

# Black Dwarf

Special:

WOMEN'S  
LIBERATION

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## Bertrand Russell's Testament Private Memorandum Concerning Ralph Schoenman



# BIG POWER COLLUSION

Two major international developments have taken place over the last month, both confirm the intentions of the Soviet-Union and of the USA already made clear by their Joint Strategic Army Limitations Talks. They are the signing in Moscow of a non-aggression pact between West Germany and the Soviet Union, and the cease-fire agreement in the Middle East between Israel and the Arab states.

The problem of Germany has weighed on international politics ever since the victorious Allies defeated it in 1945, and since the imperialist offensive of 1948-49 it has been the central problem of European politics. Both East and West manipulated their sectors of Germany. The West arbitrarily set up the German Federal Republic in 1949 and stamped it into an alliance with French and Italian capital (the Common Market) and with US imperialism itself (NATO). The Soviet Union parachuted a deformed communist leadership on to a country that had once had the largest communist party in the world, and when in 1953 the East German proletariat rose against the East German state, they were crushed by Soviet tanks.

The present treaty consecrates the two German states which US imperialism and the Soviet Union created in their own image after the war. It suppresses the political problem of what kind of state Germany should have, and clears the decks for a closer US-Soviet alliance to face the growing menace to their joint hegemony - People's China.

The cease-fire in the Middle East represents a simi-

lar collusion. The Soviet arms build up in Egypt was intended not to threaten Israel but to make Nasser so dependent on Soviet aid that he was forced to accept their orders. At the same time the Palestinian resistance has been isolated by this move. This has illustrated its dependence on the Arab states and its own failure to make significant headway within the occupied territories over the past three years.

The only power that has opposed the cease-fire collusion is People's China. Chou En-Lai has announced his intention to visit South Yemen later in the year to encourage both the revolutionary struggles taking place in the Middle East - the struggle of the Palestinian people, and the armed struggle against British imperialism in Dhofar.

The latter fight has taken on a new dimension with the opening of a second front in the mountains of Oman, five hundred miles to the east. It was this which led the British to depose their tame but archaic Sultan and install his even tamer son.

These wretched manoeuvres of British power in the Gulf are the residue of a past imperialism. Now its main effect on world affairs is the chronic economic crisis that it has bequeathed to the imperial homeland.

While West Germany gains a world role, Britain now chronically dependent upon the US has been forced to the sidelines. While in China, Palestine, Dhofar and Cambodia and Vietnam the fight is on to break big power control of the world, Britain is uniquely privileged to have a ruling class so consumed with jealousy that it can hardly bring itself to face the realities of the world situation.

## Statement.

Lack of money has made this issue of the Black Dwarf extremely late. With proper finance we would have been out every fortnight. As it is many articles, from a full analysis of America and a discussion of the Labour Party in opposition, to a major clash between two of Britain's leading writers on culture and the working class, and a concise and simple analysis of the Common Market, have to be held over.

Womens Liberation has already been postponed because of our Election coverage and now, despite the patience of the comrades who wrote it, our decision to publish the memorandum by Bertrand Russell has deprived them of the cover.

Both the Womens Lib articles and Russell's personal commentary point towards groups that are already committed in their opposition to capitalism but who have no voice capable of unmasking and exposing the nature of modern imperialist societies, and debating how they can be abolished.

The enormous amount of material that demands to be published shows the urgent need for the regular publication of such a paper.

The current wave of repression adds further urgency, the bland and complacent escalation of punitive sentences must be shattered.

The only way that this can be done is through cool well informed exposes. For too long the left has been weakened by its tendency to hurl hysterical insults at the ruling class without backing these up with research.

This year the Black Dwarf has managed to experiment with new developments that can help the left to confront and overcome this problem.

First of all we have pioneered exclusive stories—an interview with Eldridge Cleaver that his wife Cathleen said was the best she had ever read, the first report from behind the lines in Dhofar, the liberated zone of Muscat and Oman, the transcript of the

interview that the daughter of Sam Devenny gave the day after her father was killed by the Royal Ulster Constabulary in April 1969.

Secondly we have attempted to shift the centre of the paper away from the narrow confines of traditional revolutionary rhetoric while at the same time with such articles as our centenary discussion of Lenin we have begun to pose some problems that revolutionary forces have still to solve. It is imperative for militants to appreciate and discuss every aspect of their lives in Capitalist society and this is doubly important in Britain where cultural and institutional constraints are so oppressive. So we have commissioned controversial articles on general issues such as Christmas, Football, Holidays as well as researching exposes of such men and institutions as Jack Straw and the Arts Council.

All this is only a start.

**BLACK DWARF BENEFIT PAINTING SALE AND EXHIBITION**

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# EXPLODING CARS

The language of Irish politics has always seemed strange to the British, and has always been distorted by hysterical press and political relations. August 1970 saw a new development. Exploding cars.

At the beginning of the month the air was thick with rumours that the Unionist Party would finally break apart and Chichester Clark's government would fall. Maudling whose representatives had forced Chichester Clark to ban the August 12 Protestant parade, warned the Unionists that there was either going to be a government in the province that did what Britain willed and was capable of showing something of a facade to the outside world, or Westminster would take over instead.

This warning, the cowardice of the Unionist opposition and a bomb explosion in Crossmaglen in County Armagh brought the Unionists to heel. Two policemen investigated a car that had been left on the road for some days. As they opened

the door it exploded and they were killed. The Unionist Government immediately published a statement condemning the IRA and the death of the two policemen rallied the Unionist. Was it an IRA plot? It was certainly not the work of the United Irishmen or 'red' IRA, as it is against their entire policy. The 'Green' IRA denied that the explosion was theirs and there are strict traditionalists who would follow the old IRA ways of claiming attacks that are their own; in all probability it was not them. It could have been another physical force republican group Clann Na H-eirinn (The group of Ireland). It could also have been the UVF the illegal Protestant force who have now established a tradition of explosive provocations, blowing up pipe lines, electricity sub stations etc, as ways of raising the temper of the loyalists. However they would have to have been very determined men to blow up their own policemen, so if it was the work of the UVF it would have been intended for

British Troops who were entering the area at the time.

Soon after the explosion in the first car, British police raided the Tooting flat and trumpeted out their discovery of a bomb factory in London. The press were alerted beforehand photographers were on hand, and a full scale scare campaign was launched.

It suits British interests to strike such "blows" at the IRA in London. It satisfies the Protestants in the North of Ireland, helps to justify the action of British troops there, makes the Lynch government in Southern Ireland happy, makes Catholics in the North uneasy.

At the same time our information is that only a small number of detonators and kiddys chemicals were in the flat. Enough to convince a few of the more wild Irish militants that they are directly involved in politics perhaps! But no serious high explosives were to be found. The police announced that after the Tooting arrests

the IRA, (now renowned for their efficiency according to the reports in the same papers that had only a year ago dismissed the IRA as a chronic failure) were regrouping and there would follow a campaign of terror in London.

Sure enough a car exploded in the middle of Oxford Street. The papers immediately announced that this was the IRA plot. Now the official explanation has backtracked from the IRA version, and the Sunday Mirror regaled its readers with one of those general scare stories that the papers love so much. They even produced an expert who waxed scientific on the psychology of the mad bomber of London.

None the less the harm has been done, the British press, orchestrated by police and Government have established the terrifying spectre of an IRA campaign of terror. Lets hope that none of the Irish militants themselves are taken in by it.

## SDS ban.

The local government of Baden-Wurtemberg in Germany has banned the Heidelberg SDS. The national organisation, once the vanguard of the European Students movement dissolved itself in March this year. But the local Heidelberg group survived on a solid basis of support.

The actions of the Heidelberg SDS culminated in a raging battle of 1000 demonstrators fighting 600 police outside a conference on international development held in the town on June 19. The presence of Robert MacNamara and the discussion of aid for the Portuguese Imperialism's projected Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique, were the main provocations which sparked the demonstration off.

The authorities responded by implementing the ban which is the first time that West Germany's dictatorial constitution has been so used since the German Communist Party was banned in 1956.

The strength and vitality of the Heidelberg SDS stands in contrast with the rest of the German student movement. In the main, the reason for this is the way the militant students in the town have their links with the people, in particular they fought an exemplary campaign against the local transport authorities and prevented tram fares from being put up. As well they have established a local paper that is well distributed to the factories in the area. Finally, despite the amnesty lifting the political trials against SDS cadres they have not renounced the traditional offensive anti-imperialist actions that first gave the SDS its mass character.

The banning of the Heidelberg SDS as well as bringing attention to the repressive laws of Western Germany also spotlights the exemplary, though not perfect, tactics of the local SDS.

*The demonstration in Heidelberg protesting against the banning by the local grand coalition government of Social and Christian 'democrats' of the SDS. The leading banner reads "Social Democrats ban Socialism!"*



## Squat.

**EAST LONDON SQUAT : SECOND FRONT**

The ten month old squat at Arbour Square, Stepney, continues to grow. New families turning up have been forced to find alternative accommodation, as the remaining unoccupied flats at Arbour House were smashed by the Tower Hamlets Council. The new block chosen was Burrell House, a 20 flat GLC property, vacant but for two tenants who were sympathetic to the proposed squat.

**REDEVELOPMENT**

In spite of denials by the GLC, every indication points to Burrell House and the neighbouring Shipwright House coming down as part of the St. Katherine's Docks

Redevelopment Scheme. This is the first shot in the GLC's programme of breaking up the stable East End communities, and replacing them with high cost, high rise housing which the locals can't afford. A similar pattern is emerging all over London—Islington, Notting Hill, Camden. etc.

**MILITANCY**

The families squatting in Burrell House had to fight off an attempted eviction by four men posing as GLC officials on the first night. Over the last year, the East End has seen the development of at least one community newspaper, The Wappingite, an autonomy movement in the Isle of Dogs, a claimants' union and the largest and so far most successful squat in the country. The East London Squatters, who can be contracted at 790-4964, now think that the situation is ripe for a broader movement.

## EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE

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## Senate House Snatch Squad

Senate House is the huge four-story building which dominates Russel Square. It houses the administration of the entire federal complex of the University of London. Last October it was the scene of a clash between students protesting against the University's links with Rhodesia and a university private "army" which led to the arrest of three socialist militants—Paul Hoch, Gordon Gillespie and Peter Brayshaw—whose trial on an indictment containing nine counts including riot, actual bodily harm, and malicious damage to property, opened at the Old Bailey on June 29th (just as the University term closed).

Result: —Paul Hoch: 9 months jail for unlawful assembly, 3 concurrent months for assault, and recommended deportation. Gordon Gillespie: 9 months suspended for unlawful assembly, 3 months suspended for assaults. To be held in custody pending deportation. Peter Brayshaw: 2 years conditional discharge for unlawful assembly and assault. Between them the three have to pay £320 "costs".

### ANTI-STUDENT TECHNIQUES

Like the more-publicised Cambridge, Parkhurst and Ulster riot trials, the London trial shows how the ruling class is attempting to use the old Common Law of England to deter people from going on demonstrations where others might use violence, thus making the assembly "unlawful" or "riotous". The recent trials are attempts to establish modern precedents which can be used to threaten any political assembly. In addition, during the course of this trial, a wealth of information emerged relating to the measures taken by a large University when it is decided that "counter-insurgency" programmes are needed to deal with student unrest and criticism. It is possible to reconstruct from the evidence given at the Old Bailey the course of development of London University's anti-student techniques.

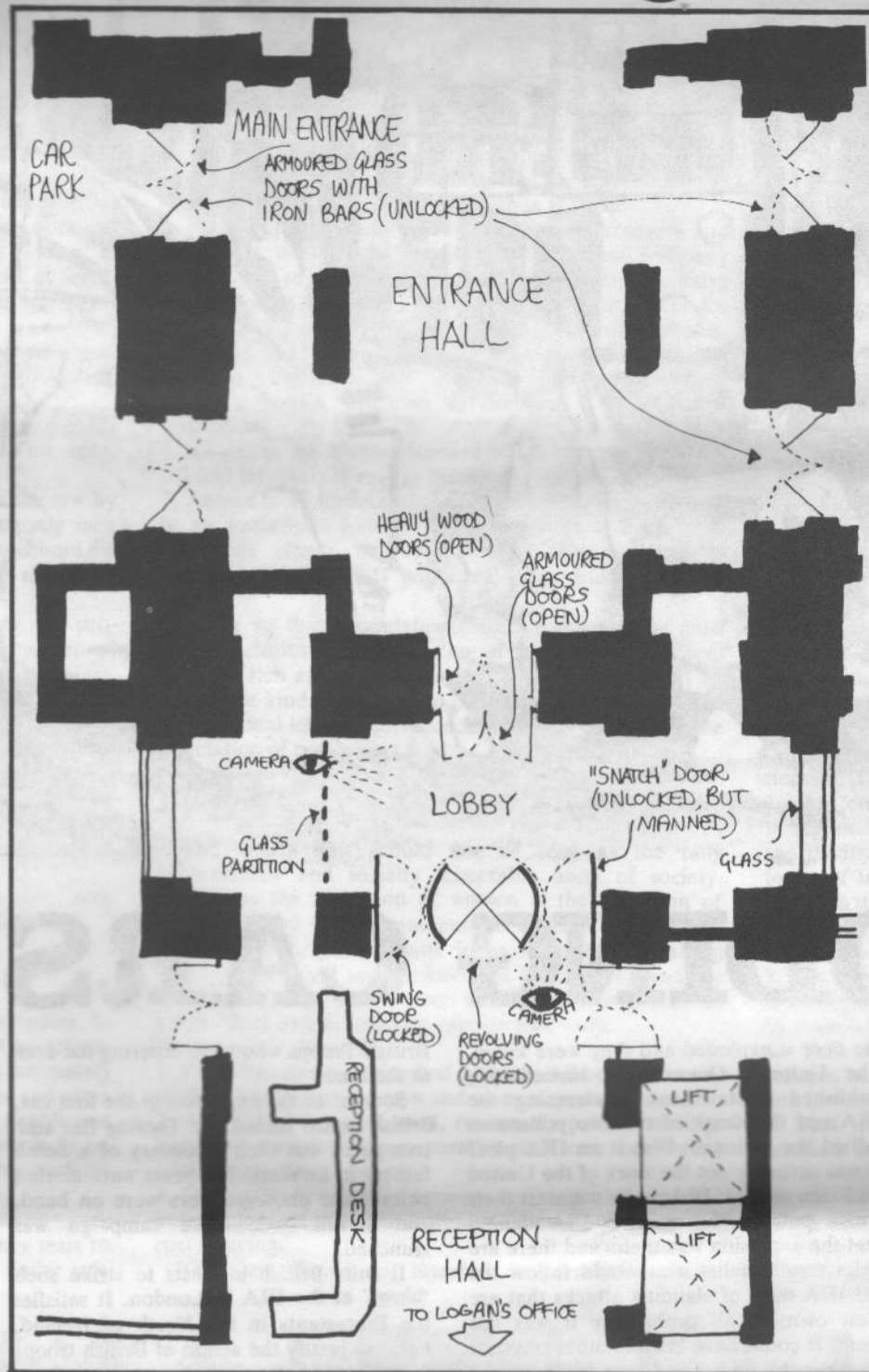
The story begins in March 1969 when a group of about 30 students sat-in in the Registrar's office in Senate House in protest against the University's racist Lodgings Bureau policy. The protestors stayed peacefully singing protest songs and chanting slogans. This so offended the Clerk to the Senate, Dr. Pownall, that he resolved a repetition of this "March Invasion" (as he rather dramatically terms it) would never occur.

### SITTING ON A POWDER BARREL

Between April and October, Pownall set in train the building up of a complete package of defense measures for preventing that kind of re-occurrence, or if it did occur, for identifying and dealing with any student or non-student participants. It is important to note that according to the Vice-Chancellor's testimony at the Old Bailey, only some of these measures had been properly discussed with him.

Firstly, Solicitors' advice had been taken relating to the rights of the University staff to the use of force in defence. Next Pownall had meetings with senior Police officers attached to Tottenham Court Road station, especially with Chief-Inspector Penny and Chief Superintendent Forrest. More than once, one or other of these officers toured Senate House with Pownall, pointing out vulnerable aspects of the building. Pownall also had informal luncheon dates with these policemen. The University purchased an expensive camera with a high-speed German-made electronic flash, and had an amateur photographer on the staff instructed in its use for the identification of any unwanted persons entering the Senate House. Most disquieting, Pownall recruited a squad of twenty-five volunteers from the administrative levels of the University bureaucracy to actually help him in the dirty work of handling any incursions by demonstrating students.

By October the whole package was prepared. Though nothing much had happened in the way of student militancy since March, Pownall thought "the administrators of the University were sitt-



Students entered from Car Park (left), were allowed through three sets of securable doors into lobby, where confrontation was staged and

demonstrators photographed. Leaders were snatched through right-hand door into Reception Hall and arrested.

ing on a powder barrel". We can surmise that he thought the way to deal with this situation was to hammer the first manifestation of militancy, hoping to intimidate the students in general.

### POWNALL'S ARMY

The LSE paper "Beaver" had carried a full-page announcement of the impending October 21st demonstration, and on the day before leaflets had been distributed in the colleges. The University was forewarned. A hurried series of consultations took place, resulting in the mobilisation of "Pownall's Army" who were given a last minute briefing to the effect that they must not be the first to use force, but they could retaliate if the students used force.

And so by 3.30 on Tuesday October 21st, two groups of forces were drawn up. On one side 25-30 students, intending to personally complain to the Principal about the Special Relationship with University College Salisbury. On the other side: Pownall's 25 volunteers; a reserve squad of 15; at least 4 Special Branch men (one masquerading as a student); one photographer; and several uniformed Police, with others in readiness.

The heavy security doors of the main building had been left open, luring the deputation into a lobby surrounded on three sides by glass partitioning, behind which perched the photographer instructed to snap "anything unusual". Pownall challenged the students as to their business, and they replied that they had come to see Sir Douglas Logan to protest about the University's collaboration with Southern African fascism. Pownall made no response other than further challenges to the students' purpose and identity, despite his orders to admit a small deputation. Jostling took place in the small lobby, and Pownall made a curious "hands up" gesture intended to signal to the photographer, and apparently to show his staff that the students had used violence against him. Students covered the camera lens; an attempt was

more given a "dressing down". Strangely enough, considering that the serious charge of "riot" was to be brought later, no-one was hurt in the incident except one student who was briefly hospitalised, and the damage done was only alleged to have amounted to £25.

And to the Senate House snatch squad had done its work. The first demonstration of the new academic year had been nipped in the bud; its leaders had been grabbed and handed over to the police; everybody on it had been photographed; a few had been mildly roughed up. Pownall and the University would probably have been happy with this outcome plus a couple of fines for breach of the peace or common assault handed out by the local magistrate.

But not so the Home Office, the DPP, and the Police. In their minds there existed a useful opportunity to continue their experiment of using old Common-Law offences to inhibit the right of demonstration. This experiment had begun with the Davoren Trial which started when the Senate House Three were still in Brixton Prison on remand. The charges were escalated out of all proportion to the incident, and the trial scheduled for June in the Central Criminal Court.

### POLITICS OUT OF ORDER

At the Old Bailey the Crown seemed to feel it lacked hard evidence of the specific allegations made, and it relied upon establishing the vague quantities of "purpose" and "intent" through a recital of each defendant's previous political activities and writings. Although the Judge ruled out of order "politics" as such (i.e. the politics of the University's links with Southern Africa) much of the Crown cross-examination consisted of questions about previous demonstrations, sit-ins, the ULU Occupation in January 69, and attitudes to authority and "confrontations with authority" in general.

Though the students were supposedly on trial for their specific actions and not for their ideas, much reliance both in Crown summing-up and in the Judge's direction and sentencing was placed on Paul Hoch's book, published by Sheed and Ward; "LSE, the natives are restless"; and on Peter Brayshaw's leaflets about the links between the University and Southern Africa as the prosecution interpreted and quoted those writings. And thus, although the charges of riot; causing actual bodily harm; and damaging property were not proved, the amorphous, blanket charge of "unlawful assembly", which hinges on the intent and purpose of the collectivity as a whole, was upheld by the jury, indirectly legitimating Pownall's Army.

What were the Senate House snatch squad protecting? London University has always been the lynchpin of colonial university administration. This position has not altered simply because Smith has requested the link with UCR be broken. Logan is still *persona grata* in Salisbury. London continues to control the training up of the native black elites who "serve" the newly independent nations as agents of the Western powers (c.f. the new leadership in Ghana). Administrators and governors of London University are still involved with trading with Southern African apartheid.

The University mirrors its support for authoritarian regimes abroad in the way it handles student dissent at home. Logan and Pownall have introduced South-African style police measures on the London campus. And this is what must be fought when the University re-opens for the new academic year. Special Reporter



Paul Hoch got nine months for 'assaulting' Dr. Pownall, who is shown here in the grip of his own hired thugs.

# /Blacks-Islington & Notting Hill

## Again 1429

For the second time this year, "squatters leaders" have been convicted to Conspiracy to Contravene the Forcible Entries Act of 1429. Occupiers of disused army property at Wykeham Terrace, Brighton and their adherents (some 98 people) were questioned by the police...6 were charged.

All were found guilty: Michael Mountford got 18 months and 12 months suspended sentence brought into effect, which equals two and a half years in all. Anthon Ballerini got Borstal. Paul Miles: 8 months; Michael Mitchell: 15 months; Michael O'Niell: 6 months suspended and Michael Christmas was put on probation for two years.

Michael Mountford was "the most culpable and most responsible for the people on the squat" (i.e. more guilty than the others.) The judge also thought that the squat was a "direct challenge to the civil authorities" and that it was a "provocation action in the hope of starting civil strife...in the guise of helping the homeless."

The squatters trial was the second of its kind in the same court in less than six months; it was a local event and the jury would have read a good deal in the reactionary local press about it. Of course some of the accused were anarchists...which is an admission of guilt before a verdict is even reached.

The most useful evidence of the trial was from a Special Branch member, who in the guise of helping the homeless, made it his business to go into the squat and befriend its political supporters, (the more extreme the better). He then initiated many of the so-called 'defence actions'. Whose conspiracy?— Denise Halloran.

## Cambridge Greasers

As the Cambridge Trial progressed through committal, trial, and appeal, it had less and less to do with reality, and more and more to do with fantasy. In a major political speech delivered at the Court of Appeal last Wednesday, Lord Justice Sachs saw fit to give a lurid and highly emotional description of an event which he did not attend. Those of us who did attend it, who know what happened and why it happened, feel nothing but contempt for him and what he represents.

The verdicts in the court of appeal are the culmination of the first broadside in the law and order campaign. From start to finish, the trial was a direct exercise in political intimidation and repression.

Although 'Justice' Melford Stevenson said at the start of the trial in Hertford that the political background to the demonstration at the Garden House Hotel was 'irrelevant', the politics of the defendants were a major element in the prosecution's attack; indeed, those arrested after the demonstration included an ex-chairman, the chairman, and the chairman-elect of the university Socialist Society, and between them these fourteen represented the Communist Party, International Socialism, and the CPB (M-L).

The national significance of the Cambridge Trial will be immediately apparent. Charges of riot and unlawful assembly have eventually succeeded, after an unhappy history in recent cases, such as the South Africa House demonstration. Cambridge was a test case, and the success of the prosecution has provided a dangerous precedent. The remarks of Sachs last Wednesday means that any demonstration in the future will need only three 'agents provocateurs' to become a riot.

The lesson of the Appeal verdict is simple: the liberal view of the case—the "bad judge" argument—is a total fallacy. Melford Stevenson's political background made the argument an attractive one, but the statement of judgement was a white-washing job (the summing-up suddenly became 'impeccable' after being 'unintelligible' the day before). The entire

judiciary has set itself firmly against any kind of dissent, lawful or unlawful.

Cambridge with its firmly-established place in bourgeois mythology, was an ideal place to extract the maximum publicity for a show trial. But in many ways, it was the wrong demonstration to choose, and the countless examples of contradictions in police and prosecution testimony (chronicled at length and in vain by the defence) bear witness to the difficulty which the prosecution had in preparing the case. The result, of course, is that of the nineteen who originally appeared in Cambridge Magistrates Court, all but seven are now at liberty. But the crucial fact is that in seven cases they made the charges stick.



There is no doubt that there is rejoicing in the Junta's offices in Athens. After the trial at Hertford the official Junta paper 'Nea Politeia' said: 'British justice sets an example of respect for civilised tradition', and went on to thank Melford Stevenson for extracting retribution for the 'wickedness committed last February against an official Greek manifestation in Cambridge.' (The Hotel had of course denied throughout that the dinner had any connection with the regime in Greece, and the prosecution were adamant throughout the trial that the whole evening was completely apolitical.)

But it is not only the Junta that is gratified by the severity of the sentence. The manipulated press (with a few isolated qualifications) have declared their approval. The local bourgeoisie, whose representative in Parliament, David Lane, had earlier hoped 'that the ringleaders will be dealt with very severely indeed', have their pound of flesh and appear satiated. But the Cambridge Evening News, who benefitted from the original 'Greek Week' to the tune of an 8-page Holiday Supplement, and who played a key role in the demands for punishment, has backed-pedalled somewhat. Undoubtedly, this shift in position by a paper which has a monopoly of local news and opinion, reflects the considerable feeling amongst Cambridge people that the sentences were harsh and unjust.

The Left in Cambridge, who, in the face of repression, have rediscovered the virtues of unity and organisation, are already prepared to pass over the offensive when the new term begins. Activity to date has been preliminary and defensive; gathering the 18,000 signatures for the petition against the deportations (work which is, thankfully, wasted) and preparing detailed information on the role of the proctors, and University discipline procedures, as well as a lengthy pamphlet for those students returning in October. In short, the foundations are being laid for an all-out assault on the University power structure next term.

The primary aim of the strategy will be to show the authorities that repression does not work, and that, in their own terms, the sentences are counter-productive. The Left is anticipating the coming term with something approaching relish—a sentiment which is not, one need hardly add, matched by the University bosses. While many of the old liberal rulers of the university are unhappy about becoming the allies of the local Tory Establishment, Greek fascism and its local apologists, (like Page, the Master of Jesus.) But that, is their hang-up.

MAXWELL SMITH

## Black Repression

As the level of repression in Britain escalates, the particular repression of the black community is becoming more concentrated. Shortage of space allows us only to reproduce excerpts from two of the reports of specific police provocations that have reached the Dwarf office in the last few weeks. The tactics used by the authorities in these cases seem to show the following general tendencies:

1. The attacks explore the political character of black militancy. The provocations probe the strength of the black response, the organization of its defence, and the depth of its solidarity.
2. They isolate the black leadership. Spokesmen are removed either physically (jail) or discredited in the press, through scare campaigns involving 'black power'.
3. They strengthen the hands of the Uncle Tom's. Men like Pitt, Dipak Nandy, etc. are promoted as representatives of the black movement, as the real leaders are removed or gagged.
4. They raise the spectre of black power for whites. Thus class division is fostered, long before the slogan can have any real meaning in Britain.

The British ruling class is not racist in the sense that the landowning aristocracy of the southern U.S. states is racist. But rather it uses racialism when it considers it expedient for its political purposes. Thus 'white workers faced with redundancies can be duped by a Powellite ideology promoting black workers as scapegoats. At the same time, the pawns used by the ruling class are genuinely racist, for example policeman such as Pulley. He is now the centre of a minor controversy in Notting Hill, but was denounced over a year ago in the Dwarf. Eyewitness reports of the work of Pulley's colleagues form the basis of the following accounts.



The latest provocation occurred on August 9th during a demonstration in Notting Hill to protest against the constant police raids of the Mangrove restaurant. Our reporter, the Education Officer of the Indian Marxist-Leninist Association, writes: 'About two hundred demonstrators, mostly Caribbeans with a fair sprinkling of Englishmen and Indians, followed a circuitous route through those streets with a high density of blacks past the infamous Notting Dale and Notting Hill police stations. After dogging a close police escort for a few minutes by crossing over a footbridge, the marchers ran into trouble in Portnall Road. A brother holding up slogans such as "Thugs in uniform - Out" and "Skinheads in Blue" was shoved hard into the crowd, and then within seconds a hundred demonstrators were fighting with the police and their reinforcements. (There were several hundred of them, bottled up waiting in side streets for hours.) Many were arrested, and cases of individual brutality were reported, e.g. "six policemen beating up a ten-year old Caribbean boy" or a white photographer "being viciously punched in the face and stomach by a policeman".

Later, a second incident was sparked

off 'by a plain clothes policeman attempting to seize a banner from a black sister. A brother went to her defence, and the fury of the police was again unleashed.' After about twenty minutes of struggle, marchers filed individually to the Mangrove, followed by eight police coaches. It was raided later.

Evidence was collected of more brutality in the police coaches, after the arrests. 'One black sister was beaten on the head with a large piece of Cannabis, while the policeman shouted "This is for you darling". When another sister told him to leave her alone, a policeman behind her told her to keep quiet, and put a half-nelson on her while her left hand was being bent continuously—she later received hospital treatment for a sprained wrist.' Inside the police stations hower (Harrow Rd. and Earls Court) only one brother was badly beaten.

The earlier incident on 27th July took place in the Market Street Fun Fair. Three black kids (a girl 15 and two brothers 17 and 18) were arrested and taken to the Caledonian Rd police station. This was the prelude to our second documented case of deliberate provocation.

The girl's 17 year old boyfriend rushed to the Black House, Holloway Rd, to collect Michael X. He agreed to come down and investigate, bringing with him his solicitor and a journalist. The three asked to see one of the prisoners, but were told that he still hadn't been charged, and they'd have to wait. Black youths started turning up at the station as news of the incident spread. By 11pm there were about seventy of them, filling the waiting room and narrow corridor. Our reporter describes what happened: 'A door along the passage opened and about thirty five police officers and two noisy Alsatian dogs appeared. The black crowd became rigid. The police asked them to leave. One black youth reorted that "We came to see that our brothers and sisters are treated fairly."

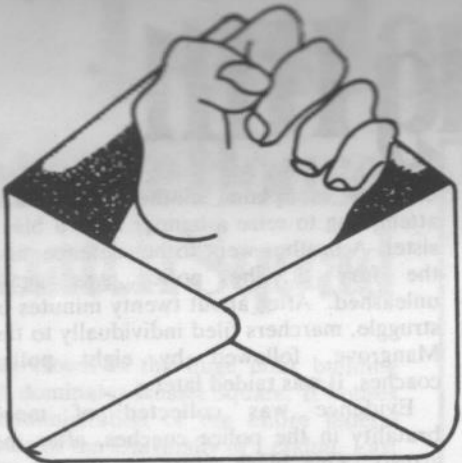
The police and dogs then surged forward, one officer shouting at the crowd "Get out, get out". The crowd

remained firm. Meanwhile the Caledonian station radioed for reinforcements from nearby police stations. As the youths were pushed back, a journalist describing the scene into a tape recorder was arrested, then others. 'Inside the police station, where the arrested were held, a sixteen year old schoolboy was kicked and punched by a police officer, then thrown into a cell. The boy screamed as he landed on the hard concrete surface.'

Eleven people were arrested. They were granted bail at three o'clock in the morning. Next morning in court they were charged with anything from obstruction to assaulting a police officer, and were remanded on bail till the 7th and 14th October. That afternoon a conference of black militants was called, where they reached an agreement for 'more active cooperation in the future'.

The authorities have learnt that attacks on diverse collective associations such as students can be successful in defeating and demoralising militant political organisation. They may find with their attacks on the Blacks however that the opposite will happen. The 'premature' assaults will only build solidarity and militancy within already embattled communities.

Special Reporter



# LETTERS

## C.R.A.P. REPLIES TO SHIT IN DWARF

Whilst paper lefties in Wardour Street mock and scorn with ultra-serious Marxist frowns on their highly theoretical faces, the self-indulgent antics of an anti-election day rampage round the city—THE FESTIVAL OF THE STREETS—you might at least come off your high horses and admit a few facts.

1) Black Dwarf did sweet fuck all to relate the orgasm-day of bourgeois democracy to any counter-activity, and declined to assist in our anti-election campaign. Thank-you comrades!

2. No regular Dwarf even bothered to attend the demo. to the Stock Exchange and therefore you obviously projected your own feelings of depression associated with typical left demos. onto the happy smiling faces of the 400-500 who weren't sitting around in a cosy Wardour St. office on election day.

Festival of the "Depressed"?—fuck off, you must be joking! Ask anyone who was there. The ones who were depressed were the ones who weren't there! Lesson No. 1 is that the success of a demo is not based on numbers. How is it that B.D. can devote two full pages of two issues to the coverage of the traditional demonstration a la Cambodia, and confine to a derisory minimum its report of a new style of political happening??

3) At least we experienced the only serious attempt in living memory, to depart from the time-honoured ritual of the Sunday afternoon trot around the West End, culminating in a state of mass frustration, boredom and disillusionment

and went to the place where the power and the people really are—TO THE TEMPLE OF THE MONEY LENDERS—and we went via the streets of the people, marching through the slum areas of the East End, with not a little support from rent rebels, squatters U.D.I.ers from Isle of Dogs etc. etc.

It is your privilege to ridicule us, and conceal the limited success of our efforts in the East End from your readers, if this gives you some perverse satisfaction. But whilst you continue to analyse the parties, you might take a hard look at the real significance of the election, in terms of a refusal to vote from large sections of workers.

Our don't vote campaign brought decisive results in the East End, 2 constituencies failed to even poll 50% total in votes. Poplar 49.1% Stepney 45% where our campaign merely reflected the popular mood of "Piss off, Parliament". VICTORY TO THE NON-VOTERS. More than a dozen other working class constituencies in Manchester, Sheffield, and Glasgow also registered phenomenally low polls.

In spite of all those who urged, safety-first vote Labour, it is clear that rank and file militancy and the galloping desire for direct action over the last five years has now posed a serious threat and alternative to the bourgeois ritual of voting. History is full of surprises, particularly for the vanguards who turn out to be somewhat in the rearguard of 28.5 of registered voters who didn't vote (national average) which was well over 1 in every 3 workers in solid class-constituencies.

It would appear that there are a growing number of adventure among the ranks of the working class. Power to the people, not to Parliament.

E.P.A./C.R.A.P. Extra-Parliamentary Opposition 01-727 6474 c/o 96 Aylward St. E.1.

P.S. DARE YOU PRINT THIS?

27 Clermont Terrace,  
Brighton.  
15 July

Comrades,

Ever since "Another Side of Bob Dylan" was issued in 1964, cries of 'sell-out' have greeted each new album from Dylan. Andy Chester, it seems, is the latest in a long line that began with the folk purists of "Sing Out" who didn't like electric guitars.

It's unfortunate that he finds so much significance in the Princeton degree ceremony because the account of it in "Rolling Stone" (July 9th issue) makes it

clear that it was not a cop-out. Dylan wore a white armband to show his solidarity with the anti-war movement, and according to an aide "decided to accept the degree as a gesture to the student movement and to what has been happening on campuses across the country."

Nor is Chester's argument for a musical regression satisfactory. It seems to hinge on an unspoken assumption that country music is inherently reactionary, and that to adopt it is as a style denotes a reactionary political position. This begs a major theoretical question about the relationship of musical styles and ideologies, but it's enough to consider Johnny Cash to show the complexity of country music in this respect. Cash's recent song "What Is Truth?" was a frontal assault on the attitudes of the white southerners who make up his audience, yet Cash also recently visited the White House and came away saying that America should give Nixon a chance. Country music is full of such contradictions.

It is also the music of the majority of the white industrial proletariat in the U.S., and significantly, it has provided the inspiration for the best of recent rock music: The Band, Creedence Clearwater Revival, Byrds, Burrito Brothers, Dillard and Clark etc. Far from Dylan having sold out, I suspect he may be at the most important creative nexus of rock music today.

fraternally,

Dave Laing.

# Ads.

**British Film Institute Members' Action Committee** A Members' Action Committee of the British Film Institute has been recently set up to safeguard the rights and interests of Members, in an attempt to democratize the British Film Institute. The Committee's first aim is to draw up a resolution to put before the Annual General Meeting in December, and for this signatures (and suggestions!) are required. Only FULL Members of the BFI are eligible to participate (not ASSOCIATE Members). Anyone interested should write for further details to: British Film Institute Members' Action Committee, 150 Elgin Ave., London, W9.

"48 page directory of Communes and related phenomena in Britain and Europe, including an introduction to the Commune Movement. 3/- (postage extra) from: The Commune Movement, Biet, 141 Westbourne Park Road, W.11.

118, Westminster Rd.,  
Perry Barr  
Birmingham 20  
1/7/70

Comrades,  
I am writing to protest about the complete misrepresentation of Ken Tarbuck's article given in the 12th of June issue of the Dwarf.

The article "Slogans and Counter Slogans" has Tarbuck saying that a Tory victory, no matter how small or large, would marshall in the 'counter-revolution'. This is a complete misrepresentation of the article which even the most cursory glance would show to be untrue.

Tarbuck's article in fact argued that "...the historical evidence we have points to the fact that the only Communist Parties of any significance that were built after 1919 were those that arose out of a split in the main working class parties and trade unions, i.e. they were grounded in the existing labour movements." And that Blackburn's proposals of disruption would—"if pursued by Marxists only lead to their complete estrangement from the working class."

I would recommend to those readers of the Black Dwarf who are interested to get hold of a copy of Tarbuck's article, which has been kept out of the Red Mole and now is misrepresented completely in the Black Dwarf.

Fraternally,  
J. Parker.

**The Indian Marxist Leninist Association** are doing a series of posters on the theme of the institutionalised racism of the Community Relations Councils and the Race Relations Board. Other posters deal with the divisive effect of racism on the resistance of the workers to the bosses. Available for 3/- each (plus 9d pp) from IMLA, 5 St. Charles Sq., W.10, or direct from the Black Dwarf.

**FOR THOSE WHO NEED A "PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE"**  
"I pledge allegiance to the people of the whole world, who are trying to make this planet a better place in which to live. One world of people, under the same sun, indivisible by hate-mongers, working together to eliminate war and poverty, and bring true liberty and justice to all." offered by: PEOPLE OPPOSED TO WAR, P.O. Box 2064, Huntington Park, Calif. 90255

## WHERE DO CORRECT IDEAS COME FROM?



## BLACK DWARF BENEFIT PAINTING SALE AND EXHIBITION

Pictures by David Hockney, Jim Dine, Derek Boshier, Adrian Berg, R.B. Kitaj, Patrick Proctor, Joe Tilson, Clive Barker, Caroline Coon, Allen Jones, Ralph Steadman, Richard Hamilton.

Robert Self Gallery, Horseshoe Yard, Brook St., W.1.  
21st-26th September.

"We want a serious male-leftist who is interested in wild-life conservation and group-family living to join us at the famous Woolly Monkey Sanctuary, Murrayton, near Looe, Cornwall (Looe 2532).

**CHOMSKY ON CAMBODIA:** Spokesman Pamphlet No. 5. 4/6 post free. Details of other publications from B.R.P.F. Publications, 45 Gamble Street, Nottingham.

**IS BOOKS:** Good prices offered for all books, pamphlets, magazines of interest to revolutionary socialists. Left Books Club editions urgently needed. Phone or write 6 Cotton Gardens, London, E.2. 01 739 2639

An Arab young man likes to be acquainted with nice Secondary British Students. Write Box 6397 Kuwait sending photo and wishes.

"Revolutionary Left newspaper being set up in East Kent area—would appreciate news items/articles/. Contributions to R. Crossley, c/o 98, Linden Crescent, Folkstone, Kent.

I want to start multi-racial play-group in West London. Age of kids needed: 1 1/2 to 2 years. My own kid (17 months) is Jamaican. Please contact Dagmar Coward, 52 Brook Green, London W.6. Tel. 603 9692.

**IS BOOKS:** The most extensive range of revolutionary literature in London. Call, phone, or write (s.a.e.) for full catalogue: 6 Cotton Gardens, E.2. 01 739 2639

**DAMBUSTERS MOBILISING COMMITTEE** is holding a planning meeting of all groups interested and involved in the campaign against Cabora Bassa on SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 2-5 pm, CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, LONDON.

In the final months of his life Bertrand Russell dictated a memorandum on the man who had been his personal secretary, whose enormous energy was vital in establishing the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation as well as the War Crimes Tribunal and whose pugnacity isolated Russell from the British Peace Movement. The man was a young American called Ralph Schoenman. The memorandum stands in effect as Russell's political testament.

In it Russell alludes to the major incidents of the last stormy decade of his life; to the Cuba Crisis, to his relations with China and India, to the Helsinki Peace Conference, to the setting up of the Foundation and the Tribunal.

The intrinsic political interest of the document is equalled by its personal and human significance. It is a terrible and moving account by the dying philosopher of his own weakness. It is lucid and clear about his attachment, almost dependency, on Schoenman and unveils the deep reluctance that he overcame to break with him.

Many of our readers may not have heard of Ralph Schoenman who was callously deported from Britain in 1968; they may not know that in his last years, Russell's political work was vilified because of his secretary; or they may have written off Russell as merely a figure from the past.

Russell's main purpose in the memorandum is to fight back, to put the record, as he saw it, straight and to re-establish his standing and his political commitment to the Foundation, to the War Crimes Tribunal and to their work. It is a battle of great significance. For when Russell's allegiance to the Foundation and the Tribunal were questioned, what was in fact attacked was the idea that the

rigorous honesty of traditional bourgeois philosophy could ever ally itself, even critically, with Communism.

By the mid 1950's Russell, already in his eighties, was the crowned philosopher of the modern bourgeois world. Mathematician, critic of Russian Bolshevism, advocate of sexual liberty, strengthened by his organic links with the high period of nineteenth century English liberalism, untouched by Marxism, he was the pillar of good sense speaking out with all the authority of reason against the folly of modern man.

This included Nuclear Weapons and what Russell condemned he sought to abolish. Tired of the plaintive weakness and ineffective intentions of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Russell declared that non-violent confrontations, deliberate civil disobedience, was necessary. The tremendous urgency of his calls for action which were issued without any organisation as a direct appeal to all men was perhaps redoubled by his historic sense of Britain's rapid decline as a world power and as a force in World affairs.

His urgency met its practitioner in Schoenman whose energy and endurance redoubled by Russell's imperatives became legendary. By implication, the document that Russell has left castigates the British left for failing to produce a man of equal talent and ability. When the Committee of One Hundred that was supposedly organising the British Civil Disobedience Campaign collapsed, Russell was not forced into contemplative isolation. He was working with a man who was willing and able to put his word into effect and deliver it to any corner of the globe.

Russell, who was sixteen when the dockers went on strike for a total wage of 6d an hour, who was twenty

when Gladstone was last Prime Minister, was in a position to confront the great issues of the 1960's: Cuba and Vietnam.

As national liberation movements across the world rebelled against US hegemony Russell gave his support to the smaller and weaker forces in their struggle for independence.

Vietnam was the turning point. At the age of 92 he led a vigorous attack against US imperialism.

In Britain the papers almost uniformly adopted a policy of suppression. Sneering at the idea of a War Crimes Tribunal, slavishly supporting American intervention in Vietnam (provided it was successful) they refused to report the proceedings of the Tribunal. Even this year, despite My Lai and other well publicised atrocities, there was not a note of self criticism in the obituaries of Russell. Not a single comment that the old philosopher had been proved correct by events and that the US were indeed engaged in a criminal war of aggression in Vietnam and were rightly condemned by him for that.

The only excuse the papers might have had to offer was that the Tribunal was the work of Schoenman and not Russell. In America when the Tribunal was founded the New York Times asked "(whether) this unsavoury business is the work of Bertrand Russell or Ralph Schoenman? Some will say it makes no difference whether the aged philosopher has become a mere stooge of a bitter propagandist: but it adds a poignant touch to this episode that the answer cannot be known."

Now Russell has answered—unequivocally. The War Crimes Tribunal and the Peace Foundation were his; he gave his name to them, inspired them and claims ultimate responsibility for them.

His account is partial, and its price, and it is one that he was well aware of, is that he now must also be charged with and take responsibility for the initial weaknesses and shortcomings of the Foundation and Tribunal. From this reassessment he emerges stronger and more principled than his detractors would have thought possible. While the Foundation, now beyond doubt his authentic intention, will be surer and more secure of its independent role.

Hundreds of militants, old by today's standards, will be astonished and relieved to learn that Russell in full possession of his mental faculties, and kept his judgement to the end.

One such man is Michael Scott, who was jailed with Russell in 1961. He wrote to him in December last year asking him to make a full public statement clearing up his relations with Schoenman. Russell who had just finished the memorandum told Scott of its existence and that he was taking legal advice. Before his death he instructed his aides to send Michael Scott a copy.

Scott felt obliged to try and publish it. Although he understood Lady Russell's personal reluctance against publishing, he also felt the need of many of his and Russell's companions to know what Russell thought, and after approaching two other papers he came to Black Dwarf.

As a personal account, as a political text, and above all because it confirms Russell's integrity and the standing of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, we too felt that the document should be printed.

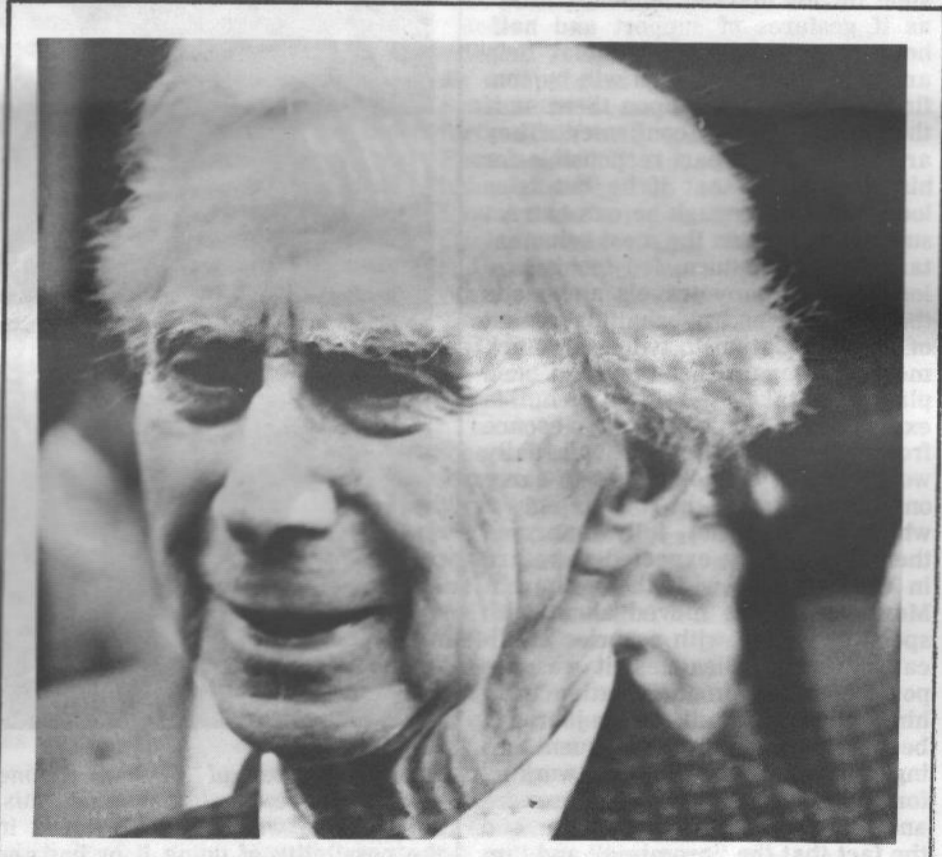
Having satisfied ourselves that the Foundation knows that Russell is defending it, we print below the complete text of what now stands as Bertrand Russell's political testament.

This is my memorandum. I told my wife what I wished her to type and she has typed it. I have read it over to myself twice carefully and she has read it aloud to me once. I entirely endorse it as being mine and what I wished to say.

Russell  
Russell

12 December, 1969  
Plas Penrhyn

Russell pinned this note to the memorandum



# Bertrand Russell's Political Testament

PRIVATE MEMORANDUM CONCERNING RALPH SCHOENMAN BY BERTRAND RUSSELL Plas Penrhyn. 8 December, 1969.

I am writing this memorandum concerning Ralph Schoenman, not necessarily for publication, but for reference in case any of my actions in relation to him should be called in question by him or, possibly, by his friends or by anyone else. In part, I am writing it for my own satisfaction since I have been told that he "has it in writing that I am senile"—the implication being that whatever I now do or say in regard to him is said or done, in reality, by someone else using my name. This is not true. My relations to him have been mine from our first meeting when he came to see me at Plas Penrhyn towards the end of July, 1960, to the time of my letter breaking off relations dated 19 July, 1969.

My general analysis of his character is given on page 109ff. of the Allen and Unwin edition of the third volume of my autobiography. In it I tried to give my first impressions of him, both pro and con, and to indicate what I later discovered. In the first draft of this analysis I was somewhat more adversely outspoken than in the published version, which I toned down partly to avoid both the possibility of libel and the difficulties of recriminations and long-winded "evidence" and "defence", and partly because I did not wish to injure him in any way or his position in working for causes that seem to me to be just.

I had said in the first draft that I found him "surprisingly unlicked". I found him not only impetuous but "aggressive and entirely undisciplined and I realized that these characteristics might well make him seem a 'dangerous young man'", as

I had been warned that he was, "to anyone of whom he did not approve." I early recognized his lively instinct for self-dramatization, his swashbuckling assumption of the importance of his own role in the centre of the stage. His conviction of his unshakable belief in the penetration and breadth of his understanding were obvious. I did not for some time, however, grasp the closely related characteristic of his utter incapability of imparting reliable information. His reports of people's reactions and his observations were—and unfortunately, I fear, still are—very often excessively and misleadingly incorrect and his quotations must always be verified. I was impressed by his courage, both moral and physical although it too often flouted necessary caution and resulted in unnecessary provocation. And I was impressed by his generosity in helping anyone of

whom he thought well or thought to be suffering injustice, although it often led to useless waste of effort and money, both of which might have been far more advantageously spent.

His companionship was as welcome as a delicious fresh breeze on a muggy day

Were I to list his kindnesses to me, the list would be very long and would include many generous deeds that must have cost him dear in worry and work. I found the quickness of his mind, although it made for considerable superficiality and glibness, immensely refreshing as I did his sense of fun and absurdity and irony, although this often created difficulty, unrestrained as it was by any sense of decorum. In fact, in a world made up largely of people who act, if at all, only upon second or more

with subsidiary clauses, his companionship was as welcome as a delicious fresh breeze on a muggy day. The drawbacks and faults that I found were, I both hoped and thought, such as would be tempered, even erased, by time and experience. They seemed to me to be the outcome of his prodigious driving energy. I underestimated, because, certainly in the early years of our acquaintance, it was rarely shown in my presence, the extreme irritability that sometimes accompanies such quick energy. Only after considerable time did I come to appreciate, as I said in the first draft of my autobiography, "the essential intolerance of opposition and the ruthlessness of his rush towards whatever happened to be his immediate objective." I did not understand in him at first "the ascendancy of the ego over intelligence" which has prevented him from profiting by his experience or his recognised mistakes. He has not grown up—only grown older and more rigidly confirmed in all his characteristics. He has amassed a great deal of experience, but it remains a mass of experience. The pattern of his thought and attitude and action remains the same. I have had occasion to call his attention to this fact increasingly often. He himself sometimes alluded to it in deference to my criticisms.

To the admirable obverse of Ralph's characteristics there is always the reverse to be feared. His optimism, for instance, is invaluable. It permits him to see the practicability of ideas that anyone less hopeful would not even attempt to carry out and to inspire others to work for these ideas. His persistent determination to justify his optimism supports him through set-backs that would discourage most people. But these qualities, so admirable in some respects, are disastrous in other ways. They are in large part responsible for his marked tendency to act as if gestures of support and half-hearted promises of financial help are firm promises which will be confirmed and to count upon them as if they were already confirmed. They are also in large part responsible for his firm belief that if he but tries long and hard enough he can extract support from even the most reluctant target. This, in turn, led to his prolonging the many travels and visits that he made on my behalf or on that of the Foundation to twice, or much more, the length that they had been planned to take. And, in its turn, this extension of his term of absence from my or the Foundation's daily work has left his colleagues to carry on activities that he began but of which he had not fully informed them because he expected to return in time to deal with them himself. Moreover, as he moved about with speed and often with no prior notification to his colleagues, it was impossible to obtain information from him quickly, if at all. As his journeys became more and more frequent during the years that he was working for the Foundation he became more and more difficult to work with. And the fact that the "promises" and "important things" that he was accomplishing so seldom bore observable fruit, tended to bewilder and dismay and ultimately discourage his colleagues.

Linked to, and perhaps causing, this failure to bring promises and schemes to fruition is his failure to retain the respect or liking of most of those with whom he has had any sort of protracted relationship. He has drawn many people into the work of the Foundation. He has inspired many others, some of them of public distinction, to see the work of the Foundation, as I do, as potentially important to the world. But those who have been drawn in gradually drop out or, because they are led to emulate his extravagances, have had to be sacked. Often after several meetings with those who at first were ready to help us he has lost their sympathy by his importunities and exaggerations, arrogance and bad manners.

#### Ralph's infamous folly in China

His self-assurance, which enabled him to carry through actions that

also permitted disastrous displays of tactlessness and offensive importunities. These displays were increased by the limelight shed upon our part in the Cuban affair. It inflated his ego more than I at the time realized. When, for instance, he went to China on my behalf at the end of 1962, or the beginning of 1963; he took it upon himself to teach the Chinese whom he met the folly, as he considered it, of the moralities and customs inculcated by their Government. At the first interview given to him and his companion by Premier Chou En Lai they were received most courteously and the Premier was friendly and helpful. At their second interview, they were received coldly and severely chided for their behaviour and tactless indiscretions while in China. As their sponsor, naturally, I was rendered suspect. To my distress and to the grave embarrassment of our work, I have never been able to recover the warmth and friendliness formerly accorded me by the Chinese Government.

On the other hand, it was necessary to balance against Ralph's infamous folly in China the fact that he had gone there bearing a message from Nehru which might have provided a way out of the entanglements of the Sino-Indian Border Dispute. Against great odds, he and his companion had managed to reach Nehru and obtain this message from him. And they had also obtained the backing of Mme. Bandaranaike, then



Prime Minister of Ceylon. No-one else, I believe, would have done this. No-one else would have believed in the possibility of doing it or had the persistence and hardihood to achieve it. It provides an obvious example of the dichotomy of Ralph's work, admirable up to a point, but finally ruined by impetuous egotistical folly.

Again, I remember that on one of his visits to Israel for me he was given an interview by the Prime Minister, Ben Gurion. He took it upon himself to lecture the Prime Minister on his and the Israel Government's shortcomings, a lecture naturally resented by its recipient. He told me of this, as he told me of the Chinese episode, upon his return and I pointed out that I thought that he had been greatly at fault. He agreed with me. I optimistically believed that he would not repeat these quite uncalled-for rude provocations.

#### Discipline was abhorrent to Ralph

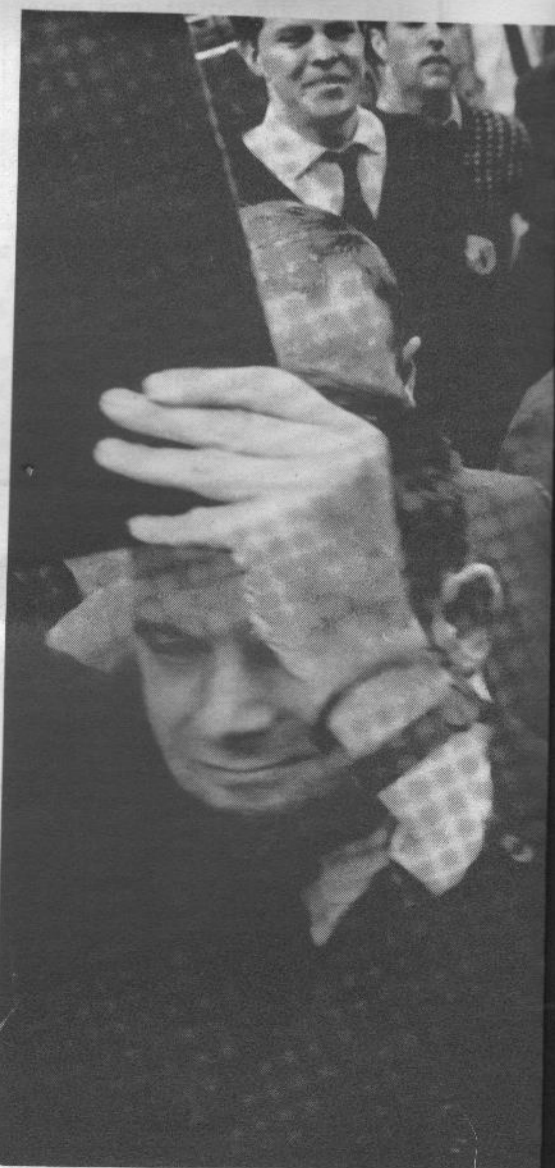
The lack of good manners was obvious both in very important matters such as I have just recounted and in the small daily give and take. Discipline was abhorrent to Ralph and he revolted from it in-

time. Perhaps he was. Perhaps I should never have sent the telegrams that gave Khrushchev an opportunity to send his open letter of withdrawal had it not been for Ralph's encouragement and work or for the telegram that he sent to Khrushchev for me in the early hours of 26 October, 1962. By well after midnight I had become very tired by the stress of the day. I went to bed after a long discussion with Ralph and after arranging what might be done in various eventualities. I exacted a promise from him that he would wake me if anything further transpired before breakfast. He did not wake me, but woke my wife to obtain her backing in sending a further telegram to Khrushchev, the possibility of which we had discussed. It was sent and, when I awoke, I approved of its having been sent. It did not occur to me that Ralph did more than a good secretary should have been expected to do in the circumstances. I did not know until considerably later that he was most indiscreetly and inaccurately putting it about, or perhaps allowing it to be put about, that the correspondence at that time was all initiated and accomplished by him. At first I did not believe this of him, but reports coming through the years giving chapter and verse concerning this and similar indiscretions have convinced me that he is not to be trusted where his ego is concerned. I am now forced to believe that he has made it incorrectly evident that he or, to a lesser extent, others have been entirely responsible for various writings and statements published by me since our acquaintance began. Whether he has ever claimed to have written *Unarmed Victory* or not, I do not know. He was out of the country at the time of its writing and, when he returned to London, I asked him to verify and to supply certain facts that I needed. In reply he sent me a long account of the whole affair from his point of view, a book, which he had written. My wife and I spent a day in concentrated search for the few facts that I needed. It was the culmination of his tendency to write full length reports of his impressions instead of the factual notes required of him. Since that egregious performance, he has improved in this respect, in regard to my work at any rate. For my answer to the charge that anyone else, other than I, has written my letters or publications or opened and replied to letters from

Ralph could not, of course, resist the limelight, even in small and silly ways and even against my expressed wishes. Towards the end of June, 1965, a Lobby against our Government's support of U.S. policy in Vietnam was held at the House of Commons. Ralph wished me to attend it. I did not want to do so as it seemed to me that my views on the Vietnamese War were very well known and that there were plenty of others who would attend the Lobby. Finally, however, I gave way to his pleas on condition that, since it was a very serious occasion, I should go quietly and as one of many. Ralph acceded to this condition. When, however, we reached the House of Commons he produced a large sign that he insisted my being photographed holding. He then proceeded, like a monkey on a stick to climb all over the motor car in which we had driven up in order to flout the police—I forget now how and why. It was all quite foolish and undignified, and I was ashamed. Again, after his ostracism by the British Government, he appeared here—his last visit—done up in a preposterous "disguise" late one evening. It did not occur to him that in doing so he was exposing me to the charge and penalties of harbouring someone forbidden entry to Britain. He simply could not resist flamboyant showing off.

#### After the Cuban crisis

It was after the Cuban crisis that I began to see more clearly than I had done the effect of the reverse side of Ralph's good qualities. He found himself at that time at the centre of the events in which I took part and have related in my book *Unarmed Victory* and came to regard himself as having been indispensable to me at the



The pictures on this page are of Russell and Schoenman at the House of Commons lobby that Russell refers to. The cover shows Russell speaking at a rally in Trafal-

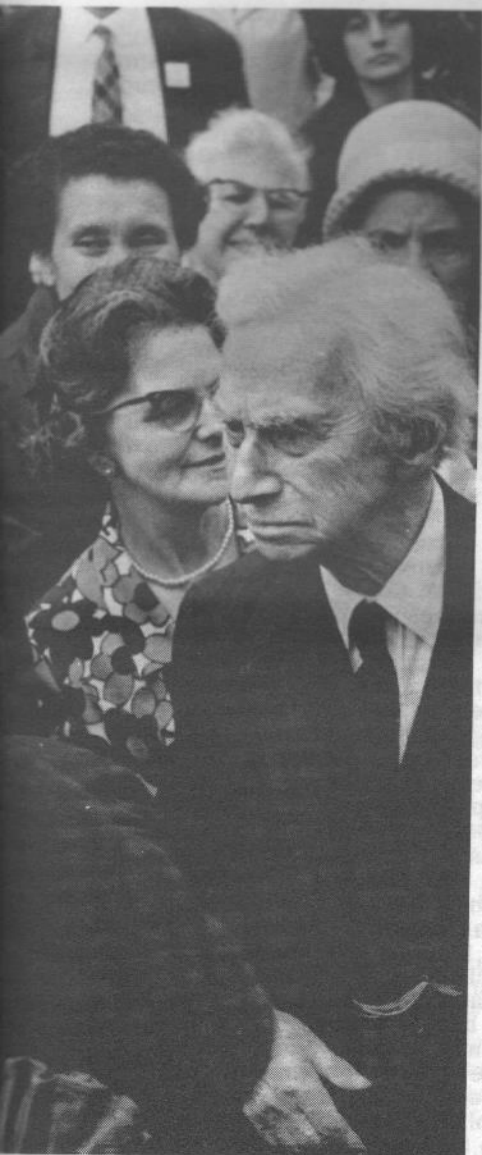




my correspondents see page 164 of the Allen and Unwin edition of Volume III of my autobiography.

Complaints, all couched as jokes, came to me in the early days as often as might be expected from the people upholding our civil disobedience work. Ralph would, they said, try to bully them into doing what he thought right by saying that he was speaking as my secretary and voicing my wishes. This, I gathered, moved them less than he thought it should. Not till the year following the establishment of the Foundation did I receive serious complaints of him save from people who did not in any case like what we were trying to do. Always, when any complaints of him came to my notice, I discussed them with him and more often than not he admitted them, promising reform and thereafter often referring to my criticisms and his determination to defer to them.

After the establishment of the Foundation in September, 1963, however, the unfortunate traits of which I have spoken became steadily more marked. I began to receive serious complaints from his colleagues and



gar Square in 1962. The sub-headings in the text are the *Black Dwarfs*. The photos are by Romano Gagnoni (Report).

others who were sympathetic to our work. At the end of January, 1964, two of his colleagues called upon me at Plas Penrhyn to beg me to expel him from his position in the Foundation as my secretary. They spoke for themselves and three other colleagues. Their charges had three main bases: (1) that Ralph was ruining my reputation by telling people that he was responsible for what purported to be my work; (2) that he was playing fast and loose with funds obtained on the ground that they were to be used for my work for peace; (3) that his attitude was dictatorial and his intolerance of opposition intolerable. For these charges they presented chapter and verse. I asked the two who had come to see me and the other three colleagues to put their charges in writing. They did so, and with their letters gave me some precise knowledge that I had not before possessed. I was grateful to them for troubling to do this. Neither they nor any of Ralph's other associates in the work had, up to this time, made to me any serious or precise complaints. When asked why not, they all said, in various ways, that they had not wished to distress me. They did not seem to realize that by delaying they had put me into a very false position and one that would inevitably harm our work if and when I tried to extricate myself from it. They had hinted at dissatisfactions, but had never given me any information with which to face Ralph. I could now, and did, tackle Ralph about the matters that they had brought up. He either denied the charges and the evidence for them in toto or explained what the "evidence really sprang from". In view of his rebuttal of the charges, his promise to reform in one case (the charge of wasting money and energy on ill-planned journeys) and, especially, the fact admitted by all his colleagues, that there was no-one else who could take his place and carry on his work, I did not repudiate him. Moreover, I had strong reasons to doubt the reliability and even the capability of most of the complainers. I now suspect that these "reasons" may have been carefully provided by Ralph himself. The most reliable and capable of Ralph's colleagues were unwilling at that time to bear the unpleasant consequences of plain speaking, although later they were driven to do so. Their reluctance has done great harm both to me and, what is worse, to our work.

#### The Peace Conference at Helsinki

Among the first serious complaints that I received from anyone not working with us followed the Peace Conference at Helsinki in July, 1965. On July 15 I received a telegram signed by the "Delegation of Federal Republic of Germany" saying: "Speech of your personal representative caused uproar. Strongly rejected by audience. Tremendous

provocation of Peace Congress. Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation discredited. Essential you dissociate yourself from Schoenman and his speech. Friendly greetings." (The stops, absent in the telegram, are added by me.) Needless to say, I was exceedingly disturbed by this. As I knew nothing of what had gone on at the Congress, however, I felt that I must await further news and, especially, Ralph's version of the matter, before taking any action. Following the Conference, I received many conflicting reports. Towards the end of July, I replied to one correspondent: "Thank you for your letter of 26 July and its enclosure. It was kind of you to write expostulating with me directly about the difficulties at Helsinki. As I was not there, I find it hard to straighten out the conflicting reports which have come to me. The statement that you enclose "(which she said in her letter was "the speech which caused a great deal of disturbance")" was a message from me. From all that I can gather I make out that it was not this message but a later speech by Mr. Schoenman that caused the difficulty. At any rate, the final resolution adopted by the Congress seems to me admirable—but not the first that they adopted, after the first meeting. It seems to me just possible that strong, obstructionist methods were needed to make the change between the first and the final resolution possible. If so, I am glad that they were taken, though I am sorry that the Foundation has to bear the burden of the disapproval of some of the delegates. As to whether the same end could have been achieved by another and more acceptable manner, I should think probably it could have been, but I was not there, I repeat, in the heat of conflicting points of view. I am glad that you found the Conference a success from many points of view."

From this reply, it may be understood how tangled, apparently prejudiced, and often mistaken, the criticisms were. Those who upheld Ralph's action were hardly clearer. What I made of it all at the time, the above letter indicates. Moreover, as I have said above, the resolution of which I approved was adopted by the Conference after, and not before, Ralph's uproar and was probably owing to it.

A month later, a woman scientist, who had done very commendable work in Britain for international peace, wrote to my wife criticising Ralph's actions at the Conference very severely. She had not herself been present and based her remarks upon those of delegate who did not himself complain to me.

All these criticisms I took up with Ralph when he returned. He replied that he had gone to Helsinki not only as my representative but, also, as an appointed delegate in his own right. He said that, apart from reading my message, he had made it clear that he was acting and speaking not as my representative but as himself. He was "convinced"—a favourite word of his—that had he not acted and spoken as he did, the Chinese delegates would have had short shrift. He was convinced that the Conference had been rigged by the Americans against the Chinese. It seemed to me, as I told him, that, even if this were so, he might have achieved his end by restraining his temper and being very much more tactful and quiet. He agreed reluctantly that possibly this was so and that he would try not to commit such impetuous and provocative errors again.

A few weeks later, I received a long letter from a friend, who had also been a delegate to Helsinki, describing Ralph's actions and describing how fantastic and fanatical they had appeared to be and, consequently, how harmful to our work. They destroyed, she said, much good will towards it and achieved only an immediate and Pyrrhic victory for Ralph's point of view. Again I discussed these matters with Ralph, pointing out clearly that, while the end that he had wished to achieve might have been praiseworthy, his methods of achieving it had been altogether deplorable. He countered by saying that no other methods would

have been effective. I disagreed. He promised again to be less violent and ill-mannered in future.

"What is the hold this man has over Russell?"

I received a long letter from this same friend a year later. She had been in London for six weeks, during which time, she said, not fewer than twenty-six people, all of whom were sympathetic to my own work, had remarked on the way in which my "image was being tarnished" and my friends alienated by "Ralph's unfortunately arrogant personality plus attitudes and methods which are all too often open to question, I am told, from the standpoint of ethics." These people had asked: "What is the hold this man has over Russell? Is Russell now senile and unable to make his own decisions and so is accepting whatever is put before him? How is it Ralph seems to overrule Russell to continue doing the things Russell himself has personally repudiated?" To my request for specific facts backing up these charges, I received no reply, and they continued to seem quite unreal to me.

A month or two later in this same year, I received a letter of resignation from one of the Directors of the Foundation. In it he said:

"My sympathies and engagement in your work and the aims of the Foundation are what they always were. I feel as strongly about the war in Vietnam as ever. I think that the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation—with the extraordinary example of your life and work—could become the most important independent intellectual force in the world today.

"The reason for my resignation is personal. I feel that Ralph Schoenman has captured the Foundation and turned it into a monolithic expression of his own limited interests and abilities.

"Before my resignation becomes official, I would strongly urge that an independent group examine Mr. Schoenman's competence to continue further his sole leadership of the Foundation. I also feel that an independent group of accountants should make a report to the board of directors concerning both income and disbursement over the last three years.

"Believe me, Lord and Lady Russell, that resigning at this moment is painful. I also find it painful to be unable to conclude the film about you which I have begun. I have notified Schoenman of this on four separate occasions in writing; I believe that the raw materials of the film, as now unedited, is of great value. As of today, Schoenman has not answered any of my letters concerning its disposition. I feel that it is improper for me to continue physical ownership of the negative and film. Will you be kind enough to let me know what should be done with it."

I should at that time willingly have consulted accountants and an independent group of individuals as to Ralph's administration of funds and general competence. But where could I find such a group? As to the matter of the film, Ralph and his colleagues told quite a different story from that told above. We were finding it difficult to extract the film from its maker in spite of many letters to him asking to have it sent to the Foundation. I made clear my belief that it was necessary to have accountants audit the accounts of the Foundation.

Until that time, though I had received other complaints, few had given me precise information that could not, and was not, explained away by Ralph. A good example, and a very nice letter, of this sort of vague accusation, came to me from a young man unknown to me in May, 1967:

"I have an unusual letter to write, so may I in advance beg your patience and forgiveness.

"I have been engaged in the activities of the Hampstead C.N.D. and the Camden Committee for Peace in Vietnam during the past two years, and, more recently, Hampstead Labour Party.

"Inside and outside committees I have met a great many people hold-

ing a great many views, although naturally almost all fall within that part of the spectrum called the Left. I have found however two things that almost everybody has in common, one is a profound respect for you, the other is dislike of Ralph Schoenman. "I certainly have no doubts concerning his dedication to your work, it is his public presentation that is in question. I wish I could give you specific examples of what I mean, but this is very difficult. There is a certain conceit, a certain unwarranted hostility towards people that goes ill with his position. My impression of Mr. Schoenman is general, as are the impressions of most people, but such as it is it is a bad one. I would not presume to write to you thus were I alone in this feeling.

"I am vague on the cause, perhaps I can better illustrate the effect. I have a friend who holds a very responsible position, has a most pleasant disposition, and excellent opinions. I remarked to him on the photograph of you on your verandah in the Observer earlier this year. He agreed with me, an excellent picture, but added that Ralph Schoenman was probably just out of sight propping you up. He was half in jest, but others make similar remarks and are serious. The spite, or cynicism, of such remarks is not directed at you but at Mr. Schoenman.

"My purpose is to bring to your attention something that I find very disheartening. Had I not met many other people who share my opinion I would not presume to write to you.

"I must say I intend no harm or calumny to Mr. Schoenman, but knowing how widespread my feeling is I think it has to be of some importance.

"I hope you will not think me impertinent, for I am sir, with the greatest respect, yours most faithfully."

Such generous and obviously sincere criticisms as the foregoing were extremely disturbing and carried entire conviction. But it was quite impossible to make Ralph understand them. His reply was to the effect that anyone who worked with energy for the ends that I desired would be more than likely to incur such criticism. And it seemed to me that there was a great deal of truth in this reply. I could only beg Ralph to be gentler and more tolerant in his presentation of our views and beliefs.

### The War Crimes Tribunal

As I watched the development of the War Crimes Tribunal in 1967 doubt became even stronger in my mind. Ralph was appointed the Secretary General of this Tribunal. I watched his doings with greater objectivity than I had been able to do formerly since he was acting, not as my secretary or representative, but as an executive of an organisation which I entirely supported though in the running of which I took no active part. I had been increasingly aware for some time that, though Ralph was invaluable in developing an idea to the point of practicability, he was disastrous to that idea when he attempted, himself, to carry it out. This belief was confirmed by his actions as Secretary General and by the unnecessary quarrels and muddles largely created, I understood, by him. Again, the dichotomy was visible: it is quite possible that the Tribunal would never have got off the ground had it not been for his intense efforts; but had his efforts been accompanied by even a little restraint and considered planning and with less provocation to those who did not approve of his methods or of the Tribunal itself, the latter might have accomplished as great—and it was great—a work as it did with far less cost in human frustration and futile work as well as in money.

I felt that his display of egoism and flouting of advice, especially of advice given by his colleagues, at this time and in the following months when he flew about the world, as it seemed to me, heedlessly, rendered him only a liability to the Foundation. But the Foundation had become, in November, 1966, a limited company. The change had my entire approval. The company

was administered by directors of whom I was not one. I had no executive position in it. It was, consequently, no part of my business to retain or to dismiss Ralph except as my secretary. And he ceased to be my secretary in 1966.

### I felt that Ralph should be dismissed from the Foundation

I felt that Ralph should be dismissed from the Foundation. I had for some time insisted that he should not speak either as my secretary or my representative except on such occasions as we had specifically agreed that he should do so. I reiterated this in a letter in 1966. He assured me that he honoured this decision of mine. I constantly, however, heard and read of his having made pronouncements as my secretary or representative. He pointed out that this was not his fault, that, in spite of his denials, others took it for granted that he was still my secretary. Perhaps this was true. In any case, I could do no more than urge him to make it very clear that he was not speaking or acting for me. I felt that I might or might not agree with what he said or did. I wrote to him in 1967 on this subject in categorical terms, such as I had used only in speech theretofore.



The Directors of the Foundation company were not even yet fully convinced that he could no longer be useful to the work and was harming it. I had frequent discussions with some of them about the matter. They appeared to feel that it would make their position as colleagues of Ralph more difficult were I myself to break with him. They feared also, I learned, that if I did so, he would retaliate in ways that would not only hurt my feelings but would harm my work. I did not know at this time that this was one, and perhaps the chief, of their reasons for their cooler than lukewarm reception to my wish to break with him. Nevertheless, I now think I should have broken with him several years ago. Instead, I temporised. I made a grave tactical mistake: in my desire to put my attitude towards him and my criticisms quite clearly before him and yet in no way harm the efficiency of his work as the directors had made me feel I might do, I agreed with my wife that she should make the criticisms to him in my presence and that I would merely agree with them. It was a foolish plan. Unfortunately, his assurance was such that he took refuge in the belief that my wife was persuading me to oppose and mistrust him. I soon realized that all I was doing by this roundabout method was confirming in him the very characteristics that I most deplored. When, in 1969, I learned of what I had not suspected hitherto, that, consciously or, again, through over-optimism, he was indulging on behalf of the Foundation in what can only be termed dishonest means of accumulating funds for his work, I could no longer continue to support him in any way. He was, without authority, selling the rights of books, refusing to send on funds owing to the Foundation in London, attempting to divert funds payable to it from the sale of my archives, insisting that English tax laws be flouted, and employing other such discreditable means. Perhaps I should have recognised this tendency towards financial unscrupulousness in Ralph earlier, for I had had occasion to remonstrate with him a number of times when it seemed to me that he was sailing very close to the wind. For in-

stance, he arranged with editor of one journal to pay a certain sum for the right to publish statements and articles by me hitherto unpublished. He then sent these articles and we received the money for them. But he sent them to other journals which occasionally, owing to their dates of appearance, published them before the editor with whom he had made the original contract could get them out. Naturally, this editor was angry. And so was I. I quarrelled with Ralph about it, but failed to convince him. At the time I felt that I had to support Ralph. I now believe that I was mistaken in this.

### I am particularly sorry to have had to make this open breach with Ralph

During the past two years, since he has been forbidden entrance to Britain, he seems to have been attempting to carry out his ideas without reference to the advice and needs of his colleagues in the Foundation. Certainly, he has flouted my criticisms, paying no attention to them save to pronounce them ill-based. His actions have reinforced the confirmation that the War Crimes Tribunal had given to my belief as to where his value lay when he was still valuable. But his actions since 1967 have become so egregious that he appears to me no longer to have any value in carrying on the work that I believe the Foundation to be engaged in and which I think should be done. It is for his colleagues to give the facts of their difficulties in working with him. My own reasons for breaking with him I have tried to make clear in this memorandum and to indicate to a slight degree in my autobiography. I have given them directly to Ralph himself in the past, especially on the few occasions when he has visited me here in the last three or four years. I have referred to them in my last letters to him, copies of which I think are in my files along with other correspondence addressed to me by him and others. I am particularly sorry to have had to make this open breach with Ralph because I fear that it will distress his parents whom I both like and respect—unless, of course, they can take refuge in the belief that I have been persuaded, or even forced, to make it by my wife and the other wicked people who surround me.

The question of cardinal importance that has been put to me is why did I not break with him earlier. I did not do so because, until the last few years he was the only person who could and would carry out the work that I thought should be done. The balance of his accomplishments over his drawbacks has only gradually been reversed. His faults and mistakes were of less importance than his ability to turn vision to practicable effect and his courage and optimism in carrying out our ideas. When, sometime after the Cuban debacle, he finally took the bit in his teeth and later careered away unrestrained as Secretary General of the War Crimes Tribunal, I became increasingly doubtful of his usefulness to the work and remonstrated with him both frequently and severely. Since his methods, however, have become importunately open to question and, consequently, intolerable, during the last two years, and during the last year can only be termed dishonest, I have felt it necessary to make a definitive break with him.

I did this in my letter to him of July, 1969, to which I received no reply. Towards the end of November, 1969, I was obliged to write again in an endeavour to extract an undertaking that he would cease using either my name or my wife's as he has been doing to support his own work. And in the past few days, I have found it necessary to prepare a public statement of repudiation, since I must, if possible, dissociate myself and my wife from all Ralph's actions in the minds of all men who will listen.

Russell

### Postscript:

Had I seen the letter which Ralph wrote to two of his co-directors on 29 June, 1968, earlier I would have unhesitatingly broken definitively

with him at once. But I was not shown this until late in November, 1969. It is a preposterous document. But in it he presents his point of view on our association at length. It therefore deserves examination. In it he objects to what I said of him in my autobiography on the ground that it is "a betrayal of all the years I have devoted to the Foundation and to Bertie, years in which I have worked flat out and at the risk of life for twenty hours a day." Possibly he is referring to the first draft of my autobiography. I was, and still am unaware of any occasion upon which he risked his life either for my sake or that of the Foundation. If he is referring to his travels in Africa, the dangerous part of those were made without authorization from either me or the Foundation. The same is true if he is referring to his second journey to Bolivia when he got himself imprisoned and shot at. In both cases he was begged to return to London or to stay in London as he had been away many weeks longer than had been intended and all the work of the Foundation was held up by efforts to straighten out what he had begun and abandoned. Much of the rest of his letter, three closely typed pages, is a diatribe against my wife who, he states, has been waging a campaign against him. In the course of this he utters nonsense, saying that "she has tried to deny me help of the Foundation when I have been in prison or in need of assistance to recover my passport. She has manoeuvred to prevent my return to Britain and when I did return she put out a vicious Press statement dissociating Bertie from me which only a miracle prevented the Bourgeois Press from blowing up into a major scandal." All this is, of course, untrue. She has often helped Ralph, and would have helped him in prison had there been anything that she could have done for him. She has never put out a Press statement of any sort, vicious or otherwise. Moreover, he says that "she has harassed and bullied and tormented Bertie to secure his acquiescence in her efforts." I have never been harassed or bullied or tormented by her. The idea is ludicrous. And in point of fact, she felt optimistic about Ralph for a longer time than I did. Ralph thinks that it was she who made me demand that he should not be my secretary. "The muted and scarcely existent public support of Bertie for me when I have been in grave danger and now banned from Britain" is owing to her. And her nefarious actions culminate in "harmful" remarks that I make about him in my autobiography. I had been under the impression that I had helped Ralph as much as I could, and I do not think that I have been ungenerous to him in my autobiography.

There follows in this letter a long, very revealing paragraph. He sums it up in the introductory sentence: "the truth is that every major political initiative that has borne the name of Bertrand Russell since 1960 has been my work in thought and deed." He continues, naming what he considers these major political initiatives. To all this he says that I have agreed enthusiastically. I have referred to my wife's evil campaign against him "with anguish", apologising, assuring, even crying. This is entirely the figment of his imagination. He himself, he says, has been "trapped in the dilemma of not tearing him (that is me) apart by fighting Edith."

I should ask Ralph to reflect on his own past speeches concerning the duties of a good secretary. And also upon the number of times that I have urged him to work and publish in his own name. Further, I should ask him to compare the paragraph about my wife on page 5 (Allen and Unwin edition) in the Preface written by himself to the book which he edited entitled *Philosopher of the Century*. It was first published in 1967. I entirely subscribe to what he says in that paragraph, as does my wife. But I should think that the change that he finds to have taken place in one year, 1967-68, would seem even to Ralph to be unlikely. I suppose that he has invented my wife's campaign as a face saving device against my criticisms. There is no slightest danger, and never has been, of my being torn apart by conflicts between my wife and Ralph.

The letter leaves me with the impression that Ralph must be well established in megalomania. The truth is, I suppose, that I have never taken Ralph as seriously as he liked to think I did. I was fond of him in the early years. But I never looked upon him as a man of parts and weight and much individual importance.

Russell

The mass media sensationalises Womens Liberation. In this issue of the Black Dwarf, a group of women militants have taken the opportunity to speak for themselves. This special five page section was compiled by Anne Bacchelli, Rosalind Delmar, Anna Hodgkin, Irene Matthis, Liz Merrington, Juliet Mitchell, Marcia Rothenburg, Jenny Stern, Hazel Twort, Janet Williams.

When womens liberation militants are confronted by the traditional left, two major questions are posed: their relation to "the left" and to the working class. The first question presents no problems. At a time when political theory and militancy is almost stagnant—Women's Liberation is one of the most dynamic revolutionary developments. Women are organising all over the country and engaging in intellectual and actional combat.

The relationship of Women's Liberation to the working class is more problematic. As a political group, Women's Liberation is socially novel. Its members do not belong to hitherto recognisable political forces—though there are considerable numbers of working class women, there are few Blacks and surprisingly, fewer students than would be expected in Women's Liberation. Women's Liberation is not confined to the middle class intelligentsia as its detractors claim. Probably the greatest proportion of its membership is housewives (working class, lower middle and middle class) with young children.

The practical relationship of the Women's Liberation movement to the working class has two aspects—working class women are the housewives of working class men and/or they

are the masses of women in working class jobs (the two are not always coincident) so even here problems of organising are not straightforward. At a theoretical level the question of the relationship of a non-class based movement to the revolutionary class is yet more difficult. It is clear that women, as a sex, are oppressed, not, as a class, exploited; though the majority of women in Britain suffer both oppression and exploitation. It is clear that the relationship of revolutionary women and the working class involves a complex dialectic between exploitation and oppression. As yet the theory and practice which can handle both the need for distinct women's organisation and the relationship of this to the class struggle as a whole has not been fully developed.

This supplement has no ambitions beyond a selected presentation of some of the aspects of Women's Liberation here and abroad; some of the questions that are being asked and worked through. The state and type of the present movement is described in the first article, which sets up some tentative guidelines for analysing women's oppression. Then two articles illustrate from personal experience aspects of women's oppression—one on going out to work, the other on staying at

home to work. They reveal a disturbing similarity—the family and its hierarchical domestic structure clenches the woman in its iron grip wherever she goes.

Women's Liberation is a heterogenous movement developing rapidly in the advanced capitalist world. We have chosen to illustrate its internationalism by selecting reports and manifestos from widely divergent countries: France with its Catholicism and cultural validation of 'the feminine'; Sweden with its robust social-democratic traditions of spurious 'equality' for all; America, Imperialist oppressor and land of the militant oppressed—Black and feminist, and England with its history of gradualism on the long road to 'emancipation', whether of the working class or women.

Women's Liberation is unified by its militancy. Whatever the national, historical or social differences women are uniting together to comprehend and combat their oppression. The achievement of a collectivity is a prime necessity of women's liberation—it is an integral part of the struggle against the isolation which is a specific quality of women's oppression. This supplement reflect this need—all of the articles were discussed and written collectively.



# Women's Liberation

A certain air of astonishment and distaste has greeted the sudden appearance of women's liberation groups in England. Their growth represents a hitherto untapped source of political energy and expression.

As victims of a double oppression, our liberation demands a specific form of action and a specific theory. Our oppression is no respecter of class boundaries; however it takes different class-rooted forms. This is both a strength and a problem for Women's Liberation. The strength is its appeal—to all women. The problem is that this generic oppression means that men are most easily attacked as the main

enemy, rather than the structures which maintain and use the family and male domination against us.

For the deliberately blind Women's Liberation is simply reduced to "the new feminism", labelled as an historical anachronism criticised with puritan severity and therefore easily dismissed. Or else its presence is ascribed to the current stagnation of the left and it is hopefully seen as one of the groups which will come together to form a new revolutionary organisation. The latter position at least has the merit of recognising the revolutionary potential of women's liberation, but fails to ask what this potential is, and therefore

what women's liberation is about. Women's liberation joins in the struggle to create a full fledged revolutionary theory and with it of a revolutionary strategy for England. But on the other hand, the formation of this new theory and strategy are still conceived by the organised left in traditional terms, and therefore the role and implications of women's liberation are undervalued and displaced.

To conceive our political theory and strategy—in terms of existing political institutions and the relationship of the left to them reveals its pitfalls as soon as it is applied to the problem of women. If we look at our position today it becomes

immediately apparent that women are still denied formal equality. Neither within the factory, nor within the rest of society, do they have the same rights as men. To their economic and legal inequality is linked their cultural and psychological oppression, to create a generalised area of social subordination.

The left has traditionally seen these elements in terms of a causality—it is the economic and legal inequality which determines all forms of subordination (as the economic base determines the superstructure). Therefore, remove these inequalities and the rest automatically falls. This

the revolution will do: women, therefore, to achieve liberation, should join existing and future organisations to work for this end. This is economic determinism with a vengeance. What such a position refuses to take into account and what women's liberation asserts is the *specific* oppression of women.

Within modern society women are made inferior and dependent. Our inferiority is given "scientific" biological justification. We are inefficient and unpredictable, due to premenstrual depression, emotional and irrational, therefore cannot be given responsibility; our only fulfilment comes from bearing children, therefore our natural place is in the home. The kinds of jobs we do bear this out. Typists, workers in electronics because of our dexterity, teachers because of our special relationship to children—like paid mothers; nurses because of our patient humanity and our role as life-givers and nurturers. We are always, somehow, "naturally" suited to the low-paid work we do, and to the subservient role we play. Society thus asserts the results of our oppression as the cause of that oppression.

What women's liberation does is to confront these social 'definitions' and taking them as a starting point to begin to re-define the woman question. The criticism that to discuss our role as housewives and mothers, our sexual commercialisation, the family women's exclusion from public production and from political work as "trivial complaints" about "petty problems" is arrogant, ludicrous and totally apologetic.

The oppressed are defined largely by the oppressive system. Women are defined by men as the agents of that oppression. The fact that our subjugation permeates all relationships including personal relationships indicates the need to locate the struggle at all levels of experience. (This in turn challenges the sexual ideology of existing revolutionary groups.)

The fact is that most women come to Women's Liberation through discontent with their individual situations. This itself has important implications both for the analysis of woman and for the practise of the movement. Women are socialised to regard their most important vocation as that of marriage and child-rearing. It is the only job in society taken up as a direct result of an emotional commitment to another person. The pressures towards marriage are predominantly psychological and cultural—even the very real economic factors are obscured by this. This fact alone differentiates the position of women from that of other oppressed groups. Once within the family its contradictions affect woman in a very direct and personal way. The family is an arena of constant conflict, and the woman, faced with the fact that she can have very contradictory feelings about her child and husband—that she can love them passionately and hate them violently at one and the same time, is constantly tempted and persuaded to see this as a personal neurosis. Through discussing problems with other women we can discover for the first time that they are common problems; we can move from isolation to collective consciousness, a collective analysis and action. The family, the kind of unit it is within capitalist society, the socialisation of women, their subordination, are put into question in a new way. Our internalised vision of the world and our place in it is exploded.

This is the background of the formation of current women's liberation groups. The emphasis on small groups facilitates maximum communication—a necessary precondition of the growth of solidarity and identity. Most revolutionary groups have forgotten that the process of becoming a revolutionary involves self-criticism and self-conscious development. Women's Liberation has rediscovered this simple truth, and is breaking down the distinction made between changing oneself and changing society.

This in itself represents a great threat to male domination. We have been well trained to be vessels of expressive receptivity; unlike the male we have not been taught to repress our emotional concerns burying them beneath working relationships and rationalised order. By redirecting our emotionality, our perceptions, we can locate the structures of cultural and psychological social repression. We do not believe that our dominated consciousness can by itself fulfil our theoretical needs

but now do we believe that male dominated consciousness couched in bourgeois rationalism is a better vehicle. No-one realised the fundamental importance of repressive culture in analysing the woman's situation better than Mao-tse-Tung who when writing of the suicide of Miss Chao said:

"A suicide is entirely determined by circumstances. Was the original idea of Miss Chao to seek death? On the contrary it was to seek life. If Miss Chao rather sought death it was because circumstances drove her there. The circumstances in which Miss Chao found herself were the following: 1) Chinese society; 2) the Chao family of Nanyang st., in Changsha; 3) the Wu family of Kantzuyan St. in Changsha, the family of the husband she did not want. These three factors constituted three irons nets, composing a kind of triangular cage. Once caught in these three nets, it was in vain that she sought for life in every way possible. There was no way for her to go on living, the contrary of life is death, and Miss Chao felt compelled to die...if among these three factors there had been one that was not an iron net, or if one of these nets had opened, Miss Chao would certainly not have died...If Miss Chao is dead today it is because she was solidly enclosed by the three irons nets (society, her own family, the family of her future husband)".

The woman under capitalism may not be situated in such a tight geometrical trap, but is certainly as isolated as was woman in traditional China. If we seek life we must come fully to grips with the rigidity of the circumstances outside ourselves, which have made us what we are. A suicide of the nature of Miss Chao's reflects those social factors which dominate the individual, and particularly the individual woman, who, robbed of the will and the power to change them by herself is forced into submission.

Male chauvinists who try to trivialise women's liberation groups as "group therapy" sessions are simply reinforcing a bourgeois ideology which tries to mask social oppression and reduce it to the level of a personal neurosis. The way in which we assert the *social* nature of our oppression, in these preliminary stages of the Women's liberation movement, is thus through the politicisation of psychology. We have to redefine ourselves on every level, economic, cultural and political. We have learnt from the Blacks that it is absolutely necessary for oppressed groups to theorise their own position, and to conduct their own struggle. Our revolutionary struggle in England will therefore be by women and with women specifically committed through our own definition to the destruction of all oppression.

Women's Liberation poses problems at every level; to be able to fight for all women it has to be a flexible movement capable of struggle on many fronts. Marxist theory so far offers no fully theorised analysis of oppression, and therefore no precise concepts for comprehending the specific position of women as a group with a specific oppression. When white leftists had to grin and bear their exclusion from Black Power they were able to avoid this problem: The racial oppression of Blacks was collapsed into an—already comprehended—class exploitation. But this evasion is not possible in the case of women—on the most simple level, not all working class women work outside the home: only *some* women are exploited, *all* are oppressed. So that the problem of a theoretical understanding of oppression, raised by the National Liberation movements and the Blacks, but often ignored in favour of analyses of imperialism and exploitation, once again appears, but in a very direct and inescapable fashion, with regard to the position of women.

But to concentrate totally on this important absence of theory in an intellectual way, to see the development of the movement in terms of a chronological "theory first, practice later", as is sometimes suggested, is sterile. Women's liberation is a political movement which insists on a connection between theory and practice. The way in which we have discovered our theoretical needs has been precisely through our practical activity; furthermore the keys to the specific nature of women's oppression are to be found in every woman's life—in an analysis of the *lived reality* of capitalism. Of necessity we must operate at a personal level—in order to establish and work towards a new collective analysis of women.

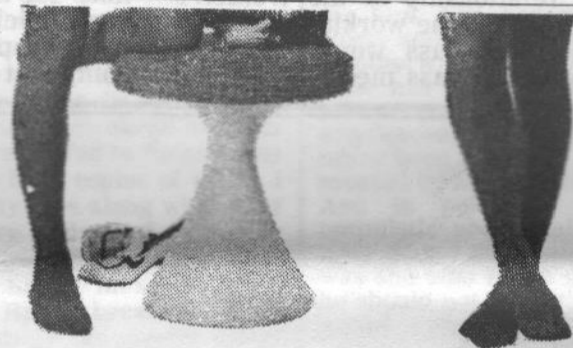
# 20th Century Secretaries...

Secretaries, like housewives, are isolated: 'private', they don't work with other secretaries, but usually for one or more men. Even if the boss is a woman the odds are that the secretary isn't going to be a man. This isolation confuses: like the housewife we might feel—and we'll certainly be induced by the office structure to feel—that our frustrations are individual maladjustments to a well-tryed system. But when we talk to each other we soon find that our experience is a shared one. Only by clarifying this common area and by working out its rationale can we begin to have a basis for concerted action.

To some extent we are losers even before we get to work. The tube ads showing 'the most desired woman in the world' after her 7½ hours of super-typing must be set against the 'Hints for Comportment' promulgated in the dingy secretarial manuals. Job expectations begin—and end—here: 'Do not have preferences. If you have preferences among the staff or customers, it means you have dislikes also...Outside the office you can let yourself go, but inside you must keep steady'. Even though devoid of feeling we must nevertheless present a 'neat, tidy, polite and genial impression' to that strange and awesome creature,

tions of secretarial manuals and advertisements—either strange and awesome, or even individualistic, since it is patterned by the structure of the work situation. Compare this structure to the bourgeois family structure: it fits exactly. The paternalistic boss (male) and the inferior secretary (female) doing the drudgy chores, always on a collar and lead lest she should stray too far.

A brief description of my own experience will illustrate what I mean—and this experience is not unique. The two of us who work as secretaries for a small group of men have different backgrounds, and we react—in some details—differently to the situation. Anne left school at 15, is married and has two children. What she resents most are the extensions of her Housewife role forced on her: she is the one who has to make the coffee, buy the biscuits and lava tory paper and see that the place is tidy. She says she does enough charring at home. What oppresses me most—this being my first job since leaving university—are the strict boundaries of my job. I don't have ideas; I only type out other people's. If I point out a spelling mistake that's just about the limit of my territory. A suggestion for a more substantive change is ignored. Consequently, although what we



**So I went to beautiful Brook Street Bureau.**

**And?**

**Got myself a beautiful job with beautiful pay and a beautiful boss.**

**So everything in the garden's lovely?**

**You mean beautiful.**

the Boss. In this context the manual's subsequent gentle warning against 'perhaps presenting a false exterior' can only be taken as a joke. False to what?—the ideal secretary has no interior, i.e. no feelings.

It is difficult for a secretary to have a rational goal; for her there is no finished product. The men we work for have deals to put through, accounts to finalised, letters to write, reports, applications, decisions to be passed on....Our routine work, however, has no such structure, and, like Sisyphus's labour, it can never be completed. And since there is usually no possibility of promotion the only goal we can have is to be more efficient secretaries. The ways in which we try to personalize our work are indicative of the destructive and alienating nature of secretarial jobs. I think most secretaries try to structure their work by reifying time; by allotting a certain amount of time to each task—e.g. doing six letters by lunchtime; making lists of things to do and trying to cross off everything by the time you go home.

The secretary is, however, different from other mechanical labourers who are forced into machine-like roles by their jobs. The difference is her relationship to her boss. This is not—despite the mystifica-

have to type out is often absorbing our relationship to it is purely mechanical; and something that we do 'on our own', like banking the cheques every week, becomes far more creative.

We both resent feeling that we should look nice every day, be cheerful, sympathetic etc. It is this limbo area of semi-personalization which we hate most: being sympathetic and so on is characteristic of a person, and yet at other times we are treated as non-existent—arguments and confidences proceed as if we weren't there; the situation is straight master/servant. This sort of semi-personalization produces very nasty trends of exploitation. Secretaries can easily be flattered into doing more of the chores: even though we know the man can type as fast as we can, that answering the telephone is *not* a specific skill they don't have, it is difficult to refuse when you are told you 'set the letters out so nicely'. Like a servant's, our protest can only be petty and frustrating—Anne and I play games, forming a (perhaps subversive) bloc, with secret jokes, and at one time even a secret language. It's what used to happen 'below stairs' in the nice nineteenth century middle-class home.

# ...Happily Ever After

This paper has been written by three women each with two kids. We talked and wrote together as a group. We are oppressed and have been from the moment we were born. Our families have squashed us into roles because our mothers wanted daughters in their own image, and our fathers wanted daughters like their submissive wives. We each had a *girlhood* instead of a childhood and are only now beginning to be conscious of what that means in terms of what we are now. Now we feel we are martyrs. Martyrdom that has, over the years of being housewives and mothers, become almost enjoyable. The family exists on martyrdom. This is gradually getting less but only since we have glimpsed how we live from outside. We have found it extremely difficult to look at ourselves—as through a window—and most of all it has been a sheer impossibility to imagine ourselves being involved in change of any sort. Our window on the world is looked through with our hands in the sink and we've begun to hate that sink and all it implies—so begins our consciousness. We need to work, work is a dignity, or should be, we know that most work is not, but at least at worst, it involves you with other people, ideas and a struggle. The oppression every woman suffers is deeply in her, she has first to realise this and then to fight it—with other women helping. Men will not generally help with this, they need passive ignorant decorative women. We are, therefore, talking about all those women who are first and foremost housewives.

The 'family', as it is experienced, is the woman and the children in the house, the flat or the room and the man who comes and goes. The space that the family occupies is essential to its own image of itself, its own way of living itself, its self-expression. The woman who goes out to work goes out of her family if only for that period of time: however drab the work routine, children are temporarily forgotten, housework ignored. In the home the woman is in the family, and the two are disturbingly synonymous. Housework cannot be separated from children, nor the children from the four walls, the food you cook, the shopping you do, the clothes you wear. How you, the house, the children, look that every pop-psychologist's "mum" lives in a "Woman's Own" dream-house, where the material solution to any problem is immediately on hand; it is that in our society being a mother is being a housewife: the security of the family is the stability of the walls—the image of the family home is the image of the family, but not in any simple way. The folk-lore has many permutations—from happy secure family in new semi, to poor but happy slum dwellers, to the "broken home" of the "juvenile delinquent" who comes from both.

There is little to be said about housework on its own. An endless routine, it creates its own high moments of achievement and satisfaction so as to evade not monotony—the feature of many jobs—but futility. The bolt you tighten on the factory floor vanishes to be replaced by another: but the clean kitchen floor is tomorrow's dirty floor and the clean floor of the day after that. The appropriate symbol for housework (and for housework alone) is not the interminable conveyor-belt but a compulsive circle like a pet mouse in its cage spinning round on its exercise wheel, unable to get off. Into this one inserts one's own saving peaks: "Happiness is the bathroom scrubbed down". But even the glorious end of today's chores is not even an anti-climax as there is no real climax—there is nothing to fill the "joyful moment". But the routine is never quite routine, so the vacuum

in one's mind is never vacuous enough to be filled. "Housework is a worm eating away at one's ideas". Like a fever dream it goes on and on, until you desperately hope that it can all be achieved at one blow. You lay the breakfast the night before, you have even been known to light the gas under the kettle for tomorrow's tea, wishing that by breakfast time everything could be over with—by 8 a.m., the children washed, teeth-cleaned and ready for bed: tucked-up, the end.

And yet there is nothing tangible to force you to do it. A job is compul-

sory: either you go or you don't have a job. Housework's pressures are more invidious—neighbours criticise and compare; grandmothers hand on standards; within you and without you is your mother's voice, criticising and directing. Their over-riding criterion is cleanliness: a dirty house is a disintegrating person. The compulsion to housework, then, is not economic or legal: it is moral and personal. And the housewife sees it in moral and personal terms. Hence her description of this structure of her oppression assumes querulous and complaining tones, the tones of a private neurosis to express a social

fact—the imposed isolation of her work. For 'emancipated' women or 'revolutionary' men to attack the complaint and ignore the whole socialising force which produces it simple reinforces the position.

Like every other form of social activity, every other aspect of social relationships, housework cannot be pinned down to a neat descriptive formula. The more we examine it, the more aspects it reveals, and the more we become aware of its contradictions and paradoxes. Isolated, the only adult in a private house, the housewife is yet crowded, by the emotional and physical demands of her family, by the unseen pressures of society. But although isolated the housewife is never alone—her domain is the kitchen, the most communal room, and even the possibility of sleeping alone is denied her. To have the right to sleep alone is essential. People in permanent relationships do not do this. A woman needs time alone—after a day of being a public servant to the rest of the family, of giving out all the time, of being open to all demands, and in ordinary families the only time of the day this feeling of aloneness is possible is during the few moments before she goes to sleep after getting in to bed. To then have to touch, caress, console yet another person is too much. The hatred of the man and sex begins—it is the beginning of such sayings as "Oh God, he wants his rights again" or the husband saying "you can't have a headache every night". So that eventually, she has no identity, no specificity, no privacy—she is defined by the demands of others. The only escape is the day-dream, turning-in-on-one-self is the only way out. It is a journey from a body which is always being touched—the mother must always allow herself to be open to physical contact—to an area which cannot be touched, to an area of total privacy, where one's mind and body is one's own again. Ironically, housework is often seen as being self-determined labour—"your time is your own". In fact, in order to "keep up", in order to be "a good housewife", one has to work to a pre-determined routine. The "freedom" of the housewife is in fact the denial of her right to a job. Even the division work/place of work, leisure/home does not apply to the housewife—her workplace is also the place of leisure and further it is her work which provides the basis of other people's leisure.

The "rationalisation" of housework is held out as a future prospect—better technical equipment means less work. But even if this different equipment were made easily available to all classes, the situation of the housewife would be essentially unchanged, and problems would remain. Indeed some would be exacerbated. The only social world most housewives have is the shopping centre—hence their "irrational" tendency to shop every day rather than once a week. Deprived of this they would lose one way of keeping up their morale. Being literally house-bound, afraid of leaving the house and being seen is a typical woman's syndrome. Developments in technology on their own cannot change women's position in the home. We must be quite clear about this.

Unless we can discuss through the implications of the role of the housewife—the institution of the housewife, if you like, and work out the reasons why this institution survives so tenaciously, we will be unable to combat the various levels of oppression. Moreover, it is not enough simply to command women out to work—particularly since we all know that means that women usually end up with two jobs—one monotonous, the other futile.

Peckham Rye Women's Liberation

Does Tension Upset Your System?

# Bread and Roses Declaration

## THE ECONOMY

Women must be enabled to participate in the economy on a basis of equality with men. We believe that the nature of work in our system is demeaning to human beings, and we do not want merely to upgrade women into the alienated jobs that men now hold. However, we refuse to do the low-grade, low-paid, and service work any more. Such jobs must be shared by men and women; as must housework be shared, and be recognized as legitimate work that deserves pay. We take it to be our right:

1. That all persons, including children, be assured a personal income commensurate with the cost of living and independent of their family status.
2. That all employers immediately be required to comply with the law of the land and pay equal wages for equal work.
3. An end to sex discrimination; which evades the law by defining all desirable jobs in such a way that only men can fill them. Secretarial and executive tasks should be shared between men and women; responsibility should be shared between doctor and nurse.
4. That all employers give priority to the hiring and promotion of women, with preferential hiring to women of races and classes that have been discriminated against. No men must be laid off to comply with this demand.
5. Childcare by men and women, during work hours, provided free by the employers, and controlled by workers and the community.
6. An end to discrimination against part-time or temporary workers, who are mostly female or minors, for example, equal fringe benefits and employment opportunities.
7. Maternity leave for both men and women, with guaranteed return and no loss of pay or seniority.

## CONTROL OF OUR BODIES

Women should be able to control their own bodies, to have children if and when they want to, and to refrain from having children if they want to. This ultimately means an end to all laws governing birth control and abortion, with the exception of legal standards of health and safety. It also meant that if proper health care is to be equally available to all women, we must have free medical care for all people.

We consider these to be our rights:

1. Abortion, birth control devices, and pregnancy tests to be provided on demand to women of all ages, under safe conditions, at no cost.

2. Prenatal, maternity and postnatal care to be provided to all women at no cost. Women should be able to determine the manner and place in which they give birth.

3. Drastic increases in government funding of birth control research; research priorities to be determined by women, since it is their health which is at stake.

4. Higher safety standards for drug company research and regulation of their profit. An end to drug company imperialism in the form of testing unsafe drugs on third world women, and then charging exorbitant prices for them. No testing of dangerous drugs on mental patients, prisoners, or others whose lives are not their own.

5. Free, available and complete information about women's bodies, available to them as a right in all institutions.

6. An end to the double standard which puts prostitutes in jail and lets their clients go free.

7. An end to all forms of environmental abuses, particularly an immediate halt to those which have their most disastrous effects on women and children, such as Strontium 90 and DDT poisoning which poison mothers' milk.

8. While we think population control is essential, it must not be substituted for a sharing of the world's resources between rich and poor countries. Therefore, we want an end to the kind of population control, on the national and international levels, which concentrates on controlling the population of non-whites.

## THE FAMILY

The family unit should not be seen as the only economically and socially acceptable unity of society. Central to the liberation of women is the provision of alternatives to the present pattern of child-rearing and housekeeping, which results in each mother's bearing virtually the entire responsibility for her children and her untenable choice most women must make between bearing children and developing independent work.

We therefore demand:

1. Free, community controlled 24 hour child-care centers, staffed equally by paid men and women, young and old.
2. Alternative forms of good, reasonably priced housing, including provisions for cooperative child care, communal cooking, etc, for all people.
3. The establishment of a personal income for all persons, independent of familial status commensurate with the cost of living.

The state should not interfere in personal relationships.

In this context we demand the abolition of all laws regulating marriage and divorce; the abolition of all laws regulating sexual behavior between consenting persons; the abolition of all laws regulating living arrangements, for instance, laws against cohabitation; and an end to the legal concept of illegitimacy. Children should have a choice of living arrangements with relatives, non-related adults, other children, and any combination of these possibilities. This means civil liberties for minors, they must not be legally penalized or prosecuted by their parents for choosing to live with other people, exercising their sexuality, or doing other things that offend their parents' sense of propriety. Any number of adults should be able to make legal contracts between themselves other than marriage ceremonies, that will concern mutual responsibilities for each other and for children.

## EDUCATION AND CULTURE

The educational system and the media in our country perpetuate undemocratic myths about the nature of women, working people, and black, brown, red and yellow people. They also deny these groups any knowledge of their own history. The media and educational system must be redesigned by the people whom they oppress, to express the past and to meet their needs for development in an atmosphere free from psychological oppression. With respect to woman, these things are necessary:

1. An end to sexual tracking at all levels of the educational system. By this we mean not only courses specifically designed for each sex, but also the subtler forms of tracking, such as encouraging boys to be smart and girls to be ladylike.
2. That all courses be thoroughly revamped by women to end the perpetuation of male supremacist myths.
3. That the facts about sex inequality be added as a topic to all school curricula, and that new courses be developed by women in their culture and history.
4. That vocational counselling in high schools and colleges be totally redesigned so as not to channel women into low status, low potential occupations.
5. That trade schools, vocational schools, colleges and graduate school admit one-half women, with preferential treatment of women from races and classes that have been discriminated against.
6. An end to advertising which exploits women's bodies to sell products.
7. An end to sex-role stereotyping in the media.



## Manifesto of the London Women's Liberation Workshop

Women's Liberation Workshop believes that women in our society are oppressed. We are economically oppressed: in jobs we do full work for half pay, in the home we do unpaid work full time. We are commercially exploited by advertisements, television and press; legally we often have only the status of children. We are brought up to feel inadequate, educated to narrower horizons than men. This is our specific oppression as women. It is as women that we are, therefore, organizing.

The Women's Liberation Workshop questions women's role and redefines the possibilities. It seeks to bring women to a full awareness of the meaning of their inferior status and to devise methods to change it. In society women and girls relate primarily to men; any organization duplicates this pattern: the men lead and dominate, the

women follow and submit.

We close our meetings to men to break through this pattern, to establish our own leaderless groups and to meet each other over our common experience as women. If we admitted men there would be a tendency for them, by virtue of their experience, vested interests, and status in society, to dominate the organization. We want eventually to be, and to help other women to be, in charge of our own lives; therefore, we must be in charge of our own movement, directly, not by remote control. This means that not only those with experience in politics, but all, must learn to take their own decisions both political and personal.

For this reason, groups small enough for all to take part in discussion and decisions are the basic units of our movement. We feel that the small

group makes personal commitment a possibility and a necessity and that it provides understanding and solidarity. Each small group is autonomous, holding different positions and engaging groups, Women's Liberation Workshop is essentially heterogeneous, incorporating within it a wide range of opinions and plans for action.

The magazine, SHREW, is produced by a different group each month. Thus, to a certain extent, it reflects the preoccupations of the group producing it. W.L.W. meets monthly, the small groups weekly. We come together as groups and individuals to further our part in the struggle for social change and the transformation of society.

127 Lower Marsh,  
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## Coventry.

Guerrilla Theatre for a puppet queen

On June 30th the Queen visited the University of Warwick. As it was the vacation that meant the buildings, the Vice-Chancellor, the industrialists on his council and those administrative staff who were keen. The Coventry Women's Liberation Group (mostly working housewives) and a few students, decided to use the occasion to protest against the colonial situation in Ulster and urge some of the demands of Women's Liberation.

As the Queen left her limousine and entered Rootes Hall, banners were thrust at her, balloons with slogans floated everywhere, making security men jump when they popped; small children wandered through the retinue, and two toddlers somehow got in front of the procession and led it up the stairs. A mock Queen swept smoking along the same route, and various guerrilla theatre scenes startled the visitors.

In the coffee bar every booth held a victim of the capitalist system, each with a label ("Education", "Workers", "Students") and a noose round the neck, at the end of the row a capitalist heaved at the rope which strangled them all. Elsewhere the Vice-Chancellor, on trial, was sentenced to spend a year in the University with the students.

There were various reactions from onlookers—horrified ("if only they could see themselves", "no sense of responsibility"), amused, even sympathetic (a middle-aged man, pointing to the W. L. demands, whispered "I quite agree with you, you know").

Our small numbers had dictated inventive means to express our militancy; these paid off in widespread and 'shocked' national publicity.

## Sweden - Group 8.

When the issue of woman in a society of men was raised anew in Sweden in the beginning of the sixties, it started a fierce and fruitful debate. But in a few years the "woman question" had been transformed into a question of male and female sex roles. The politicians were happy to declare that there was no longer a woman question. There was only a sociological question of different roles according to sex—and that was just as much a problem for men as it was for women. The solution was to polish the school-books a little ("father is preparing dinner while mother is washing the car") and to get some more female mechanics and male nurses. The question was robbed of its economic and political content.

Not surprisingly the liberals have up to now dominated the scene. The left has failed to provide a socialist alternative, for several reasons. Among the most important are the theoretical deficiency of earlier marxists and the lack of new analyses of this question among younger socialists, coupled with the lack of interest shown by traditional socialist organisations.

There is also a new tendency within the Swedish left today to look at the woman question as a subordinate problem—the emancipation of women will automatically be fulfilled by and through the socialist revolution. Today groups within the maoist party in Sweden—KFml—urge women to stay home, care for their children and activist men, instead of letting themselves be exploited by the employers.

Long ago Marx pointed out that women suffer a double bondage: this does not seem to get through to the ordinary left organisations—dominated by men. The fact that women are discriminated against and exploited even *within* their own class demands a special form of women's liberation movement outside the traditional socialist groups. This insight made it mandatory to start such a movement among women—if socialist revolution is to mean a liberation for all—even women—from exploitation and subjugation.

Two years ago such a group was started in Sweden—Group 8. It has up to now—by its own choice—remained a small and homogenous group. The emphasis has been on small-scale actions over such questions as part-time-employment (part-time employed women being heavily exploited by the employers) and abortions. Recently the group thought the time ripe to broaden the movement and small local groups of women—in many cases including men—are now being started all around Stockholm, and in Uppsala, Gothenburg and Lund.

The ideological basis for the movement is openly declared as socialist and the class struggle and the struggle for women's liberation are seen as interdependent. The work in the movement is hoped to be a combination of practice and theoretical studies. So far the work has only begun and it is too early to evaluate or even predict what will happen. But things are moving fast—faster every day.

Irene Matthis  
Group 8

## Paris - the first public meeting.

When representatives from our group came to the Oxford Conference in February, we were 12-20 women who had been meeting regularly for a year to discuss, read about, and analyze our oppression and its political implications. Most of us were not students, were unmarried, worked "outside", and shared a political commitment to revolutionary socialism in general. Many of us were or had been active in militant leftist groups, especially during and after May, 1968. As a result of our year of serious discussion as a group, we had developed a political analysis of women's oppression and an approach to women's liberation rooted in Marxism. However, we found ourselves unable to move from theory to practice, unable to develop a program of action, to decide on ONE action even—although most of us were passionately yearning to act.

The Oxford Conference helped to unlock us, though not from anything specific that was said there. To be honest, our representatives found the formal part of the conference from a political point of view, uninspiring, often dull. Nevertheless, they came back to Paris elated, and communicated some of that elation to us. It was the presence of 600 women talking, arguing, planning as a people, sharing the concrete, living, immediate faith in their potential power as a political force which excited them. It was a challenge to us. The sense of women in motion was further communicated to us by the presence of Americans in our group who came from women's liberation groups in the U.S. We saw clearly that we must "surface"—let women in Paris know that we exist.

To create a climate in which a movement would begin, we wanted to raise the issues of women's oppression publicly and loudly. It became obvious when we discussed possible actions—whether street actions, working in factories, public housing, wide leafletting—that we were too few. We agreed that we had to increase our number, but debated for a long time the question of what kinds of women we wanted to attract. Some women in the group feel that the political direction of a W.L. movement from the very beginning, is crucially tied to the economic class of the women with whom we work. Others feel that there is always the danger that a mass movement might become reformist, but by definition a mass movement must include all sections of the people; its political direction is ultimately determined by the strength of the politics of the tendencies within it in conjunction with objective conditions. This debate continues in the group. However, the group decided, not unanimously, to begin with university students—partly because they seemed the easiest to reach at that moment, but also because in France students are a highly politicized group with time and skills to devote to militant action.

In the meantime, a polemic on women's liberation signed by four members of the group appeared in the May, 1970 issue of the French *L'Idiot International*. This article grew out of the political discussions of the past year, but did not represent at all points the politics of the group; however, it was associated by people who read it with the group and new women began to appear at meetings. Among these women was a group of Marxist Feminists who had been meeting together for a year. Another, group of students, came from Vincennes, the faculty of the University of Paris which was created after the events of May to collect the leftist professors and students in one place—at the edge of the city, out in the woods. Some of these Vincennes students had been in contact with the American W.L. movement through a group which exchanged literature and information about leftist activities with Liberation News Service. They were eager to work on a meeting at Vincennes, so we decided to prepare our first meeting there.

Because the students at Vincennes are regularly inundated with leaflets, posters, and urgent calls to political meetings, the women working on the details of the Vincennes meeting decided to have a provocative demonstration while handing out the leaflets for the meeting. Around 25 of us marched down the halls into the cafeteria, wearing white tee shirts imprinted with a red female power symbol (the biological symbol for female, raised fist within the circle). We carried banners and placards announcing our oppression—sexual, economic, political—with quotes from Engel, Bebel; slogans, such as "We are the people—Power to the people"; but the most striking to the spectators seemed to be those pertaining to sexual oppression. These aroused exaggerated hostility among the men in particular. "Nous sommes les mal base" (roughly translated, "we are the badly fucked") seemed to be provocative for many men, calling forth ugly reactions then and later at the meeting; in fact, it came up repeatedly in the meetings that followed as well. We made a lot of noise as we circulated, chanting examples of male chauvinism familiar to university women, punctuated by the refrain "Down with masculine terrorism." As we walked, we handed out leaflets, particularly to women. A crowd of about a hundred people followed us around; most of them were hostile. We had been prepared for significant opposition from men, even afraid of it, but even so we were not prepared for such depth and breadth of outrage. Here were "movement" men shouting insults at us—"Lesbians", "Strip," "What you need is a good fuck."

The amphitheatre where the meeting was held quickly filled up with 400-500 people, half of them men. We disorganizedly clumped ourselves together in the middle of the center aisle, having decided we were not going to

speak AT people from a platform. There ensued a heated angry discussion around the question of why the men should leave. Some of the men were clearly there to put us down, disrupt our meeting, frighten us with their thuggishness. Others were genuinely hurt because we chose Vincennes, that bastion of revolutionary enlightenment, to make our point—they were with us, why should they leave. They would stay and discuss with us how we could fight for our liberation—give us the benefit of their political wisdom. Many women were also puzzled and angry at our insistence on meeting alone. But it was mostly men who did the talking—and our voluble group. There were the usual charges of bourgeois individualism amid the background of sexual insults, and the warning that we were splitting the movement. During our planning meetings we had discussed what to do if the men refused to leave, and some women despaired of ever being able to hold a women-only meeting. French students are used to working in mixed groups politically, and the charge of splitting the movement was an added threat to the already weighty influence of tradition. We had never really settled the question of tactics. After 2 hours of discussion, we felt that we had to act or risk losing touch with the women. We again demanded that the men leave, explained why we felt that women had to organize themselves to fight their oppression, then questioned their motives in remaining—those who accepted the FACT that women are oppressed—when we knew they would never presume to refuse an all-black meeting. Most of the men got up to leave—the first among them the blacks in the audience.

We met with the 50 or so women who remained; there was a core of Vincennes students who have formed a group now meeting weekly at Vincennes. It became clear to us when we discussed the meeting later, that the initial presence of men was instructive as it pointed up for the women present (and for the more conscious men) the pervasiveness of sexist ideology even among the so-called liberated men—among their very own comrades.

Since the Vincennes action the core group has continued to expand. About 50 women attend our weekly meetings. Some come from other cities in France, having worked in isolation until they read the *Idiot* article, or heard of the Vincennes meeting. Some of the women who have come recently are interested in guerrilla theatre, and there is now a committee working on that. There are also committees working on possible factory actions, organizing in working women's public housing, karate courses, and translating w.l. literature from the U.S. and England, etc.

However, we still have no program. In trying to formulate one, we realized that not only are we too diverse politically, but worse, we do not really know the extent and nature of that divergence. We have spent the last two meetings talking individually about our social backgrounds, how we became interested in w.l., why we are here and what we expect from a w.l. movement. We can then see what our political similarities and differences are, whether we can work together, and how. Whatever comes out of our meetings this summer, we are confident that a women's liberation movement has begun in France.





Here is Nixon in training for the Presidency. The picture was taken in 1948. It is of the House of Un-American Activities Committee. It looks like a picture from a bad gangster film. Which is not accidental. Nixon still models himself on the worst American movies. Lately he saw PATTON for a second time, and then decided to invade Cambodia. Not that he only identified with General Patton's megalomania. Like Patton Nixon had served under Eisenhower, like Patton he was forced by 'Ike' to make an abject apology (when his corrupt fund stealing was uncovered he went on Television to beg the people for their sympathy) and like Patton he was frustrated by his inability to launch a direct assault on Soviet Communism. This picture confirms the formative political experience of the most powerful man in the world. Mindless bigoted anti-communism was the basis of Nixon's power and it remains so to this day.

Clare Walsh 743 9673  
 or B 734-5210



# DIARY

The Black Dwarf congratulates James Roche for the daring CS gas attack on the House of Commons, and we cherish the memory of the MPs hiding under the Dispatch Box with great pleasure. To those MPs who were "overcome" by the fumes of this "harmless" gas we offer no sympathy whatsoever. The Members of Parliament of the House of Commons bear full responsibility for the vicious and repeated gas attacks on the people of Northern Ireland by British troops and Stormont police. It was pointed out in Black Dwarf No. 33 that it is invariably the very young and the very old who suf-

fer when CS bombs are exploded in the vicinity of their houses. While rioters are able to run away from the smoke, people trapped inside their houses in the narrow streets of Belfast and the Bogside receive sustained and dangerous doses of the gas. As a result of these attacks many innocent people have been taken to hospital and at least one child has died. The House of Commons on the other hand is the perfect environment for a CS Gas Attack. A fully enclosed space custom built for the exchange of noxious fumes, packed with servile and timid political opportunists, the hissing smoke that brought tears to the eyes of our legislators and sent them into a panic scurrying like rabbits into the safety of their lobbies, at last found its true home. For once the balance was reversed; the politicians wheezed and cried while the people laughed.

## BOMB BORE

One of our correspondents was watching MASH in Leicester Square's Rialto on Sunday August 23rd. Just as the funeral scene was flickering before them a spotlight went on and a diminutive cinema bureaucrat announced that the police had received a message that there was a bomb in the cinema. He asked them to vacate the house while it was searched. Bomb scare! Not at all, far from the panic of sales hungry evening paper headlines the audience groaned, demanded to know why they couldn't simply all look under their seats, complained at the length of time it took to search the cinema (twenty minutes) and were generally irritated. Yet another boring hoax had been played out.

## DETROIT DOCUMENTARY

John Watson, a representative of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Detroit, was in London last week. He brought with him an hour long film called "Finally got the news", to show and discuss it in factories around the U.K. The film is the first the League has produced, and analyses the historical development of black struggle in the U.S. along class lines. The League has been functioning for one year only, growing out of such groups as the Detroit Revolutionary Union Movement and the Ford Revolutionary Union Movement. These groups were formed to combat the white racism and reactionary politics of the big United Auto Workers Union.

Dwarf readers will have noticed, from time to time, the words "Liberation News Service" at the bottom of an article in the paper. Two comrades from LNS who were passing through England visited our offices recently and were able to tell us a bit about this remarkable three-year-old organisation.

Run by a collective of about twenty comrades operating from New York, Liberation News Service sends out a package of news and visuals (cartoons and photos) twice every week. The material is usually well-written and well-researched. Not only reliable but vivid. But as well as being a major achievement in itself, LNS is politically extremely significant in the States. Two factors combine to make a syndicated news service important in the USA. One of these is the geography of the country, which goes against the easy development of countryside communications. Virtually every major city in the states now has its own underground paper. But the immense distances between each city mean there is little contact and cross-communication between them—or would be, were it not for LNS. The other factor is the increasing self-censorship of the Bourgeois press, which means that many vitally important national and international events are either not reported, or are reported in such a way as to give a totally distorted picture of what happened. In this situation underground newspapers, and syndication of news amongst them, become an absolute necessity if people are going to have a well-informed picture of what is happening even in their own country.

Liberation News Service now has over 600 subscribers in the States alone. Although some of these are establishment or fringe organisations like non-conformist religious sects (these are the ones that provide the money) the vast majority are underground papers, which gives an idea of the size and importance of the underground press in the States. The total readership of an LNS news item has been reckoned to be between 5 and 6 million.

Naturally, these underground papers reflect the confusions of the American movement. Some of them are still merely sex and drugs papers, promoting little more than a pleasure-oriented life-style that offers no real alternative to the capitalist system. But over the last

year even these papers have become increasingly politicised and many of the underground papers are now clearly and consciously moving towards a revolutionary position.

## WORKERS CONTROL

Last year nearly a thousand people attended the national workers control conference in Sheffield. Now the first big conference under a Tory government has been planned. It will be held in Birmingham at the Bullrings New Mayfair rooms. The three main themes of the conference, which will take place over the weekend of October 24th 25th will be combatting the threatened Anti-Trade Union legislation, developing Trade Union democracy and building the workers control movement in Britain. Already Moss Evans, T & G, and Bob Wright and Ernie Roberts of the AEF have agreed to speak from the platform. Like last year there will be seminars on all major industries. For Black Dwarf readers who have not been to one of the IWC conferences it will be an opportunity to listen to and learn from genuine discussion of working class struggles.

## SENATE HOUSE TRIAL DEFENCE FUND

A defence fund has been set up to raise monetary support to help deal with past and future court costs of the students involved in this trial; to fight the deportation recommendations; and in general to make sure that victimised students do not have to resist this kind of University/Police/DPP/Court collusion in isolation.

Contributions from individuals, socialist societies, TU branches, Anti-Apartheid groups etc are urgently needed, and should be sent to:-  
 A.M. CLIFTLAND, 14A Tollington Park, London N.4.

Advice to aspiring playwrights in the latest Writer's Guide: A word about some things in which we are definitely not interested: The "Kitchen Sink" sex, drugs, politics, the "Permissive Society", militant students, foul language, violence, offence against existing tastes, blasphemy, denigration of existing societies, sects, groups or institutions, and so on. In other words there is endless drama without raking around in the gutter. It comes from Andrew Osborn, Head of Series, Drama, BBC-tv