

# The Black Dwarf

Est 1817 Vol. 13 No. 10

27 January 1969

Fortnightly 1s 6d

# THE REVOLUTION

*please  
pity  
me:  
i'm  
so  
silly*



IN BRITAIN

and

N. IRELAND

# REVOLUTION . . .

Two words characterise the differences between reform and revolution: power and consciousness.

For the reformist, power takes the form of political office gained through the acquiescence of a passive working class. Capitalism to him is not a system which must be fought and overthrown, but a machine which can be manipulated at will to move either left or right according to the disposition of the government in office. His overriding objective, therefore, is to control the levers of this machine.

In this scheme of things, the working class has at best a subordinate part to play. It may vote, it may find the money, but it must not fight: for any real struggle threatens the existence of the very machine which the "politicians" have set out to control. Confronted by a militancy which threatens their authority and the direction they have chosen, they will, if it cannot be contained, try to destroy it.

So long as social democracy is successful, this aspect of reformism remains hidden; at a time of crisis, however, on the scale of that in Britain today, it is starkly and brutally revealed.

The right reformists, of which the Wilson government is the principal expression, seek to maintain discipline, to restore order to industrial relations. The left reformists, who

perceive in this an attack upon the working class and the ultimate destruction of the party, are paralysed; they cannot support repression, yet neither can they fight it. For the only force capable of defeating the ruling class is the working class; and the left social democrats have no intention of mobilising so uncontrollable a force.

Their justification is that such a struggle would destroy the party, disrupt society, and unleash the forces of reaction. But this is to miss the point. The Labour Party has no future, and the disintegration of British society is beyond their or our control; a revolutionary struggle, though it may in the short run encourage the forces of reaction, is in the long run the only way of defeating them. The alternatives for Britain, for the whole of Western society indeed, are clear: revolution or repression.

Left reformism is pernicious. It is both utopian and defeatist: utopian because it has a vision of the future in which class antagonism and exploitation will wither of their own accord; defeatist because when confronted with the forces of reaction, it cannot believe that the working class is capable of securing their defeat. In a phrase: it overestimates the potentialities of the capitalist system, and underestimates the capacities of the workers.

It has become fashionable to decry the power of the non-revolutionary left; but this is incorrect. It still has the power to confuse and obfuscate the issues of the day.

# REFORM . . .

## Parliament, Socialism, and the death of Bevan.

From the thundering of Aneurin Bevan to the misleading mysticisms of Ramsay MacDonald: on these stylistic differences alone has politics within the Labour Party rested. Without exception, its outlook has remained the same: a fascination with the Parliamentary machine and a desire to express all politics within it. The situation has not changed today. The fire of Bevan is missing but the Parliamentary left is as unconcerned as ever with the question of rising consciousness among the working class; its aim remains to divert all agitation into pressure at Westminster, to reduce all politics to a level acceptable to Mr Wilson and the Labour whips.

In Britain many generations of dedicated socialists have devoted their lives to the struggle to elect a majority of Labour M.P.s to Parliament. Amongst the vast mass of the working class who regularly turn out to vote Labour at parliamentary elections there may be a degree of cynicism, but there is also a complete lack of consciousness of any alternative. The formulation of a correct attitude towards Parliament which will help in the transition to a revolutionary consciousness in the working class is therefore an important priority for British socialists.

Socialist analysis of parliament since the days of Marx and Engels has insisted that it is not a neutral instrument capable of being used either by left or right to swing the policy of the state. Rather it is the most developed and sophisticated instrument of capitalist domination of the state. Marx contrasted the Paris Commune of 1871 with previous parliamentary governments, stressing that it was necessary for the latter to be entirely destroyed before the working class could take power.

Writing in August 1917 on the eve of the Bolshevik revolution, Lenin engaged in polemics with the spokesmen of social democracy re-emphasised the lessons which Marx had drawn from the experience of the Commune:

"We cannot imagine democracy, even proletarian democracy without representative institutions, but we can and must imagine democracy without parliamentarism. If criticism of bourgeois society is not mere words for us, if the desire to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie is our earnest and sincere desire, and not a mere 'election' cry for catching workers' votes.

Since the victory of the bourgeois revolution in Britain parliament has been an integral part of the state machine. It is moreover a part which plays a very special role in relation to the preservation of capitalist democracy, one man one vote, majority rule etc. that bourgeois ideology is able to maintain its domination.

It is in this sense that a bourgeois democracy is an infinitely stronger and more durable instrument of capitalist rule than for instance the fascist dictatorship of a Hitler or a Mussolini. In the latter, class domination is seen in its naked reality — smashing of working class organisations, repressive action by the police, para-military forces. In the former, the universal right to elect members of parliament, possession of various "democratic" freedoms: press, speech, law, are important elements in the creation of that false consciousness about the underlying nature of society which has permeated the British working class movement throughout its history.

In Britain indeed we have to face the problem of parliamentarist illusions in their most acute form. An unparalleled consistency of parliamentary institutions has led to them being the focus of working class political activity to a degree unknown in any other country. From the early reformers onwards, in the corresponding Societies of the working class, the attention focussed on the 1832

Reform Act, the Chartist movement, the Reform League of the 1860s on to the formation of the Labour Representation Committee in 1900 every significant upsurge amongst the working class was directed at securing parliamentary representation. The names of men like Harney, Tom Mann, James Connolly and John MacLean, whose horizons were not similarly limited stand out as the exceptions in British working class history.

When the Labour Party came into existence this obsession with Parliament led to an electoral alliance with the Liberals and later to the disastrous coalition governments of 1923-4 and 1929-31. Ramsay MacDonald with his grovelling respect for the hallowed institution came to symbolise the orientation of the party. The subsequent evolution of the Labour Party has led to the contemporary position where it exists almost solely as an electoral machine. The willingness of its members, (both 'left' and 'right') to accept the ludicrous farce of parliamentary procedure is indicative of the depths to which British social-democracy has sunk.

The role of Parliament as a smoke screen drawn over the real operations of society is becoming more and more apparent. For many years now students of politics have been accustomed to regard the individual M.P. as of little significance, policy initiatives lying with the Cabinet and (for the opposition) the Parliamentary leadership. Recently J.P. Mackintosh (himself a Labour M.P.) has argued that effective power is now still further concentrated in the hands of the Prime Minister.

Far more important however are the limits within which the "policy makers" work. Recent financial crises have given a clear demonstration of governments working not according to the dictates of parliament (which is never consulted only asked to give the seal of approval after the event), but those of the bankers. Various studies have revealed how top civil servants, pressure groups for particular industrial interests, banking and insurance interests etc. maintain an effective policy making function quite independent of governments. The ever increasing concentration of capitalist industry, nurtured now by the Industrial Re-organisation Corporation actually serves to concentrate this power, allowing the monopolies more and more to dictate to the government (e.g. the oil companies over the price of North Seas Gas, Plessey over the price of telephonic equipment. The nationalised industries, supposedly one of the 'victories' which resulted from Labour control of the government are effectively controlled by private industrialists and are both servants of private industry and completely in debt to the private sector. Under the Morrisonian concept of nationalisation they are accountable neither to Parliament nor to their own employees.

The power of Parliament is therefore actually diminishing. All the work of bourgeois analysis of political trends testifies to this fact. Paradoxically it is the "left" M.P.s of the Labour Party who continue assiduously to cultivate the illusion of the possibility of effecting radical social change through its agency. In the years since the election of the Wilson government, a period in which they have been exposed as having absolutely no influence over the course of events, this has taken the form more and more of pathetic attempts at self-justification.

In a recent article Eric Heffer, M.P., sought, with the aid of quotations from Marx and Lenin to ground this "theory" in marxism. As in so many other fields the Communist Party has imitated this view. Their new policy statement re-affirms the election of a majority Communist and "left-wing" Labour M.P.s as the means to the establishment of socialism in Britain. A more realistic, and more revealing, view was taken by Stan Newens, M.P. in a recent article in which he freely admitted he saw his main role as a sort of comprehensive social worker!

We do not need to look far in time or space for a concrete example of the disastrous effect of "parliamentarist" illusions amongst the leadership of the working class. On May 29th 1968, de Gaulle's government was virtually powerless, 10 million workers were on strike. Factory occupations were spreading. Action committees uniting broader and broader layers were springing up. Effective dual power already existed in the area of Nantes. The police force was showing signs of disaffection. The peasantry was moving and the support of the armed forces for the government was by no means certain. At this point de Gaulle offered as a solution to this profound pre-revolutionary crisis — fresh parliamentary elections! The offer was thankfully embraced by the social democratic and stalinist leaderships of the working class political and industrial movement. The class was demobilised. All efforts were made to end the strike. Political activity was directed solely to the election campaign. The result: capitalism (and de Gaulle) still rule in France.

Does all this mean that socialists should take no part in Parliament? This question can only be decided by what is expedient at a given time. For those of us who do not believe that socialism can ever be achieved through Parliament the question of participation is purely a matter of tactics. In 1906 big differences arose in the Bolshevik Party over the question of participation in the Duma. The latter was set up as a result of the 1905 Revolution, with the quite transparent intention of diverting revolutionary energy (especially that of the nascent middle class) into the parliamentary field. No event shows the role of bourgeois parliaments more lucidly. Lenin held however that, while denouncing the Duma as a fraud, the Bolsheviks should fight for election to it because it offered a platform, parliamentary immunity.

In the same way Lenin argued from the special circumstances in Western Europe in the aftermath of war that the revolutionary marxists should use to the fullest extent the opportunities offered by bourgeois democracy. No one can assert that in the process of building a mass revolutionary party in Britain it will not be necessary at some stage or the other to fight elections.

The career of Michael Foot's hero, Aneurin Bevan actually gives us an object lesson in the failings of parliamentarism. Perhaps beguiled by his own mastery of the superficiality of parliamentary debate and certainly suffering from an acute lack of a structural ideology, Bevan, who was the central figure in the left in the thirties ended his life having

In retrospect it is easy to see that the final reconciliation with Gaitskell was fully prepared by his earlier tactics. Resigning from the government in 1951 he immediately declined to lead a real fight against Alee, declaring: "We are determined to do nothing that may impair this unity (of the Party)". After the 1951 election defeat of Labour the parliamentary Bevanites allowed themselves to be muzzle by the re-imposed Standing Orders of the Parliamentary Labour Party. All radical opposition to Tory government policies ceased.

The parliamentary notions of 'collective responsibility' was even carried into the Labour Party so that Bevan and others sat silenced at Labour Party Conference by their Executive status. At no time did they make a real appeal to the rank and file of the Labour Movement: "Themselves limited by their parliamentary and executive responsibilities, they fell back on the politics of manoeuvre and were regularly outmanoeuvred in the process".

Even more crippling was Bevan's lack of a clear perspective for alternative policies. It was this above all which enabled him to return to the fold as Gaitkell's 'Shadow' Foreign Secretary, to accept the latter's 'economic revisionism' and to utter his famous phrase and the 1957 Party Conference that the adoption of a policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament would leave a Labour Foreign Secretary to go "naked into the Conference chamber". Whatever view he may have held in the thirties, were now forgotten. An obsession with parliamentary politics had led Bevan, in the worst traditions of social democracy to substitute the quest for supposed power for himself for the quest for working class power.

The destruction of parliamentarist illusions in the Labour movement is the absolute prerequisite for the creation of a political instrument capable of overthrowing British capitalism. Fortunately we can see that the days of our latter day 'Bevanites' are numbered. In their ever increasing struggles over questions of control at the point of production, workers are coming face to face with the realities of power. In their struggles against the authority of the bourgeois university students are beginning to appreciate those realities which will enable them to play a major part in the development of a revolutionary theory. The growth of such struggles and the increasing irrelevance of the antics of our 'left' social democrats will enable the British working class to divest itself of one basic illusion which stands in the way of conducting a real fight for the overthrow of capitalism.

There is only one solution to the Housing Problem. It is a simple one.  
It must be made illegal for anyone to own a house that he does not live in.  
Land must be nationalised immediately.  
Nor must rent exceed ten per cent of a person's income -- to be paid to the state  
and used for the construction of new houses.

# don't be silly said the vicar

On Saturday 21st December the London Squatters Campaign occupied a 15 room vicarage in Capworth St. Leyton. The place had been empty for three years, in spite of a request from the Squatters in 1966 that it should be offered to homeless families as a place to live.

The same day, squatters in Notting Hill occupied a block of half-empty luxury flats and stayed there for five hours. The squatters movement is growing, and no wonder: there are 15,574 people in the U.K. living in homeless hostels; a housing list of 160,000 in London alone; 1,800,000 people living in houses that are "unfit for human habitation". Meanwhile, up go the luxury flats and the office blocks -- because this is London 1969, and there are big fat profits to be had in land-speculation. They're fatter still if you charge impossible rents and keep the building empty, because prices go up so fast that sooner or later someone will pay what you ask no matter how much it is.

So Ron Bailey and his friends went into the empty vicarage in Capworth St. Leyton. Soon after, two homeless mothers, Mrs Beresford and Mrs King, arrived at the vicarage with their kids to move in with them. Too late, though. The Vicar had taken one look at this intolerable invasion of the privacy of the empty house at the other end of his spacious garden and had phoned the police.

About this time a lot of supporters turned up, seeing the police preventing them from getting in the house, they caused a diversion by filling up the road. The poor Leyton police couldn't believe it.

## Under arrest

"You're under arrest!" they piped to several people, including your Black Dwarf reporter. But they were wrong. Eyes bulging, Her Majesty's Constables suddenly found their prisoners had been grabbed by dozens of arms and were being pulled away from them. More cops rushed up and pulled in the opposite direction. But we knew what we were doing, they didn't. So before long they had to give

up, and we were free again.

Mrs Beresford looked on with approval.

"You're doing a damn good job," she said. And added, talking of occupying buildings generally, "It's the only way to get things done."

At this point, your intrepid Black Dwarf reporter noticed that the cops were all busy in the road, he dashed into the vicarage and ran up the stairs. But the squatters had barricaded themselves in on the second floor, so he couldn't join them.

"Hey you! Get out of here!" said a voice from the stairs. It was the vicar himself, long-nosed and watery-eyed, his weak lips trembling with Christian embarrassment. With him was an ineffectual-looking pink gentleman in a bowler hat.

"Certainly I'll get out -- if you let that homeless family move in, replied Black Dwarf.

"Don't be silly!" snapped the vicar unhappily. "Anyway, this building is already occupied. It's used as a church hall."

"Why then?" cried Black Dwarf, suddenly going all religious. "What better use could a church hall have at Christmas time than to house a homeless family?"

## Pink gentleman

"Don't be silly!" said the vicar again.

"Now look here," said the pink gentleman. "I think you'd better just go down those stairs. You're -- er -- not supposed to be in here."

"I'm sorry," said Black Dwarf manfully. "If you want me to go, you'll have to get the cops to come and take me out. ... Who are you anyway?"

"The Superintendent of Leyton police," he replied. Shortly after which, I found myself out on the street again.

I talked to Mrs Beresford and Mrs King. They both live in Council Buildings, having run the whole gamut of condemned houses, rat-infested flats and homeless hostels. What were these council buildings like?

"A dump!" said Mrs Beresford.

Mrs King turned to the television men:

"You should take your TV cameras down to take pictures of the toilets where I live," she said.

She gave a graphic description of the conditions of the place.

"Why don't the Welfare do something about it?" someone asked.

## Killed or drowned

"They're useless," she said. "It takes a kid to be killed or drowned for anything to be done."

By now the occupation was attracting attention from the local people, particularly the ones living in St. Mathews Court, the block of flats opposite. Ron Bailey, leaning out of the vicarage upstairs window with a megaphone, asked them for some help:

"We have a slight problem in here," he shouted. "There's no lavatory in the room we're in. Could any of you let us have a plastic bucket?"

Within ten minutes, a dozen plastic buckets had appeared -- making it quite clear where the local people's sympathy lay. We started to throw the buckets and various items of food up to the squatters. It was at this point that Her Majesty's Noble Cops, still smarting from their defeat earlier in the day, decided to make their puny presence felt, and proceeded to make two of the most unnecessary arrests I've seen for a long time. Thank you J 121 and J 728. ...

The arrests didn't affect the squatters, though. They were well barricaded, and the poor old vicar wasn't going to ask the police to use force to get them out. They stayed the full 24 hours they had promised, and walked out

by a Black Dwarf reporter

victorious and untouched the next day.

Their next step: -- To move some homeless families into an unoccupied building and keep them there.

Finally -- a last word from the Archdeacon of West Ham:

## Coloured Christmas

"What you don't understand is that we're doing a lot for the homeless families. I'm chairman of a committee on the subject. And -- er -- I'm having a coloured family staying with me for Christmas."

Last word from Mrs King:

"I'm not bringing my kids up in the church."

Last word from Ron Bailey:

"We want everyone to take this up -- including all the Black Dwarf readers."

And some last words from Black Dwarf:

You're doing a great job, Ron, and Black Dwarf supports you all the way. But don't give them the chance to take the sting out of what you're doing by writing you off as starchy-eyed idealists -- "good" young people, unlike the kind who go on Vietnam demonstrations.

The housing situation is a scandal. But it is one of countless scandals that are inevitable under capitalism, and that illustrate the fact that under capitalism money is more important than people. Lord Shaftesbury got them to stop child-exploitation. Most adults are still exploited. Capitalism may just solve the housing problem (though it's unlikely). But new towns will still be planned, like the old ones, with big houses with big gardens for the boss class, and little houses with little gardens for the workers.

Let the scandal of the housing situation be shown up again and again. But let's explain why as well. In other words: let the slogan of future occupations be:

**CAPITALISM equals empty houses plus homeless people.**

## We Don't Like Horrible Horace

by Bert Scrivener

During the past four months 50,000 GLC tenants (not 9,000 as stated by Cutler) have been protesting and withholding rent increases imposed by the GLC for the purpose as originally announced by Mr Horace Cutler of levelling up Council Rents to the 'Fair Rents Level' of the private landlord. He did omit to state that he was himself a private landlord and land developer, also to mention that the tory GLC action of attacking rents had a precedent in 1957 when the then tory housing minister Brooks opened the floodgates of profit for the private landlord, land speculators & developer, virtually putting all council tenants and ratpayers in general in the hands of the money lenders to whom today we are paying 18s. in the £1 interest.

Higher rents and pay freeze are downright attempts at lowering the standard of living for the individual. Compilation of figures and presentation of same to justify the action can fool some people but there are still some left wide awake enough to discover their weakness.

The strike against rent increases will go on.

It will not diminish.

A stiff programme is being built up.

Mr Cutler and all at County Hall can look forward to a busy time as we extend our area influence.

We don't need your press, full of political lies, sex stories, trash and trivialities.

We have something more potent, something alive.

WE HAVE THE POSTER WORKSHOP

worth any 20 presses of Fleet Street.

This workshop is the pulse of the people.

It's the voice & image of the people.

Understanding them & knowing them.

The people use it.

The people work it.

And people not microbes direct & guide.

Its products are flung wide & far across the whole of Greater London.

It's the most unique workshop in the world.

Visitors from abroad come & want to help.

Film companies & press want the workshop story.

'NO DICE'

We are fortunate to have found the Poster Workshop. It has been a boom and a blessing having supplied and produced for us free of charge some 4,000 - 5,000 posters witty, clear, and carrying the message NOT A PENNY ON THE RENT.

So if you have a need, use it and like us give a little donation to help the cost of producing it.



# ACTION!

On Sunday 9th of February the London Squatters are holding a public meeting to install (and protect) homeless people in empty property in the East London area. If you want to join this action, be at Manor Park British Railways Station at 2p.m. You can get there by buses 25 and 86, by the Gidea Park train from Liverpool St., or by a central line tube to Stratford followed by either of the above.

On Friday 21st March there will be a national demonstration at Centre Point, the skyscraper at the end of Tottenham Court Road that has stood empty ever since it was built two years ago. Remember: there are 8,000,000 square feet of empty office space in London alone, while thousands have nowhere to live and thousand more live in slums. Smash the land speculators! Get Centre Point!

Watch Black Dwarf for more details.

**CAPITALISM = EMPTY HOMES  
+ HOMELESS PEOPLE**

# LETTERS

## £10,000 REWARD

Dear Brother,

May I proffer some advice to Dwarves of Worcestershire?

When men tell them: "I fought for you in the last war", the Dwarves should say "Where?" "In what battle?" "In what regiment?" "In what company of that regiment?" (If this last is a fighting unit).

Very few people (comparatively) fought in the last war. Of every 10,000 men, 9,000 were supply troops or suchlike (RASC, RAPC, ACC, RAMC, SRCMP).

The 1000 remaining formed an infantry regiment (which does the actual killing).

These were broken down as follows: H.Q. company (always in permanent reserve and never actually going forward to the assault), the heavy weapons company who were used mainly in defence and the rifle companies A, B, C, and D. These last were the head of the army arrow, 90 men to each company - 360 men to kill or be killed. Not much of a product from 10,000 was it? These 360, do not tell people that they fought for them, nor was Mr Dance, MP one of them. We fought for bully-beef, 3/- a day, and because we were told to. We had no ideals, and we

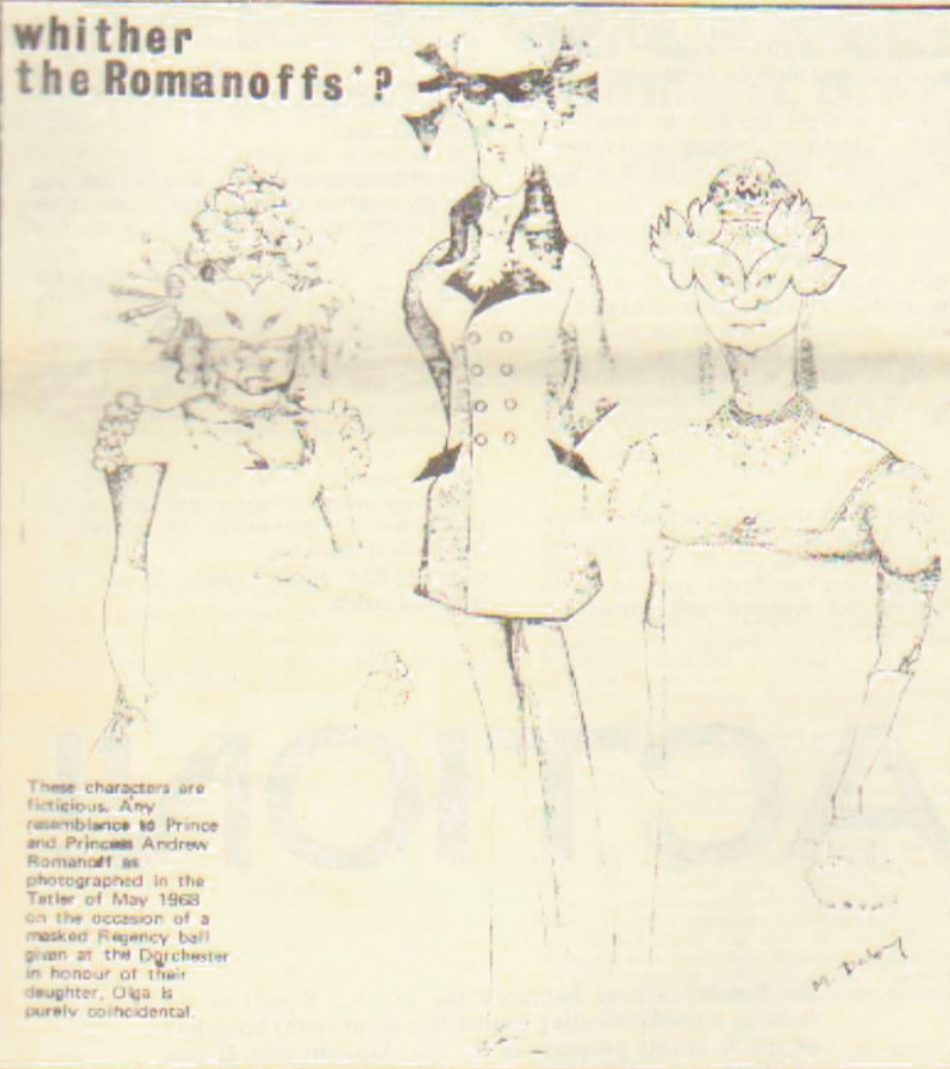
were frightened of the Germans and they were frightened of us. Up at a battalion attack, start-line at 3a.m. on a cold wet morning knowing that half of us would be dead by nightfall, is not an exercise indulged in by the Dances and the Powells of this world.

Maybe if we did have an ideal it was that the lads of Worcestershire would take a leaf out of our book and use it to stop clowns like Dance waving flags in our faces to blind us to the trouble here, by pointing to the Germans and saying: "They're the cause of everything, fight them". Our fight is here and the lads of Worcestershire have indeed taken the leaf from our book. I ask them to seek out a rifleman among the conservative party. Reward of £10,000 to first one discovered.

Fraternally,

Jo Durkin, Secretary,  
The Veteran Infantry Soldiers' Association,  
244 Heathfield Road,  
Southport,  
Lancs.

## whither the Romanoffs'?



These characters are fictitious. Any resemblance to Prince and Princess Andrew Romanoff as photographed in the Tatler of May 1963 on the occasion of a masked Regency ball given at the Dorchester in honour of their daughter, Olga is purely coincidental.

## HUMAN RIGHTS

Dear Sir,

Fifteen internationally known persons have appealed to the people of the world to join the War Resisters' International in its campaign for the Recognition of Conscientious Objection to Military Service as a Human Right. They have asked people everywhere to collect signatures on a petition, which will be sent to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. The petition says:-

"We, the undersigned, call upon the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to recognize conscientious objection to military service as a human right".

According to the 180-page survey published by the W.R.I., out of 101 countries there are only 19 which have some kind of provision for conscientious objection, most of them being inadequate. The United Nations has recognised "the right to life" as a basic right in its Declaration. It is therefore

world Organisation recognized "the right not to take life" as a basic right also - but unless millions of people work for this cause, the Organisation which is built of governments will not move. Human Rights Year is a great opportunity for each of us to work for this cause and if each of us took action, it could bring freedom to conscientious objectors everywhere.

Copies of the Appeal with the petition form are available from the War Resisters' International. We hope that your readers will help the W.R.I. in this project. The minimum they could do is to write down the petition on a piece of paper and put their signatures and post them to the War Resisters' International.

Yours faithfully,

Devi Prasad,  
General Secretary  
War Resisters' International,  
3 Caledonian Road.

## DWARF DRIVEL

The Editor,

If the "Dwarf" persists in publishing such drivel as the correspondence between Lennon and Hoyland it will lose the few readers it has. Mr. Hoyland should be told that bourgeoisie like Lennon are cured not converted. There is not anything in Lennon's thinking that hunger and a few weeks in Fidel's cane fields would not correct.

Rather than waste your time with such trash, devote another page to the ideas of

intelligent socialists. For example, print excerpts from Venceremos, "Strawberry Fields" and "A Day in the Life" sure as hell were not part of what made Che Guevara into the kind of socialist he was.

yours faithfully,

R. Sentes,  
27 Keswick Road,  
London S.W.15.

## REGINA vs ROGAN

On Tuesday 17th December 1968, the state police moved against the South Yorkshire Peace Centre. At 11a.m. on that day they raided it in my absence. Without warrant or lawful authority they removed one window blind containing an anti-war pictorial display.

On Wednesday the 18th State Policeman Sgt. Adams, accompanied by a Constable, visited my home at 7.30p.m. They complained to me about the window and asked for a signed statement after they had cautioned me. I refused to give them one. They then invited me to agree to an informal chat concerning their allegation that the window was an obscene exhibition. I agreed on condition that my wife was allowed to be in the room and take part. No notes were taken by myself or my wife, the sergeant however did take notes. They showed me photographs they had taken of the approximately 60 pictures in my window and claimed that 5 were indecent. At 8.30p.m. after warning me that I would be prosecuted under the Vagrancy Act of 1824, they left.

Today, December 23rd, I appeared at the Local Magistrates Court as ordered in the Summons. Present in court was my friend and

associate, school teacher Chris Weeks. I asked that the case be remitted to the High Court of Justice in London. The Police objected, and the application was refused. I then told the Court I would ask the High Court myself to remove the case from the jurisdiction of the Local Magistrates on point of law, and the Court agreed to grant me an adjournment until February 5th 1969. I will keep you posted.

Meanwhile to my many friends in London, may I say Good Luck, Merry Christmas, and a Happy New Year.

Danny Rogan,  
Corner Shop  
158 Cemetery Road  
Doncaster  
Yorkshire  
24.12.68.

PS. I replaced the Anti-War Window on Saturday 21st Dec. For so long as I remain I/C of that Peace Centre, that window display stays. I am running short of pictures on Biafra and Vietnam. If the police raid again I will be out of stock. Please help me by sending a few.

## ANGRY ZIONIST

To the Editor,

I would like to object to the romantic, unrealistic visions which pass as true socialist ideals in Black Dwarf with reference to the Middle East situation.

Zionism is an offspring of persecution and Fascism; it is simply an opposition to being kicked around, based on religion and race because the persecution was based on religion and race. In fact its basis and cause of origination is identical to that of Black Power organisations; Zionism is supported but NOT motivated by capitalists because of the integration of Jews in capitalist countries which has not occurred with Negroes. "Zionist imperialism" does not exist as a philosophy apart from among a section of the older generation of pioneers and concentration camp survivors (perhaps "Black Panther imperialism" would exist if approximately one-third of the Negro population of America was exterminated).

The essence of the ideals held by the Israelis you wish to oppose are mirrored by the organisation of the kibbutzim: one of the few examples of any community being run on socialist principles. You have failed to realize that this is not by nature antagonistic to Arabs, and that for the most part the reaction

of the Arabs is negative hatred inspired by the rabble-rousing of power-seeking dictators.

If you examine the history of the Arabs you will see that the bulk of the Arabs have been unwilling to fight, and that the inspiration has only come from leaders anxious to grab individual power and entirely opposed to any advancement for their people, such as the Nazi Mufti of Jerusalem. The political systems of most Arab countries today (apart from your obvious example of Saudi Arabia) are direct relics of the feudal systems which existed up till 30 years ago, and are characterized by paid assassins and the destruction of any enlightened positive thinking, and which fails to approach even social democracy. Even in a supposedly left-wing country, Syria, nationalism is not inspired by the desire for freedom, but the desire for self-assertion. This is a great contrast with the attitude in Israel, where at least there is the freedom to object to government decisions, and where a large proportion of the younger generation are sympathetic to Arab grievances.

Yours sincerely,

Ivor Davies  
Camden Town, NW1.

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# BIRMINGHAM:

Did the Left fail?

by Pete Gowan

Events in Birmingham University last November have provided perhaps the clearest indication so far of the revolutionary potential of British students. A civic university of over six thousand students in the classic Victorian mould famous only for its engineering and science faculties, it possessed at the start of the Autumn term a Students Union entirely in the hands of conservative careerists and a tiny left - the Socialist Union contained hardly more than 20 active members. And yet for eight days at the end of November the University was convulsed by an offensive involving thousands of students, bringing the University administrations to its knees and presenting the left with the opportunity of challenging both the "University Authorities" and the Students Union bureaucracy for the leadership of the student mass.

Students had seized the administration block and thwarted repeated attempts by administration staff to resume work; for a time students controlled and were able to operate the university telephone switchboard; more than 2000 students successfully defied a threat of severe disciplinary action for all remaining in the building after a specified deadline; by the end of the occupation attendance at mass meetings had risen to more than 4,500.

## Transformation

How can we explain this transformation? Certainly not simply in terms of the activity of the three groups - "University Authorities", Union and the Left - fighting for the allegiance of the student mass. The ruling circles in the University were dragging their feet no more than in the past and, while the Vice-Chancellor was no Bismarck, he made no major tactical blunders. Neither can the scope and militancy of the confrontation be explained in terms of the essentially trivial and formal demands referred to by the officials of the Students Union.

Before the occupation began students had shown little interest or enthusiasm for either the idea of a commission on University Government, or a one day

teach-in on the University, or the aged and muddled document on student representation. Neither was it a case of a strong and articulate left creating the subjective conditions for a mass assault on the structure of the University. What the left did do was to organise and lead direct action first on the single issue of attempting to enter meetings of senate and Council and then on a general programme of democratisation of the University and a rejection of placing any hope in the established channels for producing reforms.

## Lessons

The first lesson of our experience is therefore that the objective and subjective conditions in Birmingham were no more favourable for an upsurge of student revolt than those which exist in most of the Universities in this country. The fundamental force behind the movement was in fact a generalised discontent and alienation on the part of a growing number of students flowing from their own experiences in University. The role played by the left was simply to provide a means of expression for this frustration through direct action.

Whether or not the Students Union backed the confrontation, direct action on a mass scale was bound to pose as great a threat to the power of the union bureaucracy as to that of the University authorities. Conditions were even more favourable for the left in Birmingham since it had initiated the confrontation and was seen as the original leadership

in the struggle which the Students Union supported on the second day. And yet, when the occupation ended the Union re-emerged with its strength unimpaired and once again recognized as the representative organ of the student body. How did this happen? Why did the left fail to seize its opportunity?

## Failures

The answer lies in weaknesses at both a theoretical and organizational level. The Socialist Union realized the importance of building an alternative power to that of the Students Union. It therefore fought for the principle of "all power to the General Assembly of the occupation" and for the setting up of a Committee of Ten which would lead the sit-in being directly responsible to, and subject to instant recall by, the General Assembly. This alternative structure to that of the Students Union was in fact established and opened the way for the destruction of the formal representative democracy of the Union and the institution of direct mass democracy. But we failed to grasp that the latter could be achieved only under the leadership of the left in opposition to the Union officials. Our failure to fight for undisputed leadership of the movement, and the acceptance of members of the Union executive on the Committee of ten ensured the paralysis of that body, the stunting of the growth of new forms of student democratic power, and the eventual resurgence of the old Union structure. This theoretical weakness on our part corresponds to profound organizational failures. The task of fighting for a clear line and undisputed leadership required a strong, self-disciplined organizational weapon formed on the basis of an agreed socialist programme for the University struggle. Far from constituting or working for such an organization, the Socialist Union was content to operate throughout the term within a broad front (called an Ad Hoc Group for University Reform) which had a vague programme for democratization of the University. Relationships between the Ad Hoc group and the mass of students and between the Socialist Union and the Ad Hoc group were never clearly established. In fact during the occupation itself the Socialist Union all but submerged its identity in the Ad Hoc group.

## Seizing power

Thus the second important lesson for us was that in the struggle for direct democratic power in the University, the role of leadership is, paradoxically, crucial, and must determine the organizational form of the left. It is insufficient for the left merely to make a verbal challenge to the Union structure, or

even to win the forms of an alternative structure, it must seize power out of the hands of the Union executive and forge a new democratic structure under its own leadership; and it must therefore possess an organization equal to that task.

But in the last analysis the fate of the Union was bound to be determined not simply by theoretical clarity of the left but by the political character and content of the movement as a whole. Since the movement was not fully conscious of the challenge it objectively posed to the ruling circles in the University, a fortiori it could not grasp the necessity of destroying the power of the Union. We must therefore examine the broad struggle between a student mass and the "University Authorities".

## Counter-Revolution

While the occupation consciously set out to disrupt the functioning of the University administration, the real power of the University "Authorities" lay elsewhere - in the educational process itself. At the level of the immediate struggle, professors were using their power in the lecture rooms to attack the sit-in, they in some cases cancelled lectures in order to lead their classes over to meetings to vote against the movement, and individual professors and lecturers intimidated and threatened individuals in their departments who had committed themselves to the occupation. We engaged in a growing battle in the departments during the occupation but counter-revolution of the professors finally succeeded in weakening the morale of the students to the point where negotiations were reopened and the occupation ended.

The power of the professors of course rested in the final analysis on their ideological hegemony over the students. This ideological hold could be broken only by destroying the efficacy of the content of the courses to which the students were subjected. And the movement did not and does not as yet possess critical weapons equal to that task.

And here we see the third and most important lesson for us: that the fight against the repressive power structure in the University does not in itself constitute an effective revolutionary practice. It must proceed hand in hand with the struggle against the ideological power of the bourgeoisie in the educational process itself.

# BRISTOL:

## Reject Liberal Ideology!

from Our Own Correspondent

The first innovation is that the "University" - i.e. the Vice-Chancellor - takes its students to court for occupying one of the University buildings. Whether such action is illegal or not is a moot point, and unfortunately at the hearing on Monday December 16th the Judge had no time to decide because the occupation had ended; a mistake which was nobody's fault because in the confusion its significance was overlooked. It is also relevant that they took only 8 persons to court, hardly enough to occupy a phone box.

This is hardly an example of that use of "reason and discussion" which Vice-Chancellors praise so extravagantly. On the subject of negotiation, the Vice-Chancellor refused to allow his messenger to wait for the delegation he had summoned. Then the occupiers of the Senate House said they were willing to talk to Senate - the highest academic authority of the University; the Vice-Chancellor, all the professors, and some non-professional members - Senate refused to receive the delegation on the grounds that it was "unofficial". But the same evening Senate went with its own handouts to talk to an equally unofficial Ad Hoc Committee. The decision about who to reason with was clearly taken on political rather than constitutional grounds, and certainly not on practical ones. One might remind these gentlemen that such a short-sighted "dialogue" is characteristic of countries like Greece or Spain.

## Life and Death

There is also the message that a member of staff relayed to engineering students: they need not attend one of the sessional exams if they were "expressing their antipathy to the sit-in instead .... our inhuman Vice-Chancellor is also Professor of Aeronautical Engineering. At 2pm on Friday December 6th the authorities cut off the external telephone lines including an emergency line to the Pathology Department which keeps them in contact with the hospital and the police. This line is a matter of life and death. The Vice-Chancellor was informed of this and replied that he would not negotiate until Senate House was cleared. Only after threats to expose the matter to the press were the telephone lines reopened.

## No surprise

First, that Senate has no voice whatsoever but has no power to change the situation as all authority is concentrated in the person of the Vice-Chancellor. To give an example: referring

produced the following note.

The University press statement of Saturday December 14th points out that the University would readily receive such a statement .... and yet at the time of writing (5pm, Sunday December 15th) no complicity statement has yet been handed over.

Comment seems superfluous.

## Vice-Chancellor

Second, the University of Bristol - apart from being run by a junta which includes the Vice-Chancellor, the Chairman of Wills Tobacco and Reginald Verdon-Smith (pro-Vice Chancellor) who, you will remember, was Chairman of BAC when it swindled the people of Britain out of about £4,000,000 - is hysterical, vindictive and mean. Too mean to allow the other students of Bristol to use the Union building.

They forget that some of the £1,500,000 it cost came from the City of Bristol, and NOT only the government as the V.C. would have us believe. The children of Bristol ratepayers go to college here, whereas most of the University students live elsewhere. Even if they are not in favour of direct action, the vast majority of the Bristol University students want the other Bristol students to be able to use the building whenever they want to. Even the extreme right could only mobilise against the sit-in, saying "Whether you support reciprocal membership or not".....

The sit-in began when Union Finance (the highest committee of the Students' Union whose chairman is none other than the Vice-Chancellor) offered the students a working party, when, as Union Finance well knew, a working-party had been set up in October 1967 and its second and final report was being printed. After all the other delays involving passing the motion four times through Union General meetings, this was the last straw.

upon whom it served writs for the entire cost of the sit-in, for putting the Senate House - the administration block - out of use for eleven days, and for various other other "illegal" actions. It should be pointed out that one of the eight had almost nothing to do with the sit-in and disapproved of it. It is all too obvious that Bristol is being used to test the right of a University to forbid any self-organisation by students and to create a legal precedent for calling such organisation conspiracy. Students can then act only through their official union, which, despite our intense and prolonged struggle at Bristol, remains impotent in the face of the University bureaucracy.

## The last straw

An example: the minutes of Union Finance meetings are taken by the Permanent Secretary of the Union - a University employee - and contain only what the Vice-Chancellor says. Although Senate says "the students have a majority" on the committee, the Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer are all University employees. The Vice-Chancellor's statement that the Committee "effectively controls the Students' Union" comes as no surprise.

Third, the attitude of the Professors: having made the discovery that the misinformation, deceit and false democracy in the University of Bristol resemble what goes on in a totalitarian state, Senate has tried to blame the students "for allowing this to happen". When they are not blaming Union Council for "being tardy" (Union Council ratified reciprocal membership in October 68 yet in December 68 Senate suggested the second working-party), and for "not passing information on" (which should anyway be the responsibility of the Permanent Secretary and of the Vice-Chancellor), they are blaming the Free University, a movement of radical students for "varied and conflicting pressures on Union Council", causing them to delay. It is characteristic of Senate, the latest and most inefficient body in the University, that its members describe students as "lazy inefficient and unable to manage their own affairs". In any case, Senate is as corrupt as its officers. When representing the decision of a meeting of the teaching staff which "deplored

hope that constructive steps will be taken immediately to restore the unity of the University", Senate came out with this statement:

"Senate also welcomes the action of the teaching staff in deploring the occupation of this University building and in calling for steps to be taken to restore the unity of the University."

The only answer to the situation revealed here is a struggle on the part of all British students against irresponsible university and college bureaucracies, and against those reactionary teachers whose cowardice and idleness allow these bureaucracies to flourish. Their claim to encourage "reasonable discourse" is a lie; their claim to be educators is disgusting. Students must confront them with minimal demands such as those of the Trade Unions: the right of all University and College students in Britain to organise without being got for conspiracy.

Significantly, the Bristol sit-in by University and college students involved not only apprentices, it got almost unanimous albeit unofficial support from a quarterly meeting of AEF shop-stewards. It is as simple as that. We know who our friends are!

SPANISH LANGUAGE STUDENT gives GERMAN/SPANISH lessons in exchange for ENGLISH/FRENCH tuition.

BOX BC1001

LONDON SCHOOL OF NON-VIOLENCE - for the scientific study of its philosophy and practices. INAUGURAL MEETING AND STUDENT ENROLMENT on January 30th at 6.30 p.m. at St. Martin-in-the-Fields (the crypt) Trafalgar Square. For further details contact

VIETNAM IS THE KEY ISSUE IN THE WORLD TODAY, PIVOTAL TO THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM IN THE THIRD WORLD AND WITHIN THE CITADELS OF CAPITALISM OF THE UNITED STATES AND HER ALLIES, BRITAIN AMONG THEM. BUT IN BRITAIN, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC GOVERNMENT POLICIES CONVERGE CRITICALLY ON RHODESIA WHICH - LET US FACE IT - IS IN DANGER OF BECOMING BRITAIN'S VIETNAM.

# ZIMBABWE :

## The struggle continues.....

*One of British social-democracy's most blatant sell-outs has been its attitude on Rhodesia. The left-reformists have called for British troops to be sent to Rhodesia. We disagree strongly. The only people capable of liberating Zimbabwe are the freedom fighters themselves.*

Editor

by RUTH FIRST

Britain's Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, spent much of 1968 trying to conclude a settlement with Rhodesia's Ian Smith and his white minority government. The principle of NIBMAR (No Independence Before Majority Rule) was thrown aside, first in the Tiger talks, again in the Fearless round. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference was the scene of the next confrontation. Win or lose there, the Wilson Government - under pressure from the City of London - will undoubtedly make it one of its goals in 1969 to settle with Smith for "peace" and safe investments in Rhodesia. The reasons are obvious: the heavy British investment stake in Southern Africa, and, with it, a British policy commitment to liaise with the White minority axis of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal against the challenges posed by the African peoples' liberation struggles.

This is the heart of the Rhodesian crisis: Not those lawyer-dancing-on-piropoint-arguments about legality or illegality, and whose government it is, the Queen's or Mr. Smith's. Not whether or not Rhodesia is, or should be, answerable to the Privy Council. To the African people the search for formulae for double-lock guarantees, and constitutional safeguards, is an irrelevance. There is one central issue, and one only that is meaningful for Southern Africa and for the British left: this is the demand of Africans in Rhodesia for immediate majority rule.

The fact is that the constitutional illusion has long faded in Southern Africa. (So brutal was Portuguese colonial rule that it was never even present in those colonies). Africans in the south of the continent have come to understand that liberation is not a matter of negotiating with colonial or settler governments, that those formulae and agreements invariably produce a compromise scheme that may satisfy a small sycophantic elite, but can never meet the demands of the people as a whole. With the launching of armed struggles in Southern Africa, the key issues are being settled not at the green baize negotiating table, at conferences in Marlborough House, but on battlefields that at times have come within twenty miles of Salisbury and Bulawayo.

It was the launching of armed struggle in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), to link up with the fighting fronts in Angola and Mozambique, that has goaded Britain's Government and South Africa into a frantic search for a settlement formula to make the peace between Britain's government and the Smith regime. White minority rule is now threatened simultaneously on five fronts, by Frelimo in Mozambique, by the MPLA in Angola, by the ANC and ZAPU in a unique fighting alliance of the guerrilla forces of two countries, Rhodesia and South Africa, and by SWAPO forces fighting to liberate South West Africa. South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal are operating a co-ordinated military and political strategy in the field. Officers of their armies and police forces liaise regularly at top levels. Military aircraft from one country are allowed to overfly and land in the territory of another. There is a regular exchange of intelligence. South African helicopters hunt guerrillas in Angola; South Africa para-military forces are

African troops have been in Mozambique for over a year. In the Caprivi Strip where five countries meet, South Africa has built an airbase ten miles south of the border with Zambia - which country Vorster has threatened "to hit so hard that she will never forget it." South Africa's first missile base on the Zululand coast commands an arc of central and east Africa which could take in Zambia and Tanzania. Zambian villages have repeatedly been bombed.

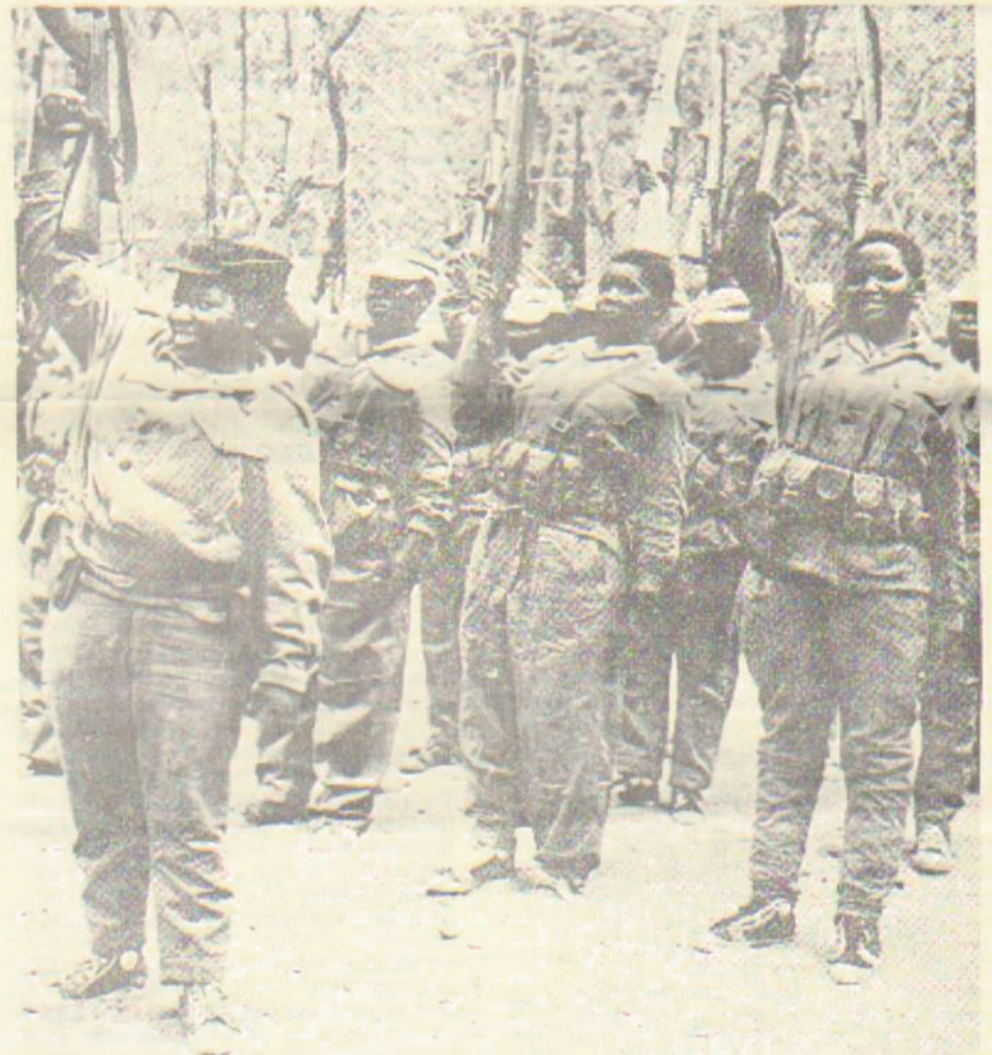
As the white minority powers operate a military alliance in the field on top of the network of economic interests that runs through the sub-continent, so, too the liberation movements of the African people see Southern Africa as an area of several converging battlegrounds, to be liberated by a complex of tactics, political and military converging together.

South Africa, the technological giant of the south, has gone in for a spectacular expansion of her armed forces and counter-insurgency preparations. But with 5000 miles of border to guard, and a situation of incipient rebellion inside the apartheid state, she finds her resources strained to their utmost. (Man to man there are 29 million Africans as against four million Whites in Southern Africa.) Portugal already has 80,000 men in the field in Angola and Mozambique between them. South Africa knows full well that when the Portuguese empire begins to wobble dangerously at the knees - which need not be far off from now - she will have to increase her own commitment in that region. Rhodesia, of course, would long have collapsed without South Africa's aid.

South Africa is making two long-term calculations in her counter-guerrilla strategy. One involves the African states; the other concerns Britain and her role in Southern Africa. Neighbouring African states that could serve as friendly bases for the guerrilla movement are to be bribed or beaten into compliance with South African policies. (Malawi is happy to take the bribe; Zambia is threatened with the beating.) Client states or colonies. South Africa's immediate neighbours will have little independence left, economic or political, by the time South African plans for her economic offensive are in full swing. The white axis needs time for this offensive to mature.

Meanwhile, under pressure on five fighting fronts, it is crucial for this axis that it gets Britain on its side. This explains the fervour with which South Africa has tried to get a Wilson-Smith settlement.

Not that there is not already a British presence in Southern Africa on the side of the white minority regimes. In Rhodesia that presence is in the shape of 290 subsidiaries of British manufacturing and trading companies, not to speak of the banks and the insurance companies. All the familiar names: Hawker Siddeley, Dunlop, Tuts and Lyle, Unilever, Vickers, Stewarts and Lloyds, English Electric, Leyland, Rover and so on and so on. By 1966 Britain's investments in South Africa comprised her third largest overseas holdings. The reason is not difficult to see. Hill, Samuel (S.A.) recently published tables showing that



companies have shown greater growth than the leading companies in New York and London: 22 per cent in 12 months, they have advised investors. (see PERSPECTIVE, the South African officially-sponsored publication, April 1968).

The trouble with the Rhodesian issue is that it came between the "natural" interests of British big business and the white minority interests in Southern Africa. By a curious twist of the legalism involved in UDI, it placed the illegal Smith regime on the wrong side of British law, order and recognition. A settlement will change all this, and not a moment too soon for the white axis. Any settlement will be acceptable - and by this token every settlement is a sell-out of African interests - as long as it legitimises the white minority regime in Rhodesia. Once legal and recognised, a Rhodesian government might negotiate a defence treaty with Britain. Or some other form of co-operation against the African liberation forces.

The white axis needs Britain. Not just her trade and her investments in the region, but her diplomacy (open) and political support (public and unequivocal). Even, perhaps her troops in the field, in time. Britain's big business and finance are already committed to

### Will British troops follow her trade?

It was Zambian's Kenneth Kaunda who warned that he would be "very surprised if British troops did not march into Rhodesia in a few months, not against the Smith regime but against African liberation fighters."

Britain could so easily do in Rhodesia what the United States has done in Vietnam, and in the beginning it might not even take an invasion, only the assertion of British authority and British policy on the side of the white axis.

It is against this perspective of immediate, but also continuing crisis in Southern Africa, that the Left in Britain must formulate policy and action.

As Vietnam is the crucible for liberation and revolution in Asia, and Cuba for Latin America, so Southern Africa's armed struggle will be for Africa.

The armed struggle needs assistance in money, medical supplies and other forms of material aid; but also a relentless struggle in Britain against a government policy that will use a settlement with Smith to actively commit British manpower to the white axis offensive against the African liberation armies.

## Communiqués issued by the Joint Command of ZAPU and the ANC on the Armed Struggle in Zimbabwe

"From the 13th of this month, the area of Wankie has been the scene of the most daring battles ever fought between Freedom Fighters and the white oppressors' army in Rhodesia. The fighting in this area has been going on continuously for a full six days..."

"Around Wankie, Bett, Bulawayo and Tjolotojo there have been skirmishes and armed assaults against the enemy white forces billeted in these localities. The white South African police are disguised in Rhodesian police uniform. At Heaney Barracks in Bulawayo the African and Coloured troops (enlisted in defence of the interests of their oppressors) had to be moved to a ramshackle camp 13 miles from Bulawayo. The removal was necessitated by South Africa's insistence on the application of apartheid in the Rhodesian armed forces."

"... in the engagement which took place on a river bed in the Wankie area. Smith's forces were driven southwards across a river, leaving eleven of their men dead. Of these seven were Whites and four were Africans of the 1st Battalion of the Rhodesian Kings African Rifles."

"On Saturday 20 July a raiding unit despatched by our guerilla forces... carried out a lightning attack on Kariba Airport. The following day ZAPU-ANC guerillas were back in action, and attacked this time a Club House frequented by racist troops and... killed at least six enemy soldiers. The enemy called out jet fighters to bomb the bush area, including African civilian settlements."

"On 6 August, in a brief but fierce engagement 20 miles north-east of Mtoko, a ZAPU-ANC guerilla unit broke through an enemy cordon leaving nine enemy troops dead. Guerilla attacks on enemy positions south of the Kariba Dam are continuing, particularly round the Nyamumba area. A combined Rhodesian and South African force of about 2,000 men was sent to reinforce the Kariba area last Sunday. On 11 August an enemy tracking team ran into a mine and an ambush set by a guerilla unit about 30 miles north of Lupatli."

"The area of fighting is in Karoi, Miami and Sinou. White settler farmers have been evacuated from around Karoi and Sinou. The administrative centre of Miami has been overrun by the guerillas. So far 33 casualties have been suffered by the white supremacists. Casualties among the freedom fighters have been light..."

"The guerillas are consolidating their position along a vast area from Karoi to the east. The Rhodesian and South African army are digging in for a long campaign. Hospitals in Karoi and Sinou have been taken over by the military to make room for casualties suffered by the enemy..."

"A brief engagement occurred last Thursday near Acturus at a Mr. Edwards' farm seventeen miles from Salisbury between a unit of our guerilla forces and an enemy contingent... Up to last night the Salisbury General Hospital had admitted 24 casualties..."

"It has come to light that the Rhodesian and South African regimes have been carrying out secret funerals of their dead in an attempt to conceal the heavy casualties they are suffering... On Friday 6 April six Rhodesian army officers were buried in Salisbury in hush-hush conditions. On the night of 3 April Karoi was closed to traffic because of enemy casualties that were being brought in from the battlefield..."

"On 2 April the settler forces lost 22 men in a bloody clash in the Mpatanzwi Mountains near the Chinyika River some 40 miles south of Shamva. The settler forces were ambushed in the mountains while they were trying to wait a contingent of the ZAPU-ANC peoples' army..."

"Careful investigation has revealed that there are 1700 South African troops in support of the Rhodesian settlers in the areas of current fighting alone. These constitute nearly two-fifths of the Rhodesian regime's regular troops..."

Britain has investments totalling £2,000 million in Southern Africa, £200 million in Rhodesia alone.

Imperialist capital investment in Southern Africa is greater than the capital investment in the rest of the continent.

"If the troubles in Angola, Mozambique continue very much longer, they will diminish and destroy our ability to carry on."

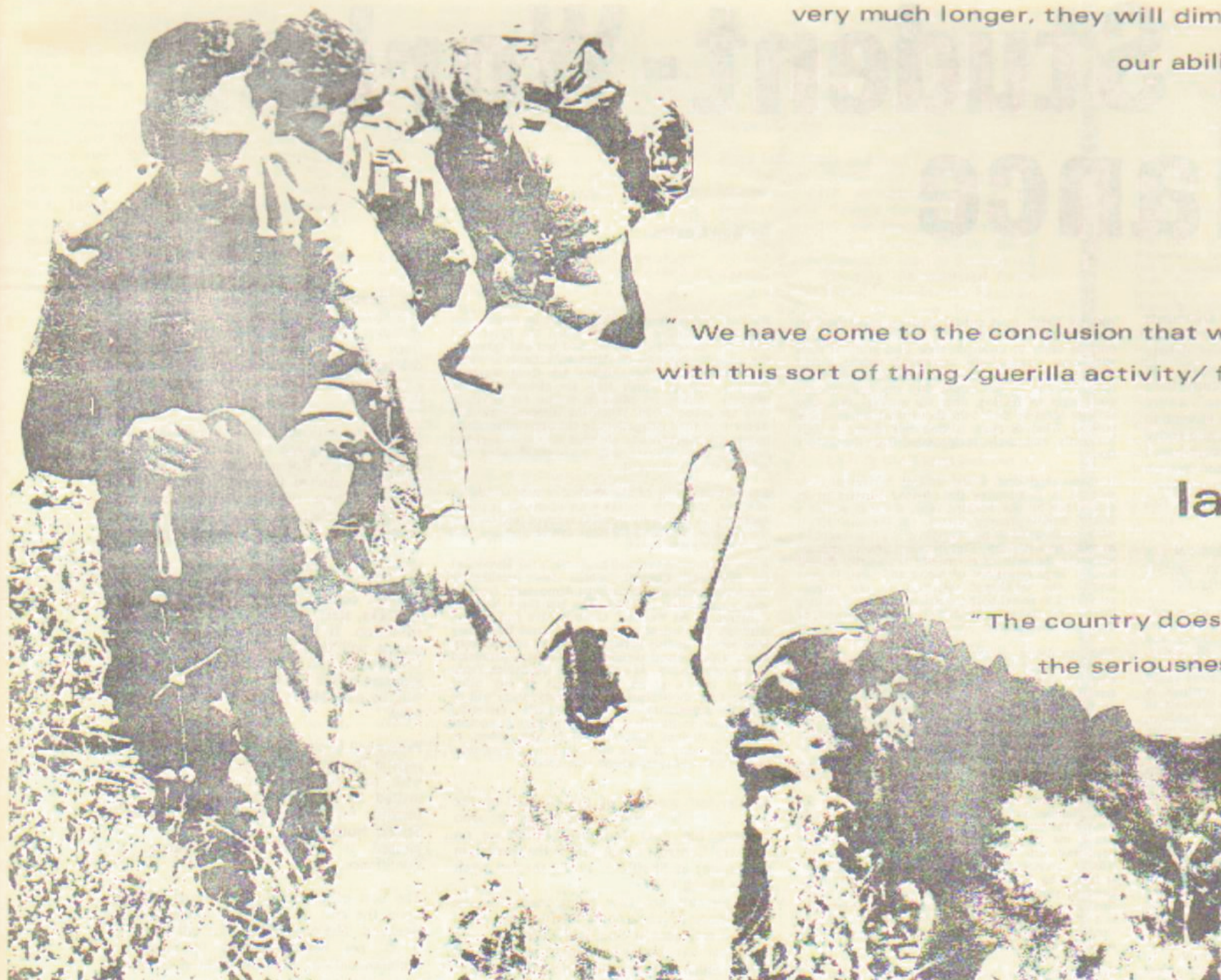
**Salazar**

"We have come to the conclusion that we may have to live with this sort of thing/guerilla activity/ for quite a while"

**Ian Smith**

"The country does not underestimate the seriousness of the situation"

**Vorster**



# A CONVENTION OF THE LEFT

In 1968, the scale and intensity of independent Left activity in Britain widened dramatically. More clearly than at any time since the early sixties, a Left opposition made its presence felt, against the weight and inertia of the orthodox political system. Moreover, this activity was on a broader front than at any time since the war: in the struggle against imperialism; in the peace movement; in the movement for workers' control; in the struggles in wages, housing and the social services; in education, especially in the universities, and in communications. During the year, also, there were important advances in socialist theory and analysis.

by RAYMOND WILLIAMS

It is a mark of the success of independent Left activity that many of us who have been closely involved have come to see more clearly the urgent need for mutual cooperation and information. It is a vital characteristic of this independent Left that it is not in any way centralised: that people act on their own aims and initiatives, and retain their freedom of thought and action. Without this self-sustaining and many-centred power (in which, characteristically, the system and its media refuse to believe, preferring a sensational version of ringleaders and conspiracies), we could not act so effectively and on so many fronts. But as the scale of the work broadens, many problems, of organisation, timing, tactics and strategy, come clearly into view. They are only likely to be solved on a quite open and equal basis. The independent Left is not open to anybody for a takeover bid. It is just because this is so that some of us have been discussing the form of a convention in which the many groups, organisations and campaigns of the independent Left could meet in their own right and on their own terms, to discuss common problems and prepare for an extension of common action.

Such a convention will not be easy. There are important rivalries, as well as misunderstandings and suspicions, between some existing groups. The urgency of the political crisis does not, in any case, make for even tempers and calm nerves. Nobody can suppose that many of our differences of opinion, with all their consequences in different styles of action and work, would not survive the most exhaustive discussion. All the same, enough of us are convinced that here is something to be gained by making the attempt to get together, and to see where we're going.

At Scarborough in September 1967, I saw at one end of the seafront a demonstration of the Yorkshire agricultural workers, and at the other end a Committee of 100 demonstration on Vietnam. What struck me most was that they were wholly separate events, although in the final analysis their issues were connected. Again, twice in 1968 I spoke in the Camden Town Hall, at big political meetings: one with an audience mainly of trade unionists; the other with an audience mainly of students. I was bound to ask what would happen, in Britain, if a serious attempt were made to

bring those two meetings together: with all their differences of style and interests, but with so much, as I could see, in common to win and to lose. I see the attempt at a convention as an attempt to move to a higher stage of political action, by bringing together the people and the issues that have been so active in these last few years: people who are now preparing for even harder struggles in the years ahead.

Somebody had to make a preliminary move. As Editor of the *May Day Manifesto* I signed a letter to some eighty Left groups and organisations, inviting them to send representatives to a Preparatory Commission. We have had two preliminary meetings and were sufficiently encouraged to go ahead with practical arrangements. Organisations represented so far are: Workers' Control Institute, Young Liberals, Slant, Black Dwarf, Agitprop, Communist Party, Notting Hill Community Workshop, Save Biafra Committee, Committee for Extra-Parliamentary Democracy, Haslemere Declaration, *May Day Manifesto*, International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, Solidarity (observer), S.C.M.

Political Commission (observer). There is still plenty of room for other groups to join in the work of definition and organisation. The watchword is that this will be open and equal throughout. In introducing the first general statement of the Preparatory Commission, I want to appeal again, to everyone on the Left, to look at the problems and the proposals, and from their own position and point of view to join in and make the Convention a success.

## Details

Full information is available from the Secretary, Preparatory Commission, 11 Fitzroy Square, W1. The next meeting of the Commission will be on Saturday 25 January at 24 Pembroke Gardens, W2, from 11 am to 4 pm approx. The Commissions on issues are as follows: Organisation and Action; Social Services; Imperialism; Race; Democracy and the State; the Economy; Trade Unions; Education and Communications. All these commissions will be holding their first meetings during the week preceding January 25th. Anyone on the Left is invited to join them. Full details from the Secretary, 11 Fitzroy Square, W1.

# The Student-Worker alliance

by Ken Coates.

While the Universities are alive with arguments about student power, accountability, representation; while student unions debate methods of struggle for democracy in education, and advance guards occupy their colleges, sit in, or declare them "open": a very different discussion is beginning to unwind in the factories. For the trade unions, and above all for their effective work-based organisations, for shop stewards and branch representatives, the limited democratic gains which were made during the years of full employment are now all in peril.

The question of the day becomes, how can trade unionists defend themselves against increasingly serious Governmental attacks?

The controls which have been established, often with difficulty and sacrifice, over conditions of work, rest breaks, hiring and firing, speeds of machinery, and other vital areas of working life, are all, today, coming under menace. Productivity bargains are promoted which with increasing directness probe into and erode away workpeople's job controls. A fierce press campaign is mounted which presents all trade union defensive codes as outmoded luddism, "restrictive practices". That such practices are more concerned to restrict arbitrary managerial power than output concerns none of the high-pressure commentators. And, at the centre of it all, Mrs Castle's Department of Productivity and Unemployment carefully calculates where to throw in its weight, to place the force of the law against workshop democracy, wherever it exists.

Student Power, Workers' Control: it is very plain that these ideas spring from a single source, in rebellion against entrenched authoritarianism. But whereas the students are, today, on the attack, in the trade union movement one can see that the preparation of defensive positions is far more general response than is the concerted search for the beginnings of offensive, aggressive strategies. Yet the fact is plain, that people who only engage in

Already today most radical students appreciate the need for an alliance with the industrial workers, (if only in order to underpin their own political ideas with some sociologically measurable weight, a goal about which they are likely to become considerably more flexible to the extent that any real dialogue does begin to develop, since the workers, too, have definite ideas of their own about what is a desirable polity.) What is clear is that this desire is only hesitantly, and rarely, reciprocated from the factory floor.

It seems clear that, if the student movement is to succeed in overcoming the obvious barriers to its acceptance by the working class, it has to pursue a linked, double-pronged, attack. On the one side, it must continue to set an example of what is meant by an aggressive strategy. This does not involve militant noise for the sake of noise, nor necessarily does it involve large quantities of blood and sweat. It does involve the intelligent selection of key targets, calculated to reveal both the strength of the attacking forces, and the pettiness, as well as the weakness, of the established power.

Who can doubt, in the education system, that the essential target is that of fortified privilege? And who can doubt, when this comes under really open assault, that workpeople will respond? The problem, up to now, has been one which has not been fully understood, because many students have an imperfect imagination of the degree of real privilege which is involved in their condition, and cannot therefore meet the resentments which they face when they go among workers.

As an ex-miner and an ex-student, I remember my first Summer at the university, lying on the warm grass in the sun, reading up for the first year exams. It struck me very sharply, that the several hundred boys and girls who were scattered about on the hillside, overlooking the university lake, surrounded as it was by flowers, had no idea at all that three hundred yards directly beneath them, naked in the close heat, men were toiling frantically in thick dust, in a coal seam barely two feet in height. If such men were not somewhat resentful of students, they would be unreasonably generous.

students are protesting. They ought to listen. How will they? Almost certainly, when the movement from the universities has reached out and taken up the schools, above all the 'dustbin' schools in which the majority of the children are from workers' families, and in which they are alienated in the extreme, finding no plausible reason for anything they are asked to do. When the secondary modern sit-ins send their delegations to the open universities, miners and dockers who see their sons and daughters reaching for equality will understand what the student struggle is about.

But if one prong of the student attack should be example, the other should be argument. It is vitally necessary to seek every possible form of feedback of the struggle, so that its lessons can be assessed, and its example understood.

A key instrument for such feedback is the Movement for Workers' Control, which has consistently developed work on educational democracy, from its very inauguration in 1964. The last three National Conferences on Workers' Control have had packed seminars on student power. At the same time, they have seen a seeding between students' and workers' ideas, which almost certainly has not been paralleled in any other place. At a time when the British Trade Unions face a graver threat than at any other moment for more than half a century, there will be record attendance at this year's (seventh) conference, in Sheffield. Besides making important contacts, student militants will be able, there, to check out many of their own plans and programmes in a critical, but sympathetic atmosphere.

At the last meeting of the Council of the Institute for Workers' Control it was agreed to convene the next National Conference on Workers' Control (which will be the seventh in succession) at Sheffield, during the last week end in March 1969.

Arrangements are now being made for the Conference which is to be held in one of the halls of residence at Sheffield University, and allowance has already been made to cope with a very much larger turnout than before. It is

the meeting, so that there will be some considerable problems of organisation. However, it is hoped that by appealing to trade union groupings to register their delegations early, it will be possible to cope in a fairly systematic way with the organisational difficulties.

Among the national trade union speakers who have already agreed to participate are Hugh Scanlon, Eric Roberts, and Lawrence Daly, the newly elected General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers. Important though this platform is, however, even more important are the various seminar groupings which will be gathering to work out their ideas during the weekend. Very significant progress has been made in the elaboration of workers' control strategies for such industries as docks, steel, mining, aircraft, farming and education. It is hoped that new industrial groups will be formed before the Sheffield Conference, and it is very likely that the 20 seminars of the last (Nottingham) Conference will, by next March, have become 30 or even more.

Papers will be circulated in advance to all who register for the Conference, and all those who wish to have their material circulated are invited to submit it to the office of the Institute for Workers' Control, 91 Goldsmith Street, Nottingham. This office will also be pleased to answer enquiries about the Conference.

The cost of participation depends primarily upon the cost of board and lodging for the weekend. The cost will be, for full board, £4 0. 0. per head, inclusive of meals and accommodation. The cost without board will be ten shillings.



# DWARF PROFILE:

# ROSA LUXEMBURG



On January 15th 1919 a small middle-aged woman was taken from a hotel by soldiers. Later, her head broken open by rifle butts, she was shot and her body thrown into a canal. Though the German revolution had failed, Rosa Luxemburg was such a powerful symbol of revolution that she had to be murdered — with the connivance of the Social-democratic Party she had been a member of for 20 years.

Rosa Luxemburg's life was devoted to revolutionary socialism. She joined a revolutionary socialist party, Proletariat, at the age of 18, and founded from it the Polish Social Democratic Party in 1894, which she led for the rest of her life. In 1896 she went to join the huge German Social-Democratic Party (SPD), the hub of the 2nd International.

In Germany she immediately had to do battle with the 'giants' of Marxism, — on behalf of a genuine revolutionary Marxism.

Unlike the 1st International in the 1860s, whose central International Committee dominated the national sections, the 2nd International (1889-1914) was a talking-shop of national parties dominated by the German party, SPD. Without any overriding discipline, a move away from revolutionary socialism by the SPD would therefore be a disaster. Yet it was only to be expected that with such a weak International in a period of Imperialist expansion and struggles for universal franchise, reformism would begin to appear. In the 1890s, with the Trade Unions gaining in strength and the parliamentary (Reichstag) fractioning increasingly independently of the party, it was in Germany that Reformism, and its theoretical justification, Revisionism, began to fight for control of the SPD.

It was in this fight that Rosa Luxemburg developed the ideas she would use through the next 20 years to fight for socialism against capitalism, and would finally use to split the SPD and to try to force a successful revolution in Germany in 1919 to go to the help of the victorious Russian Revolution.

The parliamentary fraction and the trade unions, whilst accepting Marxist analysis of society, argued for a peaceful, gradualist road to Socialism via reforms. Bernstein (and Schradt) provided the theoretical justification for this position. Arguing from the simple fact that there hadn't been a crisis in twenty-odd years, they found that the breakdown of capitalism was no longer inevitable, and that trade unions would overcome the exploitation of the worker and parliament would vote socialism into being.

Luxemburg countered in 1900 with 'Social Reform or Revolution'. In it she destroys Bernstein's economic arguments by showing how his analysis applies only to the individual capitalist and not to the whole capitalist system. She shows that the Trade Unions are purely defensive organisations and attacks the view that the extension of the State in society is the extension of a neutral influence. She concludes "... people who pronounce themselves in favour of the method of legislative reform, in place and in contradistinction to the conquest of political power and social revolution do not really choose a more tranquil, calmer and slower

road to the same goal but a different goal. Instead of taking a stand for the establishment of a new society they take a stand for surface modifications of the old society".

After the revolutionary strikes of 1905-6 in Russia and Poland, the revolutionary left moved on the offensive against such reformism. In her 'The Mass Strike, The Political Party and the Trade Unions', Rosa Luxemburg brilliantly analysed the working classes self-developed weapon, the mass strike. She saw it as both a weapon and a self-education, involving masses of unorganised workers, as both an economic and yet already a political movement, in need of an organisation but no organisation being able to will it or call it into existence. For Rosa Luxemburg, believing in socialism from below, socialism through control of society by a class-conscious working class, the mass strike was a crucial self-educative stage in the revolutionary movement.

"The mass strike is the first natural impulsive form of every great revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the more highly developed the antagonism is between capital and labour, the more effective and decisive must mass strikes become."

60 years later thousands of young Frenchmen are going back to some of Rosa's writings for insights into their own struggles of May-June 1968, as workers, students, teachers.

In 'The Accumulation of Capital', her major work written in 1912, she tackled a problem which was fundamental to Marxists: Why wasn't capitalism rent by its own contradictions? She discovered the answer in the effects of imperialism on the process of capitalist accumulation. Marx had begun from the assumption of perfect capitalism; she started from the reality of capitalist countries unloading both their surplus capital and their products onto non-capitalist countries, and showed the role of imperialism as the major stabiliser of capitalism — countering the contradiction of overproduction. Because of this, she argued, the total profit of the capitalist class could expand to the detriment of the wages of the workers without an actual fall in the living standard of the individual worker in a capitalist country. The arguments on this issue are still going on, yet there is no doubt that Rosa Luxemburg in this work made the finest contribution to Marxist economics since Marx.

Despite all the attempts of the revolutionary socialists the German Social-Democratic Party moved further and further on the road of Reformism. In 1910 it refused to lead a mass strike (despite working class support for Rosa Luxemburg and her policies), and in 1914 the entire SPD parliamentary fraction with the exception of Karl Liebknecht voted for war credits. With this betrayal by the SPD the tiny opposition of the 2nd International collapsed. Only Rosa Luxemburg's Polish Party and Lenin's Russian Party remained firmly opposed to the war.

Rosa Luxemburg was in jail for most of the First World War (not for the first time) without a trial. At her previous trials her speeches from the dock had been such brilliant attacks on the capitalist class that

they wouldn't chance it again. From jail she smuggled out advice and instructions to Karl Liebknecht, and founded the Spartacus League from the left-wing of the SPD. They had minority support inside the Party in all the industrial areas and organised a demonstration of 10,000 against the war in Berlin!

As the SPD became more rabidly nationalistic the right-wing took control from above of all the local Party papers, and began the campaign against Rosa Luxemburg which was to culminate in 1918-19 with the formation of a Social Democratic armed vigilante group whose express purpose was to hound her and the Spartacus members.

Rosa Luxemburg was released by the November Revolution of 1918. This Revolution overthrew the old political system and the SPD came to power to prevent a social revolution. They were forced to concede the Eight Hour Day and Factory Committees to run industry jointly by bosses and workers. They flooded the existing Workers' Councils with 'loyal' deputies from Soldiers' Councils and dissolved the National Workers' Council in favour of a National Assembly which they could control.

Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht formed the German Communist Party (KPD) in December 1918 in anticipation of the workers' next struggle for power. But the rising in January was premature. Berlin was isolated from the rest of the country and as the rest was beginning to rise the Berlin revolt was crushed. Knowing the scattered forces could soon be brought together the Reaction struck immediately at those leaders the working class had faith in — Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

The battle the SPD won was undeniably that of the bosses. All their concessions would mean nothing in fifteen years' time. As Hitler strode to power to protect the rate of profit, he strode on their corpse. The Eight Hour Day was already smashed by the Krupp lock-out of 1926, and the Factory Committees lasted only a year.

The reformists, though they can protect the bosses from revolutionary workers, can never gain real reforms, only the revolutionaries do that, squeezing them out of the bosses through the bosses' own fear. Nor can they, having helped destroy a revolutionary situation, protect the reforms won in that situation or the workers afterwards. The Reformists can never call the workers to bring down the system. Having betrayed the revolutionary working class they have set in motion a chain of events whose outcome is incalculable. In Germany by destroying the German Revolution they destroyed the Russian Revolution, and thus had no help in their later struggles against Hitler.

Rosa Luxemburg fought these people all her life in her fight for revolutionary socialism — as well as the Marxists of the Centre who through their inactivity and belief that things will happen on their own aided them. January 15th 1919 was the day the Reformists triumphed through her death which their witch-hunt helped bring about. For all their hypocritical cant about non-violence and 'bosody Rosa' they were the most violent of all.

## The day the VSC drove the Councillors from the Chamber

by Peter Ross

*In early November, Brent Campaign for Peace in Vietnam applied to the borough Medical Officer of Health for the use of Kilburn Clinic for a blood donor session for December 9th. "Glad to help" said the M.O.H. Tory councillors complain. So at next council meeting permission is withdrawn, with 32 Tories voting for withdrawal and 10 Labour opposing. The BCPV then hires the Anson Hall (also belonging to Brent Borough Council), but four days before the session is due to take place the booking is cancelled by the Town Clerk. Eventually the Trade and Labour Hall was made available for the 15th December when the session eventually took place.*

*Willesden and Camden branches of V.S.C. decided that action must be taken to show what we thought of these Tory bandits who within 6 months of being elected had made themselves thoroughly hated as they had imposed enormous rent increases on their tenants who are now actively engaged in a rent strike.*

*NOW READ ON...*

The scene is Brent Town Hall on the evening of Wednesday January 8th. By 7.00 the public gallery is full to capacity with VSC members and supporters from North London. We sit there chatting and reading the new 'Black Dwarf'. Around 7.20 a few councillors come in little red or blue gowns drift in.

At 7.30 the clerk calls for all to rise for the Mayor — no reaction from the public gallery — this causes embarrassing silence from ground floor. Mayor enters in colourful little procession, to loud cheers and wolf whistles from seated gallery. All on ground floor then rise for a little prayer in which the chaplain prayed for honesty and truthfulness from the councillors at which the gallery passed various remarks. Loud 'Amens' from seated gallery. More standing up below in memory of some minor movement who had just snuffed it. No response from above.

The Town Clerk then read out the telegram sent by Willesden VSC "URGENT, PLEASE RECEIVE DEPUTATION TO DISCUSS WITH FULL COUNCIL CANCELLATION OF CLINIC AND ANSON HALL FOR VIETNAM BLOOD DONORS". A motion is put by Councillor John Leber that a deputation be received and he goes on to say that the issue was a grave matter of principle. He believed it was a political issue and that the Tories might be other political groups on the grounds that they were "non-reversal". He was supported by Alderman Herby and Councillors Snow and Dunbar as well as by the gallery. At this point the mayor felt bound to remind us of the Council's standing order whereby he could clear anyone, or any part of the gallery who was interrupting the evening.

Before a vote could be put as to whether the matter should be referred to the Health Committee a counter-motion from the gallery shouted "On a point of humanity! Never mind your points of order!" At this the mayor called in the buzz, who were there in force to clear the gallery.

Chairs moved. Leaflets and posters were showered down upon the chamber and the mayor and his henchmen quickly left. Heated arguments ensued between individual Tory councillors and comrades upstairs and various incoherent remarks were made by the speaker in downstairs, particularly by Councillor Leber who has just already made a disgusting exhibition of himself outside the Blood donor session. Eventually comrades were shoved out to shouts of "A force to the N.E." and loudly singing the "International".

At 9.00 we held a meeting on the town hall steps.

# Differences between TRIBUNE and The Black Dwarf

## INTRODUCTION.

by CHRIS HARMAN

The weekly paper *Tribune* occupies a unique position inside the British Labour movement: for twenty-eight years it has been the focus of the official opposition. Although it is questionable whether *Tribune* has ever led movements to the Left in the party as a whole, or even all of the periodic retreats to the Right, its attitudes have generally provided a fair measure of the degree of opposition to the leadership within the Labour Party. When *Tribune* has been in revolt against the shot-gun marriage of block vote and public-school accent, a substantial portion of the party has shared its revulsion; when *Tribune* has embraced established authority, the rest of the 'Left' has not usually been overhesitant in doing likewise.

But a methodological caution is needed here. *Tribune's* relation to inner-party dissent has not been that of a party organ to a party — recognition of this is fundamental to any understanding of the politics of *Tribune*. Its particular policies have been determined by the small number of individuals in control of it at any given time. As there have been frequent and not always smooth changes of editor and in the managing board, one would not expect it to have remained and unchanged entity. Yet what emerges from a study of *Tribune* is just this unexpected continuity in politics — if not its specific attitudes at least in the way in which attitudes change and develop. In part this can be explained through the overlapping influences of certain key individuals on the paper. But the full explanation lies in the constancy of its relation to the Left as a whole.

The Left is in a permanently ambiguous position in British political life. It is at the same time both an integral part of official society, although a peripheral one, and dependent for its support upon the taboos reaches beyond. The permanent features in *Tribune's* politics — in particular the periodic oscillations in attitude to the parliamentary leadership — are an expression of this. The history of *Tribune* is the history of the Left — and of the Labour Movement — as seen from a certain vantage point. This point is a mechanism which relates the parliamentary opposition to extra-parliamentary dissent — functioning to prevent the former ever becoming fully integrated into official society and to prevent the latter developing into anything more than dissent.

## THE LEFT IN THE THIRTIES

The first *Tribune* was the response of the Labour Left to isolation and impotence at a time when Left solutions seemed the only alternative to the sweep of fascism across Europe. This dilemma was symbolised by the urgency of the situation in Spain on the one hand and the quietism of the Labour leadership on the other. Despite the undoubted justice of the Left case, and despite years of Left-wing organisation and agitation, the Edinburgh conference of the Labour Party in 1936 had supported the NEC and 'non-intervention' in Spain by 1,836,000 votes to 519,000. Immediately following this a group of Left MP's and intellectuals, prominent among whom were Cripps, Strauss, Bevan, Mellor and Laski, met together to discuss ways of strengthening the Left. *Tribune* was the result of these deliberations.

*Tribune* was rather a strange blending together of Marxist, Stalinist and Fabian elements. Labour illusions joined hands with Stalinist pretensions, but there was also a concern with the role of class as a determinant of policy that was missing from the stereotypes of both Stalinism and Labourism. The weakness was that those most concerned with this reality were those in the movement who had fewest practical links with the working class — as most clearly brought out on questions of foreign policy.

The centre of the struggle over foreign policy remained the class struggle at home. An editorial on 10 September 1937 could attack the National Council of Labour for not mentioning socialism or the working class in relation to international policy. The conclusions drawn were clear: 'Workers use your strength in the factories to get power yourself.'

But if the fight against fascism was really to be a class fight, those who understood this had to be in contact with the working class. Those who were producing *Tribune* had few direct links. Even if they had influence with many individual workers, they were detached from collective organs of struggle. They could only make contact with these through the mediation of either the Labour Party and trade unions of the CP. But the need for the Left agitation arose because of the quietism of the former, it was in order to benefit from ties with the latter that the United Front was formed. But the CP leaders, in forming the Front, were prepared to utilise the Labour Left, but were not prepared to be utilised by it — and they were organised to resist. Cripps, Bevan and Mellor might have been more able journalistically and even sounder theoretically than the CP leaders, but the latter, with an organisation built up over twenty years, were better able to utilise a smaller following. Above all it was they that led the rank-and-file struggles — among the busmen and the unemployed — which the *Tribune* depended upon to undermine the power bases of the Citrines and Bevins. Failing a successful campaign in alliance with the CP, they would be forced back to accommodating themselves aligning themselves to the trade-union Right.

When the policies of the CP conflicted with the naive but honest Marxism of the *Tribune*, it was the latter that suffered. One indication of this was the lack of any serious critique of the French Popular Front. Another was the reaction to the bourgeois democratic policy of the CP in Spain. Although at this time adamant against the Popular Front at home, *Tribune* could support it in Spain.

The most significant thing about *Tribune* in this period was not, however, that it was effectively the shadow of the CP, but that when Transport House demanded it, it ceased to be this shadow.

*Tribune* was the extra-parliamentary arm of an opposition group within the parliamentary party. The United Front had been meant to provide a base for this opposition group to fight the influence of trade-union leaders within the party. When this failed there was no alternative but to return to friendship with the nominees of these leaders. By the

attack the Labour leadership. Attlee even wrote for the paper. The party eventually came out against 'non-intervention' in Spain. But its underlying unwillingness to take the sort of action that the situation demanded remained. The same ultra-cautious trade-union leaders continued to hold the purse strings. The Bournemouth conference of 1937 had taken a 'Left-wing' line over Spain. But the implementation of this by the NEC meant, outside parliament, one meeting in the Albert Hall.

The Labour Left searched desperately for some means of producing the popular apathy that would remove it from the dead-end: and discovered the Popular Front.

Through the period of the struggle for a Popular Front and immediately after, the central plank in *Tribune's* foreign policy was that the government should establish a genuine alliance with France and Russia. This demand was not argued on purely rational grounds: in part it tried to imply that it was in capitalist Britain's own interest to ally itself in this way, but it was also infused with an emotionalism derived from the traditional Left support for the Soviet Union. The alliance with the Soviet Union could not be just a means to an end, but was also a good in itself.

The few criticisms of the USSR that had appeared in 1938 were no longer to be seen. A key role in this cult was played by the book-page. 'This is the book of the hour... I doubt whether *Tribune* readers have ever had the chance of such a valuable eighteen-pence worth' one reviewer could write of that unreadable collection of fabrications and slanders, the *History of the CPSU(B)*. Predictably Trotsky is described as 'the madman in Mexico'. At other times and in other circumstances all this would not have mattered. It would perhaps always have been detrimental to the domestic struggle in that it gave illusions of strength abroad. But in the situation that existed in mid-1939 such convictions could hardly fail to result in experiences best described as traumatic.

## THE COLD WAR

This basic division within the Left continued throughout the early years of the cold war. *Tribune* eventually came round to supporting the Western position on most things. It supported the Western stand in Berlin and by spring of 1949 had come round to supporting the Atlantic Pact. But the attempt to find alternatives continued. It dropped the demand for a 'third force' reluctantly, and still continued to call for fresh Great Power discussions. When it did come out in favour of NATO it was unable to do so without dissonance on its own Editorial Board. Ian Mikardo resigned.

By the time the Korean war broke out in 1950 the division within the left was such as virtually to rob the term of any utility. To many at the time it must have seemed that *Tribune* as a separate current of opinion was finished. The contradictory attitudes previously united behind the concept of the 'third force' were now in open opposition to one another. When a successor to *Keep Left* was published many of the supporters of *Keep Left* no longer backed it and it received scarcely a mention in *Tribune*. If the fellow travellers were to appear increasingly as mere shadows of Moscow, the metamorphosis of the wartime radicals into shadows of Washington also seemed near completion.

With the disintegration of the *Keep Left* coalition in 1948-49 *Tribune* became no more than an addendum to the official Labour propaganda machine. Neither the content of its articles nor the affiliations of many of its writers indicated its origins in the traditional Left. Transport House paid for two pages of each issue to put across official party policy. These were rarely at odds with the rest of the paper. Critics of *Tribune* referred to a 'Transport

This article was originally published in *International Socialism* and has been considerably abridged.

Agreement between *Tribune* and its former enemies extended to virtually the whole range of policy. What reservations there were on support for US foreign policy were largely in the background from 1947 to 1950. As late as July 1950 Michael Foot was writing:

'American soldiers are fighting in Korea ... to uphold the principles of collective defence against wanton aggression ... a principle which the Labour Party since 1918 has considered essential for the preservation of world peace.'

Truman's four point proposal was for Jennie Lee 'a helping hand from ordinary American people, particularly from the organised industrial workers of America.' *Keeping Left* argued that the foreign policies of *Keep Left* had to be scrapped as 'America has been moving towards the same ideals (as Britain) only more slowly.'

In home affairs support was just as complete. The economic policy of Cripps was considered to be socialist:

'Steady and solid progress in the picture that emerges from Stafford Cripps' economic review last week.'

The Government-imposed wage freeze was supported:

'The TUC has done a magnificent job in offsetting inflation by continued and difficult restraint on wages.'

When the calm of the austerity years was disturbed by dockers' attempts to defend living standards, *Tribune* referred to 'tragic events' and blamed bosses, union leaders and dockworkers equally. The former political rebels of the labour movement looked with disdain upon the attempts of trade unionists to resist the redistribution of income to their detriment and to the benefit of capital:

'Inhibitions on both sides of industry have too long held up intelligent reorganisation of methods and layout, and the application of time studies ...'

It was one thing to concur with the policies of those in power. It was another to participate in the exercise of that power and to determine the end for which it was used. The Left was able to influence policies only insofar as its demands for reforms in the structure of industry and society coincided with the needs of the core of post-war capitalism. Beyond this, all the obedience in the world before the Right wing could achieve nothing. When the limit was reached the Right wing of the Labour Party immediately raised the cry of 'consolidation.' The fervour of 1945 began to disappear from speeches. The defence of nationalisation began to sound apologetic.

## THE BIRTH OF BEVANISM

The point of departure for the Left in the fifties was Bevan's resignation from the Government in the spring of 1951. The apparent reason for this was opposition to the raising of arms expenditure to an unprecedented peace-time level at the same time that charges for health-service dental and optical treatment were introduced. But it is difficult to accept this policy dispute as the sole cause of the resignation. Bevan himself not only accepted the basic presupposition of the Budget — the need to protect 'British commitments' — but had also lambasted Left critics who had attacked the arms programme in Parliament two months before and as Minister of Health he had been quite willing to steer the measure that made the health charges possible through Parliament, even though he had opposed it in the Cabinet. If he tried to appear consistent by arguing that the strain on the economy had only recently become apparent, this was not to convince everyone.

The arguments elaborated in the resignation controversy were to form the basis for the identity and composition of the 'Left' of the early fifties. What was peculiar about these was that they combined a perceptive, and undoubtedly correct critique of the arms programme from the point of view of British capital, with a socialist critique of foreign policy and its domestic consequences. The basic argument was that realisation of the arms programme would produce such a strain on resources as to raise raw material prices and produce 'mass-unemployment.'

'The fact is the West has embarked upon a campaign of arms production upon such a scale, so quickly, and of such an extent, that the foundations of political liberty and parliamentary democracy will not be able to sustain the shock.'

[Bevan's resignation speech]

Besides which 'Today the policies of the west are based upon a gross overestimate of Soviet strength.' The real strength of the Soviet Union lay in its ability to utilise the revolutionary forces of the world. So 'It is the task of British socialism to persuade our western allies to assist (the colonial revolution) instead of forcing it into the grip of the Russians.'

This argument combined beliefs in the progressive nature of the Truman administration ('we must... assist the Truman administration in its battle against McCarthyism') and of the Cold War as a struggle between freedom and totalitarianism, with the traditional liberal pacifist view that solutions to conflicts could and must be found by 'statesmen not soldiers.' Also combined were a perceptive insight into the extent to which Western imperialism was in danger of clinging too long to obsolescent forms of exploitation in the colonies when newer forms based upon aid and trade, not military government, were more apposite, and the traditional socialist opposition to colonialism. All this and more. For *Tribune* also defended the Welfare State, calling for rearmament to be financed 'not by inflation, but by

This admixture of socialist and neo-capitalist demands was the logical continuation of the politics of 1945. It also explains the strange coalition of those, who, even if they were unaware of it, were in the vanguard of the bourgeoisie with the remnant of socialist idealism in the Labour Party. On the one hand stood Harold Wilson, in whom one could already see the embryo of the 'new dynamism' of the sixties. On the other stood the remnants of pre-1945 radicalism, led by Bevan, and still occasionally speaking with the tones of the thirties.

## SUEZ

The Suez crisis had the unusual effect of producing agitation in opposition to it not only from those who were in principle anti-imperialists, but also from those who favoured US policies and those who were far-sighted enough to understand the long-term interests of British capital. In the process of development of the crisis these were by no means in the same camp all the time. And *Tribune* certainly was not in the anti-imperialist camp all the time. As the situation evolved it tended to jump from one position to another.

*Tribune* began by condemning Gaitskell's suggestion that economic sanctions be applied after Egypt had nationalised the Suez Canal, but it was by no means unanimously in favour of the right of Egypt to control what its people had constructed. For Bevan Egypt was right 'in a narrow and legalistic sense' only. Her action was condemned as 'treating the canal like a medieval caravan route.' He called for the 'internationalisation' of the canal — presumably under the US-dominated UN or the Anglo-US-dominated 'Canal Users' Committee.' Because he would not accept this, Nasser was condemned more than the British owners he had thrown out:

'Egypt has a right to come into her own, but not into someone else's.'

*Tribune* itself dissented from this position a week later — although it demanded that the UN guarantee freedom of passage through the canal. Bevan himself was by this time defending the right of the Egyptians to nationalise, while attacking their determination to exercise this right:

'It must not be all take, Colonel Nasser.'

This ambiguity could not however stand the test of events. When it was a question of abstract right Egypt could be condemned, but the whole tradition of the British Left ruled out support for armed intervention. 'Don't risk one British life,' wrote Bevan, although this was followed by 'Egypt as much as anyone else owes it to the world to show moderation.' The nationalism of a country fighting foreign oppression was still abstractly equated with that of the oppressor.

When intervention came, criticism of it was as much because it endangered the UN as for the imperialist motives behind it. And when the US, clearly from motives of her own, condemned the aggression, Bevan could write 'the US emerges with an enhanced reputation.' Unfortunately Bevan could not believe in this 'enhanced reputation' for long. Within a fortnight he was criticising the US for trying to replace British influence in the Middle-East.

For the development of the Left, the crucial event of the 1957 party conference was the fact that the man around whom the 'Left' had been organising for the previous six years and in whom so many of its hopes were placed — Bevan — finally made his peace with the leadership. Appointed by the NEC to reply to a resolution calling for unilateral nuclear disarmament, Bevan, by now shadow foreign minister, turned on to his own former supporters the rhetoric that had once been used with such effect against the Right.

Bevan's performance threw the *Tribune*ites into utter confusion. A break between them and Bevan seemed inevitable. But this was not to take place either suddenly or completely. If Foot remained entirely unconvinced by Bevan's arguments he persuaded himself that other policies adopted (presumably *Industry and Society*) marked 'a substantial shift ... away from the rigid positions of the Right wing of some years ago ...' Bevan continued to write for *Tribune*, and *Tribune*ites continued to express the hope that Bevan would find his alliance with Gaitskell intolerable.

## THE ADVENT OF WILSON AND CND

*Tribune* welcomed CND, and army of the old Left played a prominent role in its leading ranks. But in no sense did they carry the movement. Rather, they themselves were carried along by a wave of enthusiasm from below. This, although often mouthing the old slogans of the traditional Left, tended to demand immediate action outside of the manoeuvrings of traditional Left politics. For the old 'Left' the task was to channel this fervour into traditional politics, emasculate it, and benefit from it. For the old Left the demand for unilateralism would be less important than the need to appeal to diplomatically minded politicians. After CND's extremely successful inaugural meeting *Tribune* wrote, 'Magnificent, inspiring, historical'. Yet in the same period it was to praise first Gaitskell, then Khrushchev and even Macmillan, for demanding summit conferences.

## Vietnam

DOUGLAS GILL

## Vietnam

Sharing so much common ground with the Right wing at the theoretical level, Tribune was more or less incapable of seriously confronting it when a fight took place within the party. It could only ride on waves produced by more or less spontaneous action from below.

## MIS-APPRAISALS

Isolated from the numerous but fragmented struggles that alone could constitute a basis for any class-based politics in the fifties, Tribune and the Left could never appreciate the texture of the period they were in. On the one hand they always tended to be over-optimistic about Labour policies - only to be disillusioned later. The possibility of short-term parliamentary alliances always led them to overestimate their own strength. On the other hand they made a similar but opposite misappraisal of Tory policies. Every attack upon the working class would be exaggerated in its scope. Prophecies of considerable unemployment, major struggles, legislation against trade unions, were a recurrent feature of Tribune throughout the fifties. "If the Tories win on 8th October - expect attacks on trade unions." This misappraisal of the situation was conjoined with an under-estimation of the real strength of working-class organisation (a strength which did in fact prevent the Tories from staging a major struggle against it). Given this double misconception of reality, Tribune could never range outside of the spectrum between an instinctive defence of past loyalties and beliefs and a continued misinterpretation of these into apologies for neo-capitalistic measures.

This being the case, their capitulation before Harold Wilson was quite natural. In him they found someone whose policies had the 'realism' of the Right, yet who was capable of covering them with the rhetoric of the Left, who was not frightened by a US-dominated UN if necessary, who could support an India dependent upon Western aid, who could chase working-class votes with demagogic promises, who would praise Clause Four while postponing indefinitely the day of reckoning. With him they could praise state capitalist planning as the socialist measure they had demanded for years. They could shudder with him when an upstart racist from the Midlands threatened their parliamentary seats, and surrender with him what remained of their internationalist tradition. With such a leader the pen as sword could become the oen as sycophant.

## SEDUCTIVE POSE

Yet it was not only in the Strand office that the Left fell for the seductive pose of Wilsonism. The Left of the early fifties had given way to its temptations long before. The average rank-and-file Bevanite of 1951 had probably by 1965 ended up either disillusioned and out of political activity or disillusioned and a councillor. The latter would suffer corrupting forces as great as those confronting his parliamentary equivalent, if not greater. For in the major cities Labour had not faced the exigencies of running capitalism for just six years out of thirty, but had done so for decades. Those who held municipal power knew the difficulties of explaining the requirements of finance to irate ratepayers, knew the impossibility of proceeding too fast, knew the necessity of deception, and above all the need to keep the working class - for its own sake - out of participation in politics for more than one day every three years. They also understood the necessity for keeping the young CNDer or the old Trotskyist out of the party.

Even those not themselves corrupted by the pressures of these years, pressures which the use of phony arguments and the practice of self-deception did not help to resist, could only with difficulty avoid the temptation of looking for a solution where none existed. The somewhat harder Left around the Voice newspapers tended to share with Tribune the general bemusement in the first days of the Labour Government. Even the self-consciously 'hegemonic' mandarins of New Left Review saw the advent of Harold Wilson not as a passing adjustment of British capitalism to a changing situation, but as an event of tremendous moment for its whole development.

## ELITISM

But Tribuneism was not in its own terms a failure, if its aim was to capture citadels within the capitalist state machinery, it succeeded. By 1965 ex-Tribunites controlled Parish Councils and they controlled the government. If in the process the seeds of the capitalist state came to dominate Tribune's politics, it had only itself to blame. The building of a mass Left in the fifties was impossible, given the continued ability of capitalism to expand. But the building of a larger and more influential hard Left that could have resisted the ravages of Wilsonism was not. Tribune, seeking respectability and parliamentary 'power', above all resisted attempts to do this. The one attempt made in the fifties to organise outside of Parliament in seriousness on generalised policies, Victory for Socialism, collapsed under the weight of the Parliamentary elitists that dominated it.

If after only a few months of seeing so much of its past activity crystallised as acceptance of racism, support for aggression in Vietnam and a complete reconciliation with capital, Tribune shies away, its whole approach makes it inevitable that it should go through the whole process again. For Tribune remains as committed to its own forms of intellectual elitism as ever. Young progressives replace old ones as these move on into the Cabinet. The best way of building the Left is still seen as lying in short-term alliances with frustrated Right-wing careerists. Wilson is cast out of the pantheon, to join Truman and Stalin on the black list, but new figures are to be built up. The search for the charismatic leader who will automatically solve its and the working class's problems continues.

When the working class itself begins to solve its own problems, Tribune will no doubt, as in 1956, be

For over four years, the editors of Tribune have applied themselves to reporting, to analysing, and to explaining, the conduct of the war in Vietnam; throughout that period, its columns have afforded hospitality and space to the stalwarts of the Parliamentary left; and during the greater period of time, unchallenged by the clamourings of the VSC, its contributors have carried the burden of providing a socialist perspective on the causes and prosecution of the war.

They have discharged their duty with moderation and with care. From the beginning right up to the present day, they have seen in the pursuit by Washington of a policy of war the outcome of a great misunderstanding; they have seen in the origins of US intervention a case of illegality alone; and equipped with an explanation of neither the causes nor the present motives for the war, they have detected no real reason why it should continue. Their solutions, therefore, have been framed in a cautious and a circumspective way. The British left, exercising its utmost in persuasion, can exert leverage upon the government and the Parliamentary party; Mr. Wilson and Mr. Michael Stewart, apprised of the errors of their ways, in turn will make known their doubts and hesitation to the State Department; and the voice of moderation, encouraged in both Hanoi and Washington, DG, will plump firmly for the discussions and negotiations which alone can secure a lasting peace in Vietnam.

Tribune's calmest words have been reserved for use when the storm is at its height. The United States launches an air offensive on the North which makes the Nazi bombing of Coventry and London seem like fireworks and fun, and Tribune has some condign words to say:

"Mr. Stewart's course is clear. He should work out with the Russians an agreed programme for a conference, and then use such influence as we have in Washington to get it accepted by the Americans." (12.11.65)

A year goes by with no respite in the bombing and a great inflow of American and allied troops, and Tribune sets out some pious words on the likelihood of peace:

"... our hope must be that those who are prepared to recognise realities, to accept that for neither side can there be a total military victory, and those who are prepared to pay the necessary price of peace, will gain strength in Hanoi and in Washington and inside the National Liberation Front." (18.11.66)

Two further years pass by, the NLF passes to the offensive and gains victories during Tet which some compare to Dien Bien Phu; and Tribune fills its columns, not with hosannas and hurrahs, but with advice for inter-allied conversations:

"What Mr. Wilson ought to have told him [LBJ] was that the war was unwinnable, that America should cut its losses." (16.11.68)

The accusation is not only that Tribune for four years and more, had pressed on Mr. Wilson fatuous comments and advice on which the latter had no clear need to act at all, but also that its arguments and pleadings have had the net effect of decreasing consciousness, in both Britain and abroad, about the nature of the war and what was actually at stake; of diminishing the likelihood of any real movement setting out in aid of socialism in Vietnam. At no stage did it offer an appreciation of the reasons which kept the Americans in Vietnam and caused both them and Mr. Wilson to view defeat with apprehension: at no stage did it indicate that the NLF and the regime in Hanoi were forces whose socialist credentials were at least as valid as those of the British Labour movement and the Tribune left; its columns have never entertained discussions about the kind of tactics which could both bring comfort to the NLF and help to discredit the participation of the Wilson government in the policies of Western imperialism.

The examination of its pages in the last four years brings forth some very lame 'explanations' for the war in Vietnam.

Tribune talks much about the illegalities of the US intervention, very little of the real interests which underly the action. In January, 1966, Michael Foot was writing of an American attempt "to keep a foothold in Asia"; and language of this vague and metaphoric nature is from time to time expanded into further tautologies and cliches. "America is waging war in Vietnam because it wants to do so, and because it is powerful enough to do it without provoking disastrous retaliation upon itself from some other super power..." (2.XII.66) Just that - and nothing more. The minute examination of its pages may occasionally dredge up the word 'imperialism' (23.II.68) - and this in inverted commas as though it were a most unusual and extraordinary term - but there has been no discussion of the role of Britain in supporting, and in submitting to, the American domination of a great deal of the world.

It is most fortunate that the left in Vietnam has taken no notice of the advice which has been furnished for it by the Parliamentary party; fortunate, also, that the Vietnam Solidarity Committee has pressed on regardless of the cold water which Tribune has cast upon its tactics. For Tribune's policy has been to praise and to encourage the course of moderate opposition by the Parliamentary left, while ignoring or attacking the more direct action which is from time to time unleashed. "Persuasion - and there's no substitute for that", can alone change the Labour policy on Vietnam, Michael Foot proclaimed in 1966, and coupled it with the extraordinary suggestion that "the Left will only get a hearing in the Labour Party - and in my opinion will only deserve to - if it shows by word and deed that it passionately shares the desire for the party's success." And the actual measures which the left should press upon the government have been cast in terms unambitious and inept. Thus, Mendelson argued in 1966 that "if America were to embark on the invasion of North Vietnam and as a result were to be involved in a major international war", then what was wanted was (Volunteers to fight for Ho Chi Minh? Severance of the Anglo-American alliance? Application to join the Warsaw Pact?) a declaration that "Britain would not regard this as covered by the Anglo-American alliance and would not take part in such a war." As late as April, 1968, after two major demonstrations by the VSC, Tribune was still arguing how best to impress the Americans with the government's dissatisfaction with the war. "How can America be pushed towards talks?" asked a Tribune leader, and came up with the answer: by putting down a resolution at the Security Council.

Coupled, then, with this support for tactics which will gain approval from the parliamentary whip, comes a steady opposition to modes of extra-Parliamentary agitation. The demonstration in Grosvenor Square last March, the second major undertaking of the VSC, received no advance publicity in Tribune's pages, nor any verdict on the effect it may have had - save for a small article, at the bottom of an inside page, about the tactics of the police. The assault upon the Daily Mirror/Springer building was described by Frank Ainsop MP as "pathetic and ill-considered" (19.IV.68). The October demonstration could be ignored not even by the ostriches of Tribune. Its readers were informed that the majority of those intending to take part would be there "to show their solidarity with the Vietnamese people"; yet, lest the faithful take offence, they were reassured that "Victory to the NLF" was an emotional slogan which could not be realised, and (most damning of all) that "over and over again we have said that the war will have to be solved by negotiations".

The events of the last few months have clearly shaken the staff of Tribune and the MPs who support them. A month ago, it was distressing to see a member of the editorial staff falling out with Michael Foot and arguing that there must be some occasion - though one has not yet occurred - on which the Labour left will vote against the Government and be prepared to threaten its defeat. The article went on to argue a point which in Tribune's columns had never yet appeared: that manoeuvres in the corridors and lobbies at Westminster, that leverage exerted upon Wilson, Stewart, and the like, may not always be enough.

"... to reject violence is not to reject direct action ... the occupation of a university or factory - the struggle for a greater measure of democracy and popular control may require defiance of laws and regulations, precisely because those laws and regulations are designed to exclude democracy and frustrate the popular will."

To this, Michael Foot himself replied with arguments he had more vigorously put three years ago, when the tactics of Mr. Richard Gott, in standing against the Labour candidate at Hull, had threatened, if only for a moment, to bring about a Government defeat. For what catastrophe could follow if the government were brought down by its own MPs? "The quarrel between Left and Right within the Labour movement would be intensified everywhere - with the Left, on this issue, having a poor, almost unarguable case. And this at a moment when the Left's case on Vietnam and so much else is growing stronger every month..."

The Parliamentary left, with its chauvinism, its ignorance, and its blind adherence to the whips, still sees itself approaching closer to the corridors of power. Apply a little more persuasion, hoist yet another left MP into the Cabinet itself, and our case on Vietnam will convince even Mr. Harold Wilson; in these circumstances, friction and discord will be necessarily increased by any step which threatens the base of Mr. Wilson's power. It is timely to remind Mr. Michael Foot, however, of what he wrote three years ago: "The Left's case on Vietnam and so much else is growing stronger every month". Not only its case, however, but also, whether it concerns Vietnam, Rhodesia, or civil rights in Ulster, the weapons and the tactics which it is willing to employ.

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# DWARF DIARY

## THE ULSTER UPSURGE

At Queen's University, Belfast, the mood is militant and though the civil rights activists are still in a minority they are gaining new recruits every day. In fact the pace of radicalisation has surprised many militants who say that only last year they were dubbing Queen's University as politically the most backward university in the United Kingdom. It was the students who were largely responsible for sparking off the upsurge which has frightened the complacent, self-satisfied government of Captain Terence O'Neill. The militants are likely to gain even more support if the Captain's supporters continue to make badly-timed (from THEIR point of view) statements such as the one made by a Mr Roy Bradford, Chief Whip and possibly a future Minister of Education. Mr Bradford boldly declared that the University authorities 'clearly stand in loco parentis to the students' and implied that militant students should be disciplined. The fact that has upset Mr Bradford is that, 'The present campaign is designed to overthrow the Government'. Student activists told the Dwarf that if the Vice-Chancellor and his cohorts attempted to curb the civil rights movement the 'whole University would explode.' Better late than never.

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The political significance of the rising in Derry has not yet been fully grasped by revolutionary socialists in England, mainly because the unfree press has tended to avoid reporting details of what actually happened in Derry. Not many comrades realise that a part of Derry was barricaded and a sign proudly announced: YOU ARE NOW ENTERING FREE DERRY. The Derry Commune lasted for 6 days, 6 days of freedom from police oppression. The citizens of Lecky Road are determined that there will be no repetition of the incident when groups of drunk policemen came and stoned Roman Catholic houses. Despite the provocations (and there have been many) the leaders of the Derry Communards and Eamon McCann in particular have seen to it that all the slogans and demands are political. Crude anti-Protestantism and religious chauvinism have played no part in the upsurge and this makes the struggle in Derry the most significant political action which we have seen for the last decade. When the student marchers entered Derry after the Long March from Belfast they were greeted by large numbers of working people including homeless squatters who had occupied Derry Town Hall in protest against the housing situation.

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The spirit of comradeship which prevails in Derry and which has united the students and a large section of the workers shows that despite the distortions of the unfree media student activism does have an effect on people at large. Free Derry Radio is still in existence informing citizens of what is going on in the police state which the Labour government subsidises.

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The burning of three police vans in Newry has led to the unfree press denouncing the civil rights marchers as hooligans and unfortunately the rightists in the movement have joined in these attacks. Whether or not the police should have been burnt is a separate issue - many militants point out that the police were quite pleased that this happened because it boosted their battered image somewhat and that no policemen tried to prevent the burning. Be that as it may in the face of reaction we should all declare our solidarity with the 'hooligans'. An eight year old girl was also seen in Newry with a lighted piece of paper in search of police tenders which just shows the depth of the feeling against the Ulster police.

\*\*\*\*\*

It is of crucial importance that revolutionary socialists in England organise demonstrations in solidarity with their Irish comrades. Pressure should be put on the Wilson clique to stop subsidies (so far only the LSE Socialist Society has been active) and there should be marches outside the Northern Ireland office in London. It does exist. Perhaps the best time would be on the Easter Sunday as we could wean away many CND marchers and also get a contingent down from Belfast. More about this in subsequent Dwarfs.

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## DWARF AWARD FOR POLITICAL SCHIZOPHRENIC OF THE YEAR

Major Bunting, Ian Paisley's leading thug who supported Mr Gerry Fitt in the last election campaign.

## HOLD UP YOUR HEAD, TIM DALY

On Sunday October 13th Tim Daly set fire to the dome of the Imperial War Museum and destroyed a large number of books and records. Contrary to the reports in the unfree press, there was no connection between the fire and the numerous other activities supposedly leading to a mass take-over of London on October 27th. Tim was arrested almost immediately after the event and put inside Ashford Remand Home, when a Dwarf representative went to see him in the middle of November Tim was under the impression that he would be brought to trial at the end of the following week. It is the middle of January and he is still there.

Tim hates war. He is a pacifist. He was prepared to carry out the whole operation single-handed - "for I believed in what I did". But three months later the strain of isolation is beginning to tell on him. He needs moral support: write to him at H.M. Remand Home, Ashford, Middlesex, or contact the Dwarf office and we'll send you leaflets for distribution and the date of his trial as soon as we have it. The Public Gallery of the Old Bailey seats 200. Be there!

EDITORIAL BOARD: Tariq Ali, Clive Goodwin, Fred Halliday, John Boyland, Douglas Gill, Sheila Rowbotham, Bob Rowthorne, Adrian Mitchell, Mo Teitelbaum.

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# PUSHING THIRTY

for Bruce Reynolds.

The craft of the thief  
bring precious little grief  
to the man with the big cigar.

He reads about crime  
while going home to dine  
and smiles out of the window of his car.

So his Rembrandt got lost? -  
to even out the cost  
he'll increase the price of shoes in every store;

if the cash goes from home  
then a servant must phone  
and simply tell the bank to print some more.

But if even that thief  
for his aperitif  
wants a house with gardens fifty miles wide,

and by way of entree  
control of Paraguay -  
with a rotten oil-rich Shiekdom on the side ...

The Mister Cigar  
knows the lad has gone too far  
and he calls his Politicians to his side:

Dearest Colleagues of mine  
we have o draw the line:  
the thief is wise and it is time he died.

So remain simple thugs,  
stick to prostitutes and drugs,  
rob a factory, or gut some stately homes;

but go for his Law  
Mister C. declare war,  
and he'll nourish his police dogs on your bones.

Christopher Logue.

## What's happenin'

SATURDAY JAN 25th: Rosa Luxembourg - 30 Years After. Organised by International Marxist Group. Speakers include Ernest Mandel, Peter Brandt (SDS), Tariq Ali. 7.30 pm, Beaver Hall, Garter Hill, EC4. (Mansion House Tube).

MONDAY JAN 27th: Demonstration outside Bow Street where 31 people arrested on the Zimbabwe demo of Jan 11th are appearing in court. Contact Zimbabwe Solidarity Action Committee at LSE, tel. 01-405 6559.

THURSDAY JAN 30th: Public Meeting to launch the Nottingham branch of the National Joint Action Campaign Committee for Equal Rights (NJACCCER). Audrey Wise (USDAW Midlands Divisional Council) on Equal Pay, Opportunity, Training for Women. 7.30 pm, People's Hall, Heathcote Street, Nottingham.

FRIDAY JAN 31st - SUNDAY FEB 2nd: Bufo International Conference. Ring 01-272 5524 for information.

SATURDAY FEB 1st - SUNDAY FEB 2nd: VSC National Conference at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WCI (L-iborn Tube). 10 am Saturday to 1 pm Sunday. For details ring Hall Greenland, 01-480 6789.

SUNDAY FEB 9th: London Squatters in action. See p.3.

MONDAY FEB 10th - WEDNESDAY FEB 12th: Essex University Socialists are organising a Revolutionary Festival. Correspondence to Ernest Dowson, 89 East Hill, Colchester, Essex.

ALSO: FRIDAY MARCH 21st: National Housing demo at Centre Point.

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