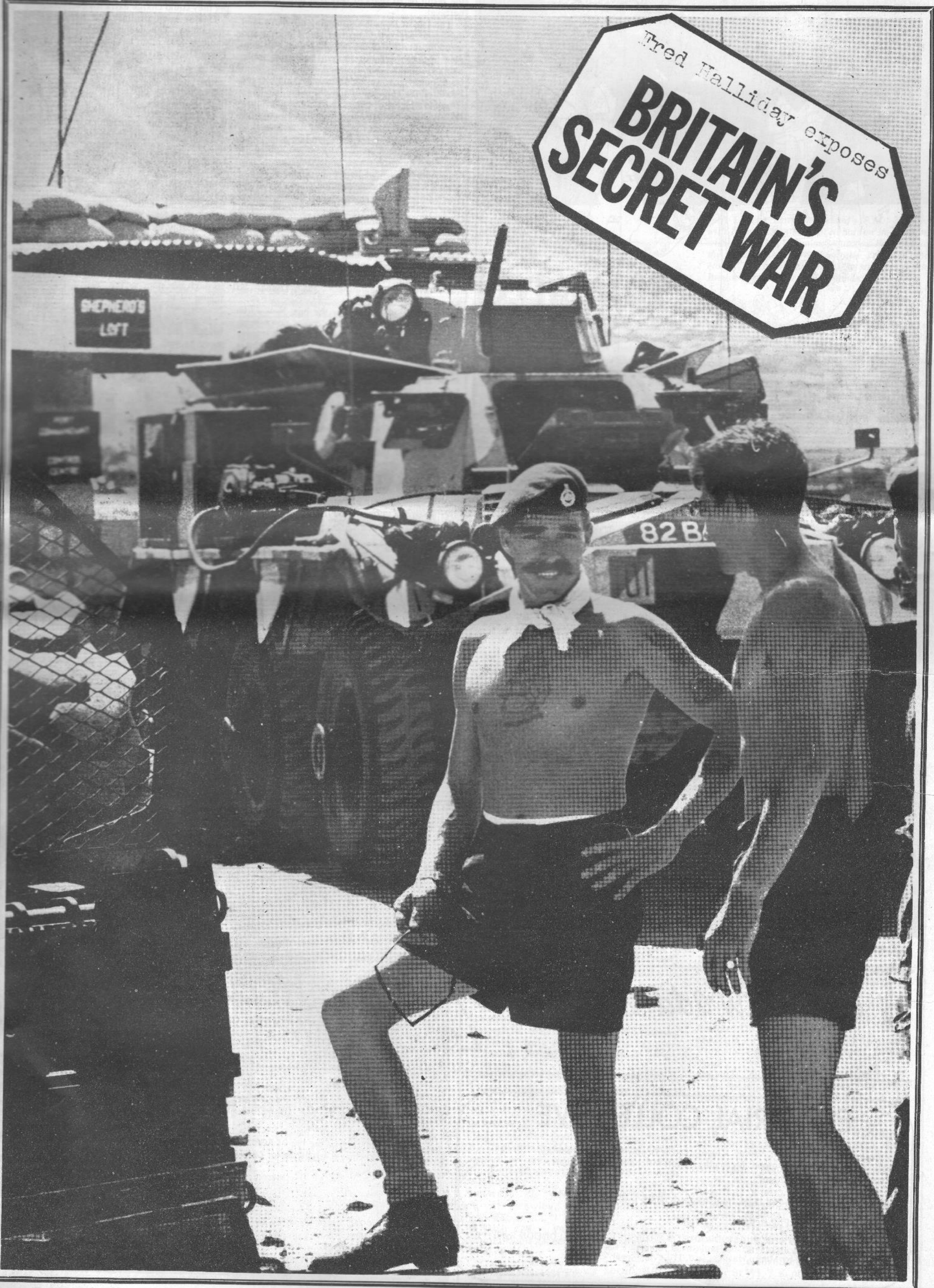


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Where the river bends.



The Isle of Dogs Independence Movement is not a joke or a publicity stunt. Certainly, a lot of the islanders are worried about the kind of publicity Ted Johns and his Citizen's Council's "Declaration of Independence" has received. But when a *Black Dwarf* reporter went down to the island and talked to some of the people, it soon became clear that the present activity is the result of 20 years of very real bitterness and betrayal.

The Isle of Dogs is a straggling no-man's land locked in a sharp U-turn of the Thames, and virtually cut off from the rest of London by a complex of docks and waterways. High brick walls, blank-fronted warehouses and forests of cranes occasionally give way to a bleak-looking housing estate or the remains of the old slum-dwellings. There are plenty of places to live, and absolutely no amenities besides a few friendly and crowded pubs.

For a start there are no secondary schools on the Island. A group of dockers we talked to described the problem:

"There's a school here—the Glengall Grove School—but it's been standing empty for three years now. The Council shut it down so that they could modernise it. Then they decided they didn't have any money to spend on it, so it's been standing there empty ever since."

Meanwhile, the secondary-school children have to go off the Island to get to school. Half the primary-age children have to go the mainland too—either up to Mile End or Poplar, or "through the pipe," the Tunnel to Greenwich.

"That means waiting for the bus. Now listen to this: there's only one bus comes down here, the 277. It's supposed to run every twelve minutes, but sometimes you have to wait for a whole hour."

The feeling of isolation may give the people a sense of community that is unusual for London. But most of them resent being so cut off. The teenagers want to go up to town in the evenings. But if they do, they can't get back again.

"It's the same with me," said one of the dockers. "If me and the Misses want to go up to Mile End for a drink on a Saturday evening,

that's 3/- on the bus to get there, and 7/6 for a taxi to get back. By the time the pubs have closed, the buses have finished."

The other big problem is shops. 4,000 people have been moved into the new estates on the island in the last three years, but in all that time only one shop has been built. The dockers said that their wives had to shop on the mainland, because the shops on the island had such a monopoly they could charge extra for everything.

One is soon disillusioned by the sense of community. The deeply bedded working class tradition of localism has even divided the island. There are two rival sections, Millwall and Cubitt Town:

"Over that bridge they're foreigners," said one of the Cubitt Town dockers pointing towards Millwall."

It is in Millwall, the older part of the island, that the tenant's associations are very strong. Many are taking part in the GLC rent-strike and this is where Ted Johns draws his support—his Citizen's Council is composed mostly of representatives of the more militant Tenants Associations and according to his wife the tenants are backing him 100%. But other islanders in Cubitt Town, where tenants associations have failed to develop, are afraid of looking silly as a result of his activities. More seriously, they are suspicious of the way the Citizen's Council has operated:

"We were never consulted," said one of the dockers. "We just had these leaflets pushed through our door saying 'Wait for D-Day,' and telling us to be ready to block off the bridges. No-one even knew where they came from."

In spite of that, a lot of them *did* block off the bridges, and they would be prepared to do a lot more as well. There seems an urgent need for public meetings to explain to the islanders what has been happening, and to give them a chance to decide what should happen next.

"Listen to this," one docker told us. "Recently all the council tenants had a letter pushed through the door telling them they had to get rid of their pets, because of the regulations. Now I've got a poodle, see. And I can tell you I won't get rid of my dog unless a certain person gets rid of her four dogs—and that's the Queen!"

The feeling of the islanders over the whole affair was summed up by one of the dockers who had been at the barricades:

"There's just one point we want to make—we want better amenities. I don't know about this fellow Johns' methods, but if he gets better amenities, fair enough..."

The better amenities look like arriving now, as announced in Tower Hamlets plan for the Island. The reason, however, is not only the recent publicity that the Isle of Dogs has had. Parts of the Isle have magnificent views overlooking the river. These are being bought up by property developers, and in their wake there will be a rush of middle-class people moving into these new "desirable town residences." When the bourgeoisie appears, amenities soon follow. But by that time, unless the islanders are still more determined and advanced in their struggle, the Isle of Dogs will belong to them even less than it does now.

With the running down of the docks the Isle of Dogs becomes that prized form of property-real estate. The bourgeoisie will attempt to liquidate it. They will disperse the long time residents and bring in trendy town house 'groovers' to enjoy a view of the river that the dockers blocked from the working class.

The action in the Isle of Dogs is an extreme example of British proletarian action. It combines a high level of political shrewdness and a fantastic absence of political class consciousness. Geography and poverty have combined to generate an extreme form of localism, a declaration of 'independence'. At the same time the residents need to grasp the nature of the society that allows working class communities to be run down while office buildings push their way into the sky.



After a lunch-time drink—John Hoyland, *Black Dwarf* reporter, talks to some dockers on the Isle of Dogs.

Photo by Jose Nava.

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The quiet squatters of Arbour Square

For six months eleven families have been squatting in Arbour House, a block of council flats in Arbour Square, Stepney. The flats were closed two years ago for improvements to be made on them, though they are in far better condition than most flats in the area. Eighteen months later, when nothing had happened local homeless families started to move in. The first four families went in the week after the Endell Street squat, and expected to be violently evicted. But, with the help of the Campaign to Clear Hostels and Slums, they have skilfully handled both the police and the council, and at the moment they are living there very comfortably—most of them, for the first time in many years.

One reason why the squat has been comparatively untroubled so far is the hypocritical attitude of the Council. Tower Hamlets is Labour-controlled, and wants to be certain of retaining the Labour vote. For this reason they have smiled on the rent rebels who are fighting the Tory GLC. And what with elections on the way, they are avoiding a confrontation with squatters that will expose their failure to supply adequate housing in the borough itself.

The only time the Council tried to force the squatters out was when they turned off the electricity. The mothers at Arbour House responded by going down to the town hall with their babies, and asking the council officials to warm the babies' bottles for them. Looking at the babies and the waiting press, the council hastily turned the electricity back on again.

The lack of violent confrontation is part of the reason for the Press silence on the Arbour House squat. Another reason may be that the papers like to keep the public thinking that all squatters are long-haired junky freaks, not working-class families who are desperate for somewhere to live.

One of these families is Danny and Carol McNally and their five children. Danny is a quiet-spoken Scot, with an accent so thick it's sometimes hard for a Londoner to understand him. Carol is bright cockney, and seven months pregnant. They were forced into squatting because Danny couldn't work through disablement. Four years ago they suddenly found themselves evicted for rent-arrears, and the children were taken into care the same day. Danny and Carol moved into Carol's Mother's, and had to stay there for the next two years without their kids.

The McNallies are old hands at squatting—they had already spent the best part of a year squatting at Ilford before they came to Arbour House. Carol doesn't worry about the insecurity of this kind of existence.

'She's immune to it', Danny told the Black Dwarf reporter.

'Anyway', said Carol, 'It's better than having the kids in care'.

They had, of course, been offered Welfare—meaning the revolting inhumane hostels for the homeless run by the council at places like Beechcroft Buildings and Rayne Street Lodge.

'I would rather have to get rid of the children again', said Carol firmly. 'Besides, the Welfare told us that it might be 10 years before they moved us into a proper place'.

As all the official channels seemed to lead to a dead end, squatting seemed a logical choice. But now the legal processes against the McNallies are nearing their conclusion. What would she do when the Court Order was served?

'I don't know', said Carol 'Either we'll barricade and fight—or we'll do a flit and squat somewhere else. Though I don't see why they can't let us stay here. The flats are in good condition, and we've offered them a fair rent...'

What about politics? During the course of the last year, hadn't the McNallies started to ask a few questions about the society they were living in, and the kind of views held by groups who helped them?

'No', said Carol. 'Not really. All we're interested in is a place to live. Whatever people like Tony from the Campaign are in it for, good luck to them. I suppose we help them and they help us...'

She added, however, that she thought the squatters at Redbridge had been sold out by the agreement reached with the Redbridge Council. 'Only two families got re-housed, you know', she said. 'All the rest are back in the Welfare again'.

Living upstairs from the McNallies is Marie McKay. She's an articulate unmarried mother who's family couldn't or wouldn't look after her when she found herself in 'trouble'. She had to go and live with her boy-friend's parents in Dulwich, but they didn't get on, so she came back to the East End where she had been born and raised. She found that as far as the Welfare Services there were concerned she was no longer under their care. A social worker called Monica Bennett at the Southern Grove children's centre

told her she would have to live in the East End for two years before they would consider her case—even though she had only been away in Dulwich for six months. At the time her baby was so ill that she walked out of Southern Grove leaving the baby behind her on the doorstep. Then began the usual heartbreaking battle with the authorities for somewhere for her and the baby to live. It included a week living (illegally) with her sister at Beechcroft Buildings, one of the council hostels. It was enough to make her quite sure she didn't want to stay there.

'Oh God', she said. 'They're disgusting'. In the end she found herself a 7 guinea flat consisting of two small rooms, no toilet, no hot water, and an army of rats and mice. There were also petty regulations imposed by the landlady—like not allowing Marie's new boy-friend into the house because he was coloured. As she only had the social security to live on, the situation was impossible—so she decided to squat. Ironically what finally decided her was the advice of a friendly policeman.

She has taken over a nice flat at the top of Arbour House, where her baby is happy and healthy. She has no doubts about what she's done.

'It's no good going up there and accepting their rules and regulations', she said. 'If they're going to pay any attention, you've got to make your presence known'.

She is also angry about the way things have happened to her.

'I know this is a welfare state, and I know they've got to do something about me', she says.

Like the other families in Arbour House, she would like to see the rest of the 62 empty flats occupied. This could well happen. Last week a new family moved in without anyone even knowing about it—they just appeared overnight. But the Council, in their typical bloody-minded way, have done their best to smash up all the remaining flats so as to make them uninhabitable—so much for improvements!

The future of the Arbour House squatters is uncertain. A Court Order against them will come into effect in a month or so, and although it is only directed against 3 of the families, the barricades will have to go up for everybody.

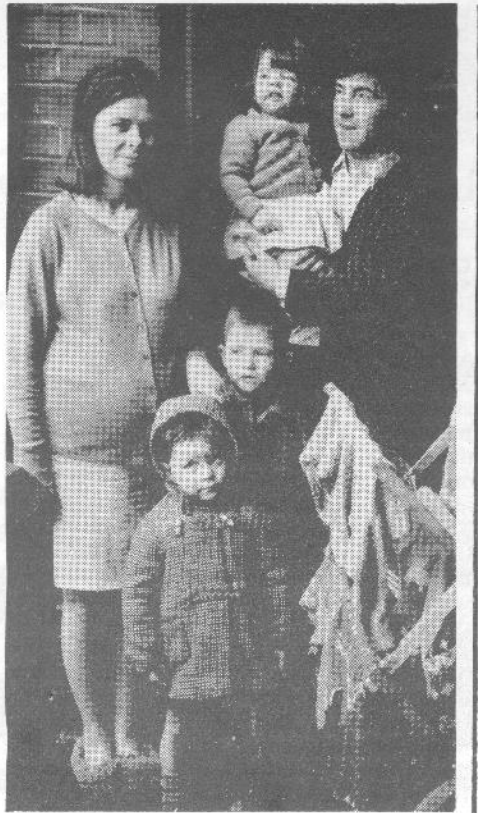
Marie is determined.

'I'll fight for my rights' she said. 'I'll barricade myself in and fight to the end'—she will need help.

The CCHS are optimistic about the outcome of this confrontation. But they do not see squatting as the answer to homelessness. Tony Mahony said that he thought that squatting was just a tactic to be used or discarded as appropriate, so long as the families themselves were fully protected.

For the families themselves squatting is not a tactic. There is a prescient vision in Marie's saying that she will 'fight to the end'. The original squats were led by militants who thought that they could detonate a mass movement of direct working class action by their example. In contrast the reality of squatting has been that few families that have taken the risk, despite the appalling alternative. Now isolated, and by a quirk of fate, still in possession, the Arbour Square squatters will be turfed out whenever the law and the council finally decide—despite the fact that they have every right to be there.

Black Dwarf reporter



Jack Lynch, Southern Ireland's P.M., buddies with Edward Heath at a celebration in London, with the lackey Eamonn Andrews hovering in the background. Whatever the crisis in the North, the Irish ruling class is still toeing the British line. (Photo Utd. Irishman)

Dynamite

from our Belfast correspondent

Three times John McKeague was tried for causing the explosions which contributed to unseating O'Neill from the Premiership last year. Three times, against overwhelming evidence, juries declined to convict him and a number of his friends.

Since November members of the extreme Orange Ulster Volunteer Force have been parading with monotonous regularity through the dock of Belfast's Crumlin Road Courthouse. So far their only martyr has been their traitor, Sammy Stevenson, who after financial disagreements with the rest of the organization turned Queen's Evidence and earned himself 12 years on his own plea of guilty while his former comrades were being acquitted.

Although McKeague's popularity in Belfast is not so extensive as it once was, he and his comrades are sufficiently within the loyalist tradition for life to be extremely hazardous for any 'disloyal' jurymen, who are anyway fairly thin on the ground. As if to make sure of things, a bomb exploded in court midway through the second trial. So while British justice reaps the harvest it has sown, the present series of trials are having remarkably little effect upon the local explosion.

This year there has been an average of one explosion every four days. With two tinder-dry bye-elections in the near future, the Orangemen may well be going for a chain-reaction as their final fling.

IRISH LABOUR PARTY IN THE DOLDRUMS

The last months have been an unmitigated disaster for the 26 county Irish Labour Party's. At the beginning of March a series of unfortunate events culminated in a catastrophe: in the midst of an almost unparalleled wave of industrial militancy, in an urban working-class constituency with severe housing and employment problems the Labour Party lost one of its 18 parliamentary seats to the governing Fianna Fail party.

The beaten Labour candidate blamed a split socialist vote for his defeat: the widow of the incumbent Deputy had felt personally slighted at the party's choice of candidate and had inter-

vened herself as an independent, with powerful secondary support from Fianna Fail. But the real basis of the defeat was political.

A year ago it appeared that nothing could prevent the Irish Labour Party from at least forcing Fianna Fail to form a minority government. Apart from Sinn Féin, the political party of militant Republicanism they had benefitted more from the events in the north than any of the other southern parties: indeed, with the petrified face of the southern political universe at last appearing to crack, it seemed that Labour could be the only possible gainers. Its programme embodied that looked to be a new popular radicalism. Its organization was attracting important members of the intelligentsia, and for the first time it commanded the undivided loyalty of the Trade Unions. Yet it failed: in last June's election its urban victories were wiped out. Its rural defeats expected to gain nine more seats, its number of representatives remained the same. In the summer crisis it could do no better than to call for direct rule of the north by Westminster. In the autumn its attempts to form an all-Irish Labour Party failed, and the Northern Ireland Labour party ended up joining Transport House.

To some extent Labour caught a chill from the British Labour Party. To some extent it suffered from a 'red scare' during the exceedingly dirty elections. But above all, its decline stemmed from being consistently politically outflanked. Its support for British intervention made it suspect on the issue of national integrity. Its absence of popular campaigns meant that its activity became chiefly identified with principled but remote stands on issues like the Springbok tour and curbs on the freedom of the national television network, on housing, employment, wages, emigration and the border the ILP vacillated between timidity and opportunism.

Its line does not carry either as far as the governing self-proclaimed 'Republicans'; or their extra-parliamentary opponents in Sinn Féin. Those who last year proclaimed the 'New Republic' are this year less confident about its prospects.

EVENTS

- MARCH 19-20: AAFS film "China," by Felix Greene, Camden Studios, 8 pm.
- MARCH 20-26: al-Karame week, Palestine Exhibition, Indian Students' Centre, 41 Fitzroy Sq., W1.
- March 24: Revisionism and its Causes, Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding, 387-0074, 24 Warren St., NW1, 7.30 pm.
- MARCH 25: Education for Democracy, Cardiff Schools Group, 10 Union Park Place, Cardiff, contact Susan Lukes, Cardiff 43359.
- MARCH 26: Revolutionary Films and Teach-In, West Indian Students' Centre, 1, Collingham Gardens, Earls Court, organised by Union of West Indian Students in Great Britain and Ireland, FRE 6838
- MARCH 27: CND March, Queen's Street, Crawley, 10 am, contact CND 242-3872.
- March 28: YCL Youth Rally, Camberwell Green Bths, contact YCL 16 King St.
- MARCH 28: Conference Social, SPGB,

- 52, Clapham High St. SW4., 7.30 pm.
- MARCH 29: Young Workers' Conference, Metropolitan Tavern, Farringdon Rd. EC1, YCL 16 King St. 10am-1pm Admission 1/-
- MARCH 29: Lenin Centenary Conference, Camden Town Hall, 7-11pm, Tickets 5/- from YCL 16 King St.
- MARCH 29: Drive-In at London Airport to block traffic. Bring Your Car, Contact DREW 969-5259.
- MARCH 29: CND Easter Festival, Victoria Park 1-5 pm. Bethnal Green Tube.
- MARCH 29-30: Exhibition, History of Irish Revolutionary Warfare, 1708-1970, Camden Studios, NW1, Organised by INLSF.
- APRIL 7: Film "The New Czars," Exhibition Hall, Camden Studios, Camden St. NW1 7.30 pm. SACU, 387-0074.
- APRIL 10: "Nanking-Yangtse Bridge," North Finchley Library, Ravensdale Ave, N.12, 8 pm., SACU.
- APRIL 12: Sponsored Walk: South African Medical Aid Fund, Contact "Walk", 372 West Barnes Lane, New Malden, Surrey, 398-1354.
- APRIL 23: Documentary Film of Peking Celebrations, Botany Theatre, Gower St W1, 7.30 pm. SACU.

Occupations/Sit-ins/Opening Files/Break-ins/Meetings/Teach-ins/Posters/Rock and Roll/

KENT

The Longest and Most Creative

In 1968 Sussex and Essex saw some of the most dramatic student action. This year Kent joined Warwick with a significant and deeply felt revolt against the university administration.

For nearly two weeks students have been occupying The Wallace Building, a teaching-computer-research complex, in an extended "seminar". The action followed three general meetings and the Vice-Chancellor's refusal to negotiate on the question of files. The Vice-Chancellor, Geoffrey Templeman, a Tory lay-preacher, made it clear to the press that he would have no truck with student militancy.

Kent is especially significant for two reasons. It is a collegiate university, small (2,000 students) with no general union for the students. It is a model of the liberal collegiate ideal with the colleges named

after the appropriate heroes (Keynes). It is one of the most middle-class of Britain's universities in terms of the background of its students. Until this year all the conditions seemed to stand against there being any form of mass militant action. The occupation at Kent confirms that whatever scheme for a new university the State dreams up, whether collegiate, business, or American Campus style, they cannot contain student unrest.

In fact the opposite may be the case. For Kent has demonstrated the *antagonism* that exists between staff and students. Something that Warwick, where a leading role was played by a few conscientious liberal staff, fudged. In Kent, student Conservatives have been taking a liberal and even a militant line, while liberal staff have become outright authoritarians. A real

deep staff/student contradiction has opened up on this very bourgeois campus.

For the first time a meeting of the staff called by the local AUT (Association of University Teachers) has violently condemned an occupation. In an atmosphere of middle-class outrage the opening of the Kent files was condemned as "theft"; and almost unanimously the staff called for the ending of the occupation.

Even more astonishing, staff have kicked students sympathetic to the militants out of classes and have refused to write references for them.

On the same day that the staff polarised against the sit-in, the students voted out a Conservative proposal to end it by 547 to 207.

The occupation itself has been well organised by the participants; discussion is lively

and the files "issue" has been convincingly located in capitalist society's growing needs and growing crisis. Seminars, informal discussions, rhythm and blues, and posters make up a flourishing collective culture which has made a deep impact on the participants.

The adverse conditions that seemed to make Kent one of the most reactionary and depressing of the new universities, have acted suddenly in its favour. By a process which seems at times to follow a law of uneven development, the depth of feeling at the conditions of modern capitalist student life has been slowly but definitely collectivised to result in one of the longest and most creative occupations in the present wave of sit-ins.

Diogenese

LIVERPOOL

Sack Salisbury!

Liverpool, Saturday March 14th
Three hundred students have been occupying the university for a week. Their chief demand is that the most reactionary Chancellor in the country, Lord Salisbury, is sacked.

As in Edinburgh, the Springbok tour pushed anti-racialism onto a new level of militancy. The files issue confirmed the political nature of the authorities. The students demanded a general meeting with their Vice-Chancellor. On March 9th he came along to a packed general meeting, bringing a 'neutral' chairman with him. His arrogance, his opinions ("the personal political opinions are irrelevant to the university...we invest only on the basis of profit") and his blatant authoritarianism generated an immediate occupation.

The V.C. left the meeting after only an hour and a half counter to the demands that he stay and answer questions properly. The students, dissatisfied and angry, moved to occupy the administration building.

A remarkable thing happened. They got in. Previously when they had picketed the admin. building in protest against having a racist Chancellor like Salisbury, the Senate's building had been guarded with

security men with dogs and two-way radio control. This time the doors were wide open and no attempt was made to stop the students from entering. It emerged that the administration staff in the building had been told on the Friday before to evacuate important work to other places on the campus. The Vice-Chancellor had obviously decided in advance that an occupation was likely and that he should allow it to go ahead. It was a clear instance of tactical manoeuvre by the authorities which may have successfully contained an explosive situation.

Another factor which clearly emerges from the Liverpool experience is the potential weakness and isolation of student occupations. Many students still do not believe that the NUS and that their own Presidents work hand in hand with the authorities and no national organisation has been able to replace them and act in the interests of the students. Although the Liverpool occupation was part of the largest number of occupations ever to be going on at the same time, it remained isolated. There were virtually no messages of solidarity, there was no sense of being part of a concrete wave of protests.

WARWICK

Business as usual

The bourgeois university is dead. Long live the bourgeois university! Warwick Saturday 14th March the anti-climax. This week an open university was declared at a poorly attended teach-in on Friday. Irrelevant speeches were delivered to an apathetic audience. Already many students had left on vacation and all that was left behind was the small band of militant organisers, and some hundred or so students who were waiting for the trendy music from London. During the week, formal lectures are billed on such topics as Godwinism, the Victorian Woman and Nineteenth Century Protest Movements. Business as usual.

Warwick has demonstrated again (L.S.E., Birmingham, Bristol, Essex) that the student movement in Britain consistently fails to escape from the ideological substance of the bourgeois university while apparently taking action against its structure. The movement in each place seems only to succeed in organising itself and getting any political perspective at all, whilst fighting a rearguard action following

on what should have been a strategic withdrawal.

So far, student militancy has been based on movements of spontaneous protest against infringements of its freedom. This is a fire which burns fiercely but briefly. What, if anything, can be gained from it? An understanding both of the great potentialities of these movements and of their limitations. Until students learn to set themselves limited and attainable objectives within their real capabilities, despondency follows inevitably on temporary elation.

From what Edward Thompson is arguing, a few inexperienced and militant students will attempt, next term, to dismiss the Vice-Chancellor and restructure the whole university. The only possible outcome of this is further disillusion.

Nevertheless, valuable experience can be gained. A conference of all students who have taken part in the agitation about files is an urgent need. The spontaneity must be organised; the next objectives must be chosen with deliberation.

WEST HAM

All the sociology students at West Ham have been on strike since March 2nd. They still are, even though their absence has so far had little effect on the authorities. The strike was called by a meeting of the department to demand the reinstatement of two students arbitrarily stopping from taking their exam. It was coupled with a demand for the right for all West Ham students to take London external degrees. Reformist? West Ham is to merge with Barking and Waltham Forest into a new rationalised polytechnic. The exams question clashed with the fundamental direction of ruling class rationalisation.

On March 5th a successful one-day strike of the whole college took place. It was still without effect. Sociology students escalated and decided to occupy. A week after the total strike, 18 of them moved into the sociology and administration block.

Flanking support came from Barking, but not from the rest of the college. And although they were determined to stay in until their demands were met they were forced to withdraw within 24 hours.

The authorities agreed to review the case of the two students and the department students reconvened. The 18 refused to go to the meeting, sent across a representative, wavered, felt they had to make their own voice heard, went across, argued, were trapped into voting and the occupation was called off by 30 to 22. Fed up with their own inconsistencies the militants decided they couldn't go against the decision.

West Ham has had its first occupation and Sociology students there are still on strike. This action, though tiny, is significant. The most oppressive and exploitative section of higher education, action in the polys is often difficult. But potentially it offers close contacts with many students who are being trained for what will be working class jobs.

ROME

An Italian with the ludicrous name of Edwin Morley-Fletcher is editing a very well heeled review *Pour L'Ecole du Peuple* with the pretentious sub-title of 'Cahiers Etudiants Europeens'. At the end of January he organised a lavish conference in Rome. Three British revolutionary students went along to see what it was about. They promptly denounced it. After two days of objections and questions they joined with Dutch, French and German comrades to seize the microphones from Morley-Fletcher and read out a 'declaration of Rome'.

They declared that Common Market money was financing the conference, as indeed it was, to further federalism and that under the guise of student internationalism large sums of money were being made available to further confuse and divide European students. They argued that "the best explanation of this conference locates it as part of an on going superstructural offensive"; a European version of the CIA's cultural activities. They ended in ringing tones: "We denounce this conference".

The themes raised in *Pour L'Ecole du Peuple* are not without an echo in British universities. One organisation represented at Rome is the Committee of Student European Associations (CSEA—pronounced Caesar), to which are affiliated around twenty English University European Societies. It has recently issued a handbook supporting the "constructive action" of radical students.

CSEA's address is Chandos House, Buckingham Gate, SW1, which also houses the British Council of the European Movement (BCEM) which obtains funds from the British Foreign Office, and the "Young European Management Association". CSEA works closely with these organisations as well as with the EEC Information Service (one of whose PRO's, Derek Prag, assisted in the preparation of the Handbook—apparently radical and leftist—and also in the preparation of the Tory Bow Group's recent pamphlet on Europe). Pro-Common Market firms like ICI help to pay the piper, and call the tune.

L.S.E.

Starting Again

As soon as the Warwick revelations broke, 35 members of the Socialist Society met and decided not to go into a confrontation. Instead, they tried to build up opposition to the LSE authorities with agitation centred on demonstrating why the authorities needed to keep 'files' in the first place. Their experience of previous actions meant they refused barnstorming tactics that lead to the isolation and victimisation of individuals.

The RSSF base group in LSE, now 20 strong, put out a 12-page analysis of the nature of the School as a capitalist institution. This pamphlet took the line that the basic determinants of LSE were financial, not forms of collusion and conspiracy. The document argued that the concrete links between LSE and the industrial system are what is basic, and that the keeping of files

is peripheral. Its conclusion: that the causes of ruling class domination have to be attacked and not its effects.

Ten days of agitation, with 2 assemblies of around 200 people each, leaflets and big character posters, culminated in a 2 day token strike in opposition to the capitalist control of the education system.

Involvement in the strike was wider than for any action this academic year. Many first year students became involved in revolutionary politics for the first time. Given the adverse situation inherited at the beginning of this year, the actions of the last few weeks were very encouraging. They insured that an organisational and ideological continuity will be maintained and that LSE may soon recover from last year's toll of militants lost in action.

The Student Movement comes of age

We know now that whatever happens about the 'Files' the student movement will continue: it is our task to suggest future lines of action for it and to indicate the precise targets at which it should aim. So far this has been a spontaneous movement—and spontaneity has initial advantages and longer term limitations. The student movement still has a hand full of trumps: it is important that they should not be wasted.

Once we begin this task of analysis and assessment our limitations are revealed with biting clarity. A work of collective research is called for, a systematic questioning of the political experience is needed. The relevance of past Marxist theory to this new development must be established and new theories developed, new discoveries made. Our inadequacy in face of this task should not prevent us from attempting it. For this is one of the means whereby we can start to overcome the problem presented by the absence of a revolutionary party. This is not the place for a detailed factual account of what happened. Although obviously it is needed. Here we try to produce some broad theoretical ideas only—while avoiding reducing the great complexity and richness of the events to phrases.

The British student movement, until now, has lagged far behind those of France, Germany, the USA and Japan. The LSE affair represented an attempt to generate a student movement: the present wave of action is one. Something new has suddenly and almost unexpectedly emerged. By concrete methods militants have criticised the existing state of affairs in the universities in a way that has gone far beyond pre-existing perspectives. They went for extremely concrete objectives: files of correspondence, personal records and they attacked authority provocatively with sit-ins, occupations and break-ins. The student revolt in Britain has come of age in these weeks. It has followed its own path quite distinct from that of other countries.

This revolt of students in Britain takes on a particular aspect in relation to the forces of British society generally. It is quite unlike the political situation in France and Italy but not unlike Germany. In Britain the so-called socialist left has disappeared into the state. The Fabians in the Labour Party have become the advisors to the Treasury, Departments of Education, etc., in Britain there is a vacuum on the left, not a monolithic communist party. There should be no need to go through the old arguments as to whether or not students involved in confrontations can develop potentially revolutionary positions. Whatever their class position may be after they leave the university, students themselves are not a class. Their special institutional position, however, has placed them in the forefront of revolutionary action, not because of any mystified "worker-student alliance" but for objective reasons.

The forms of oppression in capitalist society have been undergoing since the Second World War, a steady transformation away from the oppression of ruthless competition and the individualism that went with it, towards a more corporate and monolithic oppression organised and operated in large part by the state. The universities are without individual capitalists, and their individualism has been a fragile academic one. The development of managerial-industrial campuses, completely revealed by the Warwick documents, has crushed down upon the students. Students have been the first to feel the oppression of the state in this new role as reproducer as well as guardian of capitalism. In response, they have turned towards a collective political self-defence, still shot through with individualism, but often of a new and creative kind. This democratic and collective response coupled with aggressive and provocative actions, are signs of future developments of the working and industrialised middle classes. Students have been in the forefront of suffering state institutional oppression and they are in the forefront of combatting it—not just for themselves, but for the working class as a whole.

As a result new relationships were established between theory and practice. Suddenly, by personal experiences, the theoretical understanding of many thousands of students was deepened. To achieve this the struggle had to strike at a particular concrete point which was both obvious to all students as being obnoxious and at the same time had a real practical and symbolic significance. The files and correspondence were such a point.

A point is not enough. So far few students revolutionaries are conscious of the need for a programme of activity on their part. There are certain advantages, however, in the fact that already many regard Marxism in some form as the means by which changes may be produced. More must be won for this position.

At the present time the student movement is poised after its recent leap. Every effort will be made by the universities administrators to re-integrate those who have rejected capitalist society. The revolutionaries must see this does not happen. New lines of action must be developed, new objectives defined. Spontaneity has taken the student movement a long way. Conscious planning now becomes essential in order to develop the latent potential of the revolutionary forces of which students are a small but important part.

Student actions often combine the most extreme forms of militancy with relatively liberal or 'reformist' demands. Their confrontations pose questions of theory and the development of students as a new force raises urgent problems for revolutionary fighters. The Black Dwarf started a discussion of the student movement with a long article in our Feb. 20 issue, on Students and the Vanguard by two comrades in the Fourth International; Bensaïd and Scalabrino. We continue with an exciting contribution from a comrade who participated in one of the recent occupations and visited another.

During the last four weeks profound changes have taken place in the student movement. Prospects and perspectives have suddenly become clearer. These changes have been brought about by the first really spontaneous movement of student revolt which Britain has seen. Suddenly there were a dozen 'occupations' going on. The Warwick 'files' issue started a Chain reaction still in process as this goes to press.

Everyone has been surprised: students, Vice Chancellors, Politicians and those groups which traditionally oppose student militancy as petty-bourgeois until a confrontation occurs and they try to take it over. They soon found themselves where they belong, in the guard's van labelled 'febrile,' 'not wanted on voyage.'

For those who have taken part in the sit-ins this has been a marvellously exciting time. There has been an atmosphere of freedom and enthusiasm for Knowledge in the "liberated universities." There has been a respect for the individual liberty of discourse, and a renewed interest in dialogue between individuals. For these students the concept of revolution has acquired a new dimension: this revolution has

the happiness of free and militant actions and the strength of unity—whatever the percentage of students involved. The experience of the possibility of revolution is not only political and economic, but also cultural and ethical. New ideas of work, sex, art, production and consumption have been created.

Nevertheless we know that this movement whose ostensible aims are the personal files has a limited life. It cannot survive longer than a few weeks. And when the Vice Chancellors climb down from their obstinate attitudes and the terms come to an end the militants will disperse.

It is important for the future of the Revolution in Britain to discover what the dynamic of this movement is and to define its characteristics in relation to other student movements. We must ask what is the real content of this struggle which goes beyond and even, perhaps, against the ideological form which the movement has taken. We must assess the response of the university authorities. We must determine, too, what has been the reaction of the working classes and the middle classes to all the events.

HAVE A LARF WITH FUNSTER ENOCH POWELL

STREET SC COMIX
STORY - ENOCH 'RUBBERLIPS' POWELL
ART - STREETCOMIX.

AND HERE HE IS, FOLKS!! OLD 'ADOLPH' HIMSELF, THE VERY WUNNERFUL MR. ENOCH POWELL!!

IF YOU LOOK CLOSELY, YOU CAN SEE THE JOINS

CHEER! CHEER!

WE HAVE BEEN CONTENT TO STAND ON THE TOUCHLINES, AND WATCH THE UNIVERSITY AUTHORITIES, IN THEIR PITIFUL INEXPERIENCE AND GAUCHERIE, GO DOWN TO ONE DEFEAT AFTER ANOTHER WITHOUT SO MUCH AS A WORD FROM US.

WORSE, WE HAVE OFTEN PLAYED THE ANARCHISTS GAME OURSELVES BY JOINING IN APPROVAL OF THE ANARCHISTS DEMANDS. THE TIME IS OVERDUE TO STAND AND BE HEARD OUT LOUD.

THERE IS NO RATIONAL JUSTIFICATION FOR STUDENTS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ACADEMIC, ADMINISTRATIVE OR DISCIPLINARY MANAGEMENT OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

THE WHOLE IDEA IS UTTERLY NONSENSICAL

THERE IS NO MORE SENSE IN STUDENTS PARTICIPATING IN THE MANAGEMENT OF UNIVERSITIES THAN THERE WOULD BE IN A UNION OF HOUSEWIVES PARTICIPATING IN MARKS & SPENCERS STORES.*

EH??

THE OUTCOME? — THE HUMILIATING SCENE WHERE THE CHAIRMAN OF THE VICE CHANCELLORS, WITH JACK STRAW AT HIS ELBOW, LIKE A BARON STANDING OVER KING JOHN, MADE A CRINGING AND PUBLIC APOLOGY FOR AN OFFENCE THAT HAD NOT BEEN COMMITTED AND WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN AN OFFENCE ANYHOW...

HE HE HA HO TOO FUKKIN MUCH! HE HA HO SPLUTTER HA HO CHOKO

* How ABOUT IT, HOUSEWIVES?



The practice has now become general of making breaches in the working class quarters of our big cities, particularly those which are centrally situated, irrespective of whether this is occasioned by considerations of public health and beautification, by the demand for big centrally located business premises or by traffic requirements (such as the laying down of

railways, streets, etc.). No matter how different the reasons may be the result is every where the same: the most scandalous alleys and lanes disappear to the accompaniment of lavish self glorification by the bourgeoisie on account of this tremendous success, but—they appear at once again somewhere else, and often in the immediate neighbourhood.

Engels 1870

The Road to the Common Market.

The Greater London Council is mobilising for a blitzkrieg on London. The wonderfully mis-named planners, are creating a motorway system which will destroy the homes of 100,000 people, callously dissect living communities and obliterate acres of London's precious open space. In the face of this threat to the pattern of city life the Left has been incredibly quiescent, leaving protest entirely in the hands of middle class owner-occupiers whose houses are directly threatened. This is all the more amazing when by far the greater havoc will be let loose on the working class areas of inner London.

It seems that too many people have got the idea that opposition to the motorway plans is, and must necessarily be, reformist; that to combat them is to try and achieve no more than a localised alleviation of the squalor of capitalism. This is a mistake. It is an attitude that can be maintained only by those who fail to recognise three important, and not by any means unobvious, aspects of this perversion of town planning. First, London's motorway box, coyly renamed ringways one and two, as well as similar projects, are essential for the general stability of the existing economic structure and for the particular well-being of the car manufacturers, the construction, steel, oil and rubber industries, and a variety of industrial and commercial concerns. Second, these projects involve a vast diversion of state funds for the ultimate benefit of the 'private sector'. Third, that to obtain this public expenditure the interests involved have had to pressure and manipulate the supposedly democratic structures of local and national government to an unusually great extent.

To challenge the motorway scheme success-

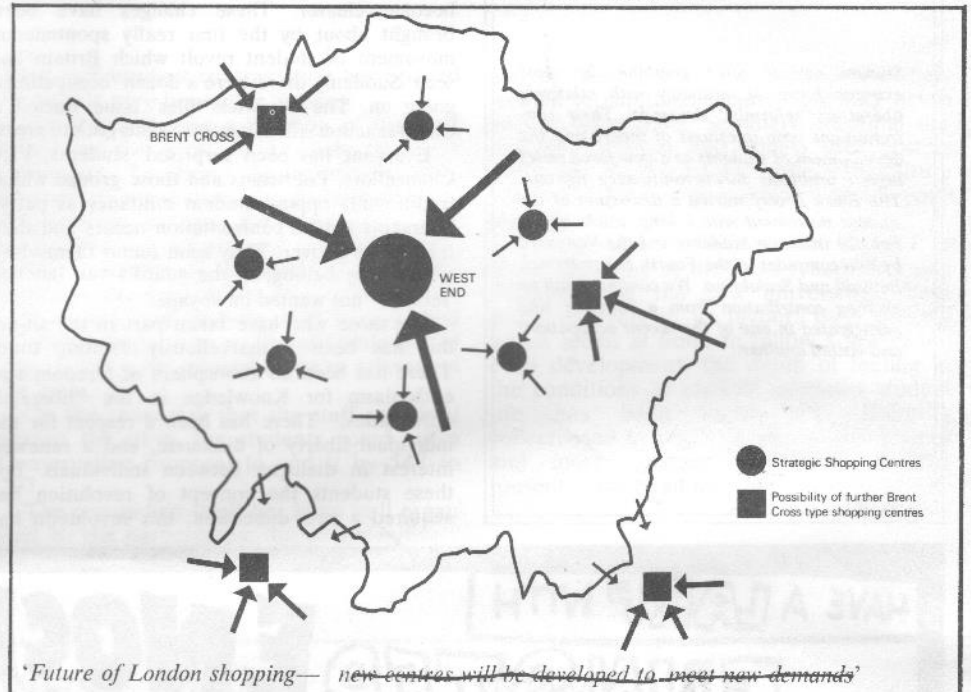
fully would send a sizeable shock-wave through the whole present pattern of investment. To challenge it unsuccessfully would be to carry out a useful task of education. It is therefore vital that the full political implications of it are grasped and explained, and that motorway plans are not seen as some technical or bureaucratic error of 'modern life'.

The plan for London emerges directly from the entrails of capitalism it illustrates its values and priorities. For British capitalism it is an essential commitment: it can be postponed, it can be varied, it cannot be cancelled. It is one of the *minor* contradictions of the system that these roads will be sweeping through the back gardens of some of the bourgeoisie (and more significantly devastating property values). This has produced an opposition to the plan which is reformist but the colossus will bear down on its progenitors however much they fill the correspondence columns of *The Times*. It is not for socialists to throw themselves, suicidally, into the defense of such a loosing cause.

What is needed is to make it clear that the entire place of motorway construction in the economy distorts and destroys its productivity as well as one of the most important relations of social life — the environment. Preventing the construction of the motorway box would only be a beginning. Once socialist priorities establish a completely democratic use of resources, even existing motorways may have to be pulled down. From this position of total opposition to the system of capitalist expenditure on transport, a vigorous revolutionary resistance can be developed free from the fatalism and passivity of opponents of the scheme like Douglas Jay.

The genesis of this plan is remarkably coincident with the investment decisions taken by the motor manufacturers in the early sixties and late fifties. By 1962/63 they had between them completed expansion programmes which brought their production capacity to the 3 million cars per year mark, treble the output of 1955. Even with the most optimistic predictions for export sales, it was clear that most of this output was intended for the home market. Moreover the expansion of the car industry had been accompanied by a still greater investment on the part of the steel industry and the car component makers. No hitches, no slackening of the growth of the car industry, could be permitted. Hundreds of

London or any other city. The long term impact, will completely reshape the existing form of city life, first fragmenting finally shattering local communities until the entire metropolis is atomised. The motorways will divide communities, and like the Victorian railways will form huge continuous barriers across the cities. The widening and adjustment of existing roads to serve as feeders for the motorways will help to obliterate localised activities. The G.L.C. already plans several vast shopping centres in the middle suburbs, and Londoners will find themselves forced to use them, whether or not they travel by the motorways to do so. While city dwellers will become as isolated as those who live in the stretches of suburbia.



millions of pounds had been invested and were at stake. Equally clearly the existing roads and cities were not capable of absorbing the extra traffic that would be generated. Subsequently in the early sixties governmental spending on the motorway programme was given priority over spending on other public transport systems. This was the Beeching era of control at British Railways.

The speed of this response is the more remarkable since the drawbacks of the private car as a means of urban transport were fully appreciated at the time. A survey made as early as 1954 had shown private cars forming 37% of all moving vehicles in Central London but carrying only 18% of the passengers, while buses on the other hand formed 7% of moving vehicles but carried more than 50% of the passengers. The authorities were aware therefore that their revolution was to be carried out to cater for a socially less efficient means of transport.

MECHANICS OF MANIPULATION

It was not particularly difficult for the motor manufacturers lobby to win acceptance of the general case for urban motorways at the relevant Ministries. But the co-operation of the local authorities, the L.C.C. and later the G.L.C., was also needed. Finally, though this may never have been a consciously formulated objective, this massive programme had to be capable of being presented as having been democratically evolved by the elected bodies ostensibly responsible for it.

First there was the London Traffic Survey carried out by consultants under the control of the then L.C.C. after the basic decision to create a motorway system had been taken. This duly produced the "predictions" on which the motor routes were based. Then there was the impressive omission by the G.L.C. bureaucracy to contemplate real alternatives to private transport, or even adequately to study the effect the motorways would have on existing public transport systems. In this context the Highways & Transportation Department within the G.L.C. grew triumphantly to dominate planning.

Throughout the period in which the plans were evolved steady pressure was maintained by the British Road Federation. The most effective and clear-sighted of the road lobbies, this group represents a wide range of commercial, interests having a direct concern in creating, in their terms, a more 'efficient' system of vehicular transport. Its vision extends a long way beyond the monthly car sales figures, although it is based on this preoccupation. Along with the G.L.C. it has been able to see that *limits* must be placed on car use. Like the G.L.C. the Federation is prepared to accept that a large percentage of potential car journeys to the central area must be "controlled out of existence". Homes, parks and football grounds can make way for cars, but not the office buildings of the commercial core of London.

THE MOTORISED CITY

The immediate effects of an urban motorway system add up to a substantial and measurable lowering of the standard of living whether in

The motorways will force other adjustments. Land values in their immediate vicinity will fall. Inevitably local authorities will allow new council housing projects to gravitate towards these areas. Equally private housing along the routes, as its value falls, will present opportunities for future *Rachmanism*. Ultimately those living within sight and sound of the roads will be the poor, those least likely to use them.

WHO BENEFITS

The public authorities ostensibly responsible for initiating the scheme have blandly announced that there is no alternative to these developments. What they mean is that they understand their role (only too well) and have deliberately refrained from investigating other solutions. Other solutions certainly do exist. They range from one-way systems, cul-de-sacs, and car free zones to a full scale town planning operation to re-arrange the over commercialised centre of the city. They include minor improvements to public transport, and more dramatic possibilities such as subsidising the system of making it entirely free. These answers would be more satisfactory, but they would not be more satisfactory to everybody, and to see why not it is necessary to look again at the purpose of the motorways.

Who will benefit from the motorway box? Certainly not commuters or shoppers. The G.L.C. themselves say that 80% of working commuters and 80% of shoppers will be unable to use the ringway system as it is inadequate to cope with this demand. Restrictions will have to be imposed at all times, with particular severity at peak load times, in the form of a policy of road pricing. But then of course, the system was not designed to solve the problems of commuters or shoppers in London.

It is the stated priority of the plan to facilitate the un-interrupted flow of through traffic. This means that the distributive network for goods must be streamlined to allow for rapid transfer from point of manufacture to point of retail or export outlet. Nothing must impede the efficiency of the business machine and one of the criteria of business efficiency is speed of delivery.

One glance at the proposed road network is sufficient to realise that the G.L.C. wants to play its part in consolidating Britain's business strength after entry into the Common Market. The obstacle of the English Channel will be overcome by the tunnel, and the G.L.C. is determined not to allow London to stand in the way of the great European business race track. The businessman's speed of delivery, and hence his profit, is achieved by the massive injection of public funds at the expense of housing, hospitals, schools — and London.

The Motorway Box is not being constructed for the benefit of Londoners. It is not being constructed for motorists, although no doubt it will be accompanied by a great fanfare of phallic ideology on the freedom of the roads. It is not being constructed for its use value at all. It is being constructed in the interests of British Monopoly Capitalism.

JOHN CARVER

LONG LIVE ARMED STRUGGLE IN THE GULF!

The Black Dwarf has sent the first British journalist into the liberated areas of Arabia, to report on Britain's secret colonial war. After five years of armed struggle, the conspiracy of silence has been broken.

To expose this war, we are printing a special analysis of imperialism and the revolutionary movement in the Gulf. Britain claims to have been the first country in the world to abolish slavery; yet in Muscat and Oman she is fighting a criminal war to protect a slave-owning Sultan. Britain claims to have a socialist government; but in the oil fields of her Arabian protectorates she has killed and imprisoned hundreds of workers and denied the rights to workers' unions and to strike.

British Gulf policy rests on two pillars: bloody military repression in the Gulf itself, and ideological repression back home. In Dhofar the RAF and British officers are

committing war crimes in an attempt to smash the liberated areas. In the rest of the Gulf Britain is attacking the workers and intellectuals who oppose imperialism and the rotten clique of Sheikhs and Emirs Britain is using. There has never been a single election in any of Britain's Gulf colonies. Yet she is now planning to hand over control to the so-called Union of Arab Emirates, a group of petty tyrants who would have disappeared long ago but for the support of British troops.

This military repression in the Gulf is backed by ideological repression at home. A gigantic hushup has been carried out to stop news of the Dhofar war from getting out. No journalists are allowed into the Sultan's realm. There is some occasional publicity on the showpiece actions of the Gulf tyrants, but this is always shrouded in complacent imperialist myth. It was only

last year that an article in *The Times* began by saying: "There is a British businessman in the Gulf who claims that the only difference after the British forces leave will be that you will not be able to get a good dance band any more" (March 3 1969).

Now, after decades of workers' resistance and after five years of armed struggle, the defeat of imperialism has begun. A liberated area now exists, and the Popular Front are waging the only large-scale people's war in the world that is directly aimed at British imperialism. They must be given our fullest and most consistent solidarity.

This special section of *The Black Dwarf* aims to provide the basic facts required for such a solidarity. It is to be studied and kept. The silence of the past must be converted into a thunderous opposition to the war criminals and social-imperialists

Wilson, Healey and Stewart, and to their Tory collaborators, in these crimes. This is Labour's Vietnam.

The victory of the revolutionary struggle in Aden in 1967 swept British influence and Britain's stooges out of power. Now, even more dangerous, in the oil-rich Gulf defeat is looming as Britain plans to set up her puppet "Union" in 1971. The armed struggle of the revolutionary people of the Gulf will be the only way to defeat Britain and her local clients; to achieve national liberation, and the expulsion of the big oil monopolies.

The revolutionaries in the Gulf are fighting Britain's military repression. For us the task is to overcome the ideological repression, the silences and the myths. A united struggle against a common enemy—British capital—that must be our goal.



DECLARATION TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE

For over a century Britain has ruled the Arabian Gulf, first to protect the approaches to India, then to guard its oil interests. In the Gulf itself British rule has involved direct occupation of the area. In Muscat and Oman her rule has been indirect, through the local Sultan; he is formally independent but is in fact a British client, financed, armed and preserved by British power.

This British presence has led to the suppression of all movements that threaten Britain and her local servants, or that try to overcome the underdevelopment and misery of the people. The local people have been excluded from the politics of their country and the prisons of the Gulf are full of democrats who oppose this system. Britain has artificially preserved the separate units of the zone. In Oman there are no schools or medical services and the Sultan has over 5,000 private slaves to work his plantations and staff his bodyguard. This is the regime Britain is supporting.

Britain claims she will leave the Gulf in 1971. This is a fraud. Britain has grouped her client sheikhs into a Union of Arab Emirates which will pretend to be an independent state. Yet it will continue to protect British interests and and it will be preserved by a mercenary army commanded and supplied by Britain. The sole aim of this army is "internal security"—i.e. suppressing political opposition. Britain aims to continue her rule by proxy. Moreover in Muscat and Oman Britain's position will not alter at all since she claims that the Sultan is already independent. Her bases, planes and military personnel will remain there and will be ready to suppress any opposition.

In addition American imperialism is expanding its influence in the area and hopes to replace Britain as the dominant power. The reactionary monarchies of Iran and Saudi Arabia are being backed by America, all of them intent on controlling and suppressing the peoples of the Gulf.

Since June 9 1965, we, the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf, have been fighting an armed struggle against British imperialism and her local clients, to liberate the whole of the Gulf from imperialism and oppression. In the Dhofar province of Oman we have liberated over two-thirds of the territory and driven the British into a defensive position.

Using RAF planes and Pakistani mercenaries commanded by British officers, Britain has replied to military defeat by a brutal attack on the economic life of the liberated area. They have

bombed and shelled our herds and the villages, pastures and wells where our people work. British officers have tortured prisoners and innocent citizens, and have personally ordered many of our villages to be burnt or bombed.

We are fighting against both national and class oppression; against the oppression of our nation by Britain and Iran, and against Saudi Arabia; and against the class oppression of the reactionary despots of the Gulf. We are also fighting on two fronts: a military fight against British intervention, and a social fight against the backwardness that imperialism has preserved in this area; that is against illiteracy, tribal division and the subjection of women. The liberation of Dhofar is only the first step to the liberation of the whole Gulf.

We demand the complete and immediate withdrawal of Britain from all areas of the Gulf, and the renunciation of all British defense ties with the Sultans, sheikhs and emirs she has been propping up for so long. We denounce both the Tory and Labour Parties for their identical policies of oppression in the area. Moreover we know that the British people have been kept in complete ignorance of these facts by a tight censorship and in particular by the refusal to permit independent observers to visit Dhofar.

Our struggle is part of a world-wide movement against imperialism and against exploitation by capital. We are one with the heroic people of Vietnam and with the people of Palestine and we stand with the peoples of Rhodesia and Northern Ireland who like us are fighting disguised forms of British colonial rule.

We appeal to all progressive forces in Britain to support our cause, and to oppose this savage and secret war being fought by Britain to protect her oil and her slave-owning Sultan. We shall continue our fight till the whole of the Gulf has been liberated and until British imperialism has been finally driven from the area. Long Live the Unity of the Anti-imperialist struggle in the World!

British and American Imperialism out of the Gulf!

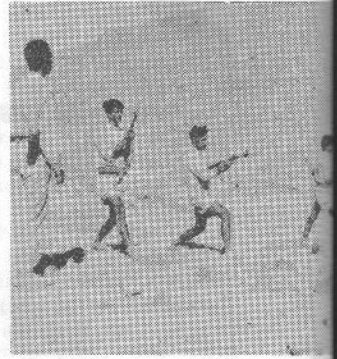
Long Live the 9 June!

The Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf,
Dhofar 12-2-70.
PFLOAG PO BOX 5037, Maala, Aden, South Yemen.



Fred Halliday and Gulf comrades

This special section on the Gulf was prepared by Fred Halliday the first British correspondent to visit the Liberated areas



Peoples Liberation

PEOPLES' WAR SMASHES

IN THE LIBERATED AREAS

Dhofar is the western-most province of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, and is separated from Oman proper by 500 miles of desert. It is a mountainous forested and tropical area, with around 250,000 inhabitants, most of them shepherds or fishermen. Crops are so short that cattle are fed on dried sardines.

Dhofar's history and its present condition are astounding. In the 1820s it was ruled by a pirate called Sheikh Mohammad who once captured an American ship, the *Essex*, and butchered the whole crew but for the ten-year-old cabin boy. This boy grew up to be a Muslim, Abdullah Lord, and himself grabbed the area when Mohammad was shot in 1829. Dhofar remained independent till the 1880s when Britain urged the Sultan of Muscat to seize it, and prevent Turkish influence from growing there.

Despite tribal risings, the Sultans held on. In the 1950s, when there was a rising in the mountains of Oman itself, the Sultan got on an oil tanker and sailed down the coast to set up house in Salala (pop. 15,000) the capital of Dhofar. The Sultan did nothing for the country, except extort taxes, and hand over fertile land to his favourites. One of these is a Persian quack called Ahmad Shofiq who is the only 'doctor' in Dhofar, and—curiously—the only man allowed to ride a moped.

EXHAUSTION IS A PAPER TIGER

I visited the liberated areas with three Arab comrades. We were accompanied by an armed bodyguard. All travel is on foot and we lived in the caves and wattle huts of the peasants. We would rise at sunrise, about 5.30, and after a cup of tea would set off for a few-hours further walk across the mountains. They would say to us 'Exhaustion is a paper tiger'. At lunchtime, as we were special, and rare guests, a goat or sheep would be slain and cooked on a charcoal fire. There would be camel, cow or goat milk to drink, and to my surprise, there was also popcorn.

Although comrades there were very bitter about Britain, they always insisted on the need to build political ties with the British left. We met militants in the army training camp, several members of the 25-man High Command and many of the inhabitants of the area. All were consumed with a revolutionary enthusiasm to crush imperialism.

Since last August the western province, which I visited, has been totally controlled by the Popular Front, and they are now carrying out a comprehensive social programme. Land reform has been carried out. Literacy classes have been set up in all villages. As many of the mountain people speak a pre-Arabic language, Himyarite, these classes also teach Arabic. I visited one attended by about thirty-five women, aged between eight and thirty. They were in the first half of the course, three months daily study for two hours, but would soon progress to the second half, when there would be classes twice a week. These literacy classes also serve as political education classes, and the basic reading text is the Little Red Book.

Dhofari women are less oppressed than other Muslim women—they are unveiled, can divorce, can inherit, smoke and carry arms—but the inequality of women is a major problem. Traditional forms of oppression like female circumcision and marrying off young girls to old men are still found. The Front has set up a Women's Organisation to mobilise women and to carry out

special education courses for them Marriage without the consent of the girl is now banned, and I met a platoon of girls in the military camp who were undergoing the full training course with the men, and would go on to join the People's Liberation Army.

THEIR QUESTIONS

The political consciousness of the militants and peasants was the most exhilarating experience of all. The very first question I was asked at the military training camp was what I thought of the British Communist Party. I was asked what I thought of Bertrand Russell, why Wilson had gone to Washington, if I thought women were freer in England or in China, why the Labour Party was playing an imperialist role in the Gulf if it claimed to be socialist, and many other similar questions. The Dhofari comrades are very conscious of the way the imperialist and Arab press has kept silent about their struggle; as one woman said to me: 'You come from the government that is oppressing us. Tell the British people what is happening here'. Yet one was urged again and again to tell the truth and not to exaggerate the situation.

The British presence is clear. I visited a deserted government camp at Madhoub which had been commanded by British officers; according to documents captured by the Front, one was a Capt. Carter. In the middle of the camp were a group of stone emplacements with neat little paths laid out between them. Inside were heaps of beer tins, the charred remains of the radio code (in English), and an old Sunday colour supplement. This had been the British HQ in the western province. The Front say they have killed a few British officers, including a Colonel Carter, killed in the middle province while commanding troops at Wadi Nahiz in January 1966. They also claim to have shot down about seventeen British planes, and I have brought back a chunk of one of them.

Salala itself is surrounded with a barbed-wire fence, and the only escape is by sea. I met the former chief scribe in the intelligence service, an ex-slave called Amir Ali, who had been the assistant to the head of the intelligence service, an illiterate court favourite called Nazar. Amir and his son had escaped with six other friends on a tyre last year. He told me that the slaves in Salala were not allowed to go outside their houses, or marry or learn to read without permission; and his main job had been to check on the movements of other slaves. Though he had worked in the Sultan's palace for four years, and had been in a jeep behind the Sultan during in 1965 assassination attempt, he could not say if the Sultan was alive. He said that five chamberlains would come from a remote part of the palace each day claiming to have received orders from the Sultan. He also said that the Sultan's palace was full of British officers, and a frequent visitor was the British Political Resident in Bahrain, Sir William Luce.

Government troops seize and torture people they suspect. The war hit the people very hard. I met a peasant, Said Kanail, who is now in the Liberation Army but had been arrested by a patrol with British officers while he was in Salala and had been tortured under interrogation. The RAF and artillery have systematically tried to destroy the economic life of the liberated areas. Herds, wells and pastures have been strafed and bombed. I met women and men whose villages and cattle had been burnt by government patrols. I myself visited a pasture, at Kheirfut, which still bore the marks of a RAF bombing raid. All buildings are attacked: when visiting

Rakhyou I saw the houses of a peasant, Dawil Salad, and of his son, which the RAF had smashed in a January raid. Since the fall of Rakhyout in August, the air attacks on the liberated areas have been stepped up and include the use of incendiary bombs.

THE FRONT

No-one really thought they were fighting the Sultan. The real enemy was British imperialism. Originally the Front was called the Dhofar Liberation Front, and was a separatist and pro-Egypt organisation. But at its Second Congress, in September 1968, the Front changed its name and its aim; it became the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf. It is now politically Marxist-Leninist. All members of the Front get a solid political education, including a study of Marx and Lenin in the military training camp political education takes three hours every day and the People's Liberation Army is firmly under the control of the Party. The very key theoretical influence is Mao. He is always referred to as 'comrade Mao', and his Quotations can provide some living and relevant answers to the problems of combat and social progress faced by the Front. Many people wore his badge, and oneday as we were leaving a village

the local party secretary came running after us shouting to us to stop: I had forgotten my copy of the Little Red Book. On the other hand Nasser is abominated, and one of the Front's favourite slogans is 'Down with the Petty Bourgeoisie'. Even kids of seven would chant it. Another favourite is 'down with Revisionism'.

THE WAR

RAF planes fly around on reconnaissance and bombing missions, and I saw them bombing the town of Rakhyout, on February 6th. British boats patrol the sea, and the big bases in Salala have probably around two hundred British officers in them. The *Sunday Times* of February 15th 1970 confirmed that a British officers' mess dinner had recently been broken up when the air base in which it was held was shelled by the People's Liberation Army. I met a former cook from the British officers' mess at the infantry base of Umm al-Qawarif, and he told me there were around twenty officers in his camp, then for general commanding duties and ten to train the troops. But most, he said, were in the separate RAF base.

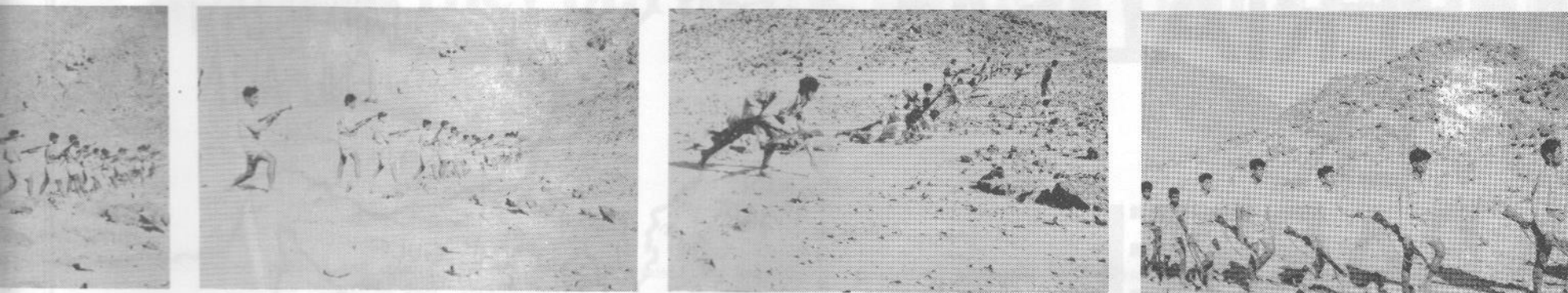
The Sultan's army is commanded by British army officers, but its rank and file are either Omani tribesmen or Pakistan mercenaries. They have been badly defeated over the past five



British arms captured at Madhoub The Governor of Rakhyout under arrest



PLA garrison in a mountain village



Army in training

S BRITISH IMPERIALISM

years. In the first phase of fighting, 1965-67, the Front carried out guerrilla operations around the main Muscat-Salala road. In the second phase, 1967-69, fighting spread to the western province where the Sultan's army tried to block the supply lines from South Yemen. But each government post was surrounded and had to be evacuated, and a big landing on the coast in September 1968, which was backed by infantry and artillery from government garrisons, was a failure. The base of Madhoub remained, held by B Company of the Muscat Regiment, with around 450 men. But the Front closed in and it was finally abandoned in June 1969. This left only the provincial capital, and it was stormed and captured during a monsoon storm late in August. Its governor, Hamid bin Said, was captured. He was tried by a people's court and then executed for being a British agent.

The fall of Rakhout completed the liberation of the western province. A new third phase of the war has now opened, involving positional warfare. The Front has liberated the whole of Dhofar but for the coastal plain around Salala and the desert in the north. Fighting is concentrated on the mountainous section of the

Salala-Muscat road, baptised the 'red line' by the Front. In fighting between November 12 and December 20 1969 they claim to have killed and wounded 210 government troops.

HOW ITS DONE

Why is the Dhofar liberated area possible? the terrain, the miscalculations of the Sultan and the British, the ample of Chinese arms—these are partial answers. The major reason is that a revolutionary party, armed with Marxism, has successfully and tenaciously waged a people's war and mobilised the peasantry. In Dhofar, the power of armed propaganda has been enormous: the popular masses rallied immediately to the Front once the fighting began. The comrades there still face many problems: the social development of the area will be long and difficult; the military battle is not yet complete even in Dhofar, and air attacks are causing heavy damage; finally, the strategic extension of the war from Dhofar into Oman and then into the cities of the Gulf has still to be effected. But they are determined to liberate the whole of the Gulf and to inflict a major defeat on Britain, America, Iran and Arab reaction.



Wreckage of plane downed in 1969 | Rakhout: peasants house destroyed by the RAF



TUFULA AND AMINA: INTERVIEW WITH TWO REVOLUTIONARY GIRLS



Tufula, 15, and Amina, 12, are members of the Popular Front now undergoing three months military and political training in the People's Liberation Army. They form part of the first platoon of women's militants to receive full training for membership in the fighting ranks of the revolution. This is a transcript of the astonishing militant interview that Fred Halliday took with them.

Why are you fighting and supporting the revolution?
Tufula: Because British imperialism is killing our men and our women. We are fighting to get them out.

What do your family do?
Tufula: My family are shepherds in the western province, and I used to work with them. For three months of the year we grew crops, and for the rest of the time we were nomads, herding our flocks. I never went to school or learnt to read. I joined the Front two years ago, and my parents tried to stop me. But I felt I should join my comrades.

Amina, can you tell us how you came to join the Front?
Amina: Well, I was in Salala, the capital, and you can't escape by land as it is surrounded by a big fence. So I escaped by sea with my brother. That was last September.

Why did you run away?
Amina: Imperialism. My father was a poor farmer, he got 4-5 rupees a day. We were very poor. So my brother and I got an old car-tyre for 8 rials and we swam in the sea for eight hours till we reached the coastline controlled by the Front.

Weren't you cold and frightened? Could you swim?
Amina: I couldn't swim well, and we got very cold and

hungry and thirsty. But it is better to die in the sea than be captured by the British.

Who thought of escaping, you or your brother?
Amina: Everyone thinks of escaping.

What is life like in Salala? Have you seen British officers or the Sultan?
Amina: Sometimes I'd see British officers out shopping, but they generally stay in their base. I've never seen the Sultan, he's dead, though his spies say he is alive.

How did you get to hear about the Front in Salala?
Amina: People found leaflets against the Sultan, they said "This is good and so is the revolution".

Tufula, since joining the Front what have you done?
Tufula: Well, at first I was in the militia, the Popular Guard, and then I took part in defending Shabbout when the enemy attacked it in the summer of 1969. There was a battle for 24 hours, and I carried water to the fighters up front. I think I was the first woman to join the army in the western area.

Where did you learn to speak Arabic?
Tufula: The Front taught me, and I learnt from working with comrades in the Front. But it is still difficult.

What have you learnt from the Front since you fled Amina?
Amina: I've learnt literacy, politics and revolution.

Do you ever miss your parents?
Amina: I don't think about my parents, I think about the revolution.

Who do you think are the enemies of the revolution?
Amina: People who make propaganda against the revolution.

And what do you think of Nasser?
Amina: He's a reactionary and a petty-bourgeois.

Why is Nasser a reactionary?
Amina: He looks after his own interests and not those of the people.

Tufula: We used to consider him as a God, but now he doesn't help us at all.

And what do you think about the Soviet Union and its rôle in the Middle East?
Tufula: I think one of the other comrades had better answer that.

Who do you think are the friends of the revolution in Dhofar?
Amina: Well, we have a lot of friends; do you want me to tell you the names of all of them?

No, I mean what countries are the friends of the revolution?
Amina: Comrade Mao has helped us. He gave us arms and he has taught us.

What do you think of the Palestinian revolution?

Amina: They are like us. They are fighting for liberation, and they have socialist aims.

Well, what do you think of al-Fatah?
Amina: I've never heard of it.

What do you think of the relations between men and women generally, and of the system of marriage-contracts here?

Tufula: It is a pity to ask something from a person if you're going to marry him. If I want a man I'll marry him because I want to and he won't have to buy me. Anyway, there is no difference between men and women. I am a woman, and I've seen I can do the same as they do. Before the revolution women used to be bought and sold and dispensed with like animals. Now they must know their rights and take part in the struggle along with everyone else.

What do you think of Islam? Are you religious?
Tufula: I am in a society of people who pray, and I am one of them.

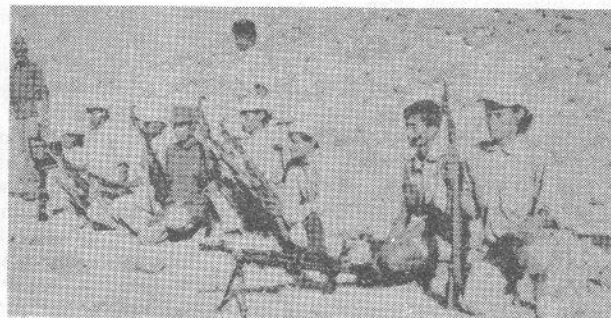
Do you find that men resist the equality of women, and hang onto their old ideas?

Tufula: Marriage has to come after the revolution as it might slow down our work during the struggle. We are fighting here in Dhofar, and Dhofar is part of the Gulf. There is a problem about women participating since their families usually resist and some people say that if women join the British will come and take them and kill them. But people are getting over this.

What rôle will women play after the revolution?
Tufula: There is a big rôle awaiting women. They will have to farm and learn to read, write and type.

After the revolution, would you like to go abroad and visit any other country?

Tufula: I'd like to visit the countries that are helping us, People's China and the People's Republic of South Yemen.



Platoon of women

IMPERIALISM OVER A BARREL

The long stability which the Gulf has enjoyed is now at risk".
Edward Heath, April 1969.

The Gulf is Britain's most important economic base in the third world, and is an area of crucial strategic importance for world imperialism. This derives from three factors.

First, it supplies 50% of Britain's oil, and a similar amount of Europe's needs. Japan gets as much as 80% of its oil from the Gulf, and the US war effort in South-East Asia depends on it. The Gulf accounts for over a quarter of the world's annual oil production, and more than half of the world's known reserves.

Secondly, although there is oil elsewhere, and more is being found (Alaska), Gulf oil is much cheaper than any other kind to produce. It costs 6 cents per barrel in Kuwait and 9 cents in Saudi Arabia, as opposed to 62 cents in Venezuela and 1.51 dollars in the USA. This means that Europe saves hundreds of millions of pounds by having Gulf oil available - it also means that protectionist US oil firms loot the US public of 3,500 million dollars per year by refusing to allow the import of cheaper oil into the US. Oil companies in the Gulf, British and US, make huge profits by selling this cheap oil to Europe. Over the period 1956-60 the rate of profit in Iran was 71% and in Saudi Arabia 61%. Even now, Britain makes £200 million a year profit on its total investment of around £1,000 million in the Gulf.

This means a huge boost to the balance of payments, both direct and indirect. Oil revenues in the Gulf purchase over £100 million per year of Britain's exports. Most important, the decision of neo-colonial regimes in the Gulf to bank their revenues in London, as sterling balances means that Britain does not have to pay for its oil; the money allegedly paid to foreign governments is available in London for British domestic or foreign investment. Kuwait alone has over £1,000m. banked in London and could wipe out virtually the whole of Britain's reserves if she tried to cash in her account. Not that she can do so, if she tried Britain would block it.

A third reason for the Gulf's importance is its strategic position. Revolutionary developments in the Gulf would upset other Middle Eastern states and would be a great encouragement to revolution in the Indian sub-continent. Conversely the Gulf has a high strategic value for imperialist countries as a post where troops can be stationed for potential use against insurrectionary forces in these areas.

This economic and strategic importance is well known; but it goes with an almost complete ignorance of the area in the Western press and among the left. Either nothing is said (about political repression, imperialist plots) or else one is dished up with lies about 'stability', 'modernising rulers' and 'progress'.

THE PRESENCE OF REACTION

Two big local powers, created by imperialism, are competing for domination of the Gulf. They are Iran and Saudi Arabia. The Shah's Iran was established by a CIA coup in 1953 and is now strengthening itself through a land reform programme designed to install capitalist agriculture in the countryside. Iran is the only local state with a substantial navy. Saudi Arabia is using the Iranian threat to call for a defense of the 'Arabism of the Gulf'. She is backed by Egypt and most other Arab states. It is a chauvinist attempt to protect the local Arab ruling class. The threat from Iran exists in that she is trying to use historic claims and the Iranian minority in Bahrain to claim that island as Iran's 14th province. The solution to this conflict between these two reactionary states can only be the united struggle of the Iranian and Arab working classes to overthrow both regimes.

Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, both staunch allies of the West, use their oil revenues to bribe other Arab regimes, like Egypt and Jordan, into supporting imperialism. The US has a big air base at Dhahran in Saudi Arabia and British and US military advisory groups serve with the Saudi army. Britain also helped to set up a £120m. Saudi base at Khamis Mishayt in 1963-65, where it used Air Work Ltd, as a cover to send in RAF personnel in civilian clothes.

At the moment Britain officially rules nine

political entities in the Gulf: Bahrain, Qatar, and seven Trucial Oman states, of which the largest is Abu Dhabi. Britain will "leave" the Gulf in 1971, and has grouped these nine entities into a Union of Arab Emirates. This is a clique of old Sultans, Emirs and Sheikhs which Britain has had to knock together in a hurry after it decided to pull out for economic reasons. Britain still has 6,000 troops in the Gulf but these will be withdrawn.

The purpose of this neo-colonial Union is to guard western oil interests after 1971. Kuwait is actively subsidising it. The base of the Union will be its army, supplied and officered by Britain. The Defense Correspondent of *The Times* has described its intended role: "It certainly seems to be the case that the British hope to be able to achieve militarily after 1971 what they achieve now through the presence of 6,000 troops. Their proxies would be local forces commanded and equipped to British standards" (March 3rd 1969.) The rulers of these little states, artificially sustained by Britain, have been coming to London in a regular flow over the past nine months, to sign up more investment and to get arms. Though they will have one united Union army, some of them also have private armies, and a firm of British ex-army officers, Watchguard International Ltd. has been signed on by several Gulf rulers to train up local counter-revolutionary forces.

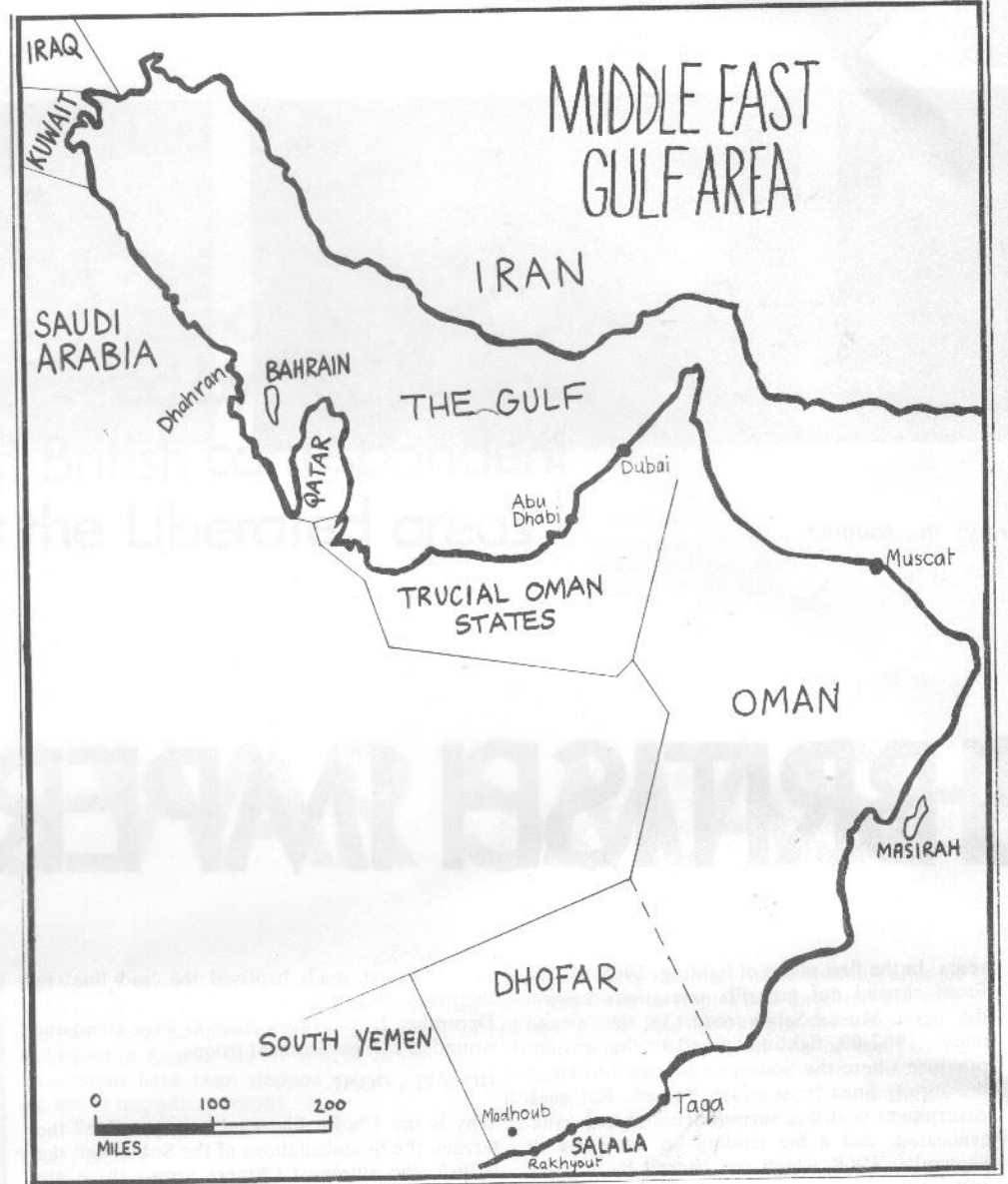
Britain's departure is little more than formal: she will still control the Union army (now the Trucial Oman Scouts) and in the separate entity of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, her position will remain exactly the same as at present. The Sultanate is nominally independent: in fact it is a British colony. On two different occasions in this century, in 1913 and in the 1950s, the British had to send in troops to suppress tribal risings led by the Sultan's traditional rival the Imam. The Sultan's cabinet are, with one exception, Englishmen and his army is officered by Britain.

The Sultanate is the most reactionary state in the world. Slavery is still legal, and the Sultan has over 5,000 personal black slaves working on his plantations and staffing his personal bodyguard. The laws are almost unbelievable: it is illegal to play football, to smoke in public, to eat in public, to wear glasses trousers or shoes, to import medicine or to have one's hair cut. The Sultan's prisons are full of political prisoners, many of them sick and undergoing torture; it is normal for them to be shackled.

Britain claims that the Sultan is independent; and that she has "leased" an off-shore island, Masira which now has a big RAF base and BBC relay installations from him. The Sultan himself tries to keep out of view: he has not been seen for five years since his army fired at him on a parade-ground and may believe he is dead: no foreign correspondents are now allowed into his realm, and his London Consulate is not even in the telephone directory. (It's in a block of flats next to the Albert Hall, at 7 Albert Court, telephone 01-589-1256). The Sultanate will be the key to British rule in the Gulf after 1971 and the possibility of it falling to the revolution undermines British plans in the area as a whole.

In one province of the Sultanate, Dhofar, there has been guerrilla war for five years and the Marxist-Leninist Popular Front has liberated nine-tenths of the country. The Sultan's mercenary army of Pakistanis and Omanis with British officers has been routed. The British media have almost completely suppressed this news, and the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Defence refuse to comment. Meanwhile RAF planes, Navy launches and army officers are in active combat against the rebel area.

One story in the *Sunday Times* (February 15 1970) did admit that the Front "now controls all of Dhofar except the desert and the narrow coastal plain where Salala and its airstrip are situated". Yet when *The Black Dwarf* rang up to find out who had given this story to the press we were told it was an anonymous serviceman who was "politically jumpy" and is now "out of the country".



BASIC STATISTICS

The Gulf area consists of Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the Trucial Oman states, Bahrain, Qatar, and the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. It is known to Arabs as the 'Arab' Gulf, to Persians and to most other people as the 'Persian' Gulf. This problem of the name is an object of dispute. In fact it

doesn't matter what the Gulf is called; what matters are the political and social relations prevailing in the states around it. In this sense the Gulf is now an imperialist Gulf; it can become a socialist one. The term 'Occupied Arab Gulf' refers to the following areas: Muscat and Oman, Bahrain, Qatar and the Trucial Oman states.

Name	Population (1968)	Crude Oil Production in millions of metric tons (1969)
Bahrain	200,000	3.8
Qatar	80,000	17.3
Trucial Oman States		28.0
Abu Dhabi	465,000	
Dubai	59,000	1.0
Sharjah	31,500	-
Ras al-Khaimah	24,500	-
Ajman	4,200	-
Umm al-Qaiwan	3,700	-
Fujairah	9,700	-
Muscat and Oman	750,000	15.4
Iran	30,000,000	168.4
Iraq	8,000,000	74.7
Kuwait	700,000	129.4
Saudi Arabia	4,000,000	149.7

AN ARAB PROLETARIAT

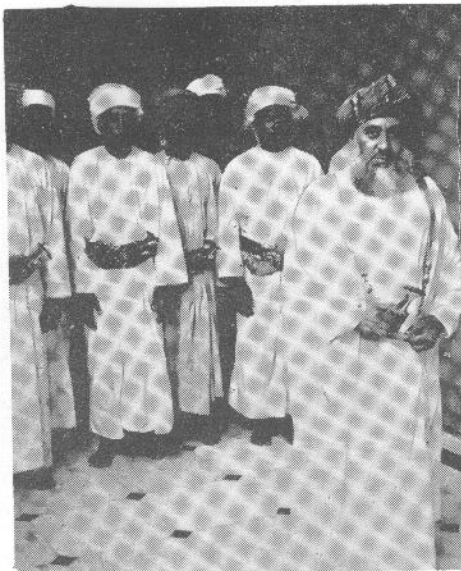
It is not only in the mountains of Dhofar and Oman that imperialism is threatened. The oil industry has created a proletariat. In Bahrain a reformist workers' movement waged a series of strikes in 1954-56, followed by severe repression. Then, in March 1965, when 1,500 workers were sacked, the 13,000 worker force staged several days of armed resistance, demanding the right to unions, the release of political prisoners and an end to unjustified dismissal. The Wilson government has refused these demands. In Qatar in 1963 a bloody urban rising was suppressed after several days. In Saudi Arabia hundreds of workers in the Damman oil fields were arrested after anti-US demonstrations in June

1967. A general strike and a series of bomb attacks was followed by the arrest of 300 workers in Kuwait in January 1969. Severe repression has not silenced these workers, and the union of the revolutionary peasants in the mountains with the revolutionary workers of the oil fields holds the key to the future.

Imperialism is clearly worried. After visiting the Gulf last April, Heath said "The long stability which the Gulf has enjoyed is now at risk". The US now has a naval force operating out of Bahrain and is desperately trying to forge an alliance of Saudi Arabia and Iran, an aim which Britain shares. Another token of imperialist concern is a flurry of activity on the academic front: the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, is the main British institution specialising in the third world. Over the period 1968-69 it held two conferences on the Gulf. One during the 1968 summer holidays was secret, and was attended by military correspondents, academics and a former Governor of Aden; it was founded by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, of Washington DC, and produced a report on the danger of a Russian invasion of the Gulf (sic). The other was a public conference, in spring 1969, and was funded by Shell and the Kuwait Oil Company.

The revolutionary forces in the Gulf are gaining strength; the contradictions between different reactionary forces in the area are growing; and a liberated area, controlled by the popular masses, has already been established. For all these reasons a major new flank has been opened up in the anti-imperialist offensive. This area is of the highest importance for imperialism and it is about to explode.

F.H.



The night they burnt the bank at Santa Barbara

To insulate them from political and cultural contamination, the California bourgeoisie used to send its youth to the university of Santa Barbara. Safely out of Berkeley's political orbit and just beyond Los Angeles smog range, the campus nestles Spanish-modern-colonially against postcard hills on the Pacific beach, reeking of country club. The dominant student ethos shows the influence of *Playboy* magazine. The town of some 70,000 lives off the college, or tourism, or the nearby navy and air force bases and war plants. It is very expensive to live in. It is the kind of place where lieutenants, Lockheed executives and Los Angeles real estate dealers go to retire. Except for the student population, the area, like most of Southern California, regularly elects conservative Republicans.

Two weeks ago the lid blew off. In a week of battling on campus and in town, Santa Barbara students proved that the thing their parents call "Berkeley" is not so much a place as a condition. Those who keep score-cards on such things noted that Santa Barbara's uprising went Berkeley one better: they not only broke windows at the Bank of America (stale and old but in Berkeley), they burned the building down.

The event occurred at midnight on the second day of the uprising, and was well-attended. Eye-witnesses report that several hundred students stood in the glow of the burning bank, warming their souls, ignoring the firement. Marshmallows were suggested. People stood close to each other, gently touching, savoring the experience. No one had ever seen a bank burn before. It was very educational. There were smiles of pleasure.

Deposits and records, stored in a fireproof vault, escaped without damage. The structure was a total loss. The building had been erected less than a year previously.

Opinions differ as to the cause of the blaze. There were, actually, two fires. The first, begun earlier in the evening, was extinguished by a volunteer brigade of fraternity boys before it had a chance to blossom. Police claim that shabbily-dressed, long-haired individuals rolled a barrel of gasoline into the building to finish it off, thereafter. This is doubtful, as gasoline does not come in barrels.

Students offer two alternative versions. One, advanced by those with economic leanings, is that the fire was caused by friction between the bank and the student community. Most of the students live in a one-mile-square area called Isla Vista. The Bank finances the landlords of Isla Vista. The landlords charge extortionate rents, and engage in marginal gouging on top of that. The landlords do not maintain the buildings in proper condition. There are safety and fire hazards, roaches, and rats. At the same time, the Bank takes up a contemptuous attitude toward small depositors, gouges on service charges, and imposes strict dress and behavior controls on student loans.

Others, of an internationalist bent, hold that the blaze was ignited by a spark borne eastward by the wind from Vietnam, just across the sea. They claim on clear nights you can see Saigon. They attach importance to the fact that the Bank of America is the capitalist world's biggest, that it has \$21 thousand million stolen through its network of branches, subsidiaries and affiliates in 80 countries.

The Bank's reaction was overkill. From its world headquarters in San Francisco it telephoned the Governor of California, the former actor and television puppet for the General Electric Corp, Ronald Reagan. It demanded, not asked, that immediate action be taken. Knowing where his bread was buttered, the Governor waxed theatrically livid, proclaimed a state of *extreme* emergency (Berkeley only rated emergency) and sent in 1000 National Guardsmen.

So that no one would miss the point, the Bank subsequently published full-page advertisements in all California newspapers urging the authorities to spare no effort in maintaining law and order so as to protect freedom. To prevent possible misunderstandings that might remain, the Bank followed up with a similar spread a week later, calling on all citizens firmly to condemn and abjure violence as a means of

problem-solving. It praised the example of Gandhi. (*sic*).

Public reaction remains difficult to fathom. B of A spokesmen have been supersaturating TV and radio, while the few radio stations that do man-in-the-street programs have prudently confined their sampling to noon-hour in the financial district.

The banks are not popular. Hatred of them runs deep in U.S. history. And since 1968-69, it has been impossible for workers making an average wage to get home mortgage credit. Even financing a car is becoming difficult. It would not be surprising if the Santa Barbara blaze had evoked in more than one mind the feeling, 'serves 'em right'.

No one to my knowledge defends the burning of the Bank as a strategy. It may be that, as happened after Watts and Detroit, the survivors will be treated for a time with greater tact and consideration, and that some channels previously closed will open. Numerous black leaders noted with irony that the black "riots" achieved in a short time a measure of the local reforms which decades of petitioning and voting has been powerless to gain. But neither the black uprisings, nor Santa Barbara, were or could have been "planned" to achieve "reform."

Burning banks is not a strategy for revolution, but neither are factory strikes. Such actions may advance or drag back a revolutionary process. It depends on the circumstances and conditions. Here is the background, briefly.

When black students were for the first time admitted to the campus in any numbers last year, the black-studies program for which they had struggled was ruthlessly sanitized and sterilized, its purpose undermined. Petitions, protests, pickets, etc., proved useless.

The mind-killing diet of imperialist ideology force-fed in the classrooms was relieved only by a small number of professors, among them anthropologist Dr. William Allen. One tenth of the 11,000 students on the campus were in 1969 enrolled in his courses and attending his lectures. Naturally, he was found "professionally unqualified" and denied tenure. Petitions containing 7,776 signatures were presented to the administration, requesting an open hearing in his case. Rad-lib types defeated fraternity types for student government over the issue. A march 3,000 strong, the biggest stir ever on the campus, proved fruitless. All tactics, from petition to mass march, ran into a brick wall. Allen was fired and subsequently framed and arrested. All routine.

Then came the oil-slicks. A number of major oil corporations drill from offshore platforms a few miles up the coast. They grew careless, and let several hundred thousand gallons get away. These drifted up onto the town beach. End of paradise for the campus sun'n surf set, heavy loss in tourist income for the town. Frantic cables to Washington. Reassurances from the Interior Secretary. Firm promises from the oil corporation. A month later, another black tide heavier than the first. The political "center" began to feel what powerlessness was.

Aware of the accumulating tensions in campus and town, the authorities search for scapegoats. In the Isla Vista student ghetto they found suitable fodder for the public paranoia. The local rag jumped with enthusiasm on the national dope and hippy scare bandwagon. Police worked overtime providing fresh copy for the editors. Isla Vista became a police state. Using 'suspicion of marijuana' as wedge, police began to break down entry, search and seizure immunities. It became unsafe to walk the streets at night; assaults by police became more common. At the same time, landlords stepped up rent-gouging and forgot about maintenance altogether, knowing that the courts would find their tenants guilty on sight.

A few weeks before the outbreak, the student

government attempted to mediate between tenants and the real-estate owners. The student leaders went so far as to offer to pay half the landlords' costs for minimum building repairs, out of the student treasury. No.

The art of the possible was exhausted.

On February 27, in the evening, a former student, black, who had dropped out for financial reasons, was walking on an Isla Vista street. A patrol car stopped. Two officers got out, surrounded the man and began to "question" him about "recent burglaries."

Except for the fact that the people watching were white and that most of their parents had money, it could have been Watts or Detroit or a thousand ghettos. But then a fairly historic thing happened. The people watching forgot "who they were." They dropped their whiteness and classness.

I guess the black brother must have told the cops to fuck off. The next minute he was down on the ground and the two pigs were working him over with batons. And the minute after that about fifty youth were giving the pigs a taste of rock, bottle, and whatever was handy.

Reinforcements, about thirty uniforms, were called, but by the time they arrived the people were larger yet, and the State's forces were compelled to find rapid means of exit from Isla Vista. In the heat of the action, one police vehicle caught fire and was destroyed. That was the first night.

The next day, attorney William Kunstler, chief defense counsel in the Chicago conspiracy trial, made a scheduled speech. The press had given the trial very superficial and one-sided coverage. The experiences which Kunstler was able to relate opened many eyes. Kunstler was careful to avoid saying anything which might be construed as incitement to riot. This is a Federal crime under the Civil Rights Act, unless done in one's home state.

Kunstler spent several years in the Southern states defending clients in civil rights cases. He would stand before Dixiecrat judges, arguing in his soft, measured voice about the rights of the accused. When he spoke about the injustice of "justice," and spoke of the courts as tools for the perpetuation of the power of landlords, banks, and policemen and others, his voice had the quality of personal experience of long standing. It evoked similar experiences in the student audience. He received a long and deep ovation.

After the speeches were over, people left the auditorium in a thoughtful mood. The events of the previous night were, for some, overshadowed by the ordeal of which Kunstler had spoken. As the homeward-drifting crowd began to disperse, police appeared. But I will let the summary in the Sunday paper tell it:

"The arrest of a fellow student (who happened to be the room-mate of the vice-president of the student body), who was beaten and dragged off in full view of the big throng, touched off a riot (uprising) that involved 1,500 students and street people who battled sheriff's officers with rocks and bottles, burned a new Bank of America building to the ground, and smashed windows and fixtures in 23 other businesses.

"By the time last weekend arrived, bringing with it 1,000 National Guard troops and a cooling rain that tended to dampen the fervor for street demonstrations, the week's statistics showed about \$700,000 worth of damage, 136 arrested, 27 police and sheriff's deputies (vigilantes) injured, four badly enough to be hospitalized, and ten demonstrators hurt. (demonstrators?!)"

"In addition, one university employee was shot in the shoulder by a campus guard who thought he was trying to run a road-block, a student was beaten by police and his car damaged when he inadvertently drove between massed lines of rock-throwing students and club-wielding police. And another student was struck while riding his bicycle and seriously injured by a hit-and-run California Highway Patrol Car."

Other things happened which did not find their way into such papers. The arrested were held incommunicado, forced to stand at rigid attention against a wall for many hours with shotguns being waved in their faces. Many were beaten in prison. The police blockaded the hospital, allowed no visitors and no reports, so that friends of the injured did not know for days whether they were alive or dead. Police occupied the campus radio station and

promised to smash the equipment if it broadcast anything other than Muzak. Police roamed Isla Vista in gangs, breaking and entering at random, and incidentally helping themselves.

Presently, except for the charred hulk of the B of A, "normalcy" has returned. Funds are being sought for the defense of the arrested.

What are the conclusions to be drawn about these events?

One: that the authorities, for many months prior to the uprising, worked long and hard, by every means at their disposal, through the press, the courts, through business practices, through the police and the college administration, to crush every manifestation of the most elementary democratic freedoms, and that they succeeded.

Two: that the uprising was a response to repeated and severe provocation; that it occurred in self-defense, in collective self-defense; that the students had no alternative but to rise up or be slaves; and that they were right to rise up. Their cause deserves the support of all people, wherever they may be, who are also the victims of banks, landlords, unjust courts, police, or university administrations.

Three: that the burning of the Bank of America, in these specific and concrete circumstances, was a correct tactic, whose audacity is to be applauded. It was carried out with mass participation in a clearly defined context of open warfare, against a widely and justly hated target. There was no loss of life and no "widows' savings" destroyed. It was not an act of random terrorism or sabotage. On the other hand, the breaking of small-business windows, other than those of the Isla Vista real-estate companies, was counterproductive, and wrong. It is a mistake to create unity among shopkeepers.

Four: that the students displayed great courage and tenacity to keep up the battle for five days afterward. To engage police and soldiers for that length of time with nothing more than rocks and bottles is evidence of excellent fighting spirit.

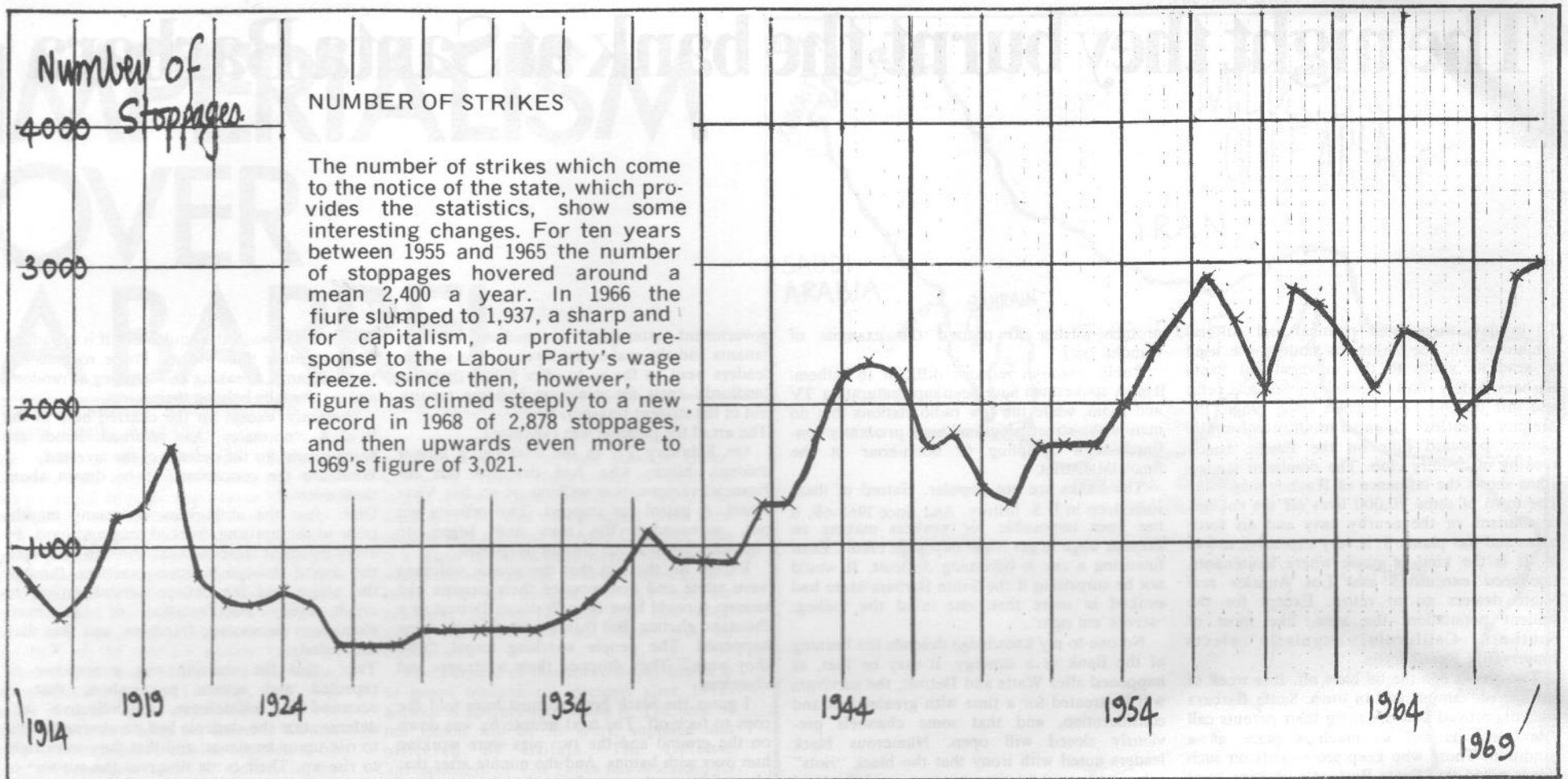
Five: that the uprising was fought in an extremely unfavorable location, there being no other classes groups or strata in significant quantity who might have been able to lend support within sixty miles of the place; and hence that, once contained to Santa Barbara, the uprising was destined to be defeated, and was defeated.

Six: that the task with which Santa Barbara confronts us is to develop methods of organization with which the limitations and errors of this struggle can be overcome, so that its strengths can be transmitted to broader numbers of people and find wider application in more favorable locations.

Postscript: Three days after Santa Barbara was "pacified," a possibly even more significant uprising among students took place at Fullerton State College, just on the other side of Los Angeles, about a hundred miles from Santa Barbara both geographically and socially. Fullerton is in the middle of Orange County, generally considered the heartland of fascism in California, if not the nation; it is a hotbed of Birches, Minutement and Klansmen unimaginable to most people, a kind of Nazi paradise. Governor Reagan came there to deliver a televised speech. Four students in the literally captive audience chose the very rudimentary form of indicating disagreement which consists of getting up, turning your back and walking out in the middle of the speech. They were instantly summoned before a closed disciplinary hearing by campus authorities. Student supporters and friends of the four were forbidden from entering to testify in their behalf. The door to the hearing room was locked, and armed guard posted. To their everlasting merit, the students lost their patience, overpowered the guard, took the key, entered the room, and liberated the four. Shortly, over 100 riot-equipped police stormed on campus. Three thousand students resisted, then battled, briefly, before withdrawing. Another "riot." Another "defeat." But in Orange County! There has not been an act of resistance to authority in Orange County in decades. Add, therefore:

Seven: The events here described teach the lesson that the tendency for repression to get worse can go hand in hand with the opposed tendency for the social base of reaction to lose its hold over younger people, including those who would normally affiliate to it, and to break apart.

Dave Truckee



More strikes than ever before!

Interpreting the condition of proletarian struggle is a basic revolutionary duty fraught with dangers on two fronts. Firstly there is a wide ignorance of the complexity of the facts, and secondly where these facts are known, a simplistic reading can confuse economic and political levels of struggle. In this preliminary briefing, the aim is to present some of the basic empirical trends and structural facts. These argue for a close study of available material and a critical distance from these same facts as the pre-condition for political analysis.



The crucial points to grasp are that 1969 there were more days lost in strikes than any year since the depression—except for 1957, and that this is part of a steadily rising trend. Second that the strict economic effect of this trend are minimal, as the Financial Times has pointed out; 'There is no relationship at all between the index (of rising production) and the loss of working days through strikes'. Thirdly that strikes are an important political phenomena provoking tirades of anti-working class propaganda from the press, sometimes having an effect on the sterling's position in the currency market, and indicators of potential class militancy.

To this is added a new factor. There are now more strikes in Britain than at any time in recorded history. For the first time ever, more than three thousand

strikes have taken place in a single year. For the first time since 1921, more than a million men have been involved in strikes two years running. Traditionally, working class militancy has been confined to the major industrial sectors, and the vast majority of workers have never experienced strike action. There is no doubt that now vast numbers of traditionally passive workers are turning to industrial action.

Around a half of the strikes that occur are directly concerned with wage increases, while a few hundred more occur on other wage disputes. Which leaves over a third of strikes concerning working arrangements, rules and discipline (one sixth), control of employment and demarcation problems (another sixth), with smaller figures for hours of work, trade union recognition and rights, and a small figure (around one or two per cent) for sympathetic action. By international standards British workers are only moderately combative. International comparisons are illuminating but are extremely misleading since they cannot take account of differences of political tradition, trade union history, and modes of economic struggle. Italy has a factory occupation tradition, France a mass political strike tradition, and Germany a post war tradition of covert restrictions on output, while the US is characterised by long, infrequent official strikes on an industry by industry basis.

Some perspective on the economic cost of strikes can be gathered from the fact the number of days lost through industrial injuries (and these recorded figures are an underestimate) has averaged around 20 million in last few years, in comparison to the move from 2 million to 6 million days for strikes. The total days lost through sickness and injuries is estimated at around 300 million! The yearly cost of accidents has been authoritatively given as £600,000,000 which compares with a total product for the economy of around 35,000,000,000 a year! It is important not to be fooled by bourgeois hysteria over strikes, nor to be thrown on the defensive by it. Strikes are only a small dent in the total of days lost. Whatever their political effects, they cause, as yet, little long term damage to the economy. It would be fine if they caused more.

The Figures

STOPPAGES OF WORK BEGINNING IN EACH OF THE YEARS 1914-1969

Year	No. of workers out 000's	No. of days lost 000's	No. of strikes
1914	447		972
1915	448	9,360	672
1916	276	2,970	532
1917	872	2,370	730
1918	1,116	5,870	1,165
1919	2,591	5,890	1,352
1920	1,932	36,030	1,607
1921	1,801	28,860	763
1922	552	82,270	576
1923	405	19,650	628
1924	613	10,950	710
1925	441	8,360	603
1926	2,734	8,910	323
1927	108	161,300	308
1928	124	870	302
1929	533	1,390	431
1930	307	8,290	422
1931	490	4,450	420
1932	379	7,010	389
1933	136	6,430	357
1934	134	1,020	471
1935	271	1,060	553
1936	316	1,950	818
1937	597	2,010	1,129
1938	274	3,140	875
1939	337	1,330	940
1940	299	1,350	922
1941	360	940	1,251
1942	456	1,080	1,303
1943	557	1,530	1,785
1944	821	1,830	2,194
1945	531	3,700	2,293
1946	526	2,850	1,205
1947	620	2,180	1,721
1948	424	2,400	1,759
1949	433	1,940	1,426
1950	302	1,820	1,339
1951	379	1,380	1,719
1952	415	1,710	1,714
1953	1,370	1,800	1,746
1954	448	2,170	1,989
1955	659	2,480	2,419
1956	507	3,790	2,648
1957	1,356	2,050	2,859
1958	523	8,400	2,629
1959	645	3,470	2,093
1960	814	5,280	2,832
1961	771	3,050	2,686
1962	4,420	3,040	2,449
1963	590	5,780	2,068
1964	872	2,000	2,524
1965	816	2,030	2,354
1966	544	2,925	1,937
1967	734	2,398	2,116
1968	2,258	2,398	2,878
1969	1,620	4,690	3,021
		6,772	

NUMBERS INVOLVED

NUMBERS INVOLVED ('000's)

4000

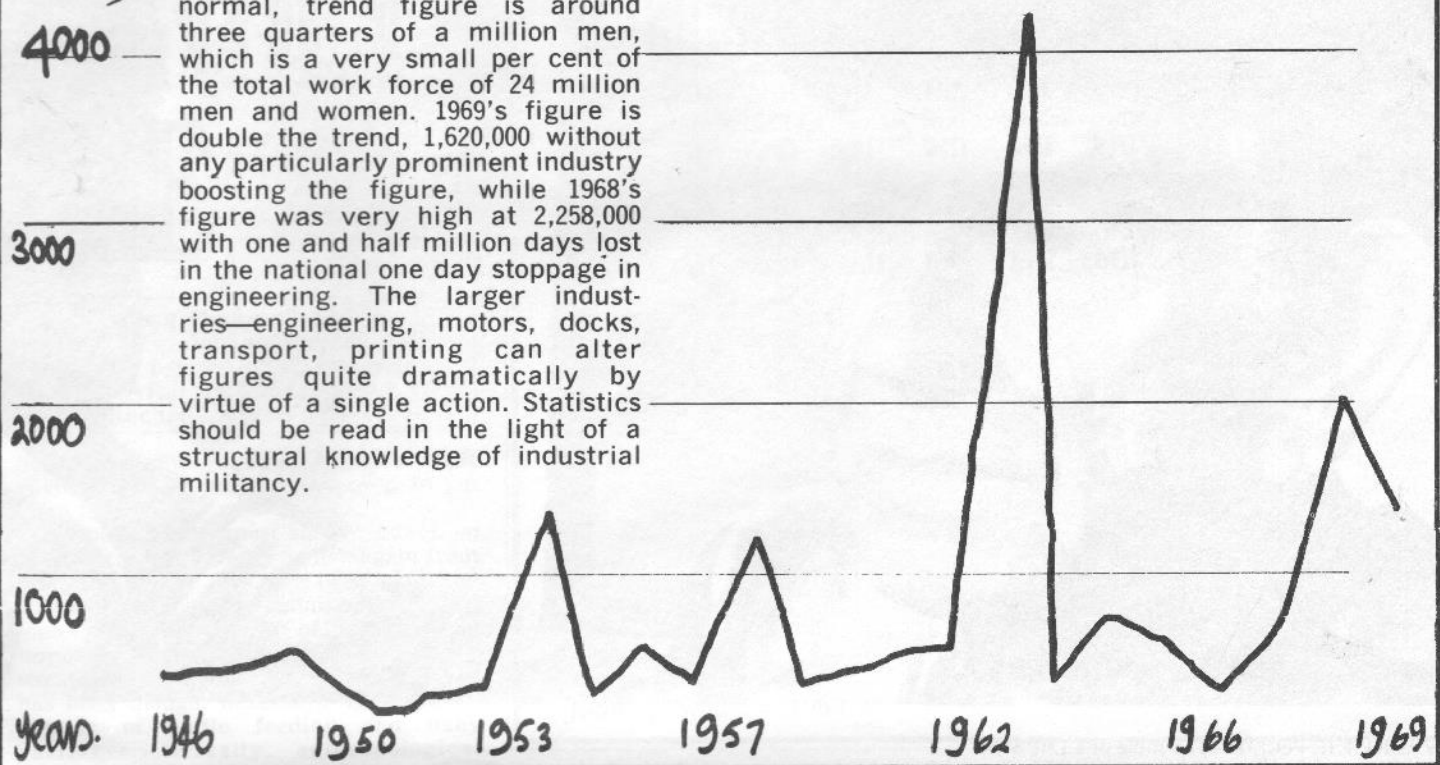
3000

2000

1000

years

The numbers of workers involved in stoppages of work fluctuates quite dramatically, reflecting activity in particular industries. The normal, trend figure is around three quarters of a million men, which is a very small per cent of the total work force of 24 million men and women. 1969's figure is double the trend, 1,620,000 without any particularly prominent industry boosting the figure, while 1968's figure was very high at 2,258,000 with one and half million days lost in the national one day stoppage in engineering. The larger industries—engineering, motors, docks, transport, printing can alter figures quite dramatically by virtue of a single action. Statistics should be read in the light of a structural knowledge of industrial militancy.



DAYS LOST

DAYS LOST ('000's)

9000

8000

7000

6000

5000

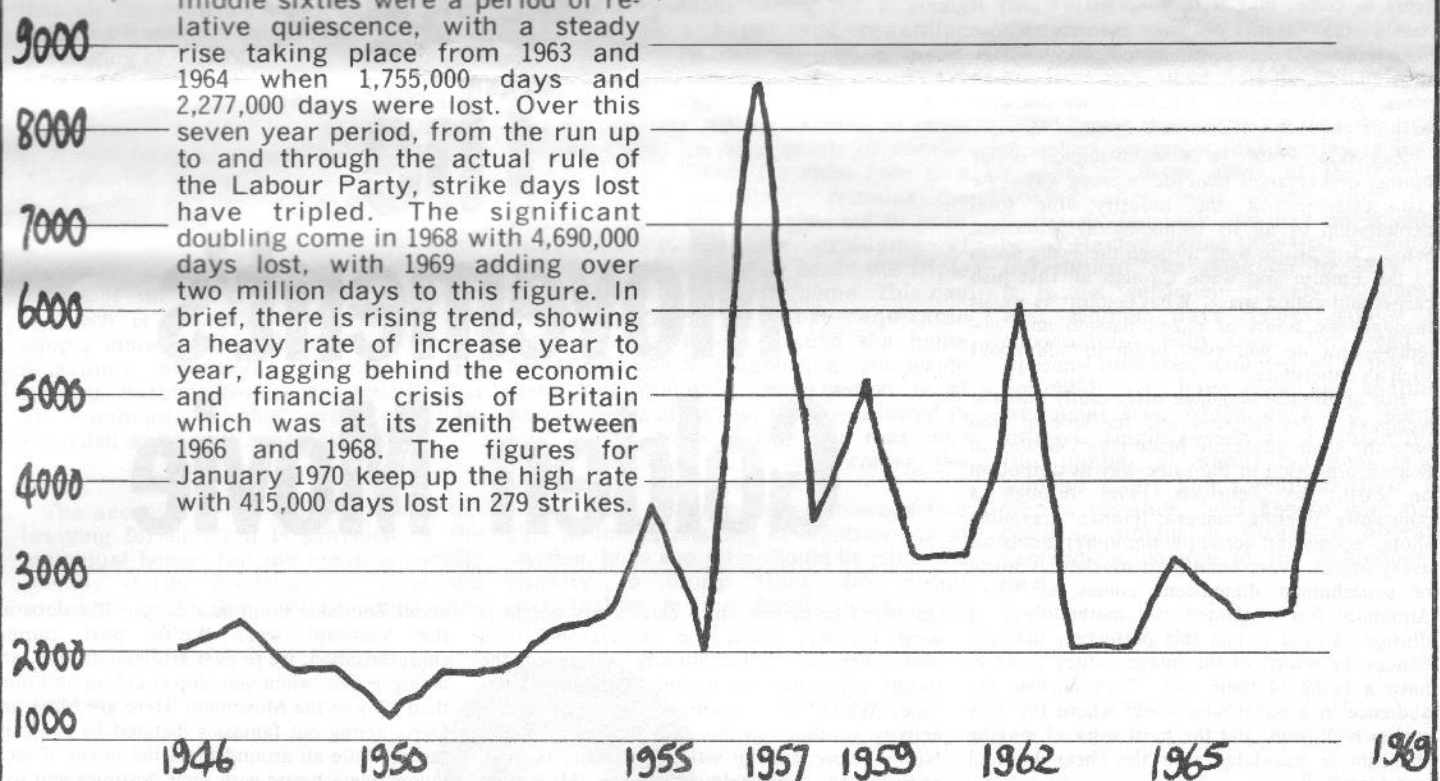
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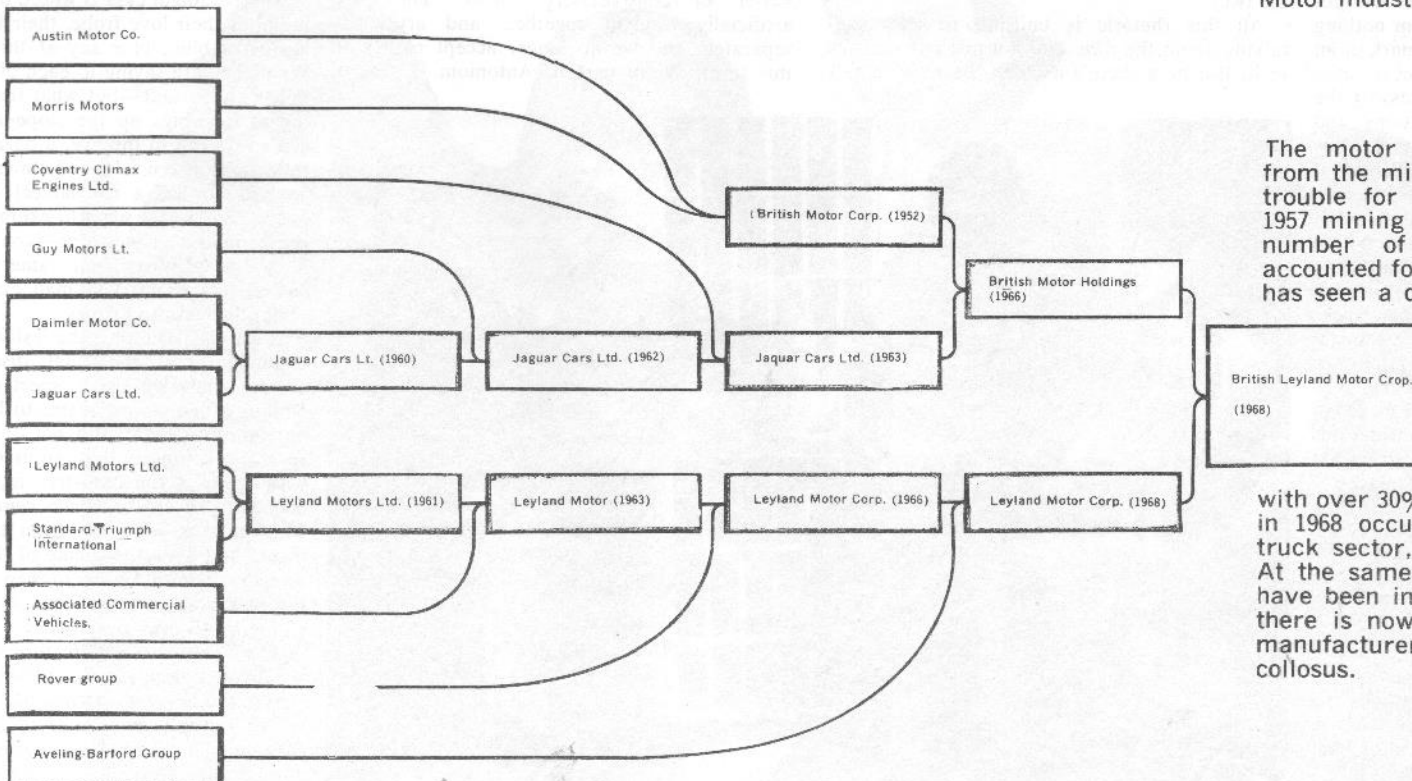
2000

1000

The number of days of production lost in strikes is the key economic dimension of strike action. The middle sixties were a period of relative quiescence, with a steady rise taking place from 1963 and 1964 when 1,755,000 days and 2,277,000 days were lost. Over this seven year period, from the run up to and through the actual rule of the Labour Party, strike days lost have tripled. The significant doubling come in 1968 with 4,690,000 days lost, with 1969 adding over two million days to this figure. In brief, there is rising trend, showing a heavy rate of increase year to year, lagging behind the economic and financial crisis of Britain which was at its zenith between 1966 and 1968. The figures for January 1970 keep up the high rate with 415,000 days lost in 279 strikes.



Motor Industry



The motor industry has taken over from the mining as the chief locus of trouble for the industrial bosses. In 1957 mining accounted for 70% of the number of strikes, while motors accounted for only 5%. The last decade has seen a dramatic reversal of roles

with over 30% of the number of strikes in 1968 occurring within the car and truck sector, and only 8% in mining. At the same time the manufacturers have been in rapid concentration and there is now only one major British manufacturer, the British Leyland colossus.



ZABRISKIE POINT—The Bible of a Life Style Thank Christ it's happened—we've been waiting for years and at last our patience has been rewarded. Antonioni went to the top of the mountain, and came back with the tablets under his arm—a testament to ART and all the false values it ever stood for. The greatest bonanza yet of power, pomposity and sheer know-how—may it writhe on our screens for years to come, may it fuck up MGM, may it herald the death of the industry whose achievements it has consummated. All homage to Antonioni, all glory and honour, and will be please get his arse out of frame so we can start to think about the cinema once again.

Zabriskie Point is a seven million dollar fantasy that is larger than life in every way—the last testament of the industry, the total exploitation of all its technological resources. What a trip just to walk through the swing doors of the Empire and wade through all that lush carpet and gilded space. What comfort as we sit through two hours of naked passion and violence—how do you even begin to talk about such an experience?

Just as Biblical language successfully puts the wages of a day labourer and the love of God onto the same unearthly plane (the kingdom of heaven organised in the same way as despotism on earth) so Zabriskie Point through a constantly floating camera (cranes, travelling shots, zooms and aerial photography) fantasises every object, every emotion it touches. A world of superhuman dimensions comes to life—Antonioni has perfected the methodology of illusion. And it is just this perfection that enhances the reality of the images—they come to have a being of their own. They enclose the audience in a panavision world where the only reality is illusion, and the hard work of making the film is translated into the sheer bliss of watching it.

Let's be clear on one point—Zabriskie Point belongs to Antonioni as much as New York belongs to Nelson Rockefeller—they've both got fingers in every pie, but they can claim nothing of their very own. And this is the hallmark of an industry—never create, but process raw products. And here Antonioni is processing the youth of America, their ideas, aspirations, and weaknesses. His triumph will be the nightmare of millions, for in this awesome reflection of ourselves we can see the glittering facade of a culture we erected against civilisation—and it toppled before a camera, it was contained within a panavision screen. It would be misleading to call Zabriskie Point a 'good' or a 'bad' film—it is such an important milestone that these simplistic terms of reference are just not enough. For me it verified all the assumptions of cinemarxism, notably that the industry is a monolith of chaos, and the cinema as a means of personal expression is alive only outside this industry. Antonioni has racked MGM to its last grasp—those aerial shot which cost maybe a thousand dollars a second can no longer be justified neither in economic nor 'aesthetic' terms. And Antonioni is no fool—he knows he was torturing those cigar-toting execs with his lavish budget—and all for a film of a 'boy and girl talking.'

A subversive film then? Well, it could be said that it is a film about the Movement. And Antonioni is on record as saying he thinks the students are the only hope for white America. But even if he supports the youth revolt, of what use is his support? The real radicals don't give a fuck what Antonioni thinks. In fact the only



The Movement's Golden Movie

statement he makes which carries any weight is what he says about the cinema—his total comprehension of the illusory nature of the image makes him the master craftsman of our time. While the content of his craft is the activity of other—in this case student militants. Never before has the artist as parasite been so exposed so overwhelmingly. The Movement isn't a fantasy, while Zabriskie Point is—how else do you describe the relationship between the two?

All this rhetoric is bullshit, so let's start talking about the film, and not just our reaction to it. But here there's a block. Because to talk

about Zabriskie Point as a story is like debating the Vietnam war. We're past puppet characterisation, we're past artificial dramas, and dialogue like 'when you stop counting on losing, then I'll join the Movement.' Here are Mark and Daria acting out fantasies dictated by a clumsy script, while all around them the might of technology plays havoc with their destinies and with our perception of their situation. We are sidetracked from the simple boy-girl story by a welter of contradictory forces. They are artificially brought together, and artificially separated, and we no longer accept reality on this level. We're past it, Antonioni is past it,

even the cinema is past it—and yet the same old stuff keeps coming round. That is why there is hope in Zabriskie Point—there is such tension between the technological vitality of the film and its dowdy narrative structure that something, somewhere, has to crack.

And yet what amazing concessions! First we had Antonioni's intensely narcissistic trilogy and its colour offshoot, the Red Desert. Then came Blow Up, and individualised neurosis, a fantasised conflict between truth and illusion. And now Zabriskie Point a film about a society, a city, a class in crisis. MGM's millions devoted to exploring the causes of the revolt against all they stand for! It might seem easy to classify the film like this, but its impact derives from something more fundamental. It is a peek under the petticoats of revolt—it tantalises, it satisfies without making demands. And as soon as we start straining our ears to catch every word in the opening white radical/black panther debate, we've castrated our participatory reflexes.

Antonioni is exploring in filmic terms the enormous tensions at work in the US today. He looks around the streets of LA and sees nothing but slogans, so he makes a movie of slogans—visual slogans that try to outdo the billboards that act as the constant urban backdrop. The Bank of America promotes itself through the poetic vision of a glowing, setting sun, and so does the ending of Zabriskie Point. So we ask what is Antonioni promoting?

It might seem that the city is a visual slogan of domination and submission (pig justice, riot in the streets) while the desert is a slogan of freedom and ecstasy. But we know that the message of slogans is never in the words, but in what the words convey. And translating this into filmic terms—a rigid camera conveys a sense of isolation, a dynamic camera an illusory sense of involvement. The floating camera of Zabriskie Point overpowers us, it detonates emotions in us only artificially related to the events portrayed on the screen. The slogan we succumb to is 'Relax, and enjoy the revolution!'

The paradigm case is where the kids are talking after their love frolic, their heads silhouetted against a blue, blue sky at the top of a cliff. What they are saying to each other is monumentally unimportant—but what the camera is saying as it swings up the slope and catches the sun's rays full in the eye, a dazzling rainbow of reflections, is crucial—and almost beyond verbal analysis. It has a mechanical cousin in those heavy cranes that seem to exemplify the special prose quality of westerns—you know, man on horse rides away from camera to fort gate, camera cranes up and man enters compound, under the stars and stripes.

If Zabriskie Point is the last word on industry techniques, on the total disembodiment of actors, materials and spectators, then the Rolling Stone review seems to be the last word on Zabriskie Point. But not quite, because the reviewer confused the resources of Antonioni with those of the industry employing him. He concentrated on the cliché content of the film, whereas its power comes from its stunning treatment. And even the theme of the Movement is no more alien to Antonioni than anything else he has touched—boredom, loss of self-fulfilment— all bourgeois mystifications.

The very word 'feature film' is now synonymous with Zabriskie Point. We are powerless to initiate such perfection, nor do we need to. At last we are forced to stand on a new road—make our own movies, show them around, and burn them. While MGM can look for more Antonionis.

John Mathews



MANY WARM AND FRIENDLY PEOPLE

Are mothers the best people to bring up their own children? This basic belief was attacked at the recent womens liberation conference. The attacker was Rochelle Wortis, a young research psychologist. The Black Dwarf will be giving a lot of coverage to the vital questions raised by womens liberation. Clive Goodwin reports on Rochelle Wortis's paper.

Every argument about the repression of women comes down sooner or later to the question of children. For the vast majority of people there is no argument: they may go some way with you on the desirability of women having a career and so forth but when it comes to children there can be no departing from what is regarded as a god-given truth—

Women are mothers and mothers must bring up their children otherwise the children will suffer.

The scientific underpinning for the basic assumptions about child rearing are supported by the work of an English psychoanalyst, John Bowlby, who has had major impact on every authority in this field from Dr Spock to Marjorie Proops.

Bowlby's theories about the importance of the biological (or real) mother have often been criticised: notably by Margaret Mead who has pointed out that the question of whether or not the mother is the principal figure in the child's upbringing is a socio-cultural question, not a biological one. Nevertheless the argument against any other than the biological mother-child system is given tremendous weight by an enormous range of dominant persuaders ranging from eminent scientists to popular literature which persistently plays up the 'orphan' syndrome. Alternative patterns of child rearing rarely get much attention.

The awful consequences of separating mother and child even for a few days, and especially in the first three years of life, is the principal argument used to keep women chained to the home. But most research supporting this 'deprivation' theory is based on studies of children in institutions who are often already suffering not from the lack of their mothers, but from inadequate human contact and depressing surroundings. Furthermore children in institutions can hardly be taken as fair sample of the population.

Something unusual either in them or their environment must have happened to put them there.

But perhaps the most succinct attack on the 'deprivation' theory comes again from Margaret Mead. "This... is a new and subtle form of antifeminism in which men—under the guise of exulting the importance of maternity—are tying women more tightly to their children than has been thought necessary since the invention of bottle feeding and baby carriages. Actually, anthropological evidence gives no support at present to the value of such an accentuation of the tie between mother and child... On the contrary cross cultural studies suggest that adjustment is most facilitated if the child is cared for by many warm friendly people."

Rochelle Wortis suggested in her paper that all the evidence today points to the following important factors for the healthy upbringing of children:

1. Consistent care.
2. A stable and easily identifiable environment.
3. A continuity of experience within that environment.
4. Physical and intellectual stimulation: love and affection.

Daddy

One of the great neglects of present research is the role of the father. We simply know nothing about the effects of masculine attention and male child rearing. Barbara Wooten has written that all comment in this area must be regarded as "purely speculative."

Home

The accepted belief is that the best upbringing for children is provided by the individual home. But the home is usually socially sterile. Exchange of ideas and socially productive relationships are

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John J Sharkey 1969

severely limited. For one study described by Rochelle Wortis, one year old children who attended a day nursery at much earlier age than was previously thought wise, developed faster than home reared children, without showing any loss of attachment for their mothers, or indeed by their mothers for them.

For many women caring for a young baby can be a happy and rewarding experience but it can also be a monotonous and isolating one. Many women are led to believe that sending their children to a day nursery will be harmful to them and the child. Up to a point, of course, they are right. Even if a child goes to a nursery the responsibility remains the woman's and if she also goes out to work this leads to serious problems of 'emotional overload'. She bears the triple responsibility of job/child/home. This can only change if a more equitable distribution of labour around the home and family can be established. The whole history of women's emancipation is of women demanding that they be allowed to fulfil men's roles: but never that men should begin to share with women the traditional female roles.

Men must begin to take a more active part in the upbringing of children. As in Sweden, boys and girls should be educated equally to equip them for equal participation in the family work load.

Paid parental leave for men should become the norm in industry. Full time nurseries must be provided at all places of work with full participation by parents in their organisation. But they must be staffed by men as well as women.

Rochelle Wortis finished with a plea for more knowledge, more experiment and more direct action.

"We cannot wait for the revolution before we change our lives for surely changing our lives now is part of the revolutionary process."

Her paper demonstrates that the major technical argument that is used to justify keeping mothers alone in their homes looking after their young children is bourgeois ideology and has no scientific basis. Having nailed this first ideological impediment she goes on to show that it is not sufficient merely to demand that women have equal rights and opportunities with men. The need for womens liberation coupled with the need for children to have close and continuous emotional ties, which does not demand either a single person or a single place (the mother at home) but does indeed demand effort and attention, these two factors together, lead her to one major political conclusion: women's liberation demands a change in the behaviour of men.



Photo : Sally Fraser.



Watch out for the man in the middle! He joined the Black Panther demo on March 9th posing as a demonstrator. When the trouble started in Oxford St., he suddenly started hitting people and helping arrest them. Then he joined his buddies in the line.

DIARY

A Notting Hill Gate reader sent us this story. A prosperous self-made industrialist found himself alone in a first class carriage sitting opposite an extraordinarily attractive and intelligent looking girl. Having made millions by being unafraid to take risks he ventured to ask her a question.

"I hope you don't mind me asking you, but you are such an extraordinarily attractive girl I wonder if you work and what you do for a living."

"Of course I don't mind telling you" she replied, "I am a whore." Somewhat taken aback the industrialist said:

"How very interesting, I have often wondered about the economics of whoring. Tell me, how much do you make in a day?"

"Well, of course it depends. On a good day I may go to bed with as many as six men in which case I would take about £120."

"Oh that's nothing," he replied, "I can make that much in a minute."

"Ah," she said, "you probably can. But then I've only got one cunt working for me."

TROTSKY PUBLISHED IN EASTERN EUROPE

A Budapest publishing house has announced plans for a book of eye-witness accounts of the October Revolution, and included among the authors is Trotsky. Trotsky's works have been banned in Russia since 1927 and the only Eastern European country to publish him has been Yugoslavia. A Czech edition of "The Revolution Betrayed" was in the press when the Russians invaded and it was never issued. Deutscher's *Stalin* underwent a similar fate.

Camden Movement for People's Power (formerly Camden VSC) have opened up a Centre above the Co-op at 120 Kentish Town Road. It will be used for meetings, film-shows, street-theatre rehearsals and shows, a creche, and as a general base for agitational work. On April 18th, they're aiming at collecting 200 pints of blood for the Liberated areas of South Vietnam. Apart from the blood-collecting there will be a bookstall, a creche, picture and poster displays, a wall newspaper, a meal together and a party in the evening. This will happen not at the Centre, but at The Dominican

Priory, Maitland Park Rd., N.W.5.

There is little of any value written about the Gulf. David Holden's *Farewell to Arabia* (1966) gives a quick, mystified, rundown on the whole area. Wendell Philipps' *Oman: A History* is a useful, though unreliable, account by an American oilman and long-time crony of the Sultan's.

On Iran there is some more serious material: Lucien Rey's *Persia in Perspective*, in *New Left Review* 19 and 20, and Bahman Nirumand's *Iran: the new Imperialism in action* (MR Press, 1969).

On oil standard work is Stephen Longrigg's *Oil in the middle East* (1968), Robert Engler's *The Politics of Oil* (Phoenix Paper 1967) and Harvey O'Connor's *World Crisis in Oil* (1963) give pungent analyses of the workings of the big monopolies, with information on the middle East.

Tricontinental, numbers 13 and 15, contain material on the struggle in Dhofar, and *Tricontinental Bulletin* 43 has a brief history of the workers' movement in Bahrain. *Peking Review* has also contained accounts of the Dhofar struggle December 5 1969, and January 23 1970.

The oil companies publish a lot of material, and contemporary events in oil and Gulf politics can be followed in the press—the *Times* and the *Economist* contain quite a lot, and the former is given publishing propaganda supplements on the area with their usual mixture of fact and fiction.

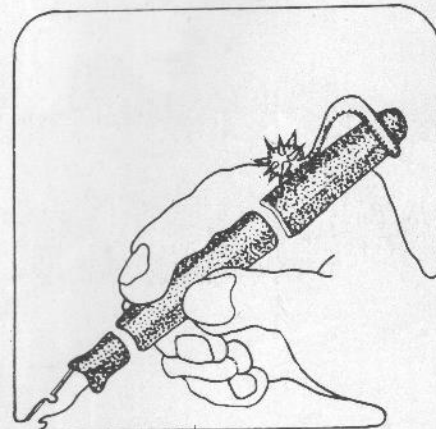
A DWARF READER IS A DWARF REPORTER

To improve our coverage, we need more news reports from outside London. We will welcome reports from any of our readers. Write to us, write for us. Tell us what is happening where you live. We have contacts in the major cities, but they may not know what you know, they may not be involved in the same struggles as you. So—tell us!

Did anyone see Stephen Norman (19) get arrested on the Vietnam demo 25 January?

He was leaving the march and walking alone near St Margarets Street, W1, carrying a banner attached to a stick. Without any provocation he was arrested. Later, in court, the stick was produced minus the banner and he was charged with possession of an offensive weapon. His case comes up on 31 March. He desperately needs witnesses to defend himself against this serious charge. Will anyone who saw him, or thinks they saw him, please ring us or Stephen Norman himself at 445 8938.

Big Business is getting worried about the students. A Dwarf reporter recently attended a seminar for the top echelons of Shell International's Senior Executives. They were shown a film—specially produced for the purpose by the Stamford Research Institute,—in which American students voiced their anxieties about the Business world. They were mostly worried young liberals who felt that a life in a big company would be uncreative and frustrating—the company wouldn't listen to them. When the film was over the Executives discussed it with a group of "representative" young people. They speculated half-heartedly about the possibility of big companies going into the field of social work so as to be more attractive to conscience-stricken liberals. They also discussed the validity of the profit-motive as the main motive behind economic activity under capitalism. They agreed that the profit-motive was not terribly 'decent', but didn't believe there could be any other. The seminar closed with their assumptions unruffled and their values unaltered, in spite of brave attacks by some of the more radical young people present. But the interesting thing is why the Seminar was held in the first place. The reason was revealed in an aside by one of the Shell Management. They're getting disturbed, because less and less talented young people seem to want to work for them...



Welcome to the first issue of The Big Flame, a Merseyside newspaper for militant rank and file workers. It takes its name from Jim Allen's television film and promises to concentrate on working class issues. It is at the moment independent of any political group.

The man who sells papers outside Victoria Tube Station doesn't sell the Dwarf any more. We asked him why.

"Well, frankly because the police told me not to. You see I'm too close to Scotland Yard. I've had to drop all that political stuff. All the brass come by here and its just not worth my while."

RED ARMY ATTACKS EXPO 70

A left-wing Japanese organisation, called the Red Army Detachment, is reported to have laid plans to attack the banks and businesses that are going to take part in the World Exhibition at Osaka, Expo 70. Some of them have recently been arrested. The 'Red Army' has over 300 cadres who receive military training.

Is the next thing going to be a Movement for Infant Power? Well, maybe not quite yet, but the first stirrings are happening every Saturday morning at the Roundhouse. Children of all ages meet there regularly now for a freak-out that their teenage brothers and sisters would be quite jealous of (not that teenagers can't get in too, if they want). They dance and rave around to pop-groups and light-shows; they go into corners and improvise drama (about things like accidents in coal-mines); they paint pictures which are immediately hung up round the walls for everybody to see; they look at puppet-shows and they eat and drink at the bar. They also meet dozens of other children in a free-wheeling atmosphere.

The organisers are anxious to expand. Already plenty of miniature skinheads from the local flats come in to join the inevitable Hapstead lot, and a big bus-load of kids comes over every week from Notting Hill. But the organisers (ex-Notting Hill Situationists) want to get a grant so that they can arrange for buses to bring in kids from the East End and other working-class areas—they are already in touch with Community Workshops round London as a prelude to getting this going. They hope to have a whole week at the Roundhouse this Easter. Meanwhile, you can get in on Saturday Mornings (11-1.00) for 5/- if you're a grown-up and for 2/- if you're a child.