of crisis is dissolved into passive fatalism, and benign idiocy.

At the same time as the public structures of mystification are reinforced, the private structure of the family is strengthened. However antagonistic the relations of parents and children, however real the differences between them, Christmas is a time to forget them. The violence of familial relations is drowned in a quagmire of nostalgia and maternal cooking. The Christmas dinner witnesses a crescendo of bad faith and deceit forced on the individual by the pressure of familial ideology and introjected guilt at any violation of the tradition. This is helped by the definite return to childhood relations in this period—a reinfantilisation that both serves to protect the myths of the family, and more generally prevents the individual from winking out the liberating potential of Christmas. While a false celebration of man's salvation takes place round the spiritual altar of the Church, a real celebration of his repression is found at the material altar of the Family—the Christmas dinner-table. As he reaches out to a non-existent spiritual liberator, he is stabbed in the back by the knife that carves the family turkey.

Money

A second major function of Christmas is quite simple: it is good business. The first signs of approaching Christmas are the tinsel and decorations in shops. The period before Christmas is colloquially measured in the idiom of the market as "x shopping days before Christmas". 12.5% of all retail trade is done in December alone. By mid-November the media are full of advertisements urging people to buy their wares, and one MP recently urged the President of the Board of Trade to ban the advertising of toy manufacturers because "it causes embarrassment to lower paid workers and widows with families" (The Times, 27.11.69). Instead of gift-giving being a spontaneous act it is surrounded by capitalist pressure; the value of gifts is often measured by how much they cost; and the unspoken nature of relations between

the fact that they can only give at one institutionalised period, and even then they often have to divert the giving through a mythical Santa Claus.

The third aspect of Christmas reflects the repressive channelling of the liberating emotions and forces in society. Christmas has inspired some of the greatest works of western music and painting, and no-one can deny that Christmas expresses the deepest aspirations of suffering men—a longing for peace, happiness, good food, social equality and free giving of commodities. In the deepest winter and at the end of the year all these forces are annually released. The expression of these liberating emotions is however controlled by social ritual as it has been since pre-historic times. Far from finding their fulfilment in a liberated society they are diverted to reinforce the structures of oppression. The function of myth is to provide diverting solutions to real problems, and the function of ritual is to provide a controlled way in which human emotions can be resolved without destroying the structures against which they are reacting.

The liberation of Christmas is controlled by the very institutionalisation of its expression. People should be able to choose when they rave it up and give presents and love each other: yet Christmas ordains and ritualises them. One is pressured into celebrating these at one date in the year to stop one from expressing them for the rest of the rest of the year. The expression of freedom in this form is an expression of unfreedom. The happiness of Christmas masks the misery of society. The infantilisation of Christmas time, and the torrents of gross ideological gibberish put out at this period, also serve to blunt any awareness of critical content and revolutionary potential.

The critical creative and aesthetic faculties are assaulted by the awful level of Christmas decorations, cards and other paraphernalia; yet one is blackmailed into submission by the very "traditionality" of it. The lights across Regent Street sum this up—linking Soho to Mayfair: instead of suggesting the end of the class relations on which the shops of central London are based, these decorations attempt to cover them in a meretricious adornment. The overconsumption and frenzied drunkenness of Christmas also serve to divert critical awareness of what is involved. Moreover the social implications are reinforced by the fact that Christmas is experienced in an atomised and enclosed manner. Everyone is at their family lunch. The streets are never so empty as on Christmas Day. The real social unity of the nation and its common acceptance of this extraordinary ideological festival are concealed; the only unity is via TV. Church, the Queen and Billy Smart's Circus are the focusses of external attention. Hence while all are socially unified in this observance of Christmas, its conscious unity is projected onto the most absurd actors of late-capitalism—Gods, Queens and clowns. Last year the Americans gave us an added spectacle by sending men round the moon, but this fitted neatly into the general pattern.

Transcend

Here lies the dialectical significance of Christmas. Jesus Christ was once seen as a militant saviour. Christianity was once a revolutionary ideology, but has long been the tool of oppression and myth, and except in the case of revolutionary priests in Latin America it serves to reinforce capitalist society. The desire for happiness is marshalled to defend the instruments of misery and the ideological symbols of myth are carefully used to drown the critical and liberating content of the Christmas festival. To smash the institutionalisation of happiness is to release men from myth, from the need to displace salvation onto Gods or charity, and to realign man's hopes on conscious historical action.

Within the apparently innocuous shell of Christmas is found both oppression and the longing for liberation and revolution. The Puritans banned it; the Cuba Cubans postponed it; we can transcend it. This involves the release of the revolutionary potential now marshalled by late-capitalist forms. In the meantime,

SCHOOLS

I suppose that Schools Section is written by comrades suffering in schools. Could I come in from the outside to discuss the situation in Turner's School, at Redcar? I'm a psychologist working in the Education Service and therefore have some contact with both sides. The most obvious difficulty is that students don't have any part in the production process and therefore cannot withdraw their labour power; and unless parents are behind you on particular issues, you're bound to lose out in an open conflict. The movement has enough martyrs already. Really it depends on what comrades at the school really want to do. If a "confrontation" is required (presumably excluding Sterling guns!) it will end in the yellow press and a few "tringleaders" will get well and truly clobbered *pour encourager les autres*. If you want to pick your own ground and fight on a few issues where there is a prospect of success you probably have a pretty good chance. No headmaster likes having a blazing row going on inside his school as it means his name will get into the papers: at the same time he wants to "keep face" otherwise the Governors will want his head on a plate. So most heads will want some form of compromise; and this entails picking issues carefully and not forcing him into a corner. The master mentioned by name is a fair case. Physical assault on pupils? He could lose his job for this. Don't you know the regulations governing corporal punishment in schools? Why not find out about them and quietly mention them to the gentleman concerned the next time that he raises his finger towards someone? A whisper of a formal complaint to the Chief Education Officer would have this teacher by the short hairs in the Head's office quite quickly. "Mocked openly for any physical defect"??? The same goes here—and parental support for a quiet and polite letter of complaint to the Head would be very uncomfortable for the gentleman concerned. "Hysterical anti-Communist diatribes"—fair enough. The teacher probably has his difficulties: a whacking great mortgage, HP on the Ford, an overdraft, a (probably) mediocre degree N years ago—and a crippling sense of insecurity arising from that realisation that as yours is a selective school, a large proportion of the people he has to teach are intellectually as able or more able than he is! He probably specialised in Periclean Athens at one time and now has to teach modern European history. How much do you think he actually knows about it? Why not make yourself be better equipped in revolutionary history than he appears to be? This means work but it also means that you'll become all the more effective as socialist agitators if it can be seen that you actually can defend your version of what happened in history. John Cornford's dictum from the '30s—"the best Communists are the best students"—is worth remembering; an academically superior group of 6th form Marxists would shake the roots of your establishment much more than any amount of agitation by people who can be stigmatised as "left-wing drop-outs". If you must go on using language as cliché-ridden as your quotes, by the way, virtually any head with an ear for language is going to write—Orwell has some useful remarks on the subject. Finally, your "silent demonstration" at speech day seems altogether admirable and the most embarrassing technique for admin. and spectators that can be imagined—and yet it cannot possibly be termed as a "riot".

John Comley

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Dear Sir,
I was arrested for alleged assault on a police officer at Twickenham rugby football ground on Saturday 22 November, during the Springboks v. London Counties match. The alleged incident took place in a room at the ground which was used by the police to take the names and addresses of demonstrators. I would like to use your columns to appeal to anyone who was in the room during the match to contact me at the address below or at REGENT 9251 during the day.

Yours faithfully,

CARS AND CONSEQUENCES

The effect of the motor car is so obvious that we tend to miss its significance. The carrier of twentieth-century capitalism, it has changed our shopping, our holidays, our towns and suburbs; it has established the conveyor-belt factory and resulted in the development of numerous related industries, many of which are important in their own right. The last twenty years have been the period of most conspicuous growth. The industry has become also in this time one of the main centres of conflict and the car-worker one of the favourite bogies of the capitalist press. Recently too these conflicts have been particularly crucial in effect—the sewing machinists, the dispute over penal clauses at Fords, disputes at British Leylands, Vauxhalls and Rootes, Ryton, all these have had implications and consequences which are much broader than the actual plants concerned. This is no coincidence. Although profits have kept up to a high level, employers are uncomfortably aware that Britain's share of total car and commercial vehicles exports is falling. With the possibility of the Common Market threatening shares in the home market—the heat is on. The attempt to introduce Measured Day Work in varying forms is being tried as part of a co-ordinated effort to assert management controls over labour costs, because this can be effected actually within the plants. It is much more difficult to organise the supply of components in relation to the assembly of vehicles. Consequently they are trying to cut labour costs at the same time as getting long run predictability by introducing American-style long-term contracts based on established work content for set periods.

In order to get the present situation in perspective it is necessary to look at the background trend in the industry, examine current developments, including the kind of tactics workers are adopting to deal with the intensification of the pace of exploitation.

GROWTH

From being a luxurious fad the motor car industry grew considerably after 1918 behind protective tariffs. By 1921 Austin had started producing the first model for mass consumption—the Austin 7. By the mid twenties Morris were also in the market. Development varied. Fords, Dagenham, was built as a planned production unit but Morris of Cowley evolved simply by buying up innumerable specialist firms supplies and rivals.

British output rose to 180,000 cars before the Great Slump and more than doubled in the 1930s. The car industry suffered relatively little from the depression because the export trade accounted for a fairly small proportion of total trade.

The number of car manufacturers gradually contracted from the twenties until by 1939 the Big Six dominated. Production was geographically concentrated around Birmingham, Coventry and London. Reconversion after the war was relatively easy. With American exports down and Europe out of action, British car exports boomed. But since the mid fifties they have been steadily pushed out of the foreign market. Growth has been at home. The ending of the post-war Labour Government's policy of domestic austerity meant increasingly cars were bought at home. British makers also made too many different models which were adapted to home needs and neglected vital aspects of service and spare parts for the overseas market. These contributed to British cars proving non-competitive abroad.

AMALGAMATION

The tendency for combination has continued. After a £450 million merger recently, the large producers are British Leyland, Rootes, Vauxhalls and Fords. Three of these are owned by American companies. With increasing state intervention in industry, the determination of these big motor companies to try and exert a direct influence on policy-making is most noticeable. At the same time international investment has created a vast world-wide complex of plants—Fords have reached South Korea. Rootes have a plant in Iran.

ORGANISATION

Most important is the internal organisation of the industry. Automation has accounted for most of the rise in output. Between 1948 and 1959 output of motor vehicles went up by 180%; employment in the industry only rose by 18%. Not only have wage rates not reflected this increase of productivity, but management have been able to use the introduction of auto-

mated machines to gain more control over the work cycle time. Even when the somewhat faster rate of depreciation and higher maintenance costs are taken into consideration, overhead and running costs per unit produced usually fall and management can achieve the introduction of a heavier work load, along with intensification of speed and greater continuity of the work process throughout the day. The struggle over the control of work time and the relationship of output to wages is an old one. Piece-work means that wages depend greatly on the negotiating strength of the shop steward and the level of trade union organisation on the shop floor. In some cases workers lose out. But the structures and procedures which arise in this ad hoc fashion can be picked up, passed on and communicated. Measured Day Work is presented by management as a logical extension and rationalisation of this. It's rationalised all right, but on their terms. They do the measuring.

ALIENATION

These developments have created an experience of modern capitalism in a particularly intense and bitter form. The intensity and bitterness affects both sides. The death rate amongst supervisory staff in the car industry is early. They suffer invariably from different forms of nervous disorder. They die of ulcers and heart failure. Now the young ones are becoming more polite. They deal with the shop steward in the office. In the old days it was behind a machine. But they deal still as category to category. They are under pressure all the time from higher up; often they have to stay behind to be instructed in ways to extract more from the men on the shop floor. The workers have evolved their own forms of resistance to this pressure. They have made psychological and organisational defences. But even so most car workers are relatively young. They get out early. They have to. They are being forced to live at the pace of someone who takes amphetamines regularly. Such a pace is only for the young. In the press shop at Fords, for instance, the operators on flex rolls are working with speeds in the region of 1,000 or more per hour. They have to be attuned to the hum of the machine and constantly alert in the feeding in operation to make sure the sheets are put in correctly. The effect of transfer automation on working conditions is not just a simple matter of replacement. In the press shop again at Dagenham, for example, it means that whereas before two men picked up the panel and put it into the press and two men took it out, now it comes up on the conveyor belt, one man puts it in and a mechanical hand takes it away. Three men aren't there, they're doing something else. Firms which introduce these machines are invariably expanding, and they are introduced gradually; cuts are made by not replacing men who leave. Stewards can become involved in struggles to increase the labour force to ease the work load which is often adamantly resisted by management. The one man who remains is doing the same job as before. But he's on his own, isolated; before he worked as part of a group. The monotony is broken only by the strain and irritation of the machines going wrong. The more complex the machine the more likely this is to happen.

RESPONSE

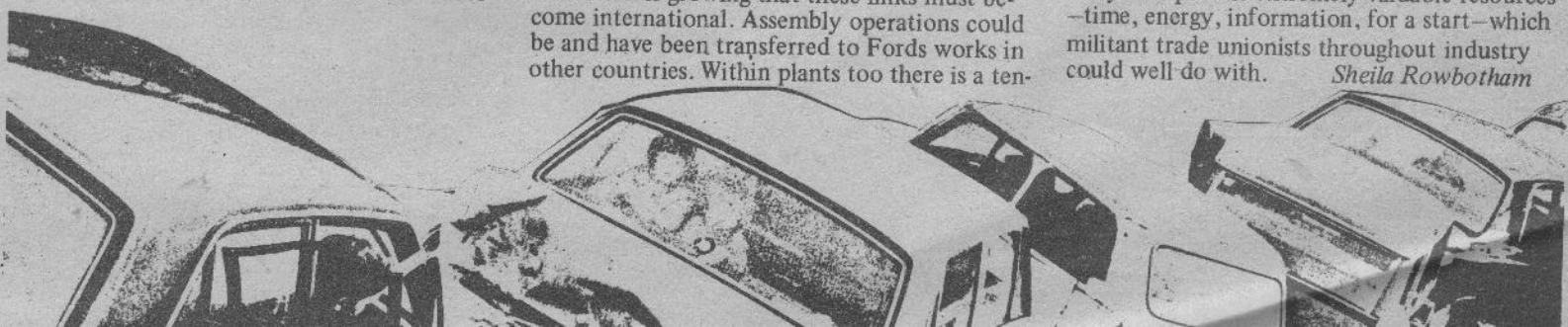
One response is to dream, the switched-off dream of unrealisable possibility. The other response is to act. Car workers are reacting consciously to changes and attempting to turn them to their own advantage. Concentration and international capital investment has produced an awareness of the importance of rank and file combine communication. Regular contacts are established between shop stewards' groups in the major car firms so information can be circulated about conditions, rates, etc., and solidarity action extended. This makes trade union organisation a real, rather than a theoretical, force. It means too that shop stewards do not fight in the dark. The image created of them by the capitalist press—as all-powerful manipulators—is far from the truth. In fact, on meagre resources of time and money they carry on a herculean struggle. Quite regardless of the individual consciousness of the steward, he is very closely bound by the perspective of the people he represents. Except for a few militant centres, people's ideas of action in the industry are still predominantly localised. Improved communications means important inter-union contact from the bottom as well as the top. The realisation is growing that these links must become international. Assembly operations could be and have been transferred to Fords works in other countries. Within plants too there is a ten-

dency towards union amalgamation. This is a sticky problem. Everyone's for unity but everyone has their own terms. Unions change too—the AEF for instance. The reaction to technological innovations and alteration of the way work is organised is less clear. Workers have tried to insist that automation must be related to wage increases. This would be relatively easy if a plant was automated rapidly. But as the process is usually gradual, it is difficult to put this into effect. On the question of Measured Day Work there is division. Nobody likes it. Some are determined to resist it. But other car workers feel it is impossible to avoid the changeover to day work, and that it's vital to try to establish new forms of control from the shop floor over the new system. Rootes have signed an agreement which exchanges the loss of piecework for more cash.

In terms of demands, car workers are developing two main lines of argument. They are insisting on the principle of wage comparability. Because of the way the industry has developed, both conditions and wages vary throughout the country. Car workers are consequently doing a bit of their own measuring and their own kind of rationalisation. They are looking at wage rates in different areas and saying "If that lot are getting that much, why can't we?" This is the significance of the developing campaign at Fords for parity of wages. At the same time they are fighting a continual struggle over the definitions and delineations of control. This means constant pressure about innumerable minor and immediate issues. At Fords, endless wrangles over grading, speed-up, the machinery for dealing with grievances go on all the time. The discontent which springs to the surface during a strike is only the tip of this underground war. Even then you have to read between the lines. For instance, behind the statement in the last agreement at Fords—"The system of merit payments is discontinued and is replaced by a service increment scale"—there is a long history of the merit payment going to the "cooperative" worker and a new and important shift in control. The final and ultimate indignity is personal relief time. What kind of society can it be which asserts in the terms of employment the right of supervisors to decide for other men when they are tired or how long they should take to piss? If such thoughts come uncomfortably in the bog, Whitehall is forcing other connections upon trade unionists. As the Government intervenes increasingly in the interests of the employers (national interest), workers find themselves involved in questions with implications extending beyond the confines of a single industry. Such was the question of penal clauses. As the ownership network becomes international, workers start talking new languages and devising new ways of fighting. The constant hope of the bourgeois sociologist of the tamed and integrated worker proves illusory again. Instead of becoming apathetic consumer zombies, the new working class comes up with a knowing militancy and political confidence. You don't have to wear a cloth cap to see who pockets the cash. The very people who are subjected to the most extraordinarily sophisticated forms of psychological destruction as well as economic exploitation are creating organisational and intellectual weapons to match. The very people who know the dirty under-belly of the beast learn where to stab.

This doesn't mean that socialists can sit back and wait for the car workers to take on capitalism single-handed. But car workers, like the rest of us, are engaged in a particular struggle with wider political implications. They are, not surprisingly, often cynical about the innumerable outside groups who hand them the formula for success in conflicting shapes and varying types. They respect the fanatical devotion of the paper-sellers but are understandably suspicious of any outside group trying to use them, because they have seen the destructive effect of this in the past. But at the same time, socialists can be extremely useful in providing a communications network, and helping to relate the very different forms of isolated attack. This goes on all the time in the labour movement; industrial support for the tenants is the most recent example. But this is because the links have been made over a long time; people have grown to trust one another in the only way possible, by proving themselves trustworthy. There are no short cuts. The new revolutionaries have a lot of work to do and a lot of things to learn. They also possess extremely valuable resources—time, energy, information, for a start—which militant trade unionists throughout industry could well do with.

Sheila Rowbotham



AFRICA

As members of the Editorial Board who acknowledge a share of the responsibility for the process by which content is selected for the *Dwarf*, we nevertheless wish to dissociate ourselves from the article about South Africa and the ANC which appeared in the last issue of the paper. It is our opinion that many of the criticisms in this article, including some of the most crucially serious ones, were completely unsubstantiated, and what is more they were virtually unverifiable (e.g. the accusation that the Wankie guerrillas were deliberately sent to their deaths by the ANC leaders). Many of the criticisms were also of a sensationalist and personal nature that was more reminiscent of the tactics of the gutter-press smear campaigns than the canons of socialist criticism. The accusations made were not placed in a theoretical framework, and for that reason they were of little help to socialists and anti-imperialists, while being of great help to the enemies of the South African people. The article was purely destructive—it contained no positive suggestions, no organisational, theoretical or practical alternatives—and for that reason its effect on the solidarity movement in this country can only be negative.

We also believe that it is an unhealthy sign when a socialist journal spends more energy attacking anti-imperialist organisations than it does attacking the imperialists they are fighting against (in this case the racist regimes in South Africa and Zimbabwe). We believe that when these attacks are published many thousands of miles away from the actual struggle, they should be published with more caution than was shown in the case of this article. We believe that when criticisms are made of liberation organisations (whether the organisation in question is the NLF in Vietnam or the ANC in South Africa) these criticisms should be as constructive as possible, and should only be made after exhaustive discussion and research.

None of this is to say that we believe the ANC is above criticism. But we do believe that this article made the wrong criticisms, and we also wish to make it clear that the disclaimer of previous articles in the *Dwarf* and the total support for the position taken in this particular article appeared in the editorial introduction without our knowledge or approval. John Hoyland, Sheila Rowbotham, Adrian Mitchell, Vinay Chand.

Comrades,

Before dealing with the points raised by your letter I would like to make one important self-criticism: the political presentation of the article was grossly inadequate and we should have had a much longer introduction explaining why we were publishing it and admitting that we had taken a serious step in doing so and inviting the ANC to reply in detail to the allegations.

You claim in your letter that much of the material on the ANC is virtually unverifiable. I agree, in the sense that the article contains no footnotes or references to other material, which our readers could check. However, I claimed no more than that the general line of the article was correct. Our contacts in Africa and London checked certain specific aspects of the document and their revolutionary credentials have not been questioned by any single member of the Editorial Board. It is the duty of all revolutionaries to inform themselves as best they can, but a refusal to make choices is to make a fetish of one's conscience. It is political irresponsibility and it takes one beyond the canons of socialist criticism into the realms of bourgeois liberalism.

In the past the *Dwarf* has painted too optimistic a picture of the situation in Southern Africa. In that the article shatters this picture it is, as you say, destructive but no solidarity movement can be built on myths; it must be built on the basis of the oppressed people. That struggle in Southern Africa will be a protracted one. The question of a revolutionary leadership will be resolved in the course of the struggle of the South African masses themselves. To pretend that such a leadership is already in existence and that the struggle has reached an advanced stage can only lay the basis for a profound demoralisation of the solidarity movement in the future.

Comrades, you say that the article is not placed in a theoretical framework. If by this, you mean a Marxist-Leninist analysis, I agree, but such an analysis is an enormous task, in fact the decisive task of the revolutionary movement, which has not been fulfilled in Britain nor by any of the existing organisations in Southern Africa. It is only through criticism of existing theory that advances can

because it contained "no organisational theoretical or practical alternatives". I believe this criticism to be misplaced for two reasons. First, to criticise these comrades for having as yet no alternative organisation is a kind of paternalism. Criticism of a political organisation cannot be dependent upon the existence of alternatives. We'd all be in the Labour Party if we accepted such an idea. Secondly, the article contains very concrete political, military and organisational proposals, among which the most important are 1. An end to corruption, nepotism and privilege within ANC. 2. An end to bureaucratic and terroristic methods of suppressing internal debate and for freedom of tendencies within the organisation. 3. Making the needs of the freedom fighters the first priority within the organisation. 4. Turning ANC towards people's war, that is, integrating the organisation in the South African masses.

I don't wish to give the impression that I possess no criticisms of the editorial board's handling of this article. In fact, it has underlined profound weaknesses which your letter doesn't touch upon. In particular, the fact that such a controversial article could be printed with the knowledge and approval of the whole board despite the fact that some members had not read it. More generally, our differences on this question reflect the absence of a discussion on the board up till now of the political role of the paper. It is to these weaknesses that we all should address ourselves. Yours fraternally, Tariq Ali.

THE ANC REPLY

The youth and student movement of the ANC has circulated a document called Black Dwarf speaks White Trash which replies to the article on the ANC in the last *Dwarf*.

They violently accuse the authors of the statement of being counter-revolutionary agents and renegades and denounce the article itself as a South African Police job. One fact that they give as evidence for this grave accusation is that last July the South African Times carried a story on the original statement.

The ANC refuse to acknowledge any of the major problems which the article alleged to afflict their leadership. Nevertheless they do attempt substantial replies to specific matters of fact and these should be available to all *Dwarf* readers.

The ANC youth section argues that:

"The facts are that the Wankie campaigns are the ones that resulted in the heaviest casualties suffered by the white settlers in Southern Africa since 1896. In the October 1969 issue of the American quarterly Foreign Affairs, Russell Warren Howe writes:

'Field reports show that Rhodesian losses are higher than those of the guerrillas—although the Smith regime helps to conceal this fact by conducting military funerals at night, by cordoning off roads when mortuary convoys pass and by the orthodox lies of war.'

Ian Smith and his tottering regime appealed for help to South Africa which readily intervened with thousands of troops and planes. The campaigns covered many guerrilla engagements which went on for months. Some leading comrades in our movements fell in those campaigns but many continue to fight to this day; among those who fought are with us and participated in the recent cultural festival in Algeria and this includes commanders of the campaign.

The remarks in the statement about the equipment carried by the guerrillas is meaningless. What is meant by "big arms"? Have weapons no names any more? If the authors were anywhere near the front they would know what these weapons were. Or can anybody seriously suggest that the guerrillas were having strapped over their shoulders such weapons as howitzers, heavy mortars, heavy machine guns? Those are the big weapons. If the authors knew anything about guerrilla warfare they would have seen through this lie. During the Wankie operations, for instance, some of the guerrillas marched all the way into South Africa. Could they have done so if they were carrying heavy weapons? After the fierce fighting which raged over a large part of Zimbabwe after August 1967, the imperialist press both in this country and in South Africa were compelled to admit that the fighting in Zimbabwe was no mere window-dressing or 'fiasco'. Here we shall merely quote a few of these statements from newspapers which are, to say the least, hostile to the armed revolutionary struggle of our people led by the ANC.

1) London Sunday Telegraph of 28/7/1968:

'They (guerrillas) are well-armed with such weapons as the highly efficient Chinese Kalashnikov A.K. 47 automatic rifle. They carry modern grenades and land mines, and are equipped with powerful radios ...'

2) Rand Daily Mail of 18/11/1969:

'The Russian anti-tank gun is one of the most powerful weapons captured ... The gun can be carried by one man and is capable of penetrating eight inches of steel.'

3) Johannesburg Sunday Times of 28/8/1967:

'They (guerrillas) carried the best equipment and showed the greatest fighting ability of any terrorists who have crossed the border.'

It is true that most of the authors of the document do not speak the African language spoken in Zimbabwe or any African language for that matter. But we can assure the editors of Black Dwarf that the majority of Africans in South Africa do not need to be taught the languages spoken in the terrain of the Wankie campaigns. THEY ALREADY KNOW THEM. If the authors knew anything about the situation in Southern Africa, they would have known that the language spoken in this area is 'Sindebele' which is directly related to the Nguni language-groups of South Africa, such as Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, Shangane, etc. As everybody knows something like ninety per cent of the Africans in the urban areas of South Africa speak Zulu.

Instead of giving space to ill-informed slanders about the Wankie operations, Black Dwarf ought to have given space to those who actually fought in the stirring battles in Zimbabwe to describe what happened. If you meet the men who fought in these battles—and there are quite a few battle-seasoned who have survived so that they can fight again—you are absolutely impressed by their high morale and the determination to go back to the front. In an interview in the Guardian of 16/7/1968 an unidentified ANC guerrilla who had been involved in the fighting recalls:

'Morale is very high in my platoon. We have seen that white soldiers are desperate men.'

The authors of this document claim that 'the entire leadership of the ANC is itself not prepared to get back to Southern Africa and be amongst the fighting masses ...'

The whole world knows that some of the very top leaders of the African National Congress came out for military training and went back to South Africa. There is Nelson Mandela who, in the Rivonia trial, stated that he had undergone military training. He went back and is now on Robben Island. There is Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwayi, Joe Gqabi, Andrew Mlangani and others who trained outside South Africa, went back and worked among the mass masses. Unfortunately most of these were later arrested and now serving long-term sentences on Robben Island.

During the Wankie campaign some of the top military commanders of ZAPU and ANC actually participated in the fighting. The Wankie campaign guerrilla detachment was led by John Dube of ZAPU who is a member of the military headquarters of ZAPU guerrillas. John Dube was chosen to lead the group because he was born and brought up in the area of the Wankie operations. From the ANC side, the Chief of Staff of Umkhonto We Sizwe (the ANC military wing), Mniqarwana Mjojo fought in these operations.

In the Eastern Front of our guerrilla operations in Zimbabwe, we regret to say that one of our top leaders, Comrade Patrick Molao, popularly known as Pat, who was the President of the ANC Youth League, died heroically in action.

According to the statement, the ANC received both material and financial aid the world over. This is indeed news to the ANC. The truth of the matter is that in the whole universe there are less than a dozen countries giving money and material aid to the growing struggle in Southern Africa. Like all guerrilla movements, ZAPU and ANC are struggling under very difficult conditions to conduct a fight against highly armed and equipped governments with vast resources. If Black Dwarf and those who wrote this statement know of countries or organisations which have given aid to the ANC they are at liberty to name them. We do not know of any that gave aid as a result of the Wankie campaigns.

The post of 'Vice-President' does not exist in the ANC and therefore it is not clear who was televised in some country in Europe skiing and addressing student rallies.

The next series of allegations relate to 'assaults, maiming, murders and rapes' practised by the ANC leadership against guerrillas. It is not clear what the purpose of all this would be for any movement endeavouring to organise a revolutionary struggle. One after another the allegations follow without a tittle of evidence being produced in support. For instance, the statement talks of a 'strong-arm group' composed of Lumumba Institute graduates who are to 'break others spiritually, mentally and physically'. There are less than half-a-dozen graduates of Lumumba Institute among the guerrillas and these have never met or seen any of the authors of this document. How this handful could ill-treat regiments of trained guerrillas is beyond comprehension.

In any event the effect of these allegations would be that the ANC guerrillas consist of bat-

talions of starved, raped, physically and mentally wrecked men and women! The remainder are those who have been murdered! Are the authors of this document and those who publish it as representing the truth really serious? We would state categorically that the ANC guerrillas are among the most highly trained and the toughest fighters you can get anywhere. This has been proved on the field. And it is as well to correct one other statement by the authors of this document. No ANC guerrilla has ever surrendered to the white soldiers! Some have been captured after their ammunition ran out, during battle.

This slanderous document refers to relatives of 'leaders' among the guerrillas, one of whom has been identified as the son of the Treasurer-General of the ANC. We are not surprised that for once the authors gave us some means of identifying the subject of their allegations. The truth is that this happens to be the only relative of a top leader of the ANC who was a member of the guerrillas. It is therefore not understood who the nieces, nephews, sons and daughters referred to are?

For a moment it seemed that the document would begin, at least, to discuss politics when referring to the so-called 'Moscow Line'. It was not to be. This has also been pulled in to find some means to attack and discredit the leadership. The authors also hope opportunistically, like many others, to exploit the differences that have arisen in the anti-imperialist movement as a result of differences between China and the Soviet Union. The African National Congress is a national movement of the oppressed people of South Africa having within its ranks people of differing ideological stands. The ANC has had long links with China and many of the guerrillas and their leading cadres were trained in China. The allegation of discrimination against comrades trained in China is a blatant lie. But the purpose is plain. It is to try and gain the support for this document of those who support the viewpoint of the Chinese in the so-called Sino-Soviet dispute. Is this not perhaps the trap into which Black Dwarf fell in so readily accepting the role of platform for this document? Why should the leadership send any of its supporters for training to China and then discriminate against them when they return? The thing just does not make sense.

The document speaks of tribalism and the authors pretend they know something about this subject. What they have produced is nothing but a story aimed against the leadership. There are few movements who have fought tribalism as hard as the ANC and we do not need lessons from anyone. No doubt this is the problem that faces and is going to face our movements and countries for a long time. The enemy has realised the potency of encouraging tribalism as a means of breaking down unity among the oppressed people. The record of the ANC in this particular issue is a matter of pride in our country.

In their 'story' the authors of this document obviously are confused about the state of affairs but then for them it does not matter whether the facts are correct. The main thing is to get some allegation in. The majority of the people in the camp the authors speak of were never from the Cape Province. It is interesting that the only names mentioned in the document of leaders allegedly responsible for the numerous allegations are not from the Cape Province either. We are not going to conduct a tribal count for the benefit of the enemies. But one thing is clear. Someone who is certainly non-African must have tried to tell the authors of this document something about tribalism in the ANC and they have just taken it over parrot-fashion, for purposes of slanderous allegations.

At the Morogoro conference of the ANC in April this year, many of the problems and difficulties confronting the liberation movement in Southern Africa were discussed seriously and with responsibility. Many of the participants were men who had fought at Wankie in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. Others were veterans of the struggle in South Africa for the last forty years and whom suddenly the authors of this document want to cover with dirt and slander. The conference analysed and summed up the tasks facing the movement in the era of armed revolution and laid the basis for the intensification of the armed struggle. The African National Congress, like any serious revolutionary organisation, has problems but these are tackled in a responsible, serious and honest manner. This was the practice when the movement operated legally in South Africa and continues to be the case even when we face the serious problem of operating underground.

The African National Congress and its leadership has been truly tried and tested in the struggle. Our organisation has an impeccable record

DEBATE

cord of struggle of over 5 decades against the racist tyranny and oppression of our people by successive South African white governments. Our organisation fearlessly wielded all possible weapons of peaceful struggle and forged unity among the African people as well as other revolutionaries belonging to the national minorities.

And when the time arrived to meet brute force of the present South African police state, our organisation neither hesitated nor shacked its duty. Some of our best cadres have already sacrificed their lives in the course of the struggle. We are truly proud of the heroic exploits of our young guerrilla army."

Considering the strategic importance of South Africa (SA) to the South Atlantic defence system of Western imperialism, British capitalism's huge investments in SA and its share of responsibility for the oppression and exploitation now endemic there, and the crucial fact that the success of the revolutionary struggle in South Africa is the key to the defeat of imperialism in Africa at least up to the Sahara, it was thought that the silence of the British Left on this question amounted to collusion with imperialism at the most or a lack of revolutionary internationalism at the very least.

We therefore welcome the publication in the Dwarf of the disclosures about the betrayal of the SA revolutionary struggle by the ANC leadership for the following reasons:

1. It is the revolutionary duty of the publications of the Left to publish all vital information about the world revolution against imperialism without fear or favour since most of it is either suppressed or distorted by the bourgeois press.

2. It is necessary to stimulate debate, assessment and critical appraisal of all sectors of the world revolution.

3. Proletarian internationalism demands that we should lend support to genuine revolutionary movements—in this particular case, the ANC body of dedicated and committed freedom fighters against their reactionary and corrupt leadership which browbeats them, restrains them with brutality, and uses them for nefarious ends.

4. The publication of this information entails no security risks for Southern Africa's Liberation struggle because it does not reveal any plans or strategy for the conduct of the struggle. Besides, the information in this document was published and circulated amongst Liberation movements and African states as early as March 1966 by the ANC freedom fighters by whom it was signed, and it has been public information therefore for a long time. Further,

(a) O. R. Tambo, acting President-General of the ANC issued a press statement (in London) in or about Sept.-Oct. 1967 in connection with the entry of ANC guerrillas in Wankie reserve, Rhodesia. Revealing details in the statement, more or less pin-pointing the area of operations, led to the defeat of the guerrillas by the government forces. Pictures were shown later with J. Chikerema, Vice-President of ZAPU (in military alliance with ANC) and O. R. Tambo working out, presumably, strategy on a map of Southern Africa. Following on this, the Sunday Times of Johannesburg, after an interview with Chikerema, carried the gist of his conversation with a series of pictures showing guerrillas in training somewhere in Central Africa. Thereafter various appeals were sent out to individuals and organisations for aid. This publicity was given out at the moment of imminent battle in Rhodesia.

(b) Various British newspapers have carried articles containing revealing and compromising details about the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. Examples:—The Guardian of 18/12/68; The Sunday Telegraph carried a series of articles in April 1969 showing the actual location of training camps in Africa, OAU finances (in detail) for the prosecution of the struggle, policy, strategy, dissatisfaction of guerrillas, security information, disagreements within and among liberation movements, foreign financial aid to the movements and specific source countries.

5. The publication of this document brings to light and compels closer examination of the paradox of seemingly two opposing forces, namely, British imperialism through its liberal wing and the Soviet Union, both giving support and substantial financial aid to the ANC "Anti-Apartheid struggle". We cannot ignore the profound implications of this alignment for the struggle in Southern Africa. And although it is rather late in the day, we must publish to put things in proper perspective.

TWO STRUGGLES

In South Africa there are two unrelated and mutually exclusive struggles taking place simultaneously. The first, the minor struggle, is the struggle between the English-speaking minority

numerically superior Afrikaners who control the political machine, the government. Although the line of distinction between the two has become somewhat ill-defined and blurred in parts with the emergence of a division within the Afrikaner camp in recent years, between the Verligtes, leaning towards and acquiring an increasing share of English-speaking industrial capitalism, and the less enlightened Verkrampes, the basic contradiction of Afrikaner vs English-speaking antagonism still remains. And although the Afrikaners, the "indigenous" bourgeoisie, vociferously declared themselves to be against British imperialism, both English-speaking and Afrikaners are absolutely united in the oppression and exploitation of the non-white majority.

Unable to return to power after their defeat by the Afrikaners in the 1948 general elections, the English-speaking section, taking advantage of their influence over the traditional and petit-bourgeois leadership of the ANC, sought to use the ANC as a battering-ram against the Afrikaner government in what became known as the Anti-Apartheid struggle. Thus the ANC embarked on its pacifist demonstrations, token strikes, days of mourning (June 26th), anti-pass campaigns and appeals to the government for a change of heart. Even sabotage of harmless targets like telephone kiosks and pass-issuing offices was resorted to so long as care was taken not to harm the economy of the sponsors. The whole plan was to create unrest in order to frighten the white electorate into returning an English-speaking government, a so-called "lesser evil". In other words the potential power of the masses was demonstrated and pressure built up precisely not to use it.

When the Communist Party of SA (CPSA) was proscribed in the fifties it went underground and gained effective control and direction of the ANC through the then newly-formed Ad hoc Congress Alliance, in reality a liberal and neo-liberal non-united front composed of the ANC (for the appearance of mass African support), SA Indian Congress (representing the Indian petit-bourgeois merchant class), Congress of Democrats (representing CPSA and liberal elements), the SA Congress of Trade Unions and the SA Coloured People's Organisation (both CPSA-dominated). This gave the CPSA a more effective if relayed voice in the shared guidance of the ANC. The slogan "no politics in the Trade Unions" of the CPSA, its tacit acceptance of White Trusteeship and therefore black inferiority as well as racially-separated trade unions are perhaps useful indications of the liberal character and "revolutionary" practice of the CPSA.

When the government adopted more brutal methods of repression in the early sixties, the Anti-Apartheid struggle was transferred abroad in two sections—the one section to operate from London covering the West under the guidance and assistance of the liberal wing of the British establishment, St. Paul's Cathedral. From here, under an assortment of names, publicity has stretched as far as the UN urging support for the Anti-Apartheid struggle and the adoption of futile trade sanctions "... as a mode of struggling against the SA regime ..." (O. R. Tambo in Sechaba, February 1969), i.e. a reliance on the enemy class for "... assistance to our cause" (ibid).

The other more powerful section is based in East Africa working in East Europe and in Africa and with greater financial assistance from Moscow. With a foot in each of both worlds, the ANC commands and has obtained enormous funds:

—the West paying to buy the ANC leadership off the revolutionary road, restrain it and stave off the threat of revolution to its investments in SA valued at more than £1,100 million.

—Moscow, to contain the revolution in accordance with the requirements of "peaceful co-existence" with the West and respect for the status quo in each other's area of influence so as not to upset the world balance of power. The resolutions passed at the Moscow-sponsored Khartoum Conference (18.1.69) of certain amenable liberation movements show clearly Moscow's restraining directives and diversion of the ANC's struggle away from Southern Africa and towards the metropolitan countries in liberally financed Anti-Apartheid pressure. Here East and West coincide.

It is important not to confuse the Anti-Apartheid struggle of the ANC of South Africa, with the assistance and support of the Establishment in the West on the one hand with the Anti-Apartheid protest in various western countries on the other. The latter is an action of militant solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed and exploited people of SA who appreciate it enthusiastically as comradeship sup-

and support for the South African regime, the Nigerian war, complicity and support for the US in Vietnam—a vastly different position from that of the Establishment's support for the ANC's Anti-Apartheid out of collusion with SA's obnoxious system. The distinction must be drawn sharply and the issue clarified for the radical movement in Europe.

ON RHODESIA

After 7 years of campaigning abroad, with immense funds collected and with a few hundred guerrilla fighters growing more restive by the day after years of idleness in camp, the ANC still has nothing to show for this fund of good will and staggering financial aid—thanks to the liberals and the Kremlin. Since continuing non-action in the struggle would pose a threat to the flow of funds particularly from various sources in the West and the trickle from the OAU, it would be necessary to embark on something spectacular. And so it was to be the Rhodesian venture accompanied by a fanfare of needless and detrimental (to the guerrillas) publicity.

The guerrillas were sent into a foreign country. Unable to get political and material support from the local population, unfamiliar with their language and the terrain and therefore compelled to make an offensive on the lines of more or less conventional warfare against a numerically stronger and highly equipped army of the governments of Rhodesia and South Africa, the outcome of the leadership's criminal irresponsibility was never in doubt from the beginning. More serious than the needless sacrifice of gallant revolutionaries was the political disaster that the venture advanced only the interests of imperialism and was a terrible setback to the revolution.

The importance of Rhodesia to British imperialism lies more in its position as a buffer protecting the substantial investments in South Africa against the hostile African states to the North than in its dispensable intrinsic value as an investment area. For this reason Britain would like to strengthen the buffer militarily, but she could not do this herself without creating serious complications in that situation. It is our view that Britain most probably supported the ANC's plan enthusiastically for fund-raising considerations and urged on the ANC a press statement to coincide with the beginning of the operation. This would serve as a pre-arranged signal to South Africa to send its forces into Rhodesia on the pretext that SA guerrillas had infiltrated Rhodesia, thereby adding military strength to imperialism's "Maginot" line of defences now stretching from Mozambique, through Rhodesia and the Caprivi strip of SWA to Angola in the West. Because of the deep-going good relations between Britain and SA, the latter would never be able to send its forces into Rhodesia, a British dominion UDI notwithstanding, without express British approval. SA troops are now stationed on the southern border of Zambia, a country of immense strategic importance to Southern Africa's revolutionary struggle. This setback has added measurably to the many difficulties which already existed in the area.

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The second struggle is the major struggle of the oppressed masses for emancipation. For this struggle the large peasant-worker organisations are federated in the Unity Movement of South Africa. It is based largely in the countryside where the landless peasantry, the source of migrant labourers, are herded in reserves called Bantustans. They constitute more than 70% of the African masses, the producers of the wealth and prosperity of the SA economy.

Founded in 1943 out of the All-African Convention it brought together the various organisations of the non-white oppressed in a non-racial political movement with a leadership of revolutionary Marxists armed with a clearly formulated policy and programme. This:

- united the two streams struggling for land and national liberation;
- created the only movement which carried on a struggle that is completely independent from ruling class ideas with centralised political direction;
- engaged in the day-to-day struggle of the people in order to raise the level of political consciousness as a necessary preparation for revolution;
- ensured that the peasant-worker alliance was under the leadership of the proletariat, the migrant industrial labourers, in order to maintain the continuity of the democratic revolution uninterruptedly to its socialist goal.

There were uprisings in various parts of the country, particularly between the years 1948–1962, when the police and army were called in. The bourgeois press, in a conspiracy of silence against the people's struggle, never mentioned the shootings and killings of hundreds of people—the same press which publicised the ANC liberal passive campaign. UMSA was completely shut out of the SA press because it constituted the only threat to capitalist exploitation. The liberals abroad have blocked all avenues of assistance to this struggle, and it is only this which stands between those politicised and dedicated masses and the beginnings of the people's rev-

Statement on the Cause of Southern African Revolutionaries.

Congratulations! African revolutionaries will wholeheartedly applaud the Black Dwarf for taking such a great step in the history of the British Left by publishing an exposure of the ANC in the last issue.

Most of the British Left has never been able to rid itself of the inherent racist and paternalistic attitudes of British society. They fight hard to defend the African nationalist bourgeoisie at the expense of African revolutionaries. It is like the Soviet Union giving millions of aid to the fascist reactionary regime of Ethiopia which helps that regime to suppress forces of socialism and progress in that country. It is only African militants in the field in Southern Africa who know best which organisations or leaders are good for their revolution, and not "revolutionaries" 6,000 miles away who depend for the information on news media owned by the English high bourgeoisie.

It is high time the voice of African revolutionaries was heard by the world through their own mouths. The chance has now come for the British Left to show its solidarity, and here the Black Dwarf has taken a historic step. From now on Africans will be recommended to read it.

Liberals posing as revolutionaries and other white sympathisers of ANC will, no doubt, be bitterly disappointed by the exposure of the "revolution" in Southern Africa after having eliminated revolutionaries whom they see as a challenge to their hegemony.

The Tanzanian and Zambian governments should be advised to withdraw their help or support from the ANC leadership and help the freedom fighters themselves who are the only people physically involved in the struggle. ANC and ZAPU have some very good elements in their leadership. But how many are they? They are muzzled. That is why such things as mentioned in the document take place. What many of the most powerful ANC leaders mean, without saying it of course, is that "You white people in Southern Africa have no right to oppress and exploit our people, give us the chance, we want to exploit them". This they have already started by killing left-wing cadres who aim at changing the system itself and not just replacing a white Vorster by a black Vorster, as happened in Kenya, Malawi, etc.

Liberation movements in Southern Africa are united fronts made up of all patriotic, nationalist and socialist forces. But for such a united front to deliver the desired goods to the people, truly revolutionary socialist elements must dominate the alliance. This is not the case with ANC, and remember, this organisation has been existing for more than 50 years. Has it moved an inch towards creating a revolution?

To expect such an organisation to be able to solve such problems is to show ignorance about the class position of these people. They have class interests to protect. They try to solve such difficulties by elimination. The Zimbabwe Students Union in Europe has always spoken and written in its paper, the Challenge, about the nature of our problems, but very few gave it a hearing.

Andrew Muchenje, Secretary, Zimbabwe Students Union in Europe.

Dear Editor,

I read with dismay the article in Black Dwarf titled "Southern Africa: A Betrayal" which described the corruption of ANC and the treacherous conduct of its organisation.

What a dismal impression this must have made on your readers; everyone must have given up hope of the success of any liberation struggle in Southern Africa. Your paper is partly at fault here—a case of pinning all your hopes on one horse.

You have in the past given ample coverage to the supposed guerrilla struggle in Rhodesia of ANC and ZAPU, but seem to have turned a blind eye to the struggle for Mozambique. I propose that it is here that the crucial battle is being waged.

FRELIMO, having liberated the northern territories of Mozambique, is not only confronting the Portuguese imperialists 65,000 strong, but the South African army no less, which, represented by 2,000 troops, is stationed in Tete province adjacent to Rhodesia. A look at the map would soon convince any half-blind revolutionary of the importance of this.

Thanks mainly to Portuguese public relations and British Government silence, this situation has been hushed up on an unprecedented scale.

Let's have coverage, information and publicity for this struggle and break the monopoly of attention ANC and ZAPU command in this country. The struggle for Southern Africa is in full swing and is not being fought by pseudo-guerrilla movements who couldn't even cross the Zambezi!

South Africa regards the Mozambique war as the biggest threat to her security: surely this paper must give all the attention to the struggle that it can.

Yours, D. J. Elliott, 245 Cromwell Road, S.W.5.

RAW MATERIALS OF IMPERIALISM

The spell of technology is apparently talismanic. From left to right of the political spectrum are to be found those who credit it with almost unlimited powers. Symptomatic of this underlying awe are two arguments encountered today. The first is that the search for raw materials (primary commodities) no longer constitutes a major imperialist drive. The other is that there are no effective objective real resource limitations standing between mankind and the realisation of general material abundance. I believe the facts belie these postulates. I deal first with the actual significance of raw materials for imperialism today, and then turn to a consideration of longer term implications of the dynamic resource-population equation.

Common to the two propositions is the contention that modern science and technology, having already freed modern industry from a number of its original raw material needs (indigo and rubber are two well-known examples), will progressively reduce remaining needs. Now this thesis has a certain superficial plausibility, for it is true that in this century the rate of increase in raw material inputs has failed to keep pace with the rate of increase in final commodity production, or—to put it another way—that for each unit of manufacturing output there is progressively a smaller input of raw materials. The GNP resulting from a given input of raw materials in the USA rose from four times that input in 1900 to eight times in 1950, for instance. This greater economy in raw material utilisation is the result of a number of factors, notable among which are: substitution of synthetic for natural materials; more efficient collection and reclamation of scrap; enhanced technological proficiency in exploiting the raw products; and the increasing complexity of final products, demanding extended working on the original input of raw material.

However, mechanical extrapolation of this tendency, which seems to hold out the promise of eventual self-sufficiency to the developed industrial powers, and the prospect of achieving comparable living standards to the poorer, is totally misleading. For this there are a number of reasons, which it is my purpose in this article to elucidate.

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century a complex of new industries demanding heavy capital outlays and continuous large inputs of raw materials began to dominate the industrialised countries. To assure their sources of supply of raw materials, these giants, in collaboration with the respective imperialist governments, combed the world for available resources of iron ore, tin, oil and other essential commodities. From an early stage, vertical combination characterised many of the new giants: the significance of vertical combination is as a measure of the determination with which these industries pursued the goal of guaranteed sources of supply of raw materials. Businessmen could not afford to indulge in day-dreams about what technology might achieve in the way of substitutes, synthetics, etc.: they worked from the outset on the assumption that, for practical purposes, many of the raw materials they required were effectively in finite supply, and therefore that what they could engross was by the same token denied to their competitors. Thus, after 1870, there ensued a desperate scramble for colonies and a never-ending struggle for imperialist influence and privileges throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The struggle goes on with unremitting intensity today. Indeed, it is if anything more intense now than ever before. One of the principal reasons for this is that the United States of America, once a net exporter of raw materials, has emerged in the post-second world war period as a major net importer, whose dependence upon imported raw materials has grown steadily, year by year. Another is that more and more countries have started to, or are attempting to, industrialise, and therefore have entered world markets as customers for raw materials. Again, in the fortunate high-income countries incomes per capita are rising steadily, with the corollary that per capita consumption of industrially-necessary metals and other raw materials are also rising steadily

(a high living standard is reflected precisely in the amount of metal with which one surrounds oneself in the form of cars, refrigerators, TV sets, etc.). With some essential commodities, such as oil, demand is rising extremely rapidly; world petroleum production and consumption roughly double every decade.

It is necessary to think very carefully and clearly about the implications of America's growing dependence upon raw materials, because here we have the country with the most advanced scientific and technological capacity in the world. American business, military and government circles have been quite conscious of the problem for many years now. During the second world war, immense thought and planning went into the elaboration of post-war economic policy, with the need to secure access to raw materials prominent among the considerations kept constantly in mind. This insistent theme of U.S. policy runs right through Gabriel Kolko's brilliant analysis of great power politics from 1943 to 1945, *The Politics of War* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969).

In the 1940s, America imported on average just over 5% of her domestic consumption of minerals. In the 1950s this rose to nearly 13%. In the early sixties, it was running at 14%. It is important to note that the crucial imports upon which America has thus come to depend are not exotic items, but rather the very most basic sinews of industry—metals such as iron, copper, lead, zinc and bauxite, and fuels such as petroleum. With iron ore, a resource that America at one time prided herself upon having in limitless quantities, the dependency ratio is now over 40%; by the year 2000 it is estimated that three-quarters of all the iron consumed in American industry will have to be imported. It is not surprising, therefore, that American business and government scour the world for likely resources; nor is it any coincidence that one of the largest known reserves of iron ore in Asia is to be found at Xieng Khouang in Laos.

With bauxite, America relies upon foreign supplies for over 80% of her consumption. Harry Magdoff has pointed out in *The Age of Imperialism* (Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1969) that: "No matter how efficient industry becomes in the use of aluminium or in the extraction of alumina from bauxite, you can't make aluminium without bauxite and you can't make an airplane without aluminium. And when in the United States, 80 to 90 percent of the bauxite supply comes from foreign sources, the assurance of such supply is of crucial importance to the aluminium industry, the airplane industry, and the country's military power." U.S. aluminium interests were among the first to seek concessions when Indonesia was thrown open to foreign capital again after the fall of Sukarno, massacre of the PKI, and coming to power of the right-wing generals.

America also imports all of its tin, 95% of its manganese (essential in steel production), more than 90% of its antimony, beryllium, and chromium ores, more than 85% of its nickel, and about 55% of its zinc and lead. Conversely, Asia can supply, inter alia, tin from Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand; manganese from India, Indonesia and Japan; beryllium from India; nickel from Indonesia; and oil from Burma, Indonesia and Brunei. Indian ore reserves, at 54.2 tons per capita, are now in excess of those of the United States (41.0 tons per capita); an Indian revolution on the Chinese pattern would be a major disaster for the American steel industry in the long-term perspective.

Breaking down the data another way, as Magdoff has done, it becomes clear that the situation is particularly pressing when one considers the strategic and critical materials essential to America's war potential. For 38 of the 62 materials taken to be critical, from 80% to 100% has to be imported; for 52 of the 62 at least 40% is supplied from abroad. Furthermore, and this is a factor of the utmost significance in considering American imperialism today, three-quarters of the imported strategic materials come from the underdeveloped countries. This is a striking measure of the importance to the United States of preserving the existing frontiers of her Empire, and goes far to explaining the desperate war she has waged in Vietnam.

Fresh in the minds of U.S. rulers is the experience of Japan in the second world war: what first and foremost doomed Japanese imperialism was its failure to secure vital supplies of oil, bauxite, rubber, nickel, tin, cobalt, lead, vanadium and other commodities.

It appears abundantly clear from the above that raw materials will continue for the foreseeable future to be one of the most powerful imperatives of modern imperialism. The converse consideration, of course, is continuing pillage and resource-depletion of those countries earmarked for the role of passive suppliers of raw materials. To the credit of American policy-makers, they freely admit the rationale of their foreign economic policy when pressed (see, for example, the remarkably frank statement by Walt Rostow to a Congressional Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy, quoted by Magdoff, p.54); in this they differ from orthodox Western economists, whose staggering naivety blinds them to the realities of imperialism and neo-colonialism in the modern world.

At this juncture, it is worthwhile contemplating what precisely resource-depletion entails for the so-called "under-developed" countries. It is not possible to be dogmatic in advancing estimates of comparative resource endowment. However, those who have sifted the available evidence with the greatest care tend to the view that the present "under-developed" countries were not as well endowed by nature with raw material resources as were the countries that have already succeeded in industrialising (see, for example, G. Myrdal: *Asian Drama*, Penguin Books, 1968). It is true that a number of countries without significantly rich natural resources have succeeded in the past in industrialising—Switzerland, Denmark and Japan, for instance—but as Myrdal points out, the difficulties in relying upon imported raw materials are greatest at the beginning of industrialisation, and are probably more severe in any case for those that come later upon the scene.

If one accepts that the original resource endowment of many of the presently poor countries was not equal to that of many of the industrialised countries, their historical pillage assumes even graver significance. To attain their present inflated living standards the imperialist countries not only exhausted many of their own resources but came increasingly to rely upon resources plundered from the tricontinents. In order to maintain the momentum of their economic growth today, these same countries must frantically comb the earth for the raw materials which alone make this possible. At the same time, everywhere throughout the neo-colonies awareness is growing that this continuing plunder puts their own long-term prospects for economic development in greater jeopardy. To fight for one's native land increasingly assumes a literal meaning!

In particular, it is necessary to look closely at a key group of resources: the fossil fuels. As is well known, industrialisation, and the high average living standards it makes possible, are dependent upon combustion in one way or another of the fossil fuels—principally coal and oil. The concomitantly high productivity of agriculture in the developed countries (and in their food- and raw material-supplying enclaves elsewhere) is also dependent upon combustion of fossil fuels in innumerable ways (for example, in the production of fertilisers, pesticides, herbicides, agricultural machinery, fencing, etc.). In other words, the world's present population is maintained by progressively reducing what is, in effect, a finite real capital resource. It is worth considering the implications of this in more detail.

It is clearly necessary in the first place to attempt to assess the real extent of the fossil fuel resources. This is by no means an easy task. The Seventh World Petroleum Congress, 1967, estimated recoverable petroleum reserves at $6,200 \times 10^9$ barrels. At the then annual consumption of 8×10^9 barrels per annum, these reserves would last 775 years. However, annual consumption is in fact rising very rapidly, having doubled over each of the last decades. If one assumes a continuation of at least this rate of increase in consumption, the 775 year reprieve

shrinks very substantially, as a little simple arithmetic will quickly show, to a few decades, in fact.

But there is another factor. Not all parts of the world have been equally well prospected. *The Times* reported on 11 September 1969: "By comparing more or less unexplored parts of the world with more or less explored parts, estimates have been made that suggest that the world's ultimate reserves may be ten times greater than today's plentiful reserves... Present known reserves measured against forecasts of demand, would all be consumed in 20 years. If one were to postulate that reserves in 20 years should be large enough to support the the production level for 20 years, some 520 billion barrels of new reserves would need to be established—that is, at an average rate of 26 billion barrels a year. This is considerably less than has been achieved in the past several years. Ten years ago about four barrels of new reserves were being established for every barrel produced, and today more than three barrels of new reserves are found for each barrel produced, in spite of doubled production."

This analysis would seem to postpone the problem indefinitely. But note that, despite intensifying prospecting activities with more and more refined and perfected methods, the ratio of new barrels of reserves established to each barrel actually extracted is declining. Moreover, consumption is not only rising—it is rising at an accelerating rate: 1968 production and consumption showed an increase of 9¼% over 1967, whereas prior to that the annual average rate of growth in the 1960s had been 7½%. It seems clear that the rate of consumption—and therefore of indicated production—must continue to rise. One reason is that the world's food problems point to greatly increased consumption of petroleum—not only for such obvious purposes as supplying energy for the production of fertilisers, pesticides, tools, fencing, etc., but also for the direct production of synthetic carbohydrates and other foodstuffs. A great deal of euphoria has been unthinkingly generated by specialists who have predicted wonders in store for the human diet by harnessing petroleum fuel reserves, with their chemical riches extracted from the environment and concentrated in bygone centuries. The euphoria is quite unjustified, unfortunately, since the magnitude of the petroleum reserves—already, as we have seen, ominously finite for present more orthodox purposes—by no means matches the magnitude of the world hunger problem. (World population is expected to double from 3.6 billion to 7.2 billion by the end of the present century; allowing for present inadequate nutritional levels, world food production—traditional and unconventional—would have to multiply several times over from the present level if adequate diets for all were to be established by the year 2000.) N. W. Pirie, the distinguished British bio-chemist, recognises this when urging concentration on coal instead, and in a recent work he cites an estimate that peak petroleum production might be attained in the next decade—before 1980, that is (*Food Resources, Conventional and Novel*, Penguin Books, 1969, p. 156).

As far as coal is concerned, the reserve situation would appear to be more favourable. However, even here we are talking about finite resources, and inevitably as petroleum production reaches and passes its maximum, coal consumption will accelerate. Moreover, coal reserves are very badly distributed: the U.S. and the USSR appear to have the largest reserves in the world, while Britain, Germany, China, Poland, South Africa, Canada and Colombia seem possessors of satisfactory stocks; on the other hand, proved deposits are small or negligible in most parts of Latin America, Africa, and South and South East Asia. This maldistribution is the more ominous, of course, in that three-quarters of the known petroleum reserves lie in precisely these coal-poor areas. (British Petroleum's statistical review of the world oil industry, 1967, cited *Daily Telegraph*, 8/8/67). The more the rich industrial countries gamble on economies powered by oil, the more they must intensify their sack and pillage of the poor countries, depriving them of their oil, and leaving them progres-

IMPERIALISM

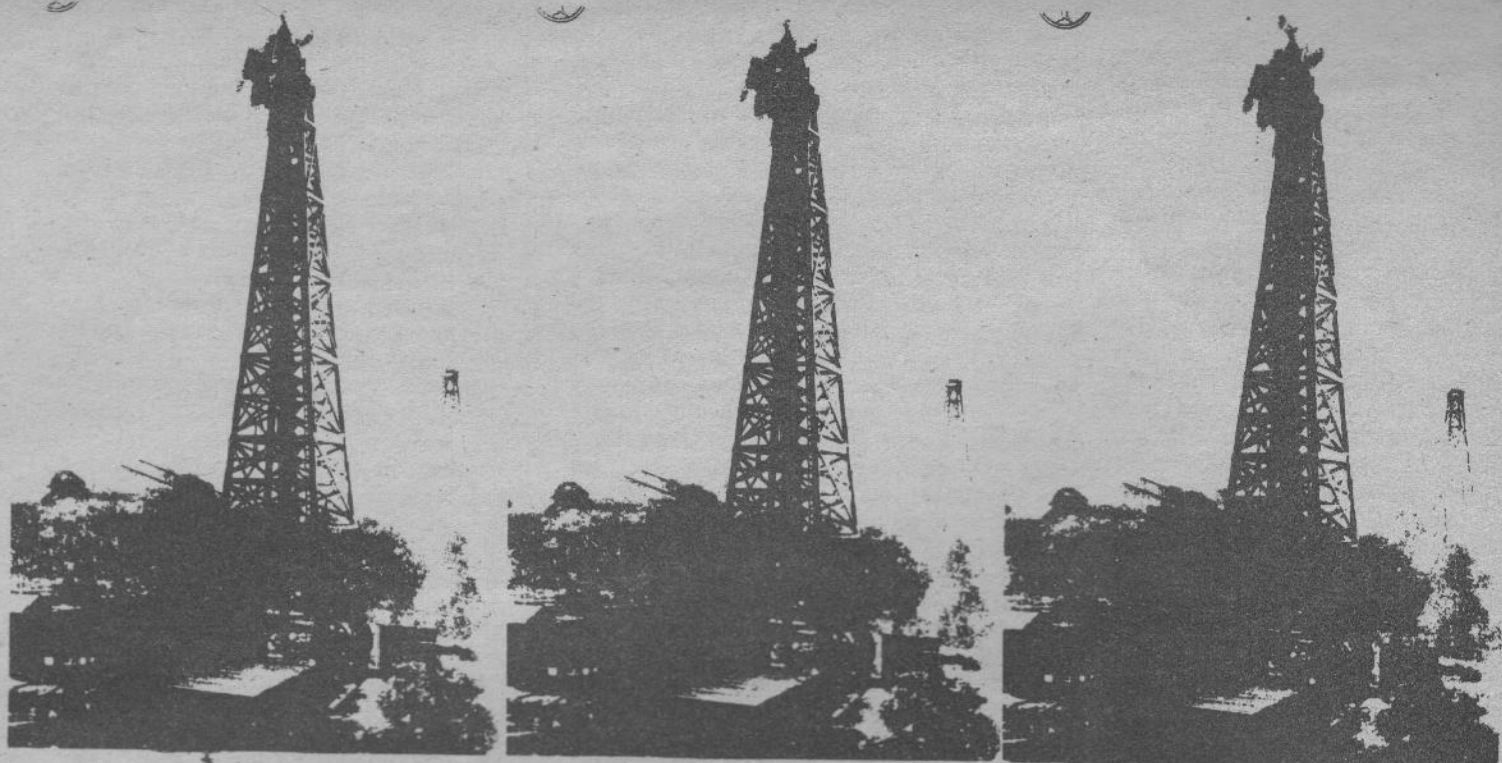
sively stripped to their poor coal resources. It is not difficult to see the seeds of endless bloody struggles in this desperate competition.

A final word should be added about alternative energy sources. As far as electricity is concerned, it is mostly generated in any case by the burning of fossil fuels, and hydroelectric power supplies only a small portion of the total; "... it is probably best to think of electricity as a means of distributing energy, rather than a source ..." (J. P. Cole: *Geography of World Affairs*, Penguin Books, 1963, p. 87). Nuclear energy, of course, is one of the promised panaceas in the pantheon of the technocrats and their blindly believing faithful. Apart from the elementary fact that the problems of economic and practical utilisation have proved very much more intractable than had at one time been thought, Professor Nicol has pointed out that "... should nuclear fusion bring to actuality the dream of lighting a whole city by power derived from the atomic nuclei in a cupful of water, those, and like projections of fancy upon knowledge or theory about phenomena, relate solely to energy obtained as heat and electricity: which have no nutrient value and must incur a heavy cost in fuel to win them. So far from their making a contribution to food-gathering, the fuel spent in realising them will have subtracted from stocks of fuel potentially available for producing food later." (*The Limits of Man*, Constable, 1967, pp.182-183). Professor Nicol has been in the forefront of those who have pointed out that ahead of us there lies a progressively intensifying struggle for the diminishing resources of finite inputs essential to the kind of industrialised and semi-industrialised societies we have produced throughout the world. The conclusion of his life-long research may be given in his own words: "So far from there being grounds for the prevailing euphoria about indefinite progress in food-supply or with any other application of technology, it is shown that population of the world, as a whole and locally, must within foreseeable time undergo a decline, in company with every form of comfort and amenity. All forms of technology—including the provision of food—now depend on the availability of diminishing stocks of fossil fuel, for which there is, and can be, no substitute." (*ibid*, p.1).

The implications are necessarily sobering, and require careful consideration by socialists. It would seem, at the outset, that a truly socialist strategy for the industrialised countries, regardless of their present social system, must necessarily involve complete discarding of commodity fetishism, abandonment of economic growth, and concentration upon equitable distribution of a given social product. This would leave the maximum possible resources of the crucial finite minerals available for the presently rural societies to bring their living standards up to acceptable general minima. It would also involve an active international policy of resource conservation, and careful work on determining possible maximum sustainable levels of world population on the basis of the "income" energy resources (wind, rain, etc.) for the post-fossil fuel future. Obviously, however, the priority task is to halt imperialism in its plunder and ravishing of the tricontinents. For there is a point of no return in this process: a point of catastrophe, after which a second industrial revolution would be impossible in the event of cataclysmic war (see, for example, H. Brown, J. Bonner and J. Weir: *The Next Hundred Years*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1957, pp.147 et seq.).

If my argument above is substantially correct, I have no need to elaborate here upon the re-thinking it demands from socialists throughout the world. The debate is overdue, and ought to be joined in high seriousness, free from dogmatism. However, everything I have said argues for the intensification of the struggles of peoples throughout the world against imperialism—and in particular the imperialism of the United States of America, incomparably the richest, the most ruthless, and the greediest imperial power in the world and in human history.

Malcolm Caldwell



Terry Seago

Dear Sir,
As usual I bought my copy of the latest edition of the Black Dwarf at the demonstration over the weekend. I was amazed and speechless when I read your feature article "Southern African Betrayal". What was shocking and surprising was not the fact that the Black Dwarf did not support the ANC, or that it had some criticisms, but the manner in which the article was presented.

Firstly, let me point out that your article was not a scoop. This is a document which was circulated by some deserters from Umkonto We Sizwe, who first took refuge in Kenya, and then in Belgium. (Which liberation movement in the world has not had its deserters, etc., who have published attacks on the movements? The test of any revolutionary press is that unlike the imperialist and gutter press it studies all such documents very clearly, and its publication, even of extracts from such documents, let alone a verbatim publication is dependent on the role it will play and the forces it will assist.) When this document first appeared, it was given prominence in the South African press and used by the SA propaganda machinery to undermine the liberatory movements both internally and abroad. Recently a SA police paper reported from it and it has once again become propaganda material for the SA regime. However, what is surprising is that it is only your paper that saw fit to publish this document in full, a document which even the SA regime and mass media did not think worthy of full publication. Could you possibly be thinking that the SA regime had missed a "golden opportunity to undermine and discredit the liberatory movement" and that you were going to remedy this situation? I must stress here that the publication of this and other such material in SA has had no effect on the thousands of people who have for years been fighting the SA regime. The people's support for the liberatory movement grows all the time. These people are not "sheep" who are being misled (a bourgeois and imperialist argument) but because they are involved in a struggle under dangerous conditions and they are aware of the role of members of the ANC. Incidentally, similar arguments against the leadership have always been used in SA, and today these same leaders are languishing in the SA jails, many for life.

Secondly, this article, as well as its reappearance in SA, comes at a time when there is a sustained and unprecedented campaign against the SA regime. Thousands of people are being brought into political activity against the racist regime and we are witnessing demonstrations and protests on an unprecedented scale. All SA's attempts to minimise this international pressure have met with no success. Internally, underground activities continue. Hundreds of people are being arrested, and many are to be tried in December, after having been kept in solitary confinement for at least six months. These are all members of the ANC, and many are people that you have seen fit to slander and undermine. Last week thousands of leaflets and broadcasts were heard in five major cities in SA; if you have any idea of working underground in a fascist state, then you will be able to get some idea of the significance of this. Just to mention that the minimum sentence for handing out ANC leaflets is three years, and that it is even illegal to read them. In this period when even the right-wing forces and the imperialist press are finding it difficult to come to SA's support, the Black Dwarf which regards itself as a revolutionary organ has seen fit to publish "A South African Betrayal". This article can have no other consequence than to cause confusion and disillusionment in the ranks of many progressives, many of whom are not very aware of the situation. It can only be an attempt to bring disunity in the ranks of the solidarity workers internationally. This type of journalism can only assist the SA regime and the imperialists. Can you blame me for wondering whether your organ is really an agent of imperialism?

I have not even attempted to answer all the accusations made in the document, because this will necessitate writing another article. Moreover this is an imperialist trick. I am sure that you are not unaware of similar attacks on other revolutionary movements all over the world. Have you already forgotten the articles written about Che (e.g. his love-affair with Tania, etc.)?

Lastly I can only hope that one's fears and doubts about the Black Dwarf are not proved to be true. Moreover, when such articles are published in the future, at least check on it thoroughly; anyone who has bothered to even investigate this document in a limited way would have found many discrepancies and lies.

Yours sincerely, A. Pahad, 83 North End House, Fitzjames Avenue, W.14.

sonally—yet give no evidence to support their charges. The general tenor of the article is that of whining kids deprived of a treat. The objections to the ANC's strategy in combining with ZAPU to liberate Zimbabwe are ludicrous—even a casual glance at the map of Africa will show that the result of the liberation of Zimbabwe, together with that of the Portuguese colonies, is essential to the eventual liberation of Anzania—if Anzania was liberated first it would be vulnerable to counter-revolutionary attacks from Mozambique, Angola and South-West Africa.

To claim that ANC is only a means of lining the pockets of the leadership is to ignore the South African situation, where a black man can become rich by working with his white baas more easily than by working against him.

If you are truly interested in the liberation of South Africa, and wish to expose those things which militate against that liberation, I suggest that you investigate the financing of the PAC and its relationship to the South African Security forces.

Yours sincerely,
Christopher Sanders, 5 Ifield Road, S.W.10.

CITY DWARF

At the moment, you may be sure of one thing, the private landlord is the failed capitalist. Any property man worth his salt sold off his residential assets a long time ago, and got in on the office boom which we outlined in this column in the last issue.

A succession of rent acts, an enormous, if chaotic, Government housing drive, and, until very recently when the economic climate has reduced its rapid growth, an ever-swelling army of owner occupiers have drastically reduced the profitability of renting out housing accommodation.

In 1914, there were 8½ million houses in Britain. A staggering 90% were rented privately, and 10% were owner-occupied. Local authorities, of course, owned no houses at this time.

In 1957, the number of privately-rented homes had fallen to 4½ million, and last year, of a total of 17,950,000 dwellings in Great Britain, a mere 3,300,000 were privately rented; 8,550,000 were owner-occupied, 5,250,000 rented from Local Authorities, and 850,000 occupied by virtue of employment.

It would appear that the private landlord is a dying species.

One might have thought that this would not worry the higher reaches of the property world: after all, commercial property and office development have lined the pockets of the developers so well that whatever fiscal controls are imposed, they still manage to come out on top.

The majority of those who are now extravagantly rich as a result of property speculation were only too anxious to sell off their residential developments after the war, as soon as they realised that they could never get as much money from them as they could from office property.

However, there is at present enormous pressure from vested property groups to make the situation easier for the private landlord, and an overwhelming desire by big City property interests to get back a stake in the residential letting market, having, of course, first manipulated Parliament into making the necessary relaxations on rent controls and other profit-limiting restrictions.

Before going into this, and it is undoubtedly one of the most dangerous aspects of a chaotic housing situation, it is interesting to take a look at Sir Cyril Black, whose career was a copy book flight from residential to commercial property after the last war.

Sir Cyril Black, Conservative M.P. for Wimbledon (mercifully he has announced that he will not stand again at the next election) epitomised the Puritan backlash in Parliament. He railed against homosexuality, premarital sex, abortion, pornography and drink, forming a terrible duet with the equally notorious Sir Cyril Osborne—who is now at last dead.

Black frequently intimated that he was speaking with the voice of the Christian conscience: a Christianity which wanted society to incarcerate minorities such as homosexuals.

He is a Baptist; when an enlightened member of that sect wrote to the Baptist Times, suggesting relaxation of the censorship laws, Sir Cyril thundered back that the correspondent was "a traitor to the Christian cause". He also personally paid for the prosecution of Selby's well-known book *Last Exit to Brooklyn*.

He could well afford to; despite all this talk of Christianity, this public devotion to extreme

Cyril's family hotels serve alcohol (on a matter of principle), that he is Chairman of the Moral Law Society, and head of the Temperance Building Society, Sir Cyril's career in property is not above suspicion.

Playing for astronomical sums, he used tax-avoidance techniques which have subsequently been made illegal, and to facilitate this, entered into dealings with an ex-convict financier, Martin Harman.

Briefly, Black and his brother Sydney joined the family business immediately after the war. At that time it consisted largely of flats in the Kensington area, and had done very nicely thank-you by exploiting the need for London hotel rooms during the war.

Black went straight into development, borrowing at 5% to put up buildings with an 8% yield.

However, he was not happy with that sort of money for long, and when the Tories came back to power, and gave the developers a free hand, he sold off as much as he could of the residential property belonging to his several companies.

He began to make so much money with his new office ventures that he got worried about tax. Now a public company is subject to Corporation tax, not Income plus Sur-tax, which is usually considerably more. Sir Cyril wanted a public company, but he did not want to pay the enormous expense of "floating" one on the Stock Exchange.

What Sir Cyril did was look for a company which had still got a public quotation, but which was not trading. In 1955 he chose the Rio de Janeiro Land Company.

When he bought it, it had £300,000 in tax losses: Sir Cyril paid £40,000 for it. The advantage of buying a company with such an appalling balance sheet was simply this: Sir Cyril's first £300,000 profit, trading with this company, could be written off against its theoretical paper losses—which, of course, he had not incurred and which had nothing to do with his deals.

At the time when Sir Cyril employed this technique, it was already suspect. He was only brave enough to show a profit of £1,000 in the Company's first year of trading to see what the Inland Revenue reaction would be. Subsequently, he took full advantage and used up the whole reservoir (£300,000) of tax-free profit.

It was not Sir Cyril's first venture in these murky waters. As early as 1950 he had bought another such tax-loss company, known in the business as a "shell" company, the Rock Investment Company, from the ex-crook Harman.

This kind of deal amounts to public theft. It is simply acquiring very cheaply indeed somebody else's losses and claiming tax relief on the full amount—a purely hypothetical figure as far as one's own trading is concerned.

His hypocrisy is limitless: the wine may not flow at his hotels, but it is there in abundance at his annual House of Commons Luncheon for City men—a kind of capitalist exploiters' rally, whose main purpose seems to be to lament the reduced possibility for making money under "socialist" rule.

Sir Cyril, then, was a copy book case: the man who left the provision of homes for the richer rewards of office development.

The State took over when the developers went after bigger gains; but now, it seems that the developers want to get back into residential property. They are put off by rent controls: these lay down rental levels which cannot be exceeded, and compel landlords to accept independently assessed rents.

The situation now is dangerous. After reaching a peak in 1967 of 203,918 houses, Local Authority homes fell to 191,722 last year, and are likely to be lower again this year. Meanwhile, at the end of 1969 there are likely to be some 20,000 homes intended for owner occupiers on the market, unsold. In the present economic climate people cannot afford to buy them. These figures should be seen in the light of a very acute overall housing shortage, and the continued existence, verified by the Ministry of Housing, of 1½ million homes unfit for habitation.

One result of this problem could be the resurrection of the private developer-landlord. This will not happen as long as rent controls exist. However, one of the most powerful pressure groups in the property world, ALPO, the Association of Land and Property Owners, is campaigning for their abolition, and the return to a completely free market in rents.

The particularly worrying feature of this is the fact that this group, under the guidance of its militantly capitalist Chairman, Gordon Dashwood, successfully pressurised Parliament into accepting an important amendment in the Leasehold Reform Act, to allow greater profits from the sale of flats.

What they have done before they can do again. In an obnoxious little book, *Homes to Rent*, which may be obtained from ALPO's offices at 14-16 Bressenden Place, Victoria, London S.W.1. they state quite clearly that rent controls should only exist in times of war, and they draw a parallel between the abolition of rent control and the "boom" in free market office lettings. They would like a similar situation in homes to rent: "By 1964 there was little if any shortage of shops, factories, warehouses and office accommodation. Property developers investing in commercial buildings took every opportunity to create new development." And of course, while this is true, the only people who made inordinate profits out of the situation were the developers themselves, and it is clear that they want to be allowed to do the same for residential property.

The report goes on to discuss political action: "What is required is a definite pledge, followed by early action, to abolish rent control", it says, and goes on to suggest a pernicious phasing programme by which this might be done.

It ends up with a footnote: "Hardship caused by the elimination of controls must be prevented by providing assistance for those, but only those who need it."

With a declining number of Council houses (nowhere near the Government's 400,000 per annum target) and no money for new owner occupiers, if rent control was abolished the private developer-landlord would have the kind of free-for-all he enjoyed with offices in the '50s—rents up to £12 per square foot per annum in central London, and all that.

The Conservatives are more likely to repeal rent controls than the "Socialists". The situation is critical.

A final warning note: in Oldham, the local authority will build just 27 houses this year, compared to 1,500 three years ago. Up in Church Street, Oldham, in an almost dilapidated terrace block is the registered office of Oldham Estates, the company of tycoon Harry "Centre Point" Hyams. If rent controls are to go, men like him who made more than £50 million out of office speculation, will not be averse to doing the same thing with homes.

Percy Ingrams



Sir,
You devote two whole pages to an article, "Southern Africa: A Betrayal" in your latest issue. In your editorial introduction you present this as an atonement for your previous sins in reporting the struggle in that area.

If you are serious in your journalistic endeavours, you should not have published this article. You talk about "proof" and produce none. The authors make serious allegations against

THE LIBERAL MYTH OF ESSEX UNIVERSITY.

The University of Essex is situated in Colchester (under an hour's train journey from London) and has been pumping out facts for just over five years. The University is based on the Reith lectures given by its Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Albert Sloman. The one pervading theme of these lectures was that the new University of Essex was to be an integrated community. It was to be a great experiment in liberalism.

Essex is different; it is liberal. It has to a large extent dissipated the classic hierarchies of the old universities. But only because its function is not that of these pre-war institutions. Instead of "fully educating" an imperial elite, Essex University is here as the fifth column of a technological society. The University serves to manufacture limited functionaries for that society and to produce the ideological rationalisation which keeps it going.

Vice-Chancellor Sloman's integrated community was one where staff and students should simply be able to co-exist without distinctions. And in fact there are no (formally) segregated common rooms, bars, restaurants, no "staff rooms" and minimal intrusion into the "private life" of students. But behind this seemingly progressive, liberal myth of an integrated university lies a hierarchy that is even more authoritarian than before and an interference with the student's everyday life that breeds even more neurosis than before.

The first crack in the liberal umbrella came in May, 1968. During the academic year 1967/8 a strong left wing movement had developed following attempts by the University to victimise persons involved in political activity and a campaign by socialists to give the students' union to the general meeting. In May 1968, a free university, the culmination of this movement, arose out of several general meetings of staff and students (well over 1,000) which met to call upon the Vice-Chancellor to rescind his arbitrary expulsion of three left wing students. But the left movement was as yet unable to fight the institution's ultimate weapon, the examination, and the free university fell.

Nevertheless, the academic year 1968/9 began with really high hopes, the non-fulfilment of which sowed the seeds of a tragic depression which pervaded every aspect of social life on the Essex campus. It was as if the only time we were remotely free was during moments when we were fighting and although there were many of these, each was short-lived. During the first term 37 of us were fined £20 each after Colchester police gave trumped-up evidence relating to a Vietnam Demonstration in Colchester. On the last day of the first term at around 6 p.m., the University informed the only one of the three students suspended last May still at the University, Raphael Halberstadt, that he must "withdraw". An occupation of the University Computer Centre took place at the beginning of the second term. The University Administration remained intransigent and when they went so far as to take out an injunction against Raffy, the High Court held that he had been illegally excluded and was still a student. Also that term was the occupation of the lecture theatre block in solidarity with the LSE students and the ill-fated "Revolutionary Festival". In the last term a Parliamentary Select Committee came to examine student unrest. Instead of asking those in the audience that may have been able to help them, only certain pre-selected members of the University Administration were allowed to submit evidence. When in the audience objected we were accused of breaking up the meeting.

At the end of the summer term this year, Pam Thompson, about the only black undergraduate ever at the University, was "asked to withdraw". Her crime? Failing to achieve the prescribed "academic standard". That is, she failed a minor language option by two per cent. She was thrown out in spite of the fact that the Chairman of her Department, Fabian Professor Peter Townsend, assured her that she should concentrate on her main sociology subjects (in which she attained very good grades) and that if she failed the language option he would "square it" for her. Throughout the summer vacation and the beginning of this term, Pam's friends tried to get the decision changed. They appealed to the Dean of the School, Professor David Lockwood, but he made it clear that he did not want to get involved. Next they appealed to the School Board, the "appropriate committee" which rejected Pam's appeal by eight votes to seven (note that this is the academic standard). Prior to the Board meeting, nearly every member of the Sociology Department had indicated their desire to have Pam reinstated to complete her final year.

that all the "legal" means to get Pam back had failed, a general meeting of 400 voted to move en masse to lobby Vice-Chancellor Sloman. Dr. Sloman claimed that he supported the decision of the "responsible body" albeit whilst disclaiming any knowledge of the facts, and claimed that the body that would have to alter the decision, if it were to be altered, was the University Senate. The same evening Students' Council resolved that if Pam were not reinstated by Tuesday morning, they would withdraw all forms of cooperation with the Administration, e.g. by not sitting on committees. The following afternoon a general meeting of 500 staff and students demanded an emergency meeting of Senate, the governing body of the University, to immediately reinstate Pam Thompson. Over the weekend the University was decorated with posters, a petition received around 800 signatures and a leaflet was issued giving the internal phone numbers of each member of the Senate.

By Tuesday 28th October the Senate had of course issued no statement. The Tuesday meeting was even larger and three other students declared that they too had been unfairly treated. Nick Jones had been "asked to withdraw" in June 1968 because of a "bad disciplinary record" and told that he could return this year if he passed examinations in June. After passing these examinations with top grades he then received a letter from the University Administration informing him that because of his "bad disciplinary record" he could not return. Graham Joscelyne had been expelled without trial last January following his admission to a local mental hospital in connection with drugs. The University Administration refused to let him complete his final year in spite of medical reports stating that he was no longer dependent upon drugs. Dinah Bolton was another victim of the mythical academic standard.

This Tuesday general meeting expressed solidarity with all four students, but again did not decide upon any militant action. This was probably influenced by previous experience, which has taught us that there is no nerve centre within the University which is particularly vulnerable and that conventional forms of direct action bring no immediate reaction. A policy of mass lobbying of senators was agreed upon. Consequently, every member of Senate, including the Vice-Chancellor, was to be continually lobbied until the following Monday. Lobbying too brought forth no response. There remained a refusal on the part of Senate to discuss the futures of these four students with fellow members of the University. On Monday 3rd November, a large general meeting agreed to devote the following day to a token strike of lectures, bar, classes, coffee bar, restaurant, shops. The strike received well over fifty per cent support.

Unless something was done soon, it would be too late for the four students to complete this academic year. So a couple of days before the proposed Senate meeting of 5th November, a group of 70 or 80 people who felt very strongly about the four cases of injustice agreed to appear outside the Board Room where Senate were due to meet, soon after the meeting began. We agreed that we would not let the Senate out until the four students had been reinstated. We arrived at a quarter to three. It was not until just before seven that the first senator was peacefully prevented from leaving. He was told to return to the meeting to tell his friends that they would not be let out until the four students had been reinstated. Senators were allowed to go to the toilet and one or two, who had strong reasons for leaving like kiddies birthday party, were let out. A barricade was erected and every time they attempted to make a rush a human barricade of linked arms prevented them. One by one they came out to reason with us (and we later found out, to identify names) and to threaten us with immediate expulsion. Although the students (fluctuating between one and two hundred in number) took these threats seriously, they were not deterred. Unknown to the Senate, some of us were listening to them through the skylight. At one point a suggestion that the Catholic chaplain and two students be allowed in to discuss the situation was howled down by Senate. Most of their discussion centred around not the four students, but how many to discipline. Another suggestion was made that anybody who could be identified as having been outside the Board Room at any time (up to 200 if necessary) should be expelled immediately. Their proposed methods of escape were: i) Forcing their way, which was abandoned after an advance party failed; ii) Escaping through the skylight, but this was too undignified; iii) Five people chosen at random from outside would be expelled. If the blockade was not removed, five more would be thrown out, and so on until they were released; iv) The police originally refused to come, but eventually they got hold of some top knobs. Just after eleven Chief Superintendent Wood and Chief Inspector Rush arrived, informing us that the Director of Public Prosecutions had approved the laying of charges against us if the Senate were not let out next time they tried, and that 200 fuzz would be here within minutes, if necessary. We discussed this for half an hour and shortly before midnight voted (by a narrow margin) that Senate, the senior "acad-

riduled and that the point of the demonstration had been achieved. The four students remain excluded.

Subsequently, general meetings of up to 1,000 have expressed support for the blockade of Senate and have demanded a public inquiry into Essex University. A petition with over 200 signatures demanding a public inquiry into Essex University has been rejected by the Department of Education and Science. Around 20 students are to appear before a disciplinary committee, the University's organ of political repression, before the end of term, for their part in the blockade. Over half of those accused have issued a joint statement demanding that these political trials be held together and in public. Moreover, the University is also using the law courts as a source of sanction. One graduate of the University, Chris Ratcliffe, still lives in the area for the time being, although he is no longer a registered student. His part in the Senate Blockade won him an injunction restraining him from entering the University of Essex campus. Being refused legal aid and getting no help from several solicitors, he was forced to defend himself. At the first hearing before the Judge in Chambers on Tuesday 18th November, Chris succeeded in having the University's application for a renewal of the injunction rejected on the basis of an undertaking of "good behaviour". But the University Administration were not satisfied, and took the matter to the Court of Appeal, where Chris had to face not only the University Administration, but a Queen's Counsel, three barristers, solicitor and three Lords Justice of Appeal. In spite of giving a 15-page statement in his defence and in spite of being commended upon his presentation of his case, he inevitably lost. A political file was produced by the University Administration giving details of his role in many demonstrations in and out of the University.

The liberal experiment at Essex has failed because the myth of an integrated community remains a myth. As ever, decision-making, discipline, course content, entrance requirements, and assessment are reserved for a very small group of senior academics and administrators. Time after time we have seen the express wish of a majority of the members of the University laughed at by the one or two that have the power. In the Court of Appeal, the University was for all intents and purposes one person, the Registrar. Moreover, this one person under the name "University of Essex" may "manage its affairs in the same way as an individual manages his property" for the University "is neither a collection of buildings nor a community of scholars, but a corporation with a charter" (Lord Justice Harman).

POLY STUDENTS OCCUPY

Students of the North Western Polytechnic occupied their Kentish Town building beginning Tuesday night, 2nd December, for a 24-hour period. Some 150 people were at the Union meeting that voted for the occupation, and as many as 250 people were present at 1.30 a.m., including students from all four buildings of the Polytechnic and visitors from Borough Poly., Enfield, Hornsey and Bedford College.

The issue which sparked off the action was the college principal's refusal to call an emergency meeting of the academic board, or even to discuss the matter with students' union officials, on the currently 7-months-old question of student participation. That history began when the College Main Academic Board first considered a Students' Union request for 50% participation in its activities last May. It referred the matter to a joint negotiating committee comprising the Board's Executive Committee and six students.

This year, the negotiating committee held its first meeting two days before the Academic Board's only scheduled meeting this term. The negotiating committee discussed the matter for two hours, whereupon the Executive Committee curtailed discussion, despite earlier assurances that adequate time would be set aside. The Executive Committee refused to make a recommendation to the Board, despite a mandate to do so from last year's Board meeting.

So with a total of two hours' joint discussion on student representation, the main Academic Board met on November 5th. The Board's offer called for significantly less than 50% student representation, and included a "safe" method for selecting the representatives. This offer was rejected by a Students' Union meeting.

The Academic Board was not due to meet again until next term, but the principal had pointed out that an emergency meeting could easily be called if necessary. When requested to do so by the Students' Union president, however, he refused to do so, claiming that there was no procedure for doing so. It has been pointed out that the principal managed to find a procedure when he himself called such a meet-

A meeting between the principal and Students' Union officials was terminated rather abruptly, when after two minutes the principal ordered the students out of his room. Students saw this action as a slight to the entire Students' Union, necessitating some form of effective action to show their determination to be treated as equals. Much of the support for the occupation seemed to be based on loyalty to the Union and backing up its officials.

At the Union meeting Tuesday evening, the Union Executive called for a "non-violent sit-in" of the college main building for twelve hours from the close of this meeting to show its determination to re-open negotiations immediately... An amendment was put to change "sit-in" to "occupation" and "twelve hours" to "twenty-four".

The interesting thing about the amendment is that its proposers did not intend that it should be passed. Rather they hoped that by presenting a "militant alternative" they would get the moderates to see the "twelve hour sit-in" as a moderate alternative. The proposer stressed that "occupation" meant total control of the building, as opposed to merely staying in the canteen. Later, as support for the amendment seemed to be growing, the head of the Socialist Society spoke for the amendment. Fearing that there were not enough people present to carry out a successful occupation, he deliberately adopted a manner that he hoped would alienate the "moderates" so that only the twelve-hour sit-in would pass.

But the sentiment for direct action proved too strong. The meeting voted about 75-65 for the "militant alternative", with almost all the opposition coming from a block of students on a one-year professional course. The occupation was then approved overwhelmingly, and began.

The night went very well, with films (including *The Columbia Revolt*), a rock group (which had to be asked to stop after a short time because people in the flats across the street had complained), a span of Socialist Society seminars on familiar topics by famous revolutionaries, and free food (donations accepted). An occupation committee emerged, and a mild form of "occupation committee paranoia" led to the ejection of two well-known outside revolutionaries who looked like they might be disrupting things. Other revolutionary well-wishers were treated most hospitably, so the experience of this unfortunate two must be put down to a flaw in revolutionary consciousness.

Two general assemblies took place during the early morning hours. At the second of these, the occupation committee put forward a plan for barricading the corridors leading to the administrative offices. They felt that such a plan could be successful if there were at least 100 people committed to carrying it through. A count showed only 95 people who would be able to stay the following day. The committee wavered; but again the willingness for militancy prevailed. (Just a week earlier, a general meeting at the Highbury Grove building changed a "left" proposal for a one-day canteen boycott into a week-long boycott, and several days later went on to call for dismissing the catering firm and running the canteen under student and staff control.)

Tables were piled up at both ends of the two corridors and about 40 students manned each pair. Spirit was very high. Students manning an information table greeted arriving students with an occupation issue of *Stereo* (the college paper) produced that night. Most arriving students agreed with the occupation, and many joined the barricades.

Leaflets were distributed at the other three buildings and at Northern Polytechnic, soon to be merged with North Western. At Northern, the principal asked the North Western student distributing leaflets to leave. So much for reciprocal membership.

The expected confrontation with the principal, however, did not take place. He and all the other administrative officials carefully stayed away from the college. Although the occupation had decided not to interfere with lectures and classes, these were cancelled by a meeting of heads of department in order to enable as many "moderate" students as possible to attend the 11.00 a.m. general assembly held in the main lobby. The "moderates", however, voted to continue the occupation for the remainder of the twenty-four hours.

At a general assembly that afternoon, it was decided to unilaterally increase student "representation" at a departmental academic board meeting scheduled for 2.30. About 40 students waited outside the room for the academics to appear, but the latter decided it was not necessary to meet after all.

Lunch was taken in shifts. When the staff canteen refused to serve students, and then shut down service entirely, the occupying students purchased their meals in the students' canteen and then carried them up to the staff canteen. One practical reason for this gesture was that all the tables and chairs from the downstairs canteen had been taken for use in the barricaded corridors.

At 5.00 the barricaders left for a general assembly in the staff canteen. This time, to the consternation of two well-known outside revolutionaries, very strong support appeared for

FRANKFURT- THE COMMUNE IS ALIVE AND DOING WELL.

In houses in Frankfurt forty young people, who have absconded from a borstal, are waiting for identity papers, so that they can integrate themselves into the W. German working class, and work towards a more progressive political situation.

This project is being sponsored by the socialist group at the university, and administered by the local urban guerrilla-type, Louis.

I first met Louis when I was walking out of the town at about one o'clock in the morning, he stopped in his beaten-up old Renault and offered to give me a lift; I told him that I was just looking for somewhere to lay out my doss-bag, and he invited me to stay at this house with some of the people he was helping.

The house looked derelict from the outside, the ground floor windows were boarded over and the garden was overgrown, but inside all the basic conveniences were working, and there were a fair amount of semi-luxury items. Every room had a record player, typewriter, and there was a wardrobe with extra clothing, bedding and a sleeping compartment partitioned off, with mattresses, and a small bookcase. There was a communal room with television, radio and a large bookcase with the thoughts of Mao, Che, Lenin, Marx and several books on self-defence. They were extremely active politically, even by W. German standards, and they showed me photos of demonstrations that they had partially initiated.

In the spirit of all the best revolutionaries they use megaphones to impart the word to a larger section of the masses. At about four o'clock we took Louis's Renault to the automat in the underground station to buy breakfast. They live like the "underground" in any country seems to, on a diet of bread, milk and cheese. Back at the house we went to bed, only to be awoken early by the sound of typewriters beating out their message to civilisation, and the German newsreader on the television. I borrowed a radio to listen to the rather distorted American version on the G.I. waveband.

I had arrived in Germany only two weeks before the election, and plans were underfoot for a big rally against the NPD (the neo-Nazi party), although the more informed view was that if public anger was aroused the election would go against the socialist party (it actually stands a little to the right of our Government), and most young Germans would rather settle for anything than the NPD. Around dinnertime I went to have a look around the kitchen and see what there was; most of the supplies were obviously U.S. in origin, but I wouldn't like to say where they were obtained from.

I know very little of the German language, certainly not enough to express political ideas, so I was lucky to find that the boys knew a fair amount of English, and that several of them were nearly fluent.

They didn't venture far from the house be-
Continued above

Continued from page 9.

continuing the occupation for another twenty-four hours. In fact, a vote produced a 35-35 split (with many abstentions). After several hours of discussion, however, "sanity" prevailed and it was finally agreed to leave further action to the Union meeting scheduled for 9 December, unless disciplinary action should occur.

One of the reasons for the reluctance to terminate the occupation was that for the first time at N.W. Polytechnic, students had experienced a sense of community. Although 3,000 students attend the college, they are split up among four buildings with a minimum of travel time of a half-hour between some of them. (The coming merger with Northern Poly will add two buildings in an additional location.) Many students attend for only two days a week (social work), for two terms each year (teaching studies), or for one year in all (child care). None of the canteens serves an evening meal, and there is very little evening activity.

For the first time in its history, N.W. Poly became alive. And many students there await the next time.
Vic Schoenbach

cause they had no I.D. which is essential in nearly any foreign country. If they were stopped by the fuzz they usually had to run to avoid being returned to the borstal.

Unfortunately I had to leave the next day to meet a group of students at an "underground" club in Friedberg. But had I found an example of genuine socialism in action, or was it just the West Germans showing that they could do everything better than us? No—the first statement was partly true; this commune was being run efficiently by dedicated people who were genuine in their beliefs, but the recipients of this dedication, the usual collection of social dropouts, non-conformists and delinquents will, I predict (wrongly I hope), only succeed in becoming integrated into criminal society. These are the kids who leave the main body of demonstrations to act out spontaneously what has been carefully rehearsed in private. They are also the guerrillas that we need for the revolution. They're the people with the guts to do what the "teeny-boppers" of politics never will. To put it bluntly, they're who we should be recruiting to our ranks in this country, instead of building our hopes on a solid unit of intellectual matter, most of which can never be active fully until after we seize control.
John Hewitt

TACTICS FOR REPORTERS.

Writing in the *Sunday Times*, Nick Tomalin said that "rat-like cunning" is one of the prime qualifications for a journalist. If you're going to make your living out of journalism in Britain, your money will come from capitalist newspapers, local, national, or both. And if you're a socialist, you'll need plenty of that cunning.

- Here are some possible tactics.
1. You'll find that many of your fellow-journalists are more progressive than you'd expect from the contents of their reports and articles. This is partly censorship, partly self-censorship. Find out which of them tend, however vaguely, to the progressive side. Ally yourself with them. Earn their respect by your work and comradeship. Don't lecture them at length about politics, but don't hide your political sympathies from them. React to the stories they write. This will have an effect. They'll think twice about their coverage of the next demonstration if they know that you've been on it, that you'll read every word they write with care and that they've got to share the same office with you next day.
 2. Once he knows your views, the chief reporter or news editor isn't likely to give you many important political stories. If he tells you to do a hatchet job on (say) Fidel Castro, refuse, explaining why. Make it clear to whoever takes the assignment that you turned it down.
 3. Whatever your contract says, there's nothing to stop you secretly passing on stories which your paper won't print to the socialist press (e.g. *The Black Dwarf*).
 4. Be active in the National Union of Journalists, which is about as revolutionary as the Frank Ifield Appreciation Society. Fight on local issues, like wage claims, as well as introducing broader political issues. If your branch's Conference delegate is one of the many who goes to Conference just for the booze, disturb him into resigning by asking him for a full report, going through the agenda with him and asking him how he is going to vote/has voted on each resolution etc.
 5. If your main interest is in writing articles about overtly political subjects, you're liable to be thwarted, to put it mildly. But it's possible to write politically conscious articles and reviews which editors regard as "non-political" — TV, science, books, sport, architecture, films etc. If you avoid certain key-words — "bourgeois" and "Yankee pirates" for instance — you can get away with a lot. As a straight reporter,

6. If you come into a head-on political conflict with your editor and he suggests you resign quietly — don't. Let them sack you, take the golden handshake and kick up a stink in the office and the union.
 7. If they try to cut one of your signed articles or reviews for political reasons (rather than reasons of space), insist that your name be taken off the piece. This is your right. It bothers them.
 8. Encourage the recruitment of other socialist journalists to your paper. Unsubtle suggestions to the chief reporter like: "There's this bloke down from London who's a fantastic reporter, and he's thinking of moving near here. Why don't you come and meet him, we're having a drink in the George at seven?" sometimes pay off.
 9. If anyone asks you about the Press Council, tell them that it doesn't exist.
 10. Every journalist knows damn well that newspapers should be run by newspapermen. Discuss this with your more progressive colleagues, including the printers, who are likely to be the most politically aware group in the building. When the time comes, you and your comrades should be ready and able to take control of your paper.
 11. Prime causes of dissatisfaction among journalists are:
 - (a) Wages.
 - (b) Office conditions.
 - (c) Hours of work.
 - (d) Censorship and editorial policy.
 - (e) Hiring and firing.
 - (f) Conflicts between advertising creeps and the reporters.
- Collate the facts and evidence on these subjects, relate them to the basic question of the ownership and control of your paper. Get together with the printers and incorporate their views at equal length in an anonymous mimeographed booklet calling for workers' control. When the next dispute breaks, see that everyone gets a copy.
Adrian Mitchell

COLOUR BLIND JUSTICE

On Tuesday, 2 December, at the Old Bailey, Peter Martin, a 23-year-old Biafran (whose family is being bombed by British bombs), who has lived in this country for 6 years, was sent to gaol for nine months for distributing this leaflet in Brixton.

He did not assault anyone, he did not threaten anyone, he offered no resistance to the arrest. He did not write the leaflet or print it: he just handed it out. Despite a brilliant defence by QC John Mortimer, he got

seven months simply for advertising a peaceful meeting, and two additional months since he had been bound over after a previous "technical" offence connected with the Obi Egbuna frame-up last year.

The judge, King Hamilton, had the effrontery to say at the trial that in this country "justice was colour-blind". He will have to pull his wig down firmly over his ears to shut out the laughter of over a million black people when they hear that. There is a

simple way to test whether King Hamilton is right or not. If Peter Martin can go to gaol for nine months for handing out 6 copies of this leaflet, then they will have to put the Dwarf board away for 99 years for distributing 15,000 copies of it. Let us together show pompous, ignorant, finger-wagging bastards like King Hamilton that although he may, for the moment, have the power of class justice to put one black militant down there are a thousand others waiting to take his place.

All People ATTEND

BLACK POWER Mass Rally

STOP THE PIGS



PLACE SOMERLEYTON ROAD
--BRIXTON--

DATE 2 AUGUST 1969

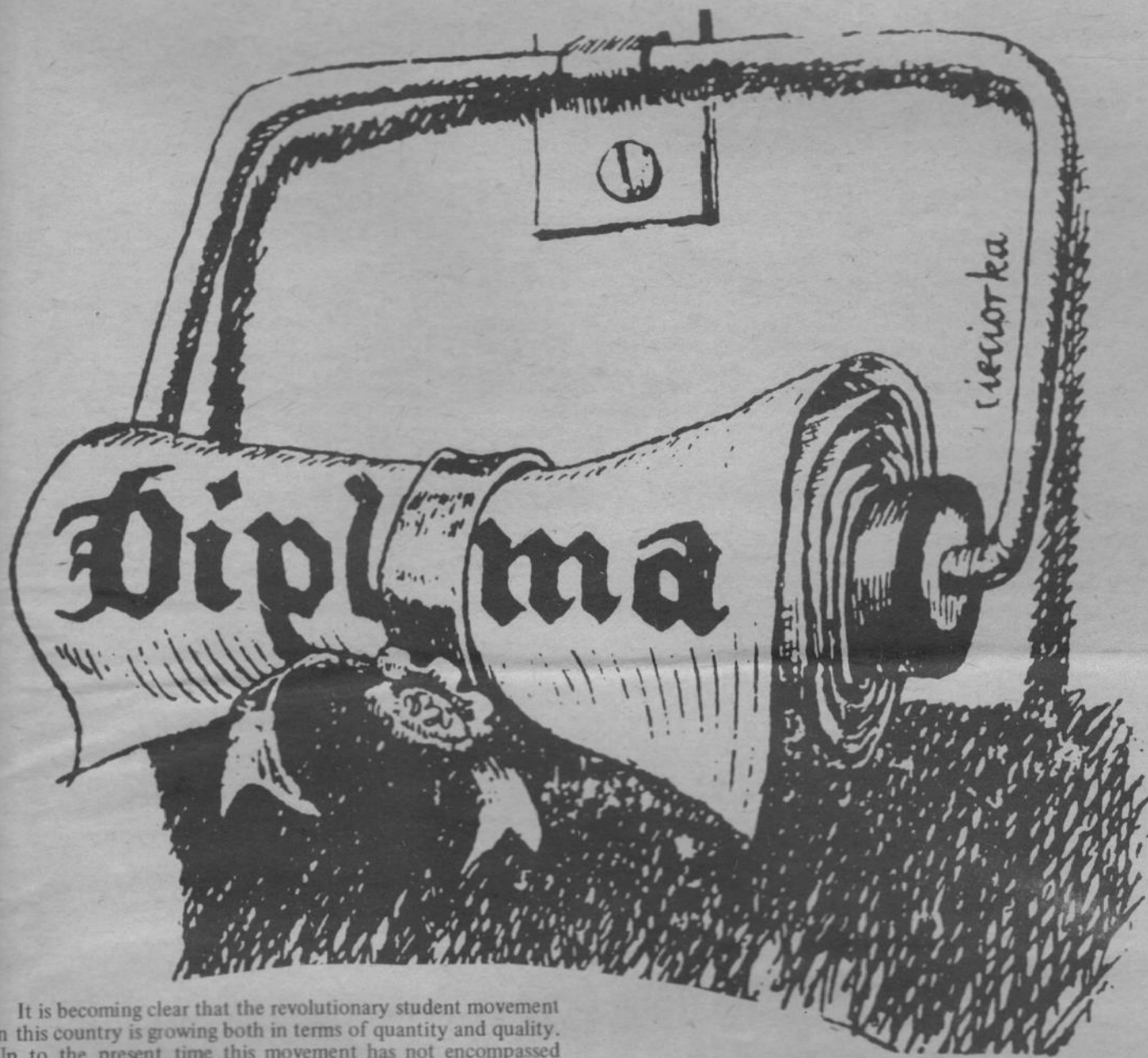
TIME 3.0 p.m.

FIGHT POLICE BRUTALITY OFF
THE STREETS OF BRIXTON



BRIXTON RACIST

SCIENCE STUDENTS



It is becoming clear that the revolutionary student movement in this country is growing both in terms of quantity and quality. Up to the present time this movement has not encompassed students of engineering or science, whether at university or college, to any substantial extent.

It is worth noting that the glimmering of a student movement is paralleled by the very substantial growth of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs — formed from the 'left-wing' Association of Scientific Workers. It is also important to note that the science and engineering student has more in common with most workers than other groups of students.

In many ways the student of engineering or science is subject to an academic oppression far greater than that inflicted on his fellow students. Among other factors, he suffers extremely long hours (at UMIST a full 4½ days of lectures, tutorials and practicals), sexual and social deficiencies (at UMIST, for example, not more than 5% of the undergraduate population is female!), a savage exam system destroying creativity, and in many technical colleges bad conditions.

A CRISIS

There are signs that the attack from the science student (from now on both scientists and engineers will be referred to as scientists, unless mentioned to the contrary) is just beginning. On the Vietnam demonstration on October 27th, the proportion of scientist's according to a number of sources, was higher than many people expected.

In the science universities students are just beginning to take direct action as the following table shows:

UNIVERSITY/COLLEGE	ACTION	YEAR
Aston University	Sit-in	1967
Bradford University	Various and withdrawal from NUS	1967
Salford University	Demonstration: 1,000 students on Prince Philip's visit.	1968
Kingston College Tech	Sit-in in support of LSE	1969
Strathclyde University	Sit-in in support of LSE	1969
UMIST	Disruption of lectures by Principal and BBC Northern Correspondent Industrial	1969

It seems likely that this pattern will continue — in that actions taken will be increasingly less introspective and, in addition, will be greatly intensified. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that scientists will react as they did at Bristol and Birmingham.

The strongest offensive may probably be launched on the extremely high level of failure (in their terminology) in the technological universities illustrated by the following table. (1) It refers to students who should have received a degree in 1965-1966.

UNIVERSITY	% LEAVING WITHOUT A DEGREE	% LEAVING IN 1st YEAR
GROUP I		
Aston	29.1	7.7
Bradford	30.8	2.4
Brunel	29.2	8.1
City	29.2	13.3
Loughborough	34.0	19.7
Salford	31.7	17.1
Surrey	32.1	12.6
GROUP II		
Birmingham	9.6	4.8
Leeds	11.7	5.4
Mixture	14.2	6.0

The first point one notes is the extremely high percentage of students from Group I that leave without a degree and even more surprising how constant is the percentage at almost every university in Group I, i.e. approx. 31%. The normal explanation for this would be that students in Group I have lower 'A' level grades than Groups II and III and thus cannot manage academically. This is not necessarily the main reason because a large number leave in their first year — implying that they left of their own accord. The U.G.C. report does not draw a distinction between a student leaving for 'academic' reasons when he wants to, and when he is forced to. It might be — though the U.G.C. would never look — that many students leaving for academic reasons were leaving because they could not tolerate the removal of the social content of the subject that they were doing. It is relevant, here, to quote from the U.C.C.A. report of last year which showed that 3% more students were doing arts 'A' levels — 3% less were doing science 'A' levels.

The figures are confirmed on failure rate if one breaks the above table down into broad subject areas.

SUBJECT	TOTAL NUMBER	% LEAVING WITHOUT DEGREE	NO. LEAVING
Arts	8,988	9.4	848
Engineering	6,001	21.9	1,313
Other technologies	400	20.0	80
Physical Sciences (other than Maths)	5,336	14.6	779

In the above figures disciplinary reasons for leaving were negligible except at UMIST where 6% of the students leaving without a degree did so, because of disciplinary action!

It seems likely that intense student agitation will take place against this ruthless rat-race demanding an immediate reduction in the 'failure-rate' and calling for a 'liberalisation' of technological universities, even if not a 'liberation'.

There are a number of other points which should help to precipitate the impending crisis in technological universities (and in science departments of others):

1. A glut of pure scientists, especially Chemistry.
2. A reduction of university expenditure, hitting particularly science.
3. The increased use of science for warfare.

THE POLITICAL LEVEL

The first point worth making here is that there is very little research or evidence on the political level of students of science or engineering. The second point is that although we cannot definitely describe the engineering or science student politically, we can say that he is generally politically inactive and usually has a completely non-critical outlook.

It is interesting to compare a description of a professor to that of a student studying science — the similarity is unexpected. The student is described in 'The Science Undergraduate' (2):

"The overall picture is not entirely satisfactory. As a group science undergraduates are serious and hard-working, with little time for 'cultural' activities. Most use what little spare time they have to take part in some form of extra-curricular activity and to enter into university life in general. However, they tend to be rather conventional and conformist, with their interests and hobbies limited to their studies and although

The professors are described in C. Wright Mills: 'White Collar' "The increase in enrolment and the consequent mass productions methods of instruction have made the position of the college professor less distinctive than it once was. Although in prestige, especially in the larger centres, is considerably higher than that of the public school teacher it does not usually attract sons of upper-class families. The type of man who is recruited for college teaching and shaped for this end by graduate school training is very likely to have a strong plebeian strain. His culture is typically narrow, his imagination often limited. Men can achieve position in this field although they are recruited from the lower-middle class, a milieu not remarkable for grace of mind, flexibility or breadth of culture or scope of imagination. The professors... also include people of 'broadly plebeian cultural interests outside the field of specialization and a generally philistine way of life.'" (3):

One of the few studies involving the politics of science students was done by Sanford (4) who examined the Bristol College of Technology and found that, unlike the university, its class structure was similar to that of British society in general. He also found that there was a complete lack of political clubs and that more students attended industry-run sports clubs than college ones. He showed that the students were predominantly Conservative voters, with lower middle-class backgrounds. However, it would not be correct to assume that Bristol is representative of science and engineering students for there are substantial socialist societies at Aston, UMIST, Imperial College, and Bradford.

According to a recent survey in Independent (Newspaper of Manchester University) (5), there seems to be little difference in the political sympathies of the Arts and Science students.

FACULTY	EXTREME LEFT	LEFT	CENTRE	RIGHT	EXTREME RIGHT	NONE
Arts	7	29	17	18	1	28
Science	2	26	18	23	1	30
Economics	9	44	13	18	0	16

All figures are percentages.

This was not a very reliable survey as there were no objective criteria for the assessment of political sympathies. It is interesting to note that in the survey as a whole the Faculty of Medicine was the most reactionary department. This is rather odd as one would expect students working in a humanitarian course to have some elements of that humanity.

As mentioned earlier, there are no figures available for the political level of students, but in 1963 Eric Lubbock showed that there were a very small number of professional engineers in the Commons, decreasing, in spite of the overall increase in the number of these engineers.

Year	1945	1950	1957	1962
Average	13	11	10	9

There are two main reasons that scientists have not gone into government in any substantial numbers:

1. They are expected only to act as a contributor. Edward Shils (7):

"Scientists are not ordinarily brought into the service of government on grounds of their deep philosophical powers. Nor is it generally asserted that they should be brought in as counsellors to range freely over the whole field of policy, assessing men and motives and the whole landscape of alternative ends. The arguments for their indispensability in modern governments rooted not in any conviction as to the breadth of their wisdom but in their expertise in definite range of problems. They are prized not for their capacity to replace political judgement by scientific judgement, nor for their greater ease in comprehending a broad scene and to see the hidden interdependence of its parts. Their skill is generally thought to be a narrower one and their capacity for contributing to the process of decision more segmental and specific to their scientific competence."

2. They are considered a part of the 'ideological war' as Viscount Hailsham said in 1957 in Nature — sounding rather like President Johnson. (8)

POLITICAL IMPROVEMENT IN SCIENCE STUDENTS

The main problem is that most scientists do not possess a critical outlook. Probably this is deliberate — quite often the human being tries to ignore something, rather than have to face it. Before the science student can understand a Marxist Critique, he has to be able to criticise.

We must, therefore supply this critical attack — we must teach our fellow students. This can be done in a number of ways:

1. Pamphlets on individual subjects showing
 - (a) the use and abuse of it
 - (b) how badly the subject is taught
 - (c) how the subject could be taught and used.
2. The uncritical scientist is virtually unable to speak — we must have critical science seminars weekly with left-wing lecturers speaking on a topic that they know about, but speaking about it critically, so that he can learn to communicate and criticise.
3. We must campaign inside the university and college for:
 - (a) An education — not a training.
 - (b) An attack on the most obvious excesses of capitalism such as poverty, germ warfare, atomic bomb.
4. Create a social conscience, e.g. If a chemical plant explodes ask a worker along to speak to chemical engineers and chemists.

If a critical student is eventually produced any discussion on Marxism should still lead off from the particular science. The following topics would soon lead to a discussion on Socialism:

1. Automation
2. Arms Expenditure
3. World poverty
4. Genetics and racialism

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4. Technologists in the making. The Technologist 1966

DWARF DIARY

In Old Street, Islington there sits a magistrate who goes by the name of Neil McElligot. The atrocious behaviour of this imbecile towards unfortunate victims of class justice was manifested once again in the last week of November. An unemployed young worker, 19, appeared before our friendly magistrate and pleaded guilty to "dishonestly handling a pair of shoes, knowing them to have been stolen". He had been seen with them on at a meeting in Trafalgar Square. McElligot decided to give the "young man" a chance, but he warned him: "Don't get yourself involved with those poor half-wits who one sees demonstrating about this or protesting about that. I see you have got yourself involved in the protest racket. Well, keep away from it. Go home, do your work and keep out of trouble." With these words of wisdom the victim was given a year's conditional discharge. We have somewhat different advice for him: "Get thoroughly integrated in the revolutionary movement; join a trade union and stir up constant trouble at your factory. If you're declared redundant, get together with some of your mates and lock up the boss in your loo and guard it in turns. Deny him food and water till he is prepared to capitulate to your demands. The next time you appear in court start pissing from the dock and drench a few policemen."

We must apologise most profusely to all comrades for not publishing an article explaining the situation in Italy. This is being prepared and will appear in some detail in the next issue. The struggles being waged by the Italian workers have led to running battles in a large number of industrial centres throughout Italy. There have been a series of nearly-General Strikes and the situation in Italy could without exaggeration be described as pre-revolutionary. It is in this context that we must see the expulsion of the three members of the left Manifesto tendency from the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party. They were not either adventurist students or "anarchist" young workers. They were the leaders of an important faction in the Italian C.P. and respected throughout the party. Their journal had a circulation of over 150,000 and they were winning a great deal of support amongst the industrial rank and file. They were opposed to class-collaboration with the bourgeois parties and opposed the invasion of Czechoslovakia from a revolutionary point of view. Their expulsion could therefore lead to serious convulsions within the Italian party. On this and the general situation in Italy we will be commenting at length in our next number.

DEATH OF A COMRADE

Carlos Marighella—"the Che Guevara of Brazil"—was killed on November 4th in a cowardly trap set by the Sao Paulo police.

A month before his 59th birthday the veteran revolutionary was still fighting. He died with a Luger in his hand, riddled with machine-gun and revolver fire.

He had planned to meet with a group of radical Dominican monks who had agreed to run an escape route for leftists in trouble. But two of them had been taken by the Political and Social Police (DOPS) and betrayed the rendezvous.

Marighella was one of the strongest leaders in the Brazilian movement—in recent months his planning was responsible for the brilliantly executed Elbrick kidnapping and a number of bank raids in Rio and Sao Paulo.

It is sadly ironic that he should be lost in a city at the moment when plans for the rural guerrilla campaign were nearly complete. The regime is so scared of rural guerrillas that teams from the Regular, Federal, Political and Military Police, the Army, the Airforce and the Navy, have been combined into a Green Berets-style anti-guerrilla regiment, in anticipation of a rural revolutionary war.

With the loss of Marighella the rebel army leader is now likely to be his second-in-command, Joaquim Camara Ferreira: ex-Sao Paulo State Deputy, ex-editor of the C.P. daily "Hoje" (Today), and now committed to Castro/Guevara Marxism.

Carlos Lamarca, who last year deserted from the army to found the Armed Revolutionary Vanguard (VAR), has been training well-disciplined small groups in guerrilla tactics. He is also

But, as Marighella frequently said, the real leaders emerge spontaneously from the struggle.

"I don't have time to be afraid" is an often quoted remark of his. His courage was obvious: surrounded in Sao Paulo's Alameda Casa Branca by 50 police and called on to surrender, he chose to fight. Before falling he killed one cop and wounded another—probably helped by the fact that some of them were busy gunning down an innocent dentist who drove through the ambush.

Marighella's political activity began in 1932 when he quit the 3rd year of his engineering course—already a CP member—to start intensive agitation in Salvador, in Brazil's poverty-ridden North-East.

In 1936 he was jailed for 2½ years for distributing propaganda, and in 1939 he was sentenced to another 5 years. But in 1945, with the legalisation of the CP, he was elected a Federal Deputy, and was one of the signatories to the 1946 constitution. In 1947 the CP was again forced underground, and Marighella was declared "cassado"—deprived of political and social rights.

He rose through the Party Central Committee to the Praesidium and Secretariat. By 1964 the Party was able to work openly, until the military coup, when Marighella was again hunted. In May of that year he was trapped in a Tijuca cinema and seriously wounded three times before being captured. Tough Party lawyers waited for his recovery before springing him with a Habeas Corpus writ, whereupon he immediately went aground again.

In August 1967 he disobeyed Party orders by attending the OLAS conference in Havana. From Cuba he attacked the passive Moscow-line men for trying to play the election game, and demanded the start of the armed insurrection.

The Party naturally expelled him for this Castroite heresy, and he founded the Revolutionary Communist Party of Brazil (PCBR), taking with him the young militants he had recruited.

With the VAR and MR-8, the PCBR began the urban campaign of propaganda, bombing, raiding banks, sacking police stations, taking armouries, kidnapping and hi-jacking.

He was nearly 60—a good age to die in battle.

Private First Class R. Tinsley, of the U.S. Army, aged 22, was recently released by the NLF in South Vietnam which had captured him some months ago. Tinsley told an American news agency: "I was wounded. They took real good care of me. I'd have to think twice before I fight them again after what they done for me." Another released prisoner, James Strickland, said: "They didn't kill me. They had the opportunity to. I really appreciate them sparing my life."

This not something unique on the part of the NLF; their policy of friendship with rank-and-file American soldiers has been well-established over the years and their treatment of American prisoners reflects the social policies which guide their thoughts. There have been increasing cases of Americans deserting to the NLF and fighting with them against the forces of U.S. capitalism. There are hundreds of others who lacked the political consciousness to turn their guns against the class enemy but who were still affected by the way the NLF was conducting the struggle. When they begin to get home the United States government will begin to feel in concrete terms the effects of the war inside America. And all the present precautions being taken by American marines "to ensure that military hardware being shipped out of Vietnam does not carry new diseases or insects to the U.S. or other countries" will not be able to keep out the most dangerous disease of them all—the disease called REVOLUTION.

The Japanese Foreign Minister Kiichi Aichi has ordered investigations into reports that American nuclear-armed strategic bombers have been patrolling over China and North Korea from Okinawa.

Mr Aichi said he knew nothing of a report by the Japanese news agency Kyodo that B-52 bombers, carrying hydrogen bombs, have been on regular missions to China and North Korea from Kadena air base in central Okinawa.

But he has ordered Ministry officials to investigate.

Japan's major opposition Socialist Party lodged a protest with the U.S. Embassy charging the American Defence Department with trying to cover up facts about the B-52 operations. While U.S. Defence Department officials have denied these reports, it is quite clear that both American imperialism and its Japanese collaborators are consciously intending to use Japan as a base against the Chinese and Korean peoples in case of war. However our Japanese student comrades assure us that if this happens there

EVENTS

NOV-DEC: The Watts films show which helped open the New Art Theatre, opposite Leicester Square tube station, starting on 2 November, intends to present films which haven't been seen yet and older films which have been neglected or forgotten.

First series: consists of 5 nights of recent films from USA, Britain, Italy, Germany, etc ... large proportion have not been seen before; the others are shorter films mostly made with simple means.

Second series: consists of 4 nights in December. They will contain unseen featured films from USA and the Continent that break with the conventionality of commercialised films.

The showing starts every Sunday night at 11 pm. Membership: 2/6. Admission: 6/-. Free membership for members of ICA, Electric Cinema, cinema clubs, Arts Lab, New Arts Lab.

DECEMBER 15: Last day of RSSF National Conference, Imperial College, London. Further details: RSSF, 59 Fleet Street. Tel. 01-353 5735.

DECEMBER 16: Springboks at Aldershot. Further information: 21a Gwendolen Avenue, Putney, S.W.15.

DECEMBER 19: School strike and demo. Assemble 2 p.m. at Grosvenor Square. March to County Hall. Schools Action Union pre-demo meeting: 1 Robert Street, N.W.1. not LSE, at 11.30 a.m. Further information: SAU, 160 North Gower Street, N.W.1. Tel. 01-387 5406.

DECEMBER 19: SHELTER GOES UNDERGROUND TO HELP THE HOMELESS. Shelter, National Campaign for the Homeless is to go underground and skim the cream off the progressive pop movement for its first large-scale Pop Concert at the Albert Hall. The concert will be staged at 7.30 p.m. and the Box Office opens 21 November. Tickets from 8/- to 30/-. For further information contact: Richard Plumridge, 01-836 2051 or 01-693 5267.

DECEMBER 19, 20, 21: SAU Living School. 1 Robert Street, London N.W.1.

DECEMBER 20-21: National Conference of SAU. 1 Robert Street, N.W.1. Starts at 10 a.m. Registration form from SAU.

DECEMBER 20: Teach-in and dance: 1 Collingham Gardens, S.W.5. Teach-in at 5.30 p.m. Dance at 8.30. Organised by the Black Panthers Party defence fund.

DECEMBER 20: Springboks at Twickenham.

JANUARY 5: Springboks at Coventry. Further information: Vic McGeer, Flat 4, 4 St. Marks Road, Leamington, Warwickshire.

JANUARY 11: Socialist Labour League demonstration to stop Wilson's U.S. visit. Assemble Hyde Park (Speakers Corner) 2 p.m.

DWARF ADS

Viva Che Badges 2/6d including post and packing from the Dwarf office.

SCREW—Support Communications for a Revolutionary Europe and World. 46 Pack Crescent, Brighton, Sussex.

Marxist Youth Journal (Youth Bulletin of IMG). 2nd issue just out. Articles on the Worker-Student Alliance; Trotsky on the United Front; Elementary Marxist Economics. Price 1/- (plus 6d p&p), bulk terms by request. Available from Peter Gowan, c/o 75 York Way, London N.7.

Workers' Republic, theoretical journal of the League for a Workers' Republic (Ireland). Autumn issue contains articles on the Student Revolt; Fascism in Ireland; Trotsky on Trade Unions Under Imperialism 3/- including p&p from LWR, 15 Hume St., Dublin 2, Ireland.

The Irish Communist. Containing series of articles on Nationalism, Partition and Politics. Subs 9/- for 6 months post free. 1/- per single issue (plus 6d postage). Available from D. Golden, 28 Mercers Road, N.19. Connolly Books, 62 College Road, Cork.

"STRUGGLE". First issue of monthly paper of The Communist Federation of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) out on December 7th. Annual sub. 10/- post paid. Single copies 6d plus postage. Orders and enquiries to: Mike Leatt, 1 Grovedale Road, London N.19.

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Che Guevara's Bolivian Diaries. 5/- post free from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ.

Shola: a new revolutionary Pakistani monthly journal, 2/- per copy. Write Shola, c/o Pakistani Marxist Group, 8 Toynbee Street, London E.1.

Back copies of The Black Dwarf available from the Dwarf office. Early copies 2/-. Issue 7 onwards 1/6d.

Socialist Woman is produced by a group of socialist women of the Nottingham Socialist Women's Committee. A subscription costs only 4/- for 6 issues (bi-monthly). Send to 21 Watcombe Circus, Carrington, Nottingham NG5 2DU.

Rank-and-File: militant teachers' journal. Available quarterly from 87 Brooke Road, London N.16. Single copy 1/2d. 9/- per dozen. Annual subscription.

Rouge. French Revolutionary Weekly. Write: Rouge, B.P. 201, Paris 19^e, France.

Grass Eye, Manchester local paper. 63/67 Market Street, Manchester. Annual subscription 15/-. Single copies 1/6.

'Solidarity' (West London). First issue of their magazine. Contents include articles on: GEC—Liverpool. The occupation that failed (by the man that nearly booted Bill Bewley's Bollocks); Brent Dustmen's Strike; Viners—Sheffield Cutlery Industry. 10d each post free or 10/- for 12 issues. 15 Taylors Green, Acton, London W.3.

ERNEST MANDEL:—An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory. 9/- ppd.

The Revolutionary Student Movement, Theory and Practice. 6/- ppd.

Marxist Economic Theory (2 vols). £4 4s 0d the set. The Inconsistencies of State Capitalism. 4/6 ppd. Available from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee Street, London E.1.

MAO TSE-TUNG 'Selected Readings', 410 pp — 6/9. Marx; Lenin; Stalin; Mao; pamphlets. All China magazines (English) etc. FREE MAGNIFICENT CHINESE ART CALENDAR to subscribers. 4d stamp, lists: D. Volpe, 114 Evering Road, London N.16.

NLF badges and flags. Also others. SAE for details from McGeer, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne, Cornwall.

Anyone interested in starting a BLACK DWARF ACTION GROUP in Edinburgh to create interest and promote sales contact Ian Millar, 35 Castle Terrace, Edinburgh.

GLASGOW BLACK DWARF CIRCLE is now meeting regularly to organise sales, reports, political discussions. Contact Phyllis Duniface, 53 Diana Avenue, Glasgow W3 (Tel: 042-954 8172).

THE OTHER PAPER: New socialist paper in LEEDS. Weekly, 6d. On sale colleges, newsagents, and on the street Saturday afternoons. Leeds comrades should send news, help, etc. to 15 Kingston Road, Leeds 2 or phone 28413 or 34030.

"THE INCONSISTENCIES OF STATE CAPITALISM". NEW PAMPHLET BY ERNEST MANDEL. PRICE 4/6 (INCLUDING P & P) FROM PIONEER BOOK SERVICE, 8 TOYNEE STREET, LONDON E.1.

Dwarf sales Centre in Nottingham. For details and information about discussion group, contact Nick Beeton, 38 Wilford Grove, Nottingham.

International Socialism 40. Moody: The American Working Class in Transition. Harris: Agriculture, Peasants and Accumulation. Higgins on the CP. Sub 15/- per annum. 2/6d per copy (plus 6d p&p) from International Socialism, 36 Gilden Road, London N.W.5.