

# The Black Dwarf

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**PARITY NOT CHARITY  
AT FORDS**



## Editorial

# The Rope and the Hanging Man

The stage has been set for the charade to commence once more. We have recently witnessed the two-pronged prologue: in the form of Mr. Harold Wilson's Swansea speech and on Panorama where interviewers Day and Harman vied with each other in obsequiousness to give the Labour Party its first free Party Political Broadcast of the season. But Mr. Wilson is not only the leading actor. He is also the director and impresario and we can be sure that it won't be long before the curtain is officially raised by 10 Downing Street to reveal the supporting members of the cast in their new costumes and make-up. It will be our responsibility to strip off the costumes and reveal them in all their nakedness before their audiences throughout the country.

Before we dwell on this theme, it is worth pointing out that the charade preceding the General Election will be conducted in a somewhat different atmosphere to that which prevailed in 1964 and 1966. In the latter instance Wilson was still the dynamic, technology-minded whiz-kid, and though the make-up had begun to wear a bit thin by 1966, his supporters could still tramp the country and tell the faithful that it was only Labour's majority of three in 1964 which had forced the Labour government to be cautious and promise that with a larger majority things would be radically different. Accordingly Tribune greeted the 1966 election victory with the headline: AT LAST SOCIALISM IS BACK ON THE AGENDA. The "left" in the Parliamentary Labour Party had committed political suicide by not threatening to bring down the government in 1964, when it was in a stronger position than it has ever been inside the PLP. Wilson had bought off the leading figures of the "left". Such heroes of CND and Anti-Apartheid as Barbara Castle and Anthony Greenwood were now members of the Labour government defending Labour's iniquitous policies on immigration and Rhodesia, and justifying United States aggression in Vietnam. The "left" outside the government took upon itself the role of defending Mr. Wilson from his mythical enemies on the right of the party. Messrs. Foot, Mikardo, Heffer et al. excelled themselves in this role. These attitudes succeeded in dispelling any radical image the Labour "left" might have had and Wilson will undoubtedly be remembered in history books as the man who successfully destroyed the Labour "left" as a force inside and outside the Labour Party. This was never more evident than at the Tribune vs Black Dwarf debate a year ago when the Tribunites were revealed as pathetic and bankrupt figures made redundant by history.

It is not necessary to detail each and every iniquity of the Labour Government at this stage. Suffice it to say that the three planks of their policy have been: attacking the trade unions, capitulating to racism in Britain and Africa, and becoming the leading apologists for American aggression in Vietnam.

It was these policies which made it impossible for Labour Cabinet Ministers to speak at public meetings after 1966. They were forced to travel under heavy guard and speak at closed, all-ticket meetings. Few ministers could visit universities and both Wilson and

Callaghan found it advisable to cancel their university engagements for a certain period. The Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia gave the bastards an opportunity to emerge in public once again and speak on behalf of the "small country whose rights were being violated" and pose as the champions of self-determination and democracy. Since that time they have been busily staging a careful, if slow, comeback, and as the General Election approaches they will emerge in public to rewrite history and to bullshit the British workers yet again. They will appear radical while attacking the Tories, but will be difficult for Wilson to get the Labour faithful rolling in the aisles in fits of uncontrollable laughter at the expense of the Tories as he did in 1964 and 1966. And the reason for this is simple. Wilson and his cohorts have been following policies which a Tory Government would have carried through at its own peril. When Selwyn Lloyd engineered a recession, thousands of workers surrounded Parliament, adorned it with red flags and fought the police. A few Labour MPs could also be seen with them. That was why leading journals of the ruling class wanted a Labour Government in 1964. That is why the Economist (Jan. 17, 1970) can say again with confidence: "If a Labour Government is voted back again at the election of 1970 or early 1971, it will re-introduce statutory wage restraints within a few months of returning to power... If the Conservatives come back to power they may take rather longer..." And no one should be taken in by the "optimistic trade figures". The present pace of wage increases is such that the government will be forced to fight the working class and this will happen whatever the complexion of the government. Also the recession in the United States is going to have serious effects on the economy of Western Europe, but particularly Britain. The present year and the next are therefore going to see an increased combativity on the part of the workers.

It is in this atmosphere that Labour Cabinet Ministers will start speaking at public meetings and the reduction of the voting age will force them to visit universities. Revolutionary militants have been fairly successful in ignoring the Labour Party over the last few years. The time has now come to pay some attention to it and to prepare to expose it by all means necessary. Lenin once told the British revolutionary movement that they should support the Labour Party like the rope supports a hanging man. It is worth pointing out today that the rope itself has got somewhat frayed in the process and the man is still alive. A new rope or guillotine is therefore needed and it is to this task that we should address ourselves.

## EXPOSE THE BASTARDS!

In forthcoming issues of The Black Dwarf we shall be publishing detailed itineraries of Cabinet Ministers and other such scum and also mapping out a strategy on how we can best use the Minister's public meetings to expose the policies of the Labour Government and to make revolutionary propaganda. It is not going to be an easy task and therefore it is absolutely essential to unite the strands of revolutionary opposition to the Labour Government and together map out our strategy for the election period. Venceremos!



## Black Dwarf will be moving to new premises during the last week of January. The address will be

## 182 Pentonville Road London N1 Tel. 837 6954

## EVENTS

JANUARY 26th: HAZLEMERE GROUP Teach-In on Mozambique: "Stop Cabora Bassa Dam and Sanctions Busting". Speakers: from FRELIMO, ANC, Colin Morris, Lord Gifford. 7-11 p.m., Central Collegiate Buildings, Gordon Street, WC1. Entrance 2/6.

JANUARY 28th: Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding Discussion Meeting. 24 Warren Street, W1. 7.15 p.m.

JANUARY 30th: "China: Your Questions Answered", by a regular visitor. Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding, Barnet Branch. North Finchley Library, Ravensdale Avenue, N12 (near Tally Ho Corner) 8 p.m.

JANUARY 31st: Springboks v The Barbarians. Twickenham. STST

FEBRUARY 1st: "Lenin, Marxism and the Jewish

FEBRUARY 4th: Film-show: "The Movement of Nerve Gas"; "Science for Life"; "The Silent War". Three short films followed by general discussion. Central Hall, Westminster. 7.30 p.m. Chemical and Biological Warfare Action Group, SYD 0940.

FEBRUARY 5th: Lecture. Internal Situation in China. Holborn Central Hall, Theobalds Road, WC1. 7.15 p.m.



## Schools Section Carmel College Zionist Kindergarten

Situated on the banks of the River Thames, on the Berkshire-Oxfordshire border, Carmel College is a Jewish public school which aims to combine a secular English education with a "traditional" training in "Jewishness", that curious amalgam of Neolithic Judaism and extreme right-wing nationalism.

Arriving there at the age of 10, I was a more or less immediate victim of religious obscurantism. This, coupled with my avid, if involuntary, interest in Hebrew and frequent beatings, soon made me into the ideal, well-behaved, unquestioning little boy required by Carmel convention.

I was soon promoted to senior school status,

and passed quite a few unexciting, alienated years, the details of which are too sickening to be recounted here, before waking up with a jolt to the realities of life, both inside and outside Carmel.

A whole series of events have come to pass since, all of which go to show that once an explosive volcano starts to vibrate, there's no telling what'll happen next. Schools Action Union posters were deemed "unsuitable" for the notice board, kids suspended and expelled for such demonic activities as smoking, playing guitars on the Sabbath, walking out of a class to watch the historic moon landings, and actually making love (it's a pseudo-mixed school—15 girls to 200 boys)—the cardinal sin according to some ancient document or other.

Repression is rampant—there are no outlets for dissent, save the Union Society, the structural function of which is aptly described by IS's pamphlet "Education, Capitalism, and the Student Revolt" as follows: "The central fact here is that student unions always operate on the basis of the 'apathy' of the majority of the students (which itself is a product of the lack of power of the unions). Even where there are regular general meetings, these rarely discuss issues considered important by the majority.

They tend to become the preserve of a minority obsessed with these matters..." Moreover, the Headmaster is the President, and the Senior English Master the Vice-President!

As for Carmel's place in the wider political world, it is, of course, financed by West End businessmen, who, naturally, do nothing for nothing (one of the top knobs from Marks and Spencer recently visited the school to give a talk to an "Economics" class), the head boy is a fierce partisan of the Greek junta (and, from my own experience, he has assimilated these gentlemen's methods admirably) which should not puzzle Marxists, particularly if they are armed with the knowledge that his father is Greece's leading steel monopolist, and Saturday's prayers contain a short piece for the welfare of Harold, Elizabeth & Co. (I, too, pray that they will soon need the Almighty's help!) The editor of the *Dwarf*, a well-known "trouble-maker", was refused permission to visit the school on several occasions (there are left-wing anti-Semites too, you know).

The Middle East situation is not neglected either. At the time of the Six-Day War, the school authorities staged a massive fund-raising campaign, to which everyone, including the author of this article, contributed (just try and

gauge the amount of ideological indoctrination!), and work virtually came to a halt for about a week, so hysteria-gripped was the whole atmosphere. Since then, Uzi Narkiss, one of the blue-eyed boys of Zionist expansionism, who was personally responsible for the annexation of Jerusalem, has spoken at the school, thus offsetting accusations made by extremist elements to the effect that the school was not sufficiently appreciative of Israel's attempts to obtain precious "Lebensraum". Despite repeated promises that senior boys would be able to hear a spokesman for the Arab point of view, no one was invited down for that purpose, and a proposal to hear Musa Mazzawi, a distinguished Palestinian lawyer, was rejected as in breach of Union constitution.

Yes, it's a sorry mess and the tragedy is that due to the strong centralisation of power, there is little prospect of changing a situation in which boys have their hair inspected for length (according to the extraordinarily liberal Senior Housemaster, who is bald, it needn't, however, be as short as his) and have to rise at 7 in the morning to attend primitive, pagan-like prayer sessions.

Any transformation will have to come from the outside. LIBERATE CARMEL!

## Workers Control Conference Chelsea Seminar

Lubricated with morning coffee, sprinkled with afternoon teas, and fortified with 7/6d lunches, the London & Home Counties Workers Control Conference slid smoothly into gear at Chelsea College of Science and Technology on January 11th.

At first glance it seemed that the national one at Sheffield last spring had merely divided amoeba-like into a smaller regional version. The same faces could be seen, the same Union officials, shop stewards and rank-and-file workers rubbing shoulders with the same intellectuals, liberals and Liberals, Maoists and Fabians, the same Socialist Charter badges, the same "Tribune" banner, and the same unsold back numbers of *Voice of the Unions* distributed on the chairs.

There were differences, of course; Ken Coates and Bill Jones were not with us, and

Tony Topham was ill; IS and the CP were thinner on the ground and "Militant" were thicker.

But the important differences were outside the hall; at Sheffield last year we were heading for a showdown with Wilson and Castle over *In Place of Strife*, the conference was useful in ensuring the success of the May 1st strike. Since then we have had the compromise between the TUC and the Government, made possible by Scanlon and Jones, the failure of the Merseyside GEC-AEI occupation, the collapse of the January 1st Inner London Transport strike, but also a tremendous new wave of militancy, the dustmen, the teachers, the Tube Guards, the great avalanche of wage demands, including the seamen's 50% claim.

However, Chelsea College was well insulated, the noise of battle did not penetrate its walls. The conference did spend a short time putting the GEC experience under the microscope, but the report from Ted Mooney was brief, rather negative, and there was no time given to discuss it; apart from this, the concrete problems facing militants in the factories were never tackled.

### THE SEMINARS

The seminars were as arid. I attended the one on "Trade Union Democracy", taken (with professional paternalism) by Walter Kendall. The discussion was loose and inconclusive; it swung between academic attempts to calibrate amounts of democracy within given unions, to

complaints about branch secretaries. The only conclusions reached were that a) democracy in trade unions was a good thing, and b) that we ought to have another discussion. Attempts to steer the discussion onto the problem of fighting bureaucracy within the unions and the strategy needed to make them effective instruments to combat the Government and employers, above all the political nature of this task, were drowned in a welter of unconnected contributions. The reports from the seminars would not even have been taken, if there had not been a demand from the floor. All the reports seemed as inconclusive; for example, the Transport seminar had apparently not examined in detail the experience of the L.T. Guards dispute, and the January 1st strike.

For some reason, time had been given on the agenda for John (son of big Frank) Cousins to speak on "Workers Control and Productivity Bargaining in the Seventies". During the morning session the Chairman announced that this should read "Collective Bargaining", but when Cousins got up to speak, he confirmed that it was indeed "Productivity" and not "Collective". We were then regaled with a speech about the importance of not rejecting productivity bargains out of hand. For Cousins there were two dominant factors: first, that although not himself a gradualist, he recognised that there was not going to be a revolution in the foreseeable future, secondly, although he himself regretted it, all that most workers were interested

in was more money. This philistine speech brought the conference to life for the first time Pat Braine of the POEU earned tumultuous applause with his blistering attack. The heart of the conference was sound; the enemy had infiltrated, but had exposed himself; they recognised him, and the sound of battle broke through for a few minutes. It was soon damped down, and the dreary cycle started again.

### AN IDEA

Workers control is a great idea; these conferences have played a useful role in propagating it. But such conferences can only take it so far as an abstract concept before they become self-defeating. They have become more and more riddled with reformists and careerists (there were constant coy references to elections in the TUs and Labour Party). The academic discussions and the knowledge that nothing practical will come of them provides the perfect conditions for left-reformist mystification.

Factory occupations, sit-ins, new and imaginative forms of struggle are on the agenda for British industry; the workers control movement could play a vital role in propagating, explaining, helping. To do this, it needs to turn towards the struggles which are taking place, examine them, help to clarify the issues, develop a strategy, nationally and internationally. If in doing this it alienates a few "left" union leaders, too bad. Workers control will be won on the factory floor, not in the lecture hall.

Bob Purdie

## Teachers Strike Militancy Pays

About a month and a half ago, Enoch Powell made one of his more intelligible social analyses. Disgusted with the teachers, he accused them of striking a blow for "lawlessness and anarchy" by taking industrial action to back up their pay claim. They had "deliberately undertaken to set an example of lawlessness, ill-faith and indifference to duty (!) and to bring that example home to their pupils in the most direct, impressive and personal manner." At least he understands what we are at.

Last March, the teachers' representatives on the Burnham Committee kowtowed to the PIB's limit of a 3½% ceiling and accepted a 6½% pay increase (to be paid over two years). They returned to the union's Special Conference and the agreement was fiercely contested, but the executive won, and the agreement was ratified. Less than a month later, the annual conference gave vent to its disgust and demanded that the NUT put in for an interim pay award: a rise on the basic scale of £135 p.a. The executive swallowed hard and agreed faintly.

### SLOW PROGRESS

In a union with no experience of industrial action, it took a little time to work out how to pressurise an unwilling employer: and it has also taken time to work out how to pressurise an unwilling executive. Over the last nine months we have seen them pushed from sanctioning limited local action, one- or half-day strikes, fortnight strikes, and eventually to refusing to participate in the farce of compulsory arbitration. They have now decided to hold referenda for area

manding immediate and more drastic action: withdrawal of teachers from large numbers of schools in one area; a national strike for a limited period, and the possibility of striking in the 'O' and 'A' level period.

During the first action which is taken, there is no collective pool of experience and knowledge, no remembered processes or procedure, all has to be learnt through action, and inevitably mistakes are made. But they are recognised as such and lessons are learnt. In the first strike period in December, some teachers hived off on a fortnight's holiday: in no strike do all the strikers take an active part, but in the NUT there was often no basic organisation. Within a month, the next strike was called, and the next lot of teachers had organised strike committees, contacted Trades Councils, Tenants Associations, local T.U. branches, held meetings with the parents, and began to identify themselves with other workers.

### ISOLATION

At the moment the strikes are limited to isolated schools and to a few teachers (though press coverage has given the impression to some individuals that almost all teachers are out.) However it is likely that by the end of February there will be large areas where all NUT members will be striking, and this would be invaluable—not in order to get the £135, but to develop the consciousness of teachers as members of a trade union. The education system is based on small isolated units, isolating the teachers and the taught; it gains its strength from the fragmentation of its work force—into graduate/non-graduate: secondary/primary: old/young. In the schools, small numbers of staff are effectively controlled by a head teacher, in larger schools by the deputy heads, usually by paternalism. And the teachers in their isolation find it difficult to identify with other teachers in other schools; by coming out of all the schools in the area and participating in mass actions, they will begin to realise the potential strength that they have as



the NUT (who are all, bar one, head teachers—the one being a deputy head), who have always depended upon a very non-militant and pliable rank and file. This is not a strike that has been initiated from above. The rank and file have been forcing the executive into taking action (we are particularly lucky that this March the bi-annual executive elections are being held, so that the prospective executive candidates are all pretending to be very militant—a danger in one sense, since they have no strategy at all—and we may see a very interesting change after the elections!) and will not be satisfied by anything less than £135. The lessons that are being learnt now by the teachers, especially at local level, will stand them in good stead in the future: particularly when one realises that the future is going to see the teachers become increasingly militant as they come into conflict with the government on pay, working conditions, especially class size, and possibly over the cut-backs which will come in educational expenditure.

### AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT

The present strikes are seen by the teachers as a fight against the

about productivity (which will surely come). For too long they have been thought of as the deserving poor and they will no longer play this role.

And the effect that Mr. Powell was so worried about?—it will inevitably affect the pupils. No more can thin do-gooding ladies be able to churn out to the class the iniquities of strike action and how responsible citizens do not hold people to ransom like this and in any case the pay you lose in striking will never be recouped by the increase that you might win. No, ladies, the days of the professional schoolmaster/mistress are gone: no longer will we talk in terms of professional responsibility and hope that someone will remember us in the wages battle; we have learnt, and we will not forget.

### DUAL POWER?

But it is not the millenium, the barricades are not about to rise. The question of dual power is not being posed, nor, following the excellent example of our French comrades, are we holding active strikes, i.e. occupying the schools and having seminars/general assemblies/meetings with the school pupils: ...that is as



# DWARF LETTERS

The Editor and Editorial Board,  
The Designer,  
Circulating and Advertising Staff,  
Secretaries,  
Sellers,  
Readers of the Black Dwarf.

Dear Sirs,

I was one of the people who originally welcomed a journal such as the *Black Dwarf* promised to be. I saw it as having a useful purpose in the left-wing revolutionary life of this island.

Lately, however, one thing has begun to worry me. I extend this worry to many other newspapers and journals of the "left" in this country. It concerns your attitude to Israel, and the activities of the so-called Palestine Liberation Movement.

I am in favour of Israel and the right of that country to exist. I do not believe in Jewish (or Israeli, if you like) people being blown up while they are travelling in buses or sleeping in their flats.

I think that El Fatah are tools of Arab imperialism, and that they'd give a more genuine revolutionary impression if they started off by breaking the rotten despotic medieval regimes at their backs that are only too content to goad them on so that their own feudal set-ups can never be threatened.

The whole British left has been duped into believing that El Fatah are genuine revolutionaries fighting Western Imperialism. The most one can say is that the conflict is no more than a frontier war between two empires, and this being so, there is no more right on one side than on the other. If the Arabs have a right to grab Israel (let them try!), then the Germans have an equal right to go over their "Lost Territories". Neither of these are possible.

Certainly this Israel-Palestine question is one that no British workman is interested in (believe me), no matter how revolutionary he may be. But if the left-wing intellectuals of the *Black Dwarf* do ever succeed in getting certain British workers concerned in this matter, it may only end by making them not only anti-Zionist but also anti-Semitic. Perhaps the True-Blue British Socialists who produce the *Black Dwarf* would not hesitate to try this—angered as they are at the haughty refusal of the Israeli and Jewish people to accept their historical role of scape-goat.

You, as Editors, must take the responsibility for what you are hoping to do. It seems that you are following the good old British ruling-class trick of setting Arab against Jew and hoping that the oil-man will win. Though I am sure you believe it is unthinkable to be anti-Semitic, it appears to be part of your "Socialist Legality" to give free rein to the deeply ingrained anti-Semitism of your middle-class Edwardian grandfathers. The *Black Dwarf*, by its support of the bomb-throwing, child-murdering, so-called liberation movements of the Middle East are aiding the effort to make a mass Jewish grave in the sea and thus create a socialist final solution which would be more final than any other.

As long as the pseudo-socialists of the *Black Dwarf* continue to support this murky cause of Arab Nationalism and Revanchism, they will seem to condone the crimes of El Fatah pirates and butchers.

Alan Sillitoe, 97 Larkhall Rise, London S.W.4.

## THE BLACK DWARF REPLIES:

Alan Sillitoe's letter is an important one; both its content and tone reflect a widespread feeling on the British left. An answer to its substantial points may go some way to dispelling the suspicion and apprehension felt about the position of revolutionaries on the Palestine question, and may help to build a basis for dealing with this highly complex and explosive issue.

Sillitoe's letter gives the impression of his having rushed into an emotional attack on us without having read the copious material we have published. We have called for the overthrow of the existing Arab regimes. We have denounced anti-Semitism and solutions to the problem of Palestine that rest on eviction or murder. We have tried to evolve an independent, internationalist position on this question. If Sillitoe and others like him refuse to read what we write and make quite inaccurate attacks on us, we are entitled to reply that he has not seriously attempted to evolve a socialist position. Let him re-read issues no. 16, 19, and 22 of the *Black Dwarf*, where our ideas are spelt out. Both the solutions advocated in these pages—a bi-national state, and separate states after the liquidation of Zionism—are serious non-racist attempts to find a solution, and to overcome Zionism and Arab chauvinism! Both are quite clearly opposed to "driving the Israelis into the sea".

We realise that this is a highly sensitive question. It is also one of major importance. Con-

tinians are fighting. He merely says they are "tools of Arab imperialism"; that the conflict is just "a frontier war". There are revanchist elements in the Arab countries. There is a frontier war between Israel and the Arab states. But this is not the centre of the Palestine problem. The Palestinians are fighting because they have been thrown out of their land by European settlers and oppressed by a specific form of colonialism, Zionism. This is not an anti-Semitic myth; it is history. None other than Moshe Dayan has straightforwardly stated: "They take us to be foreigners, invaders that took an Arab country and turned it into a Jewish state. And they are right about it. From their point of view we did it" (January 18, 1969).

There is another conflict, that between Israel and the Arab states. In 1948 the Arab states got involved for several reasons. They wanted to grab land for themselves (Jordan). They wanted to use the issue to quieten domestic contradictions (Egypt). There is also a deep, if sporadic, feeling of inter-Arab solidarity which crystallises on specific issues—Suez, Palestine, Algeria—and which impels regimes to intervene. Finally, there is the simple fact that if Israel is to become the home of the world's 14 million Jews, it will have to expand, and there are elements in Israel who want its boundaries to reach the Nile and the Euphrates.

The Arab states have always tried to control the Palestinians. At first this meant suppressing them. Independent political action by Palestinians was banned in Jordan and Egypt. When the Palestinians did succeed in setting up their own nationalist organisation, Fath, the Arab states tried to smash it (the first Fath fighters to die were killed by the Jordanians) and set up their own puppet force, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, headed by Ahmad Shukheiry.

After the June war it became impossible to suppress the Palestinians, especially as the regimes themselves were totally discredited. Moreover, they saw that the guerrillas would put pressure on Israel to negotiate. This is why they tolerate them. But they hope to control them and to defuse their own internal contradictions by so doing. Ultimately however, a genuinely revolutionary struggle by the Palestinians is in contradiction to the Arab States. The Democratic Front unlike El Fatah, has recognised this and has quite openly called for the overthrow of the existing Arab regimes by socialist revolutions.

What are the Palestinians to do? In the first place they are oppressed by Zionism; they must take up the struggle against it. But they can only succeed if there is successful revolution in the other Arab states and the example of militant struggle they are setting is a danger to these regimes. Since the June war there have been outbreaks of guerrilla war in Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Oman. There have been student and worker demonstrations in Egypt and Lebanon. There has also been a wave of peasant militancy in Egypt. These two struggles are clearly related, and The *Black Dwarf* has criticised those Palestinian groups that do not make this essential connection (issues no. 19, no. 22).

It is also incorrect to subsume all guerrilla activity under the smear-concept of "terrorism". Support for guerrilla war involves support for the military and political struggle. Individual and irresponsible terroristic actions carried out against targets in Europe (El Al office in Athens) or against Israeli children do not invalidate the Palestinian cause, nor are they characteristic of the struggle being waged.

But if Israelis erect kibbutzim on stolen land they have supported the aggression against Palestinians: Alan Sillitoe is concerned about the rights of Israelis: does he also respect the rights

of these Palestinians? If he is not prepared to oppose the eviction of one million Palestinians he is condoning a policy of colonialist aggression.

He raises the issue of anti-semitism. The Palestinian problem is an important one, involving the fate of millions of people. It is also the result of a European phenomenon, anti-semitism, which led to the Jewish response of Zionism. If the British worker is not exercised about this issue now, this does not mean it is not important. If we had said that no-one should bother about anti-semitism in Poland because the British working man is not interested in it, we would rightly be accused of ignoring our responsibility as socialists to speak out on a major issue. The same applies to Palestine. The possibility of arousing anti-semitism disguised as anti-Zionism has got to be faced squarely, and can only be met by consistently opposing anti-semitism wherever it is found. This miserable and vicious form of racism is still to be found in Britain and elsewhere, and until it is eliminated the Jews of the world will quite rightly feel insecure and many turn towards the 'security' of Israel. For anyone concerned about resolving the Palestinian issue, the fight against anti-semitism is of major importance. For unless anti-semitism is liquidated in the Middle East, peasants and workers, both Israeli and Arab, will never be able to construct socialism.

There is another kind of racism, anti-Arab racism. This is prevalent in Europe and is quite rampant in Israel. It regards Arabs as inferior, lazy, murderous, corrupt etc. In talking of the guerrillas as "pirates and butchers" Sillitoe is falling into this kind of racist refusal to make a serious analysis of why the Palestinians are acting as they do, and to acknowledge their rights. This racialism must also be liquidated.

## Identity Card

Register me  
I am an Arab  
Card No: fifty thousand  
Children, eight  
The ninth will be born next summer  
Are you upset?

Register me  
I am an Arab  
Vocation: Cutting stone with the comrades  
Must cut bread, clothes and books  
For the children, you know  
I will never stand at your door a beggar  
I am an Arab  
Are you angry?

I am nameless  
Patient where everything boils with anger  
I struck roots here  
Before the olive trees and the poplars  
A descendent of the plough-pushers  
My ancestor, a mere peasant  
No family tree  
My home, a cottage of reeds  
How is that for a man?

Register me  
I am an Arab  
Colour of hair, jet black  
Eyes, brown  
Distinguishing features:  
A Keffia and aqul on my head

Hands rock hard and scratchy  
Favourite food: Olive oil and thyme  
Address: A forgotten hamless village  
Where streets have no names  
And all men are in the fields and quarries  
Is that good enough?

You have stolen my vineyards  
And the land I used to till  
You haven't left anything for my children  
Except the rocks  
And I heard it said  
That your government will expropriate  
Even the rocks

Well then  
Register first:  
I hate nobody  
Neither do I steal  
But when I am made hungry  
Then I will eat the flesh of my oppressor  
Beware of my hunger and anger.





# CITY DWARF



1970 was a typical year for the Honours List: liberal handouts to capitalist exploiters and drooling lackeys—and all endorsed by your very own "socialist" Prime Minister, Harold Wilson.

There were the obvious reactionary idiocies, a knighthood for Walter Adams, LSE director—well, perhaps he does deserve one. After all, it was because of an LSE Socialist Society pamphlet exposing him back in 1965 that the student movement really got under way in England. Just to underline ruling class solidarity with the LSE authorities, Frederick Seebom of the Standing Committee of Governors also gets a knighthood—he is also the chief executive of Barclays Bank DCO, which draws most of its profits from South Africa. There was even an MBE for H.W.S. Clark of the Ulster Special Constabulary and a bigger pat on the back—an OBE to be exact—for the Kensington and Chel-

sea Rent Officer, Lt. Col. H.C. Philips.

Nobody is likely to take these appointments with anything other than a pinch of salt—nobody, that is, except the honours-conscious City gents.

The announcement of the two Honours Lists, on the Queen's birthday and on New Year's Day, thrills City men second only to a Conservative landslide in a general election. Appropriately, the City is probably the easiest of all places to pick up a few extra letters to tag on the end of your name. There are two possible courses open to the award-hungry business man, "civic service" or straightforward exploitation, and the two can go hand in hand.

## HEAP IT ON

Take this year's most significant City civic award. Desmond Heap, the City Comptroller and Solicitor, gets a knighthood for twenty-three years' service to the City Corporation. Heap's work is easily defined: he is the man who makes sure that the City's exploitation of land is done within the confines of the law. He is, in fact, the epitome of the capitalist lackey, steering the City's mighty potentates through the jungle of legal intricacies. His contribution to the national good includes such momentous achievements as writing a pantomime mocking the Land Commission, one of the Labour Government's few attempts to curb the excess profits on land development. More seriously, he harassed that Commission's genuine socialistic aims by discovering a way for large-scale evasion of its proposals.

Just after the Land Commission was instituted to collect a levy on the wealth created when a piece of land is developed, a special concession was made. Land on which work had already begun was exempt from levy. Heap discovered that if one owned land, then one should immediately dig a hole in it, and send a photo of the hole, with workmen standing round it, to the Board of Trade. Then one could say work had begun, and escape levy. Naturally, he told all his fat, rich land-owning masters, who immediately implemented his discoveries, thwarted the government of many millions of pounds which would otherwise have moved from private to public hands, and went on to win a knighthood. Great stuff, just the kind of thing the City wants to honour.

Mr. Murphy, the City's ex-Deputy Town Clerk, who grovelled insignificantly around the

corridors of Guildhall for forty years, gets an MBE, and there's a BEM for Wilfred Cripps, the man who climbed the stairs every day for forty years to wind the clock in the City's own suitably lavish parish church, St. Paul's Cathedral.

But of course, these trivial civic awards are not half as ridiculous as the flattery paid to the industrialists, the exploiters themselves; especially now that Wilson has perpetrated the myth that there was something exceedingly virtuous, almost saintly, in "services to export".

Look down the list of knighthoods alone: Ronald Fairfield of British Insulated Callender Services, Philip Oppenheimer, diamond hustler supreme, and Lionel Pilkington, who made a million in the glass business. In fact, no less than 20% of all knighthoods awarded this year went for cashing in on the export racket.

The munificence and worthiness of exporters shrivels to its reality when it is seen that to be a successful exporter, one must first be a successful profiteer. Services to export and services to self are virtually synonymous. A man is being honoured because he had made himself a heap of money, from the top of which he can well afford to wave the flag of patriotism: that's capitalism.

## THE TIMES

One particularly stupid feature this year was yet another award for Press Baron Thomson—he gets a GBE. Thomson's singular contributions to that hideous institution, the British Press, include viciously undermining the *Guardian*, which, since its death is only a matter of time, is perhaps a public service. Also he has allowed the *Times* to slip into the decadent pro-Establishment diatribing of its competitors.

It is widely rumoured that Lord Thomson keeps the *Times* going as an act of expansive charity, for social and humanitarian reasons, rather than for business purposes.

It is often pointed out that, on paper, it costs him well over £1 million a year.

Anyone who wonders whether this really can be in keeping with the real character of this notoriously money-minded individual, who began life as a radio salesman and entrepreneur engaged in activities whose sole value was mercenary, is asking the right question.

In fact, Lord Thomson bought the *Times* for less than the value of the land and property on which it stands. By buying the paper, he got

Printing House Square, the prestigious site, thrown in for a song. He was able to do this because, when he bought it, the *Times* was in such desperate straits that it was prepared to accept the most ridiculously small offer imaginable.

Should Thomson decide to sell Printing House Square alone at any future point in his career, he will be able to get a handsome price, and will certainly make a big profit on the whole deal—but he is not likely to do that in the immediate future, because the North Bank Development Scheme is already under way nearby, and this will send the value of Printing House Square rocketing again.

Thomson may be losing some of his massive Organisation income each year with the *Times*, but by buying it, he has boosted the asset value enormously, and as any exploiter worth his salt will tell you, that is what really matters in business, that is the kind of thing which will get you a GBE.

In fact, it seems you can get honoured for almost anything in the City, if you make enough money out of it. Take J. Wellings, for example, Chairman of Cohen's 600 Group, perhaps most notable for the number of cars they crack up each year in their destruction yards (services to export, of course).

And if you are anywhere near the centre of the capitalist machine, like Frank Kearton, Chairman of Courtaulds, the giant textile concern, who is bumped up to Baron status, or Leslie O'Brien, Governor of the Bank of England, who becomes a Privy Counsellor, your Machiavellian manipulation will be rewarded.

However, even the Honours List seems to have a certain morality about it. You will very rarely find a property boy getting any kind of award at all: bankers, industrialists, all manner of entrepreneurs, yes, but straight property wheelers and dealers—no. The only land hustler ever to be honoured with a knighthood was Sir Harold Samuels, who pushed up his company's assets from £19,000 to £330,000,000 in under 25 years—and even a socialist must admit, that looks like doing it the hard way!

This is the level of hypocrisy which one faces in the City: the hypocrisy of men who have become rich through exploitation, and who dread above all things progressive or socialist thinking, which they feel will wrest their wealth from them. Their fears are well-founded. Percy Ingrams

## Ireland- Struggle in the North

For British revolutionaries who are interested in the struggle in Ireland, the publication of Mike Farrell's pamphlet, *Struggle in the North*, is an important event, since Mike Farrell's role in the development of People's Democracy and the fight in Northern Ireland during the past year has been of key importance. But, to be frank, what is important about this pamphlet is its omissions, and the questions it poses for discussion.

The bulk of the writing is taken up with a chronological survey of the struggles in Northern Ireland in the recent period, and an explanation of the forces which gave rise to them. Such a history from the standpoint of People's Democracy is important, but not so valuable as an analysis of some of the complex fresh problems which face PD, and since it is, of necessity, sketchy, it does not add much to our knowledge of these events. There has already been a large amount of material which has adequately covered this ground, and Comrade Farrell would have done better to turn his attention to other tasks.

For example, PD hoped that the Belfast/Derry march of last January 1st would, through its propaganda and social as well as civil demands, which tackled problems of Protestant as well as Catholic workers, begin to crack sectarianism and win over some of the oppressed Protestants to the side of civil rights. In fact the march sparked off a train of events which exacerbated the old sectarianism, and not only did not win over even a tiny section of Protestant workers, but probably increased the

distance between these workers and the civil rights movement. Disappointingly, this is not even mentioned in the pamphlet. This should not be taken as a carping criticism: God knows Mike put his head on the block for that aspiration; but if the experience is to be more than a courageous, blood-spattered failure, we must have Mike's views on why it failed and how a successful strategy for the future can be projected from its lesson.

There is a lack of a clear analysis of the extreme Protestant workers. It is correct to underline the fact that their attachment to Paisleyism is to a large extent conditioned by the frustrations of their life, and the lack of any consistent attempt to win them over by anti-Unionist forces in the North, but this only explains why they do not take one alternative, not why they positively choose Paisleyism. Revolutionaries must face up to facts; so far the only section of the workers in the Six Counties to respond to left leadership are the Catholics. The reasons for the different responses to very similar problems by Catholic and Protestant workers lies in the fact that the former attach themselves to the tradition of an incomplete, distorted, contradictory, but nevertheless anti-imperialist national-democratic revolution, while the latter have allied themselves to the imperialist counter-revolution. The Catholic workers are one trembling, indecisive step forward, while the Protestants are twenty steps behind, and heading in the wrong direction. So it is not enough to say, "...Protestant workers must have it explained to them that the reason for

the shortage is not the Catholics, but the economic system ... the leaders who have betrayed them are suffering no economic loss ... fighters for civil rights should try to involve both Protestants and Catholics in fighting redundancies, and demanding higher wages and better homes."

The problem for Protestant workers is not just to realise that their present course will not solve their economic problems, but that their whole tradition, their history, their conditioned responses to life, their beliefs, must be junked. For the Catholic workers, it is necessary that they understand the limitations of the struggle they have allied themselves to, but that, far from junking their traditions, they must retain them, adding to them, but seeing their future tasks as an extension of the anti-imperialist struggle. Thus they will slough off the clerical and Green Tory excrescences which have parasitised off, and diverted that struggle.

This underlines another failure of the pamphlet, the relationship of the national struggle to the present battles in Northern Ireland. It goes without saying that the whole structure of the Six Counties and the contradictions within this artificial state stem from the struggle against British imperialism. This has meant that the main opposition to Unionism was until recently a simple demand for the unity of Ireland. Comrade Farrell explains the insufficiencies of such an approach quite well, but is not clear about an apparent change in his own attitude to this problem. At one time he was saying that unity except on the basis of a socialist Ireland should

be opposed; in other words that there was a clear separation between the national struggle and the socialist one. Now he says:

"The struggle for socialism would mean snapping the link with Britain, overthrowing the rotten capitalist system, discarding the border, and rooting out British and US economic imperialism in both parts of Ireland. It would mean in fact the struggle for Connolly's socialist Republic."

The essence of Connolly's slogan of a Workers' Republic was that socialists must unconditionally support the national struggle in Ireland, while recognising that only the working class could achieve, not just economic, but national emancipation for the Irish people. Translated into the present situation, this would mean that socialists must unconditionally support the ending of partition, i.e. the completion of the national struggle, while recognising that the Green Tories are incapable of completing this struggle and that it is a part of the tasks of the working class. Implicit in this is the recognition that the present struggle of the Irish workers is an indivisible part of the centuries-long struggle against British imperialism, and is linked to all the finest traditions of the Irish national-democratic struggle.

The most serious omission however is in the field of programme. The short section at the end entitled "The Socialist Strategy" consists mainly of criticism of the strategy of other forces in Ireland, with some very general statements like:

"The support of these men can only be won by an honest movement which makes it clear that civil rights are here to stay and tries to explain why they were denied, and then campaigns on economic issues and tries to build a united working class movement."

"The only solution is the building of a 32-County socialist movement fighting the immediate battles of workers on both sides of the border, but all the time showing that the ultimate solution is the Socialist Workers' Republic."

A programme for the Irish revolution must start from a detailed analysis of the class struggle in Ireland which discerns the ultimate tasks and tries to direct the immediate struggles towards those tasks, and tries to overcome the separation of immediate economic and democratic demands from the struggle for socialism, in other words a transitional programme. Connolly's *New Evangel* and *Reconquest of Ireland* (when their historical limitations are borne in mind) give an idea of how such a programme can be constructed.

The purpose of this critique is to indicate some of the lines along which discussion of the problems of revolutionaries in Northern Ireland





In 1962 Fords Motor Company broke the workers' organisation. Seven years later in February-March 1969 a five-week strike showed that the men at Fords could fight a united nation-wide struggle. Now they have put in a claim for a £10 a week minimum rise based on the demand for Parity—an equivalent rate to the highest-paid Midland car workers. This dynamic and aggressive demand is not only posed at Fords; it threatens Britain's biggest motor company BLMC and the Vauxhall plants of the US giant General Motors.

Black Dwarf interviewed two Dagenham men actively engaged in the fight for Parity: Jock Macrea and Sid Harraway. Neither are full time Union officials. Nor, however, are they shop-floor workers. Jock Macrea is the convenor of the Body Plant at Dagenham, the old Briggs, and Sid Harraway is the Deputy Convenor there. Both are in the AEF and Sid Harraway is a member of the Communist Party.

A convenor is a shop steward elected by all the shop stewards in the Plant to represent them. He is full-time and is paid by the company at the rate he would get on the floor. There are 23 Fords plants across the country, six of them in Dagenham. Jock Macrea is chairman of the association of the 23 convenors and their deputies, and along with four other convenors is on the National Joint Negotiating Committee which slapped the demand for a £10 minimum increase on the table.

—The Dagenham Ford workers are now putting forward very militant demands and have rebuilt their organisation which was smashed eight years ago. What happened in 1962?

Jock: Bill Francis was sacked; that was what started the dispute off. The PTA went out on strike and then two-thirds of the body plant went out—the river plant didn't go out—then the company closed the gates, and after a protracted strike only those people that they agreed to could go back. They victimised 600 workers, to start with. Then the government, a Tory government ironically, reduced the purchase tax on cars—November it was—and there was an upsurge in sales, and the 600 was reduced to 78, and then the 78 was reduced to 36, and that came down to 17 by negotiation. I was part of the 78. I was out for about five weeks; the workers had gone back and I was still out. I wasn't the last back though.

—So if the government hadn't reduced that purchase tax, you wouldn't be here now.

Jock: You could say there's a possibility I would have gone. (Laughter)

—What other issues were involved in 1962?

Jock: See, the strike was really about work standards, about the speed of our job. There were lots of disputes leading up to it. In the PTA there's 95% on production, and all on line work. Now, you find on line work the boys get really angry, you know, get frustrated. When you get static jobs, the workers can make time, if you know what I mean. They can make time by working a bit harder, so they don't feel the environmental pressure so much. On line work, you're tied like a dog on a leash, aren't you, because every job keeps coming at you, and you really can't make time and you can't get off the damn job.

—And they're the most frustrated set of workers, then?

Jock: Oh, terrible, terrible. Line production I think is the worst.

—There must be trouble almost every day.

Jock: Almost invariably, yes. But we've got in-built procedures. A worker can't be sacked generally unless it's referred to me; suspensions come to me if the steward can't resolve them. This is the key thing about our procedure, all plant problems come to the convenor. It doesn't matter about the union; I mean I can deal with an electrical today, a janitor tomorrow, a pipe-fitter the next day; a production worker the next day. So if you've got a good works committee and your organisation is working, it should be good, within the terms of what you can do within a procedure anyway.

But in the ultimate you've always got to have workers ready to strike in my opinion. I don't believe there'll ever be a procedure that won't overtake that set of circumstances—and we're in danger of losing that now, I think.

—How do you mean?

Jock: Well, we become so bloody sophisticated, I'm talking about the nation as a society now, that people believe in procedures as an end. You find Labour relations people say to us they're going to look at everything in depth. They've got all these bloody professors and youngsters from university and that, and they say, "We'll look at everything in depth". This is their promise to us, and if we say, "Well, look at this angle, you haven't considered it," they say, "Oh yes, we've considered it, we've considered that... and that... we've considered all the mitigating circumstances, we've considered this... all that..." and then in the end you get so carried away with these procedures, all of us, that you don't see the ultimate bloody thing as being the workers' right to strike. You see, if there is any suspension or sacking you always ought to have the workers at least in a

kers hadn't been ready to do something; because the company know that weapon. Unless that lever is there, you can be the best bloody negotiator in the world and you won't bloody win. I believe this. You've got to have the forces ready, either half committed, or committed totally to doing something if something doesn't happen.

—How did you regain your strength after the 1962 defeat?

Jock: The first day I went back, my superintendent called me up in the office and said, "Now, your job is on the line. You go on there and stay on there. It's only in extreme circumstances you ever come off your job." I said, "I shall continue to operate in exactly the same way today as I did before we went out, and take it from there." That was a fairly sharp exchange, and other stewards were doing the same as me. The workers had turned their backs on us, no doubt about that, the workers wouldn't hardly talk to me, because some of my shop had gone in, and I walked down the middle of the line and they had all got their heads down. It was a few weeks before they held their heads up again, but I just conducted myself as shop steward. I raised issues myself, if I saw anything going wrong, I raised it; you know, anything, safety.

—Why weren't they talking to you?

Jock: There were two reasons. I think the main reason was they were ashamed of their conduct really. I mean we're all bloody weak, aren't we, they sort of crawled in.

—Did they feel that you were to blame at all for what had happened?

Jock: Oh no, they blame the unions, they don't blame the stewards, they very rarely blame the stewards. You get a few right-wing people who blame the stewards, but generally speaking, the workers at Briggs and Fords have blamed the unions over the years for letting the stewards down. This is always the situation; they very rarely blame stewards.

—What are your current demands?

Jock: Our demand is fairly straightforward. We want a £10 a week rise for all Ford workers. This is something that has been put forward with a great deal of thought and purpose behind it. It seems a bit simple when you say it, but you have to combat people who want to fight on wage structure or fight on differentials. Some workers want to see differentials minimised, others want to see them made bigger, on every claim you get a tendency to splinter a bit on differentials. There are also all sorts of views about the wage structure, including one that the whole thing should be re-examined. Once you start getting into that field we think you are up a bloody blind alley because that is what the company loves. We want to go for a minimum rise of £10 a week and get everyone behind it.

—Why have you put forward this demand for parity now? You had a strike a year ago and you got a rise then, so why has another one come up?

Jock: Because it has been our demand for the last fifteen years.

—But why has it come up now?

Jock: Now the time is right for us to put the most force behind it, and to crystallise all the things we have said. The strike last year pointed the way. The terms of the resumption said that there would be immediate discussions on Parity.

The company have now said to us that they meant parity within the industry as a whole, and they have accused us of picking out one company, Rootes, unfairly. They say we are being dishonest. They have put figures to us about the average in the motorcar industry which includes all the bits and pieces and they say that the average figure is 11/8 an hour or something and we come out of it well.

Sid: In the Union's submission the claim was based to some degree on the 17/5 per hour for production workers paid by Rootes at their Ryton factory, although the Union submission also talked about small firms, like Alvis motors, of the BMC group, which get 21/- an hour. But the main thrust of the demand was based on Rytons where in order to implement measured day work, which we have had at Fords since the war, Rootes offered to buy the men off the piecework system. We are saying, well, this is what measured day work is worth and we want it as well.

—How is the claim being put forward? Is it already on the table?

Jock: The National Joint Negotiating Committee put it in during September, the company replied in November, and their reply was, arising out of all the bump, that they would make a specific offer on January 23rd.

Sid: We have an outstanding case in relation to the expansion of the company and its success since the war. In 1946 Fords was only based in Dagenham; now they have expanded extensively in Dagenham, to Halewood and so forth; they have invested over £140 million. They've never gone to the Stock Exchange for a loan—it's all been done out of the success of the company.

# The Right to Strike/W Factory Occupation/

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of the change of leadership of the two major unions with Scanlon and Jones.

—This £10 a week rise would in fact decrease the differential, would it not?

Jock: Well of course it will. That's why it's a job to commit people to stand on a flat round which is something a bit unusual these days, because it's always 10d an hour to Grade 1 and 2 or E and D, and say 8d an hour to Grade C and B, and so on. Our wage structure is very simple, you see, nobody gets anything on top of anything, it's a very simple thing, everybody gets a grade rate of pay, the only thing that you get is a service payment, but everybody gets that.

—So a £10 a week rise is more than a simple wage claim, it includes the solidarity of all the workers in the plant.

Jock: Well, that's right, it means that people at the top end of the scale, the toolmakers and people like that, have at least got to accept that principle. We've got to face things as we see them. Some people are saying that we ought to go for a direct comparison with Rootes, which would mean that some workers would get about £13, others would get about £4. Now we say that's the worst possible basis to start a fight because, you see, our indirect workers like storemen and even our janitors are paid more in relation to production workers than at Rootes. Parity with the Rootes wage scale would mean that a janitor here would only gain about £2 a week where somebody else would get £12-£13. That's no basis to start fighting when you need solidarity.

—How do you gauge the mood of the men on the shop floor?

Jock: Well, I think it's for the birds really, this type of question on how you gauge opinion. You have the boys flat today and tomorrow they can be raring to go... It's like a bloody barometer you know, day can be fair, the night can be changeable and tomorrow it can really be hard and raining.

This time more than ever before we've conducted a good psychological propaganda battle with the company with our stickers and our slogans and that. And I think we've got company people, certainly foremen and general foremen and people like that, as much committed as they've ever been to understanding the parity argument. Now this has always been pie in the sky stuff in the past, I believe people have said it, but they've not really even thought they meant it, even the lads who were the leaders, and they've said it as a sort of target. But I think this time they know we mean it. Lots of the lads are wearing badges. These stickers are on all the doors, management doors. (Laughter)

I think the lads are geared to a fight. We said right from the start, it will need a strike. We said that really right from the first day. Of course, there've been regional mass meetings, one in the cinema up the road there, the Odeon, there was one in the Liverpool Stadium, about 5,000 Liverpool workers. There was one at Basildon, of about 300 workers. At all these meetings everybody votes for the claim of parity knowing full that it could mean the strike.

—Do you have any idea of what the company will offer you?

Sid: Well, that's awkward.

—Are you speculating on that at all?

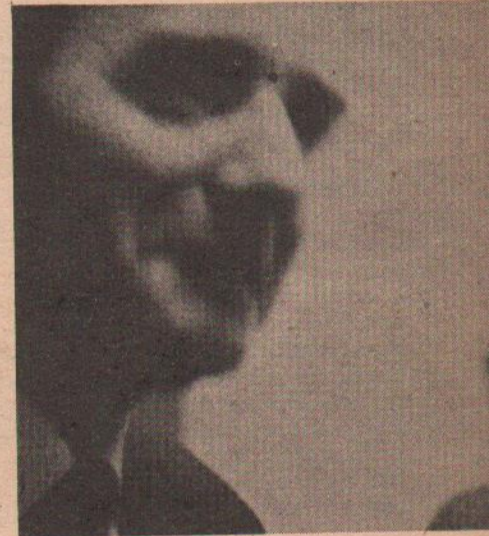
Jock: Yeah, yeah. We're speculating on that. I think the company will make an offer which will be big enough to make people stop and think, and not nearly big enough to satisfy our demands. I mean an offer of something in the region of 9d or a bob an hour which is £2 or even £3.

—What if they offer you £5 or £6 a week?

Sid: Well, you're poised then. It depends on how the negotiating team conducts itself and what happens within a given period. You can't declare in advance. If our demand is for £10, then we ought to make sure the whole of the movement is geared to that. It's dangerous when you start prejudging the damn thing. You tend to commit yourself.

—Why are you in a stronger position since last year's strike?

Jock: One reason is that the workers for years have always believed that it was us against the company and the unions, so any strike we had was always unofficial as far as the company and the press and everybody was concerned, so we were always fighting a two-fold battle. Well, this time, within 48 hours the workers saw the strike being made official, which was something they gathered strength from. They had been let down so many times that it became difficult to tell them that they will get support. In other words if you tell them it can be made official, like we've been doing for 15 years and it's never come off once, each time you say it again, you know, they say "Oh, piss off". Now



there's the fact that the workers themselves get strength from having been engaged in a struggle. They've got strength from the fact that they can take part in a strike and not be starving. It was a difficult strike for the workers to understand because the unions were divided. All the press were saying the unions have entered into an agreement and the AEF and the T&G were seen as taking the government on. The lesson was that the AEF and the T&G can never again will be outvoted on that Union National Negotiating Committee. There is a goodish type of leadership in these two unions now; goodish because it may not stay that way. You can't entirely rely on national leaders at any time because if you do, I think you are sunk. You have to rely on your own ability to organise the worker.

—What is the big factor that really helps if the union says it's official?

Jock: It's a credibility thing, getting confidence from the fact of being backed by the whole of this massive organisation. It's also the simple of answers to give. We are fighting a battle and somebody asks what is it about, and you say the union has made it official. This is good parlance from the worker's point of view, for his wife, his mother, the public at large. It's a weapon that the worker uses because he's maybe not *au fait* with every detail of the strike and what it's about and what it's for.

Sid: As Jock says, he falls back on the reliability of the union, a million and a half T&G or over half a million AEF, and it gives him some sort of respectability in the eyes of the broad public at large, so he feels a lot more secure. But even if it doesn't get official support, if he knows that the principle is a just one, he will still engage in unofficial action. But the recent discussions around *In Place of Strife*, apart from the legislative aspects of it, have all been directed at more improvements in negotiations, more attention to strikes. Lads don't take strike decisions just off the cuff as though it's like deciding to buy a cup of tea, it's a seriously thought out situation, and once he's determined that the issue is just and that it's certainly right in principle, then he goes on with it whether it's official or not.

—Some groups said that last year's strike was a defeat.

Jock: It would have been nice to have gone back with the penalty clauses completely eliminated. It would have been much nicer, and the unions had been completely united at that level, then I think we maybe would have done that job. But it always happens at Fords that we happen not to do a complete job for ourselves but we do a terrific job for the nation scene. If you look back at our history, 1951



# Equal Pay/Labour Party Revolutionary Students

## FORD CONVENERS THEIR SE



back-dated wage claim, 2½d I think it was, and that was an epic struggle. Then there was the women's strike, the women themselves didn't see it clearly, and it started off about grading... but it drew the whole country's attention to equal pay, and last year's strike put a nail in the coffin of the White Paper.

—But do you actually think that the strike was a defeat?

Jock: I couldn't really say it was a defeat, because since the strike we have had dozens of stoppages in all plants, and the intention of the penalty clauses was to stop strikes.

—That's very interesting about the national role of Fords. An obvious paradox here is that you are feeling stronger than you have for many years, and yet over the last few years you have had a Labour government in power which has done some of the worst things against the trade unions that have been done by a government since the war, and we have also had a massive propaganda campaign against working class organisation.

Jock: People have a lot of loyalties to what they call the Labour Party without having a real political understanding. A lot of the workers support the Labour Party partly because of their class in a sort of old working-class way.

The shop stewards are very active politically and you get stewards who are members of the Labour Party. We have got stewards who are councillors and belong to the Labour Party locally and participate, but you generally find they drift away from the centre of the industrial scene when they start taking over council jobs. But I think there is a reaction; we had an argument the other day about whether the Labour Party would get re-elected. There was all views expressed. I couldn't see the Labour Party getting back in. People may feel that a bloody bad Labour Government is better than a Tory government. I think we might as well fight the enemy we know rather than the one we don't. There are people who think you've got to change the views of the Labour government. Lots of workers believe that's been done by pressure over the White Paper.

—Is there a growing hostility to the Labour Party, to Harold Wilson, to Barbara Castle and to the Labour Party as a whole?

Jock: Disillusionment really.

Sid: It's not really sharp condemnation as much as disillusionment, but still the sort of hope that they will have learnt and perhaps be returned and carry out more leftist policies.

Jock: You see, it becomes a battle whether you are prepared to see the Labour government go back in again and really do a job, and it's very difficult to muster enthusiasm and you have to

Sid: You see, what happens is that every general election we get approaches from the Labour Party; their national agent comes to this office and meets conveners from the Dagenham area and says he wants assistance for people to go out, knock on the knocker and give out election addresses and so on. Then we break down the Dagenham area on a plant basis. We adopted Walthamstow East.

Jock: Will Roberts was the candidate. Well, I said I would never bloody well go out and campaign for him again, because I met in the House of Commons lobby one day and I said, "Come here, Will," and he ran away. Well, he's dead now, dropped dead, God bless him, but you know he wouldn't even stop and speak to us, and Christ we did a good job for him.

Sid: We won about four or five marginal Tory seats in Essex in '64. But if we had the election agent knock on the door tomorrow, whether the response would be as good today as it was in '64 would be a bit doubtful.

Jock: Unless you get that, Labour won't bloody well get back in naturally.

In '59 we only lost by about 500 votes; now Geoffrey Bing said we lost because the Labour people had lost their edge and he was right. Geoffrey Bing came up to the shop stewards and thanked us personally; he lost but he was the only one to come along to the shop stewards committee, and we were very friendly with Geoffrey, he was one of the bloody best, he understood where the grass roots of the working class were.

—What do the rest of the stewards think about the Labour Party?

Jock: I think, if you talk to our stewards, that a broad consensus of opinion would be that you've got to have the Labour Party in government if you can. I might differ a bit with that, but that is the opinion that would be held as the broad consensus of opinion.

—Can we turn to some of the other groups, in particular the Communist Party? Has the Communist Party strength increased in Dagenham over the past few years?

Jock: Our plant has always been fairly well provided for, and there's always been lots of our lads have been Party members and all that in our plant. And there is a good sale of papers like the *Morning Star*. I make sure that it gets read.

—Have you ever been in the Party?

Jock: I haven't, no.

—Are you a member of the Labour Party or anything?

Jock: No, no.

—Do you think that the management can do damage by attacking Communists in the plant?

Jock: I think they can do damage, less now possibly since '62, but it's a good propaganda lever for the company.

—Why less since '62?

Sid: Well, even the unions realised they couldn't allow themselves to stand back and let the employers move in and smash the workshop organisation and use a red bogey. I don't think it works so well nowadays. People think a lot deeper than just labels.

—What about the groups?

Jock: Some of the stewards belong to the Communist Party, some to IS, some belong to Solidarity, some belong to the Roman Catholic Church down the road here, also a political organisation of a kind.

—What do you think of the groups as a whole?

Jock: What do I think about them? Well, I suppose they serve some purpose.

—Do they actually serve some purpose from your point of view?

Jock: Well, in their own right I suppose they serve some purpose. I don't believe in factions really.

—Why not?

Jock: I think in the end they attack the workers more than they attack the bosses. You see, IS and Solidarity tend to attack the leadership in the plants, attack conveners and works committees. Now, I think you've got to have priorities. The whole machine may be bad but you've got to pick the rottenest apples first. You see, these factions, they're more disruptive than helpful, and any faction which is disruptive of what we're trying to do, so far as I'm concerned, they're out, because I think we're doing what we ought to be doing as the workers' leaders. We may not be going fast enough, but at least we are facing in the right direction.

Sid: We are opposed to people who come along and lecture us on what our tactics should be. Recently we've had leaflets that say we should take over the factory or all sit down or something. It might appeal to one's adventurous

stage of being able to take over the factory or effect a sit down. There may come a day when we say, well, let's take over, but we are certainly not at that level at this stage.

—You don't think you ought to occupy a factory?

Jock: We did something some time back that was a measure of where we are. It was 98% successful. We had a meeting in the canteen—we're not allowed to have meetings in the plant, a number of us got letters threatening us with the sack—and at the end of the meeting we carried the resolution that we march on the offices and sit down. This was because the boys were being shut out, suppliers kept drying up—we marched on the offices and we sat down, about three or four hundred of us sat down and started chanting "We want work" for about half an hour, and that was very effective. It frightened the management, frightened them, certainly worried them very much. Now, that's about the top what you can do.

—What gave you the idea to march and sit down like that?

Sid: Discussion among the lads.

—Had it been done before?

Sid: Oh yes. It had been done before way back, in the early days of recognition.

—When was that?

Jock: '46, '45. During that period people had been demanding recognition of the shop stewards. You name it, we've done most things that organised workers have done, all sorts of tactics.

—Don't you think the advantage of occupation is that you can raise the strength of the men very greatly?

Jock: The thing that I was most worried about during the whole of my career at Fords was an official strike. Because official strikes tend to remove all the control and all the direction away from the worker, an official strike is more worrying than an unofficial strike. Because the unofficial strike is on the floor, in the plant, you're all together.

Sid: The workers will determine the views for settlement.

Jock: Now we are going to see more official strikes, that was Jones's sort of theme and it's obvious that that is the thinking among certain national leaders. Therefore we'll have to go up that way and come down again before you get real worker participation. Either through disillusionment with the national set up, or better understanding that what's down here is what works and counts. We're not at a level where you can have workers occupying factories because at the moment, the day they go on strike, they commit themselves to their families, apart from the lack of real deep understanding.

Sid: Plant bargaining could raise the level of democracy in a factory. At the moment we've still got this problem of communication to some degree because we can't have meetings in the factory without permission from the company. But in plant bargaining like we used to have in Briggs we had a shop stewards meeting on a Tuesday night. Every Wednesday dinner time in every plant there was a report back, bloke would get on top of a box or top of a machine following the shop stewards meeting, and this was real workshop democracy operating because the boys voted for or against the policies being built up. We've got to return to that political level before you get into a situation where we could take over the factory. But at the moment we are not at that political level.

Jock: In the days Sid's talking about a shop steward didn't hold a report-back meeting. The shop raised it with him and said "Why weren't you at the shop stewards meeting last night?" If he didn't attend two or three times, they would throw him out.

—But if you actually took the factory on the first day and had big discussions going on, not necessarily a permanent attempt to seize the factory but at least to establish very wide-scale lengthy discussions so that the men did start to really talk through what was going on and what they could expect.

Jock: You don't really understand the industrial scene at all really; you talk about it from an academic viewpoint, you see, you love talk because this is all part of your life, fair enough, but there's an opposite view held by lots of workers. You get to the meeting, in five minutes you tell the workers the salient point and you say we're on strike. You don't have interminable discussions because that leads to no bloody action, the longer a meeting goes on, the less chance you've got of getting a strike action carried, so therefore the industrial experience is exactly opposite to what you're saying. It's better to have a well-planned, well-organised meeting with all your own people ready to say the right things and do the right things, and you're in. You take your strike vote and that's it. Once workers have made their minds up, they'll stay solid, then you can have your talk later on.

—But as well as putting forward economic demands, you must be fighting to shift the balance of power in the plant.

Jock: We deny we've got any power over man-

"You have got all the power and none of the responsibility," when we have a short exchange on something, I deny it. But at the same time, since the strike, the company is very very worried about anything that happens in the plant. In other words they are willing to be conciliatory more quickly now than they've ever been, because they can see this thing going on, and they can see the backing we're getting from the national people.

—Aside from that, though, the struggle in Fords is also a class struggle, part of the struggle between the power of the working class and the power of the national organisation of the ruling class. And it links us back with the discussion on the Labour Party and of a political party for the working class. It's quite clear that although the union is a massive national organisation, in some sense you actually fear the national organisation taking it up because once it takes it up, then power is out of the hands of the workers. It seems to us that the question that this poses, aside from the little political groups, is in fact whether you see the need for national political coordination and a national political party, to carry on the struggle for working-class power at the grass roots level.

Jock: We are trying to do two things: we're trying to bridge the gap between the national people and ourselves by having more and more rank and file people on the national negotiations. There's five on our national committee now. We hope there'll be ten in a couple of years' time, so we will be completely away from the national officials. You see, the old way was to leave the national negotiations to some bloke in some small union who's got plenty of time, like Wolfe Baird who was about ninety—84 he was, I think, when he retired as General Secretary of the Pattern-Makers—got no age limit in their union; but apart from that, he could have been quite an activist, but he wasn't.

On this point about the political factions that we're getting now, there's a need for an examination of that from an academic ideological point of view, or whatever you want to call it, of the Communist Party, the IS, Solidarity, all these people. But when we are in a struggle and we ask for their help, we only want their help, we don't want them to tell us what to do. We don't want anyone to start telling us what the strategy ought to be, what the tactics ought to be; if anybody tries to do that, we'll show them the door. In other words, there can only be so many generals. If we're all bloody generals, the war will never be fought and won. There's got to be people who can take orders, and that's the problem we get. During the last strike I had to do my nut in here a few times, because we had too many bloody generals and not enough corporals, and everybody wants to give the orders and nobody wants to carry them out. We get people trying to tell us what to do from various groupings; they say "Oh, we didn't ought to do that, you ought to do this." Now, you have got to have a good talk with your friends and analyse the things that are going on both politically and nationally, but once you've done that you've got to have the machine to do the job; for better or worse, for Fords the machine is the joint conveners' movement.

—What about the help you received from revolutionary students?

Jock: You see, you get this difficulty, you get the students coming to help you during strikes, they've all got beards and long hair and that sort of thing, look a bit scruffy, and they say, "We'll go on the gate with you", and people come along and say, "They don't work at Fords; what are they doing on the bloody gate?" And then you have an issue; people want to go in because the students are at the gate. This is a terrible problem for us to grapple with. We have to say, "We'd love you to help, we would love you to be on the gates, and we understand what you are trying to do for us, but the bloody workers don't understand it".

—But weren't students very helpful in the last strike?

Jock: Yes, down by the gates, down by the level crossing, they did a bloody good job. If it hadn't been for them on some of the gates, nothing would have been done. I'm not decrying it, I'm only saying I was on the gate a couple of times and there were lots of students there, and we got involved with canteen women who kept going in. They were wrangling, people came up to take photographs, and it got reported and you got all the trappings, the police rushing out, you know what I mean. People use it as an escape route to go against the strike; they're maybe waiting for an opportunity anyway, but that just provides a little spark, and they say "Why don't they get back to their colleges where they belong?" It only creates something for them to use as the whipping-boy. It's not absolutely deeply-rooted, but we haven't really joined forces with students, nurses, and teachers in this country, because the workers see students, teachers and nurses as a different bloody class.

—How do you think you can make that link?

Jock: We can only do it by us stopping together and eventually it will break down.



# How the Common Market Serves European Capitalism.

On December 1-2, the representatives of the six Common Market countries met in the Hague. To judge from the results of this conference, precise answers must be given to certain questions concerning the Common Market. These questions are more complex than they might seem at first glance.

Socially, the Common Market is a "superstructure", that is, a body of legal institutions of a semi-governmental type set up by the European bourgeoisie to defend their interests against their enemies (the working class and the non-capitalist states of East Europe) and their competitors (above all, American imperialism).

Economically, the Common Market is an expression of the growing international interpenetration of capital in capitalist Europe. It is therefore a product of the international concentration of capital which existed to a certain degree previously, and at the same time it serves as a stimulus in bringing this concentration to a higher level.

Juridically, the Common Market is a peculiar form of international capitalist "integration" limited to six countries and supported by specific institutions (a common external tariff, agricultural protectionism, etc.), which are the result of laborious negotiations among the various bourgeois classes belonging to the EEC.

Politically, the Common Market reflects a pattern of forces which are very tangled but which in general have been frozen on the basis of the relationships existing among the classes and imperialist powers in 1958.

For years we reached the same conclusion in our analyses. The Hague conference has confirmed this once again.

A year ago, at the time of the November 1968 monetary panic, various European journals appeared simultaneously with the headline, "Deutsch Mark, Deutsch Mark Uber Alles". After the Hague conference, most commentators noted that West Germany has now established a discreet political leadership within the Common Market. Some romantics attribute this to the disappearance of "General de Gaulle's strong personality" from the European political scene. Obviously there is nothing to this.

It was not the disappearance of de Gaulle that opened up the way for the drab Willy Brandt to become the "leader of free Europe"; it was the rise of German imperialism moving towards political hegemony in Europe that was one of the reasons for de Gaulle's disappearance.

If a section of the French bourgeoisie decided at the time of the last referendum to rid itself of de Gaulle, it was because the General had "obstructed" the functioning of the EEC in such a way as to directly threaten survival of the Common Market. Blackmail is, in fact, a weapon that can be used on both sides of a negotiating table. And it happens that the French bourgeoisie today needs the Common Market more than do the West Germans.

The French capitalists sell 45% of their exports in the Common Market area, the West Germans only 37%. In view of the different starting positions of the two capitalisms, the race was decided in advance.

The rise of West German imperialism in the past ten years has been primarily a result of its economic and financial power. It has been realised despite pronounced military weakness and despite a crisis of political leadership which has long hampered Bonn's diplomacy within the framework of the imperialist world.

Now, ten years after the Treaty of Rome (which provided the establishment of the Common Market by stages) went into effect, the relationship of forces is no longer the same as in 1958. Despite



has been far out-distanced by its West German ally and rival.

In 1958 West German and French total exports were valued respectively at \$6.4 billion and \$4 billion; in 1968 this proportion had become \$15.5 and \$7 billion. Some unkind observers even say that this was because of "the General's personal gadgets", because, if French capitalism had invested the money wasted in building the "force de frappe" (striking force) in ultramodern factories and machines, it would have been better able to get the jump on its competitors.

West German imperialism's economic and financial dominance has, moreover, had another unexpected result. During these years the Gaullist regime sought to be the champion of a "detente" and "technical collaboration" with the USSR. But in this affair as in many others, the General's eyes were bigger than his stomach (or his treasury).

All that was necessary was for Brandt to succeed Kiesinger and for West German diplomacy to shift its line slightly, and Moscow agreed to open up its doors to a promising East-West trade, which has brought the Mannesmann trust the biggest order the USSR has ever given to a Western capitalist firm (including the famous FIAT order). As can be seen, in commerce as in war, God is definitely on the side of the big battalions.

The delicate compromise the Common Market was based on included the following quid pro quo: "We (the French) will let 'your' (German) industrial products enter duty free—which will cost us a part of our domestic market—on condition that you pay substantial subsidies to 'our' big cereal producers and sugar-beet growers, including those who impose their tribute on these products (the sugar industry, the big agricultural exporters, the food industry, etc.)"

This compromise also reflected complex relations of forces in France, an unstable balance among various social forces, that made Gaullist bonapartism highly sensitive to the reactions of the "notables" who politically controlled the French countryside.

Now, ten years later, the relationship of forces within the Common Market has deteriorated markedly from the standpoint of the French bourgeoisie. Now, in order to get what it had already won in 1958—i.e. a common agricultural policy—French imperialism had to make an important additional concession.

The French imperialists had to agree to open negotiations in the near future with Great Britain, Ireland, Denmark, and Norway for membership in the EEC. In place of the General's flat "nyet" there was Pompidou's sullen and reserved "oui".

Of course, the matter is by no means settled. The Six must negotiate with each other on how the negotiations with

ialism will stand virtually alone against the desire of its partners in the EEC to broaden the Common Market.

The reasons for this alignment are diverse (in the case of Germany, and partially Italy, the hope of winning new markets; the Benelux countries want special ties with British imperialism; the Italians and Benelux countries hope to "neutralise" German or French dominance through the British role, etc.)

But this alignment is a fact. It does not leave Paris much choice since the obstruction has been eliminated. Either French imperialism, putting up a good front, will end by accepting expansion of the Common Market, once again at the expense of sectors of its internal market, or it will have to pull out of the game. The latter possibility is by no means excluded.

The paradox in the situation is that while French imperialism is sacrificing a part of its industrial interests to defend those of the richest layers of the French peasantry (and industrial and financial circles specially linked to these layers), the mass of the French peasantry is more discontented than ever and has entered into almost open rebellion against the agricultural policy of the government and against the Common Market!

This, moreover, is one of the reasons why there has been a shift in the economic imperatives of French imperialism, the interests of the export industries holding assured outlets in the EEC exerting today a greater weight than those of the big peasantry in determining the attachment to the Common Market.

Therefore, it is within French industry—in the conflicts between the firms and sectors facing the risk of losing their outlets if Great Britain joins and those facing the risk of losing their outlets in the



Ernest Mandel.

Common Market if it breaks up—that the future of the Common Market is being decided today. The rest is just rhetoric, even when the "loftiest sentiments" are invoked.

The future of the Common Market obviously does not depend solely on the conflicts of interest within the EEC. It depends also on developments in a broader context.

Two movements have been in progress for some months in the international capitalist economy which in part determined the attitude of the participants at the Hague conference—the beginning of the American recession and the drop in the price of gold. These two movements are linked together.

that the inflation of the dollar will soon be halted. As a result the demand for gold is diminishing. The revaluation of the deutsch mark and the (temporary) re-establishment of the British balance of payments has done the rest.

But the link between these two movements, which has been producing a "detente" in the international monetary crisis, is entirely temporary. *The detente hinges exclusively on the minimal character that the recession has had so far in the USA.*

If this recession does not deepen, there is no reason for storm signals to go up in Paris, Frankfurt, Zurich, or the City of London. If the American recession were to worsen, instead of producing a detente, it would cause a profound crisis of the international monetary system and world trade.

A deepening recession in the United States would have the initial effect of reducing the market in America and several Third World countries for exports from Great Britain and the EEC. The re-establishment of the British balance of payments would be finished. The expansion of Common Market exports to the USA would be finished.

An intensified recession would have as its second effect a resurgence of the inflation of the dollar. It is unthinkable that American imperialism, hard-pressed everywhere, would assume the additional burden of millions more unemployed (and the social crisis this would involve) for long. But renewed inflation of the dollar could not help but revive the international monetary crisis.

All these perspectives—and some others besides—are chilling to the experts of the European bourgeoisie. To prevent the worst, to check new assaults of speculation, to prevent a general panic in the event of a deepening American recession or monetary crisis, these experts would like to open up a process leading to the creation of a European currency.

Appeals along this line would have steadily multiplied for years in the most "responsible" imperialist circles.

At the Hague a modest "first step" was made toward a European currency. But it was a first step that could be withdrawn at the first pretext. Here also no definite commitments were made and nothing was definitively decided—everything depends on the struggle in the months and years to come among antagonistic social, political and economic forces.

In this struggle, the European working class has not yet made its collective and international voice heard. The international of the trusts and the bankers is still ahead of the international of the workers. But while the capitalist international is by nature divided, riven, and rent by the imperatives of profit and competition, the workers' international, in spite of a multitude of obstacles and difficulties, is relearning the basic lessons of international solidarity.

The workers' movement is paving the way through the French May which has spread in a special form to Italy. It is paving the way by the factory occupations that are continuing in France. It is paving the way through the still timid and hesitating contacts developing among the automobile, chemical, electrical, construction, and dock workers in various countries who are threatened by dangers, manipulated by the same trusts, and subjected to the same diktats from the same capitalists.

Tomorrow this advance will lead to joint actions by workers in several countries. The day after tomorrow it will lead to a combined struggle for a socialist United States of Europe. It is this Europe, and not the Europe of the Hague, that will attract the hopes of the



# The Struggle in Ethiopia

The oppressive feudal regime in Ethiopia has always enjoyed a good reputation in the "free" world. The reason is not difficult to fathom: ever since the days of the "Scramble for Africa", the interests of the feudal regime and those of imperialism have coincided.

The imperialist mass-media would rather cover up the facts than expose the tottering regime in the eyes of the world public. The unprecedented struggle of the Ethiopian Student Movement since February this year has, for example, received only passing mention. The struggle of the labouring masses is barely noticed. Asked why he did not report what he observed, a BBC correspondent in Addis Abeba replied that he would be "kicked off" if he reported accurately.

Ethiopia is often portrayed as a country with a glorious tradition of a rich and enduring civilisation. There is much to be proud of in this heritage. But beneath the picturesque medievalism of kings and queens lies the overwhelming reality of the misery of the people who have borne the burden of this pageantry. It is this dismal story of the hardships suffered by the vast majority that needs to be told.

Politically, Ethiopia remains a despotism. Power is exclusively held by the feudal nobility, presently headed by Haile Selassie. No political parties are allowed. Freedom of expression is non-existent. The only similarity the parliament bears to a democratic institution is its name. Members of the upper house are personally appointed by an emperor who is free to overrule any decisions by the lower house. The prime minister and cabinet are imperial appointees.

Economically, Ethiopia is an undeveloped country, standing low among the poorest countries. The per capita income is estimated to be between US \$35 and \$50. When allowances have been made for the incomes of the feudal nobility, the peasants' income is much below subsistence level. Periodic famines are rampant throughout the countryside; annually at least one province suffers severe starvation. 90% of the population is engaged in agriculture. Modern manufacturing industries make up 2% of the total economy. One crop, coffee, accounts for between one-half and two-thirds of the total value of exports. Due to the extravagant luxury consumption, incompetence and corruption of the ruling clique, the country has been suffering from a rapidly growing trade deficit which has reached such proportions in 1969 that it threatens collapse of the national economy.

Though the country's economic potential is considered great, the overwhelming majority of the population exist under miserable conditions. The situation in health is appalling. The infant mortality rate is among the highest in the world: between 50% and 60% of the newborn children die in the first two and a half years after birth. Of the 25,000,000 Ethiopians, approximately 10 million live in malaria-infested areas. Death from malaria alone is estimated at 20,000 people yearly. Leprosy, tuberculosis, syphilis, typhus, small pox, and a host of other diseases are rampant throughout the country. To meet the requirements of public health, there is one hospital bed for every 3,500 people and one doctor for every 100,000. The majority of these are in Addis Abeba, catering for the ruling class.

In the field of education, the situation is equally dismal. A UNESCO study shows that between 95% and 98% of the Ethiopian population is illiterate. Only 5% of the school-age children attend school; the education of these children is unsurpassed in mediocrity.

The autocratic regime bears full responsibility for the devastated economic and social life of the nation. The imperial family and the feudal nobility own some 65% of the land and the State Church holds 20% of the most arable land. A tenant by law has to surrender 75% of his crop yield to the landlord. In addition to all this, the peasant is required to pay income tax, "health tax", "education" tax, and other forms of

imperialist capital, and the US's economic hold on Ethiopia is increasing in leaps and bounds. A *New York Times*, January 17, 1969, report celebrated this in the following terms:

Dozens of American businessmen have already discovered Ethiopia, from a book-store to a \$100 million potash mining project, from a spice firm to two of the world's largest oil companies. More than 200 American companies also have agencies in Ethiopia. Among the reasons: one of Africa's most liberal investment policies, generous duty-free and tax-exemption provisions, special laws protecting US firms against expropriations and vast potential in agriculture, industry and mining.

The ruling class, with Haile Selassie at the head, have not only leased Ethiopia to US imperialism, but also turned the country into a base for the neo-colonisation of the entire African continent. Ethiopia hosts the largest US military "assistance" to Africa. The USA has one of its most important military bases in Ethiopian soil—despite the resolution of OAU (whose headquarters are in Addis Abeba) asking all member states to remove all foreign military bases. One of the largest contingents of US Peace Corps is unfolding its task of cultural aggression. The US Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG), the Mapping Mission, Point Four and other "AID" programmes testify to the firm imperialist hold on Ethiopia. No wonder, then, that an American paper (*Illinois State Register*, January 12, 1964) could state:

One of the most important show-downs between East and West is in the making in Ethiopia. Upon its outcome may depend whether the US loses Africa. The US must stand behind those who have supported it in the past—in this case Emperor Haile Selassie.

Emperor Haile Selassie was once again in Washington from 7th to 11th July 1969 to barter away the sovereignty and wealth of the country.

## THE POPULATION LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Feudal oppression and imperialist exploitation has not gone unchallenged. Even since the return of Haile Selassie from his sanctuary at the end of the Italian occupation in 1941, there have been a number of rebellions against his regime. Several patriotic forces, who fought the Italian occupation by guerrilla warfare, especially in Gojjam and Tigre provinces, opposed the return of the feudal regime. These were crushed, mainly by British imperialist forces, the guardians of the regime at that time. Innumerable patriotic leaders were hunted and exterminated. Several peasant uprisings opposing excessive taxes and expropriation of their land—notably in Gojjam (1945), Ogaden (1948), Sidamo (1960)—were met with ruthless bombing and the eradication of whole villages.

During the last eight years armed peasant struggles have become extensive: sustained peasant struggle has been waged since 1962 in Eritrea, Bale, and Borana. The province of Gojjam has again taken up arms against the regime. Other uprisings are under way in Arussi and Harrar.

Workers have also struggled against their exploitation. While prices—especially of food and clothing—are soaring, wages have barely increased (in fact, in some places they have decreased by as much as 12%). In 1963 two workers were murdered in cold blood while conducting peaceful demonstrations for better wages, and last year 20,000 workers in the Dutch-owned sugar monopoly plant at Wonji seized their factory when their demands were not met.

## THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

Resolutely opposing feudalism and imperialism, the Ethiopian students have been in the forefront of these struggles during the past years. In launching the slogan "Land to the Tiller", in demonstrating solidarity with the working masses, in opposing maltreatment of the poor and unemployed, in fighting against

a repressive law prohibiting peaceful public demonstrations, the Ethiopian students at home as well as abroad have reaped several victories against the regime and exposed to an ever wider public the real conditions in Ethiopia.

Especially during the year 1969 the struggle of students has reached unprecedented heights. In the month of February 1969, secondary and elementary school students in several provincial towns demonstrated against the restrictive educational policy of the regime and the introduction of new school fees. In one provincial town not far from Addis Abeba, at least one student was killed by the police in cold blood and several severely injured.

In the subsequent weeks the students of the University opposed this brutal slaying of an innocent student and posed the fundamental problems of the educational system in Ethiopia. The question, by its very nature, brought into the picture the entire political and economic set-up of the feudal system. The students drafted a set of demands. The demands include: the withdrawal of the recently instituted school and examination fees; a just and equitable distribution of scholarships granted by foreign nations; cessation of the use of American Peace Corps teachers; immediate termination of the vast expenditures on extravagant entertainment of foreign guests, on similar visits abroad by Ethiopian officials and on unnecessary embassies; the removal from office of those officials directly responsible for the state of the educational system; public trial of those officials responsible for the killing of students during peaceful demonstrations. In these demands and in the subsequent struggles, the students in the University were joined by secondary and elementary school students, parents, teachers, and



other youths. The government retaliated by closing all schools and colleges and detaining some two thousand students in concentration camps. When the government later ordered that the schools and colleges be reopened, the students decided to boycott classes until their demands were met, and those arrested unconditionally set free. Abroad, Ethiopian students have condemned the regime and expressed their solidarity with the compatriots at home, in such actions as the occupation of the feudal regime's embassies in Belgrade, London, Moscow, Paris, Stockholm, and Washington, DC, on 28th March 1969.

Throughout the continuing struggles, the government has employed the full force of its repressive machinery. In March (1969) the regime decreed a Detention Act setting a three-month imprisonment for any suspect, with the provision that the period can be extended at the discretion of the security arm of the government. Detention of innocent people without trial has always been practised by the regime. Now it has been legalised and will be used extensively. (From the World-Wide Union of Ethiopian Students)

# Hunger Strike in Mexico

As 1969 drew to an end the eighty-five political prisoners still in Mexico City's Lecumberri prison were continuing their hunger strike. The prisoners began their action on December 10th to protest against arbitrary and unconstitutional confinement and the failure of the courts to observe the minimum judicial norms in conducting their trials.

Spokesmen for the protesters expected the hunger strike to continue into January despite the fact that many of the participants in the action were seriously ill even before it began. Three—Eli de Gortari, Jose Revueltas and Raul Belarano—are diabetics. Five others, including Manuel Marcue Pardinias, suffer from epilepsy. As of the end of December, only the elderly Eli de Gortari had been forced to abandon the hunger strike.

After refusing food for more than two weeks, the prisoners declared that they intended to continue their strike until their demands were met, no matter what the consequences. They have not been deterred by the brutal indifference of the government nor by a combination of threats and political pressure.

The authorities have intimated that the *granaderos*, Mexico's riot police, may be ordered to suppress the protest action. The hunger strikers have also been threatened with isolation from other prisoners. Political figures linked to the government, like Luis Quintanilla, have visited Lecumberri in an attempt to persuade the participants to abandon their strike.

In an apparent attempt to dissuade moderates from supporting the Lecumberri protest, the state prosecutor's office issued a statement declaring that the hunger strike was "neither a proper nor legal recourse".

None of the government's attempts block growing support for the hunger strike have succeeded. Many prominent liberals, including leading church figures have gone on record in support of the prisoners' demands.

In the last two weeks of December, hundreds of prominent Mexican intellectuals and artists, including Carlos Fuentes, David Siqueiros, and Jose Luis Cuevas, petitioned President Diaz Ordaz to submit an amnesty proposal to the congress. The legislature adjourned, however, without any such proposal having been submitted.

## THE DEMANDS

In a statement issued at the start of the hunger strike, the participants demanded that the government drop its charges and release them.

The protesters cited the following grounds for their demands: (1) their trials have been in progress for more than a year, which exceeds the constitutional limit; (2) the acts they are accused of were pretexts for repression of the student movement, and in no way attributable to them; (3) the trial hearings have been a farce; (4) no proof of any kind has been presented to show that they are responsible for the acts with which they are charged; (5) granting of bail has been made subject to specific political conditions and although many requests for bail have been made since last January, none have been allowed; (6) the political character of the arrests and jailing are obvious to all; (7) some political prisoners have already been granted asylum, possible only in cases of political persecution.

The prisoners wrote that they had decided to resort to a hunger strike because the courts had arbitrarily declared their trials concluded although the prosecution had failed to present any credible evidence, and no adequate defence had been permitted.

Individuals and groups have appealed repeatedly to the government to respect the constitution in its treatment of the political prisoners without effect. The only response was a statement that "there are no political prisoners in Mexico".

Letters and telegrams supporting the prisoners' demands and protesting against the treatment they have received can be sent to Lic. Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, Presidente de Mexico, Palacio Nacional,





# BRAZIL-THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN PERSPECTIVE



Some of the political prisoners released from Brazil's prisons in exchange for Elbrick

The spectacular and successful kidnapping of the American Ambassador in Brazil last year, and his exchange for 15 political prisoners, drew world attention to the increasing struggle of the Brazilian people against the ruling military junta and US imperialism. The students have been playing an important role in this struggle, and it is no accident that the urban guerrilla movement forced the dictatorship to liberate, among the 15, the three main leaders of the National Union of Students: Luis Travassos, Jose Dirceu, Vladimir Palmeira (who were arrested over a year ago), and three local student leaders, including a girl, Maria Augusta Carneiro.

## STUDENT MOVEMENT

The Brazilian student movement has been one of the most consistent and active enemies of the military regime over the last five years. The army putsch of April 1964, the self-styled "Redeeming Revolution" overthrew the elected President (Goulart) and violently crushed the trade unions, student unions and leftist parties. The "gorillas" proscribed the UNE (Brazilian National Union of Students)—which has a large tradition of progressive and anti-imperialist struggles—burned down its building and arrested its leaders. Student demonstrations against the military coup took place in the main cities of the country and were bloodily suppressed by the new junta: two students were killed by the Army in a popular demonstration in Recife, and in Rio one student was killed and seventy wounded by the Air Force Police: it was the beginning of a war without truce between the top brass and the student movement in Brazil.

## 1964 PUTSCH AND REFORMISM

The military takeover, which of course received the immediate blessings of US imperialism (the US Ambassador, Lincoln Gordon, played an important role in the preparation of the putsch) and of the big landowners, was also supported by the bourgeois parties and by the so-called "Association of the Productive Classes" (Brazilian CBI), the official organisation of the Brazilian bourgeoisie. The "Holy Alliance" which was formed in support of the coup, showed once more that in the face of a popular movement (represented in March 1964 by the workers, students, sailors and soldiers in rebellion in Rio) all the segments of the ruling class unite themselves with the local militarists and with imperialism. It showed also the complete irrelevance of the strategy advocated by the pro-Soviet Brazilian Communist Party (PCB): "united front with the national bourgeoisie against the feudal landowners and US monopolies", subordinating the class struggle ("secondary contradiction") to this "nationalist and democratic front" which can of course triumph by the "peaceful road". The "national" bourgeoisie knew better than the reformist left where to look for the "main contradiction" ... The 1964 putsch revealed the basic socio-economic homogeneity of the ruling classes in Brazil and their complete integration with imperialist capital. "The local bourgeoisies have lost all capacity of opposition to imperialism—if they ever had any—and form only its handwagon" (Che Guevara, *Message to the Tricontinental*).

## STUDENTS GO UNDERGROUND

As a response to government repression, the UNE reorganised itself and went underground; the dictatorship's attempt to create new "moderate" and "legal" student unions failed entirely; in 1965 the UNE clandestinely organised its 27th Congress and successfully boycotted the "official" and "legal" unions created by the government.

At this period there began among the left in general and the student movement in particular a long political debate on the lessons which should be drawn from the April 1964 coup. The leadership of the Communist Party did not change its orientation. On the contrary its secretary, Luis Carlos Prestes, declared in 1966: "It is foolish to think that the dictatorship can fall by the assault of the masses; the spontaneous breakdown of the putschist group is most probable"

Front" for "redemocratisation", under the leadership of well-known bourgeois politicians like Carlos Lacerda, Juscelino Kubitschek, etc. But inside the Party a growing number of militants and even some leaders began to oppose this line: at the end of 1966 Carlos Mariguella, one of the best-known leaders of the Party, resigned from the Central Committee and denounced in an open letter "the capitulations and the policy of tailing the bourgeoisie". At the same time, the left-Christian party (AP—"Acao Popular": "Popular Action") which was powerful in the student movement became radicalised and moved closer to a Marxist position.

## REVOLUTIONARY LEFT

Finally, the revolutionary Marxist organisation "Politica Operaria" ("Workers' Politics", founded in 1960) began to have a decisive influence on the student vanguard, putting forward the following thesis:

(a) the capitalist (and not "feudal") character of the Brazilian agriculture and the intimate economical, financial, social and political unity between latifundium owners and industrialists;

(b) the growing integration of the "national" industry with imperialist capital, with the progressive transformation of the Brazilian capitalists to minor associates of the US monopolies;

(c) the class character of the Brazilian State and the capitalist character of the present military dictatorship;

(d) the organic relation between class struggle and anti-imperialist struggle in Brazil;

(e) the armed struggle as the necessary road of the Brazilian revolution, and the socialist character of this revolution.

The influence of the revolutionary left was felt during the 28th Congress of UNE (clandestinely assembled in the vaults of a Franciscan church in 1966) which planned the first mass demonstrations against the regime in Recife, Belo Horizonte, Brasilia, Rio de Janeiro and S. Paulo; it became predominant at the 29th Congress (1967), where the reformists were eliminated from the leadership of the UNE and a truly revolutionary strategy was adopted: "to integrate the UNE in the workers' struggle for a revolutionary change of our society".

## CP BOYCOTTS OLAS

The radicalisation of the student movement and the internal crisis of the PCB reached boiling-point in 1967-68; Prestes and the leadership of the PCB boycotted the OLAS meeting (Latin America Solidarity Organisation) in Havana and expelled Mariguella for taking part in this continental revolutionary congress; thousands of militants and a group of leaders left the Party and new revolutionary organisations emerged: the Revolutionary Brazilian Communist Party, the Popular Revolutionary Vanguard, the National Liberation Action, the Workers' Communist Party, the 8th October Revolutionary Movement, etc. All these groups supported the Cuban Revolution and OLAS and advocated a strategy of armed struggle including guerrilla warfare. The highest degree of political clarification was achieved by the Workers' Communist Party (POC), founded in 1967 by the fusion between "Politica Operaria" ("Workers' Politics") and the "Leninist Dissidents" of the PCB. The POC proclaims clearly the socialist character of the Brazilian revolution, and the decisive role of the urban proletariat; its strategy is one of prolonged revolution-

On 19 March 1968, after a peaceful demonstration of students in Rio de Janeiro (against a price-rise in the university-refectories) the police fired on unarmed youths, killing the student Edson Souto (18 years old). The people reacted with unanimous indignation to this police provocation; in Rio tens of thousands of students and workers demonstrated in the streets, carrying pictures of Che Guevara and shouting "Down with the dictatorship". During the month of April, violent student and popular demonstrations broke out in the main cities; for the first time, the students answered them in their own language and used weapons and Molotov cocktails against the police. In Rio the police forces could no longer contain the rebellion and the army was mobilised with its tanks to "re-establish order". Temporarily suppressed, the movement burst out again in June, stimulated by the French May events; on 26 June 100,000 people demonstrated in Rio against the dictatorship, with the participation of student organisations, trade unions, associations of "favelas" (slums), writers, artists and intellectuals. In S. Paulo the students occupied the University and raised barricades in front of the Faculty of Philosophy; in Brasilia the American Embassy was attacked and sacked.

## REPRESSION

The brutal repression of the military police and the army once more saved the dictatorship; the wave of student and popular revolt menaced the power of the "gorillas" but could not break it. The UNE decided to call its congress in October, in order to discuss new forms of action. The Congress (30th) met at a farm not far from S. Paulo, but was discovered by the police who arrested all its 750 delegates (including more than 200 girls). Student demonstrations throughout the country, supported by the population, forced the government to liberate the majority, but the leaders of the UNE were kept in prison, including the former President, Luis Travassos, and the famous student leader of Rio, Vladimir Palmeira (the son of a senator from the government party...).

A balance of the activities of the UNE in the last four years shows that the student organisation managed to a large extent to fulfil its two main and complementary tasks: mobilising the mass of students in the struggle for its own demands free education, democratisation of the University, etc.) and at the same time integrating it in the struggle of the workers against the oligarchic-bourgeois dictatorship and imperialism.

It should be stressed that the action of the students is not isolated: it is part of a process of radicalisation which reflects itself on different levels. First of all, the struggle of the working class against the wage-freeze imposed by the government of Marshall Costa e Silva: the strikes followed by occupation of factories in Belo Horizonte (April 1968) and Osasco (July 1968), the setting-up of clandestine shop committees, the demonstrations of 1st May in S. Paulo, Belo Horizonte and Rio de Janeiro, etc. On the other side, the appearance and development of daring actions of "urban guerrillas": attacks with dynamite against military barracks, police posts, Yankee plants, expropriations of banks, etc. In June 1968, the General Carvalho Lisboa, commanding officer of the Second Army Corps (based in S. Paulo), threw a public challenge to the leftist guerrillas: "Attack from behind, because if you come by a frontal

explosives was directed at the front of the barracks of the Second Army Corps, blowing it into pieces... Another action of the revolutionary commandos which had wide repercussions was the liquidation of a Yankee officer, Charles Chandler, specialist in "counter-insurgency", war criminal from Vietnam and a personal friend of General Westmoreland, in October 1968. And finally, in September 1969, the most brilliant and successful yet: the kidnapping of the US Ambassador.

The government's answer to the students' and workers' "unrest" was the traditional one of military dictatorships, from Athens to Madrid: arresting, killing and torturing the militants. Reports from the Brazilian underground press (the public one is completely censored) give a detailed description of the monstrous treatment of political prisoners incarcerated in Brazilian dungeons. Here are a few recent examples:

1. The priests Tolpes and Antonio Soligo, the physician Celerino and the trade union leader Ibrahim (who is among the 15 now freed) were tortured with electrical shocks in their sexual organs. The priest Tolpes witnessed such tortures in numerous other prisoners.
2. In Belo Horizonte, Imaculada Conceicao de Oliveira, a trade union official, was tortured and aborted in prison. Her brother, also arrested and probably tortured, committed suicide.
3. In the state of Minas Gerais, the worker Jorge Nahas was killed in prison by the police; his wife, Maria Jose, was violated by soldiers and common prisoners, who cut her body with a razor blade.
4. The student Marcos Vinicius dos Santos, 19 years old, was arrested with all his family, including his grandmother. He is still being tortured, and his girl friend Ana Maria is now in hospital with kidney wounds provoked by brutal beating.
5. A medical student of Minas Gerais, Angelo Pezzuti, was arrested with his brother Murilo, a schoolboy, and his mother. To obtain a "confession" from him, the police had the mother beaten and violated in his presence, and the young brother blinded.

This and other crimes of the dictatorship—like the incredible mass murder of the Indians by officers of the so-called "Service for the protection of the Indians" and the recent murder of Comrade Mariguella (see *Black Dwarf* No. 26)—will be duly punished by revolutionary justice.

## INTERNATIONALISM!

In Brazil, as in Latin America in general, the student struggles are an essential part of the people's fight against American imperialism, the "gorillas" and the bourgeois-oligarchic regimes. The historical experience of the military take-over of April 1964 and of five years of hard and bloody struggle against the dictatorship, eliminated from the vanguard of the student movement the reformist illusions on the "dialogue" with the authorities, on the "peaceful road", on the alliance with the pseudo "progressive bourgeoisie". Its perspective is not that of a vague and improbable bourgeois "redemocratisation", but of the revolutionary transformation of Brazilian society. On the other hand, the student vanguard knew how to avoid the ideological temptations which could sterilise the movement: either by dismissing it as a "petty bourgeois phenomenon" which has no revolutionary meaning and implications, or, on the contrary, to consider the students the "true" revolutionary vanguard which has to substitute itself for a working class class supposedly condemned to reformism. It knew also how to unite the specific student struggles with the general workers' struggle against exploitation and the dictatorship, thereby creating the conditions for a workers-students-peasants alliance, the social basis of the future Brazilian revolution.

The gorillas arrested and tortured student and worker militants; but they cannot arrest or contain the immense revolt of the Brazilian youth and the Brazilian people against the "Old Regime", the regime of exploitation and obscurantism, of the Marshalls and Generals, bankers and landowners, police and CIA agents.



# MANIFESTO

In the summer of 1938, Andre Breton, the founder and leader of the surrealist movement, went to Mexico and met the painter Diego Rivera, and Trotsky. Together they composed this Manifesto although Trotsky did not actually sign it. It was written at a time of great despair for the left in Europe. The Spanish War was ending in defeat and a world war was about to begin, and this is reflected in some of the paragraphs. But they tackled the problem of the artist's role head on, and the Mani-

festo has enormous relevance for us today.

It goes to the extreme of saying that from the very beginning, the revolution must "set up and assure an anarchist regime of individual freedom". This does seem an extraordinary statement for Trotsky to support and it is perhaps not surprising that he did not put his name to it. But in a letter written to Breton not long afterwards, Trotsky went on to declare that:

"truly independent creation in our period

of convulsive reaction and return to savagery cannot fail to be revolutionary by its very spirit, for it can no longer seek a solution in an intolerable social asphyxiation. But art in its entirety and each artist in particular must seek this solution by individual means, without waiting for some external order, without tolerating it, rejecting it and covering with scorn all those who submit to it."

Clive Goodwin

## ART AND REVOLUTION

We can say without exaggeration that never has civilization been menaced so seriously as today. The Vandals, with instruments which were barbarous, and so comparatively ineffective, blotted out the culture of antiquity in one corner of Europe. But today we see world civilization, united in its historic destiny, reeling under the blows of reactionary forces armed with the entire arsenal of modern technology. We are by no means thinking only of the world war that draws near. Even in times of 'peace' the position of art and science has become absolutely intolerable.

Insofar as it originates with an individual, insofar as it brings into play subjective talents to create something which brings about an objective enriching of culture, any philosophical, sociological, scientific or artistic discovery seems to be the fruit of a precious chance, that is to say, the manifestation, more or less spontaneous, of necessity. Such creations cannot be slighted, whether from the standpoint of general knowledge (which interprets the existing world), or of revolutionary knowledge (which, the better to change the world, requires an exact analysis of the laws which govern its movement). Specifically, we cannot remain indifferent to the intellectual conditions under which creative activity takes place, nor should we fail to pay all respect to those particular laws which govern intellectual creation.

In the contemporary world we must recognize the ever more widespread destruction of those conditions under which intellectual creation is possible. From this follows of necessity an increasingly manifest degradation not only of the work of art but also of the specifically 'artistic' personality. The régime of Hitler, now that it has rid Germany of all those artists whose work expressed the slightest sympathy for liberty, however superficial, has reduced those who still consent to take up pen or brush to the status of domestic servants of the régime, whose task it is to glorify it on order, according to the worst possible aesthetic conventions. If reports may be believed it is the same in the Soviet Union, where Thermidorean reaction is now reaching its climax.

It goes without saying that we do not identify ourselves with the currently fashionable catchword: 'Neither fascism nor communism!' a shibboleth which suits the temperament of the Philistine, conservative and frightened, clinging to the tattered remnants of the 'democratic' past. True art, which is not content to play variations on ready-made models but rather insists on expressing the inner needs of man and of mankind in its time—true art is unable *not* to be revolutionary, *not* to aspire to a complete and radical reconstruction of society. This it must do, were it only to deliver intellectual creation from the chains which bind it, and to allow all mankind to raise itself to those heights which only isolated geniuses have achieved in the past. We recognize that only the social revolution can sweep clean the path for a new culture. If, however, we reject all solidarity with the bureaucracy now in control of the Soviet Union, it is precisely because, in our eyes, it represents, not communism, but its most treacherous and dangerous enemy.

The totalitarian régime of the USSR, working through the so-called 'cultural' organization it controls in other countries, has spread over the entire world a deep twilight hostile to every sort of spiritual value. A twilight of filth and blood in which, disguised as intellectuals and artists, those men steep themselves who have made of servility a career, of lying for pay a custom, and of the palliation of crime a source of pleasure. The official art of Stalinism mirrors with a blatancy unexampled in history their efforts to put a good face on their mercenary profession.

The repugnance which this shameful negation of principles of art inspires in the artistic world—a negation which even slave states have never dared to carry so far—should give rise to an active, uncompromising condemnation. The opposition of writers and artists is one of the forces which can usefully contribute to the discrediting and overthrow of régimes which are destroying, along with the right of

the proletariat to aspire to a better world, every sentiment of nobility and even of human dignity.

The conception of the writer's function which the young Marx worked out is worth recalling. 'The writer,' he declared, 'naturally must make money in order to live and write, but he should not under any circumstances live and write in order to make money. . . . The writer by no means looks on his work as a means. It is an end in itself and so little a means in the eyes of himself and of others that if necessary he sacrifices his existence to the existence of his work. . . . The first condition of the freedom of the press is that it is not a business



Early Soviet poster

[Let us take the storm of the Revolution in Soviet Russia, unite it to the pulse of American life, and do our work like a chronometer!]

activity.' It is more than ever fitting to use this statement against those who would regiment intellectual activity in the direction of ends foreign to itself, and prescribe, in the guise of so-called 'reasons of State', the themes of art. The free choice of these themes and the absence of all restrictions on the range of his exploitations—these are possessions which the artist has a right to claim as inalienable. In the realm of artistic creation, the imagination must escape from all constraint and must under no pretext allow itself to be placed under bonds. To those who urge us, whether for today or for tomorrow, to consent that art should submit to a discipline which we hold to be radically incompatible with its nature, we give a flat refusal and we repeat our deliberate intention of standing by the formula *complete freedom for art*.

We recognize, of course, that the revolutionary State has the right to defend itself against the counter-attack of the bourgeoisie, even when this drapes itself in the flag of science or art. But there is an abyss between these enforced and temporary measures of revolutionary self-defence and the pretension to lay commands on intellectual creation. If, for the better development of the forces of material production, the revolution must build a socialist régime with centralized control, to develop intellectual creation an anarchist régime of individual liberty should from the first be established. No authority, no dictation, not the least trace of orders from above! Only on a base of friendly co-operation, without constraint from outside, will it be possible for scholars and artists to carry out their tasks, which will be more far-reaching than ever before in history.

It should be clear by now that in defending freedom of thought we have no intention of justifying

political indifference, and that it is far from our wish to revive a so-called 'pure' art which generally serves the extremely impure ends of reaction. No, our conception of the role of art is too high to refuse it an influence on the fate of society. We believe that the supreme task of art in our epoch is to take part actively and consciously in the preparation of the revolution. But the artist cannot serve the struggle for freedom unless he subjectively assimilates its social content, unless he feels in his very nerves its meaning and drama and freely seeks to give his own inner world incarnation in his art.

In the present period of the death agony of capitalism, democratic as well as fascist, the artist sees himself threatened with the loss of his right to live and continue working. He sees all avenues of communication choked with the debris of capitalist collapse. Only naturally, he turns to the Stalinist organizations which hold out the possibility of escaping from his isolation. But if he is to avoid complete demoralization, he cannot remain there, because of the impossibility of delivering his own message and the degrading servility which these organizations exact from him in exchange for certain material advantages. He must understand that his place is elsewhere, not among those who betray the cause of the revolution and mankind, but among those who with unshaken fidelity bear witness to the revolution, among those who, for this reason, are alone able to bring it to fruition, and along with it the ultimate free expression of all forms of human genius.

The aim of this appeal is to find a common ground on which may be reunited all revolutionary writers and artists, the better to serve the revolution by their art and to defend the liberty of that art itself against the usurpers of the revolution. We believe that aesthetic, philosophical and political tendencies of the most varied sort can find here a common ground. Marxists can march here hand in hand with anarchists, provided both parties uncompromisingly reject the reactionary police patrol spirit represented by Joseph Stalin and by his henchman Garcia Oliver.

We know very well that thousands on thousands of isolated thinkers and artists are today scattered throughout the world, their voices drowned out by the loud choruses of well-disciplined liars. Hundreds of small local magazines are trying to gather youthful forces about them, seeking new paths and not subsidies. Every progressive tendency in art is destroyed by fascism as 'degenerate'. Every free creation is called 'fascist' by the Stalinists. Independent revolutionary art must now gather its forces for the struggle against reactionary persecution. It must proclaim aloud the right to exist. Such a union of forces is the aim of the *International Federation of Independent Revolutionary Art* which we believe it is now necessary to form.

We by no means insist on every idea put forth in this manifesto, which we ourselves consider only a first step in the new direction. We urge every friend and defender of art, who cannot but realize the necessity for this appeal, to make himself heard at once. We address the same appeal to all those publications of the left wing which are ready to participate in the creation of the *International Federation* and to consider its task and its methods of action.

When a preliminary international contact has been established through the press and by correspondence, we will proceed to the organization of local and national congresses on a modest scale. The final step will be the assembly of a world congress which will officially mark the foundation of the *International Federation*.

Our aims:

The independence of art—for the revolution.

The revolution—for the complete liberation of art!

ANDRE BRETON  
DIEGO RIVERA



# DWARF DIARY

## LORD MAYOR'S MESSAGE FOR THE DECADE

A piece of drivel from Sir Ian Bowater, Lord Mayor of London since last November:

"In an era when the word "permissive" is on the lips of so many people, when newspapers delivered into this Mansion House (the Lord Mayor's multi-million-pound residence) print on their front pages in disgusting detail some sordid affair; when liberty as we understand it turns in favour of license:

"When the stage is bastardised and cheapened by the introduction of plays which, in the pretence of being works of art, are in fact nothing more than a seduction of people's morals in favour of money; when books can be written on subjects which should never be discussed outside the clinic—and then a mental clinic at that:

"When all these things happen, when the thugs can go easily and now without any fear of any ultimate sanction and slash people down in the streets—people who are completely defenceless, policemen who are unarmed, policemen who if they were not there would remove any vestige of safety from the citizen which he now enjoys:

"Is it not time to find a new solution to the evils of today, is it not time to resurrect the spirit of St. George? A champion who can go forward to rescue the weak, the beautiful and the worthwhile and slay the hideous dragon that lurks in almost every corner of modern life."

The Lord Mayor, who was speaking at the City branch of the Royal Society of St. George, which, unperturbed by that saint's erasure from sanctity (and honestly, one can see why, if he stood for all this) continues to propagate its absurdly reactionary nonsense in the City.

The Lord Mayor explained what he meant by the above diatribe by adding, "There can be no civilisation without justice and the justice of English rule has been accepted except by the purlind faw as one of the gifts which were brought to mankind wherever Englishmen went."

**Don't forget we are moving. See page two**

## SAIGON'S BLACK MARKET: SCREWING THE LITTLE GUYS

The people of Saigon are coming upon hard times, harder than ever. One of the latest woes is a U.S.-sponsored crackdown on black market operators. Many Vietnamese families depend on the black market dealings in U.S. goods and currency for their survival; now these people are in trouble.

Ironically, the crackdown has had the effect of undermining the support for the Saigon regime. That regime, unlike the Provisional Revolutionary Government, has tolerated and encouraged the black market, just about the only lively thing left in puppet-controlled Vietnam. The puppets will still get their kickbacks, however. The Christian Science Monitor reported last month that the crackdown has been less than total:

"The worst offenders escaped. The axe fell hardest on the small operators who surrendered most of the \$30,000 in black-market goods. But the big black-market operators—dealing in U.S. dollars, checks for dollars, and money orders—have largely gone unscathed."

Inflation is going up, jobs are difficult to come by, and, the Monitor reports, "there is little doubt that times will become still harder before they get better."

No wonder so many South Vietnamese people are siding with the revolutionaries. In liberated areas, there's no black market—but there's also no inflation, no unemployment.

Even policemen may be joining the ranks of the pro-revolutionary forces, as life under the Saigon regime becomes more unbearable. Here's what Monitor reporter George W. Ashworth saw:

"The South Vietnamese police officer stood pleading with his superior on a Saigon street.

"All the black-market goods in his wife's sidewalk stand had just been confiscated.

"Quietly, the superior told the unhappy officer that he would like to help but it was impossible. The Americans with his patrol already had had entered the goods on the confiscation tally, he said.



Von Moos at home, the Boss of the Swiss Dept of Justice and Police enjoys a typically Swiss working day with his family and their narrow anti-Semitic prejudices.

Councillor Morris, Tory Chairman of Islington Council told a meeting of angry people who were demanding that the public baths in Essex Road should not be closed down that there were other baths within a bus-ride or two, and the old-age-pensioners shouldn't really mind.

"Why don't we all go down to your house instead?" shouted a heckler.

The meeting, about 100 strong, unanimously urged the Council to reject the closure proposal. They were impatient of the way the Tory speakers kept evading the issues. "Get to the point," one heckler told them, "or the toilets will be closed down as well."

It isn't just the 500 public bathers who use the facilities each week who will be forced to take the bus. The baths include a swimming pool which is important for kids especially in an area where there are very few places to play. Local swimming clubs also use this pool and helped to organise the meeting to keep their baths.

Councillor Morris had a glib response to the swimming clubs. They might teach people to swim but they didn't win many national competitions. In his way of thinking this justifies them being stopped from doing any swimming at all: Free Competition!

The Tories have given as their excuse for the closing of the baths the general squeeze on public spending and especially increased interest payments on the housing account. One speaker at the meeting raised the question of interest payments. Islington pays more than £2 million every year straight to the money lenders. Actual spending on houses is much less than this, and the saving on the baths would be only £35,000.

Labour is delighted to cash in on the feeling against the closure, though they confine their protests to votes in the council chamber, while shrugging off responsibility for the Government attack on the social services and the whole question of the interest rates.

A new film magazine has come our way, called *Cinemantics*, price 2/-, appearing bi-monthly. The first issue features a translation of a paper given at the Pesaro Film Festival in 1967 on the linguistic structure of film, and a long interview with Jean-Marie Straub, who, it is claimed, is the most revolutionary film-maker to come out of Germany.

*Cinemantics* is addressed to the conscious cinema-goer who is tired of all the rhetoric in *Sight and Sound* and all those other glossy manuals of mystification. It hopes to function as a forum for open-ended debate on the cinema, and the relation of the cinema to politics. Future issues will analyse the medium, both as a carrier of information and a means of interaction between one group of people and an "audience". The tone of *Cinemantics* is theoretical throughout, and the editors stand with the independent film-maker against a monolithic and dying industry. All enquiries to 117 Hartfield Road, London S.W.19, phone 542 3018.

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# DWARF ADS

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

SOLIDARITY WEST LONDON: No. 2 now out. Articles include ITALY—Potere Operaio; Punfield & Barstow, the struggle continues; Wembley Furniture Workers; "Glasses" of Perivale; N.W. Poly occupation. 10d each post free or 10/- for 12 issues post paid from M. Duncan, 15 Taylor's Green, East Acton, W.3.

RADICAL ARTS—a new magazine to radicalise artists and bring some imagination to active politics. Copy for second issue to Bruce Birchall, 3 Round Church Street, Cambridge, by 24 Feb. 1st issue 2/6 inc. p&p out at end of January.

Dear Comrades,  
 I would be very grateful if you could publish the enclosed in the *Dwarf*. We are being so messed about for office space that it's impossible to produce while this goes on. We haven't even seen our filing system for the last month! If you could include this item, at least word would get around in Manchester that we haven't folded altogether!  
 Fraternally, GRASS EYE. Temporary address: Rainy City Co-op, Garden Street, Shude Hill, Manchester 1.

## International Socialism 41

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 Locating the American Crisis

Debate  
 Nigel Harris, Malcolm Caldwell  
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The bourgeoisie love Switzerland. Clean, decent, healthy, hardworking, it is a living advertisement for capitalism. It is indeed. Switzerland is small, mean, and anti-Semitic. It lives off ill-paid foreign labour, housed in vile conditions, and from the gold and dollars that criminals and gangsters pile up in the Zurich vaults.

### Anti-Semitic?

The Zurich review *Neutralitat* has recently revealed that Ludwig von Moos, head of the Department of Justice and Police of Switzerland, and ex-President (a rotating post), was editor of the *Obwaldner Volksfreund* when it was publishing anti-Semitic articles during the war. Among other things, the *Volksfreund* wrote: "In Germany the Jews had such a disastrous influence on the country's political, economic and spiritual life that the persecutions must be considered as a reaction against this undesirable activity." The accusations are precise—and have not been denied. The government has claimed that "the quotations give a deformed picture of the truth. They have to be put in their context of the time" (sic). But what about now? Switzerland is still governed by a racist ruling class. This is the context of our time.

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

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

The Irish Communist. Containing series of articles on Nationalism, Partition and Politics. Subs 9/- for 6 months post free. 1/- per single issue (plus 6d postage). Available from D. Golden, 28 Mercers Road, N19. Connolly Books, 62 College Road, Cork.

Cuban OSPAL Posters 12 1/2" x 21". Printed in full colour. Cuban Day of Solidarity Poster. 4/- including postage from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ.

1970 Poster Workshop Calendar. Different poster for each month—black, red, blue. Send 7/6 (at least) to Alison Waghorn, 9 Lyme Terrace, N.W.1.

2nd Edition: DIRECTORY OF ORGANISATIONS over 500 groups for left activists. 3/- pp. 18a New End Square, London, N.W.3.

VIETNAM—monthly magazine of the VSC, available from J. Suddaby, Room 1, 13 White Row, London E.1. Price 1/6d.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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