

"REVOLUTION IS NEVER BASED ON BEGGING SOMEBODY FOR AN INTEGRATED CUP OF COFFEE.

REVOLUTIONS ARE NEVER FOUGHT BY TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK.

REVOLUTIONS ARE NEVER WAGED SINGING 'WE SHALL OVERCOME'.

REVOLUTIONS ARE NEVER BASED UPON THAT WHICH IS BEGGING A CORRUPT SOCIETY OR A CORRUPT SYSTEM TO ACCEPT US INTO IT.

REVOLUTIONS OVERTURN SYSTEMS."

MALCOLM X (1925-1965).



LEEDS/PUNFIELD & BARSTOW/SKINHEADS
THE ROYAL ULSTER CRIMINALS
DAVID MERCER ON THE KUZNETSOV AFFAIR
INDIA/PAKISTAN/CURACAO/THAILAND
CZECHOSLOVAKIA ANNIVERSARY/GREECE

Editorial

COMBAT RACISM

1. The lessons of Leeds.

A young white racist taunts and provokes a Sikh beyond endurance (a fact admitted by even the Leeds police in court). The latter stabs him and the racist dies. The fact that the dead racist was a member of a well-known fascist organisation is not mentioned anywhere. Neither in court nor in the unfree press. There is a race riot in Leeds and in the predominantly black-populated Burley Lodge Road mobs of white racists assault Pakistani families in broad daylight to the accompaniment of cries like: LYNCH THEM, GET THE PAKS. The police intervene to provide 'protection' by 'advising' Pakistanis not to be seen on the streets after dark. Thus we see the first racial curfew in Britain.

A few white racists are arrested and charged with 'threatening behaviour and assault on police' - needless to add no one is arrested on charges of assaulting Pakistanis. When three white racists appear on remand at Leeds Magistrates Court by an ironical coincidence Leeds's only coloured magistrate, Mrs D. M. Phillip, is on the bench. There is no cause for concern, however, because the Chairman of the Bench, Mr Gilbert Parr makes judicial history. He "excluded her from discussions on whether one of the men should have bail or not." Her colour, you see, might influence her decision. This moves even the defence solicitor to remonstrate and argue that Mrs Phillip should not be excluded. Whereupon our friendly magistrate remarks: "My idea was that it would be in your favour..." And so the anti-black comedy continues.

The conclusions which many black citizens of Britain will draw from this are obvious. Whenever a black man is arrested he should demand that he be tried by black magistrates because white magistrates are bound to be prejudiced. The demand would be more justifiable than Parr's removal of Mrs Phillip. And we would, of course, support it as a means of embarrassing the ruling class and the judicial sub-structure of racist Britain. But the demand by itself cannot achieve anything. It would merely mean that blacks, instead of being convicted by white upholders of private property would find themselves face to face with Uncle Toms' (Sir Learie Constantine, David Pitt, Dipak Nandy et al) or Auntie Thomasinas (Mrs D. M. Phillip who 'sensed no prejudice').

The only reason for recounting the

nature of racism in Britain they will not be able to fulfil the tasks which face them in the coming period.

The first thing to understand is that racism is going to increase in Britain. We will see repeat performances of what happened in Leeds. This racism is going to embrace everybody and middle and lower middle class Pakistanis, Indians and West Indians who imagine that they can escape because of their comparatively 'superior' standing in society are in for an unpleasant surprise. Leaving Leeds and running away to Bradford to find strength in numbers is no solution. The task is to organise and fight back. Pakistanis and Indians in particular will have to emerge from their shells of anti-political isolation and learn to fight against white racism. The so-called Pakistan Welfare Associations which exist in several towns are, in the main, reactionary bodies interested only in the financial welfare of their own office-bearers. They must be smashed and destroyed. In their place Pakistanis must organise Committees of Self-Defence in collaboration with Indians and West Indians. The task of these committees should be to educate and organise their localities; to protect their members from mobs of white racists. To depend on a police force whose own ranks are soaked with the existing racist ideology is both utopian and reactionary. Black bases should be developed in the localities and it is the duty of white radicals and socialists to give all possible assistance. It is no good saying: "We support the slogan of Black Power in America, but here the situation's different." The situation is different but only insofar that British racism is more insidious and more subtle and has also infected some of the socialist groupings in this country. The slogan of Black Power or Black Bases is based on a series of transitional demands which can only be fruitful with the overthrow of the existing social structure. Black Power implies Black Workers' Power; it results in a growth of political consciousness amongst the Black community and it is a demand which should be supported despite the manifest weaknesses of the Black power groups and their 'leaders' in this country.

Racism in Britain and the politicians who flourish on it are symptoms of the decay of British capitalism. As this system continues to weaken racism will increase and a decaying capitalism will result in the creation of two, three, many Enoch Powells who will attempt to divert the white workers by providing moral and philosophical justifications for hating the

combat racism. And they will learn as they participate in the struggle that the anti-racist struggle will end only with the destruction of the capitalist system. The Black Panther leader, Huey Newton, has declared that to be a 'black nationalist today you have also to be a revolutionary socialist.' Malcolm X put it even more bluntly a few weeks before he was assassinated by black racists: "I believe that there will ultimately be a clash between the oppressed and those who do the oppressing. I believe that there will be a clash between those who want freedom, justice and equality for everyone and those who want to continue the systems of exploitation. I believe that there will be that kind of clash, but I don't think it will be based on the colour of your skin."

2. Punfield and Barstow Strike.

Punfield and Barstow (Mouldings) Ltd. is a small firm on the Queensbury Industrial Estate in North London. Among the items it manufactures are: safety helmets, spools for 35mm film, plastic egg trays, tampax containers, etc. It has a total work force of about sixty excluding the managerial staff. Of these forty-two are Pakistanis and Indians, one Jamaican and the rest either Italians or white British. Attempts to unionise the factory had previously resulted in selective dismissals, but by the end of February 1969 a majority had become members of the AEF. The struggle to unionise the workers had been led by Pakistani and Indian shop-stewards.

Since the second week of June all the unionised workers (42 Pakistanis and Indians) have been on strike for higher wages and better working conditions. It is possible that by the time this appears in print the strike may well be over, but it will remain a striking lesson of working-class solidarity. The scabs with the exception of one Uncle Tom Jamaican are all white and don't belong to any union. There is no doubt that the strike was inspired by the struggle of the Injection Moulders last summer (Black Dwarf No. 3). Racists in British trade-unions who claim that black workers are 'no good because they put up with low wages and filthy conditions' should perhaps visit the picket line outside Punfield and Barstow. For four weeks the union held back and the strike remained unofficial. The management

with the employers. However, the display of solidarity forced the AEF to make the strike official and the shop-stewards told *The Black Dwarf* that of late the District Committee of the AEF has been 'extremely helpful.'

The police which have been called to the site is from Wembley Police station and is obviously well-versed dealing with black workers on strike. The same constables 'distinguish themselves during the Injection Moulders strike last summer. Shop-stewards claim that the police had been constantly harrasing them. Workers are asked not to talk loudly, not to have too many workers on the picket line (*The Black Dwarf* could provide evidence against PC Q 520's bullying and racist attitude) and in many cases have actively helped scab drivers to collect and deliver. The Shop-stewards have sent complaints regarding the following police constables:

PC Q 174 helps scabs to cross the picket line.

PC Q 520 on excellent terms with the management; manhandled strikers.

PC Q 194 when foreman deliberately pushed a loaded trolley in front of the constable over a striker's feet he refused to register a complaint.

Workers we spoke to complained bitterly of racial prejudice on the shop-floor and gave evidence of instances where Pakistani workers were passed over in favour of inexperienced white workers on the question of appointing setters. The unfree Press with its insight/probation features has deliberately chosen to ignore BLACK this particular story. We can understand why. This, however, is no excuse for members of revolutionary socialist groupings to remain inactive. The shop-stewards asked us to appeal both for funds and for support from white socialists whom they would like to see on the picket line. At the time of writing only *Solidarity* and the *Post-Workshop* have given any tangible support. Funds should be sent to: M Bashir, 5 Clayton Avenue, Wembley Middx. Supporters should reach Punfield and Barstow (Queensbury tube) from 9am onwards.

It is worth recording that four of the scabs have been students. One of them is from Enfield College and was active in the 'gypsy demos.' He told *The Black Dwarf* that when he started work he didn't know there was a strike on. The shop-stewards told us that this was a blatant lie. The student elaborated by informing us that 'anyway I'm not sure whether they were justified to go on strike... besides I needed the bread... We hope that students will turn up

AFTER TWENTY MONTHS OF STRUGGLE THE TENANTS PREPARE TO BUILD BARRICADES

In December 1967, the Tory Greater London Council announced a special treat for their 23,000 tenants: a 70% rent increase which was to be spread over a period of four years in which a tenant's rent would rise at an average of 7/6d a week each year. The first increase was to be effective from October 1968. For those who could not afford an increase, the GLC announced a highly conditional and humiliating rebate scheme. There were also to be large cuts in maintenance staff, and services.

Why these vast rent increases? Because municipal housing has become geared to profit. Profit not so much for the GLC, or local authority, as for the landowners and moneylenders. In Tower Hamlets land costs between £100,000 and £200,000 an acre. Of £34,000,000 paid in rent by GLC tenants each year, the balance sheet shows that over £30,000,000 was paid in interest charges on housing loans. In the year 1968/9, 16/5d out of every pound paid by a GLC tenant will go on these interest charges.

The mass media have perpetuated an image of the council tenant as a privileged citizen, car and TV oriented, who could easily afford to pay twice as much rent as he does. This is not the case. Prices and Incomes Board figures show that of all GLC tenants, 2/3 get less than average male earnings, nearly half get less than £15 a week, and a quarter are living on supplementary benefits. Moreover, unlike private tenants, council tenants (who constitute 27% of the population) have neither rent control nor security of tenure to fall back on.

Given these conditions, it is outrageous to expect a family that at present may be paying £4 a week rent to be paying £6-16-0d in four years time. This is why, throughout the spring and summer of 1968, tens of thousands of GLC tenants organised themselves in order to withhold this rent increase.

Remember St. Pancras, 1961. Up went the barricades in opposition to the Tory Council's savage rent increases. Fighting. Eviction. Blood. Demonstration. Arrests. Enter the Labour Party: "Abandon direct action brothers. Just return Labour to the Council and we'll see you well!" Labour returned. "So sorry brothers. Rent remains at Tory level. We are powerless while the Tories are at Westminster. Elect a Labour Government, and then we'll see you well!" Labour Government elected. What happened? St. Pancras rents were not reduced from the Tory Council level - they were INCREASED! And this infamous Labour Council kept the Tories humiliating rebate scheme. The lesson? Never trust the politicians. They'll cripple and bureaucratised any grass roots movement and distort it to their own electioneering ends.

So the GLC tenants' present struggle is a self-styled 'non-political' movement in the non-PARTY-political sense.

The success of the GLC tenants' struggle has been dependent on the creation and interrelation of Tenants' Associations on different estates. These were formed in a number of different ways. Some estates have been prompted into forming associations by the indirect action of political organisations. The Communist Party, for example, through the National Association of Tenants and Residents (NATR). On many estates the idea of forming a Tenants' Association was already present in people's minds; the association existed in embryo. It needed no political party, but

merely the threat of a rent increase to give form. On other estates a Tenants' Association already existed in the form of a social club. Where this social club was a creation of the tenants as opposed to the GLC - they easily mobilised into the political action of withholding the rent increase. Self-mobilisation, which has been a major characteristic of the GLC tenants' struggle, is of key importance at a time when supposedly working-class organisations - the unions - are becoming progressively less militant and more bureaucratised, turning into mere negotiators between workers and management. By mobilising from within, the tenants have regained a sense of true political identity.

ORGANISATIONS

The co-ordination of the various Tenants' Associations is based on the two main organisations to emerge in the course of 1968 - the GLC Tenants' Action Committee and the Tower Hamlets Federation.

The formation of the Action Committee was largely instigated by the distributing, by members of the IS, of 200,000 leaflets explaining the economic background to the proposed increases and suggesting the need for organised resistance. Although the name IS did not appear on these leaflets (instead the name of a local contact was stamped on each one), even this tenuous link with IS was later broken because the slightest suspicion of political manipulation might have endangered the movement. The constitution of the Action Committee describes it as: "... a permanent, independent organisation of GLC tenants, the primary purpose of which is to fight for general rent reductions. The methods used shall be based on the ultimate power of all tenants, i.e., the withdrawal of rent and the militant protection of such a withdrawal... The GLCTAC welcomes the aid of all organisations... but is INDEPENDENT OF ALL POLITICAL PARTIES..." Their main weapon is the total rent strike.

Although those Tenants' Associations affiliated to the Communist-sponsored NATR, including those within the Tower Hamlets Federation, are also politically independent of any party policy, their policy, like that of the Action Committee, reflects their political orientation. Members of these Tenants' Associations feel that for tenants for whom the withholding of the increase is perhaps the first direct political action of their lives, the extreme concept of a total rent strike as their ultimate weapon would lesson rather than increase their confidence, especially as the threat of eviction and homelessness looms over them.

This difference in policy does not mean that the tenants' movement is split down the middle. Estates affiliated to the Action Committee attend Federation meetings and vice versa. In Tower Hamlets and Hackney, where resistance to the increases is strongest, organisational and policy differences give way to a militant solidarity that is part of the East End tradition. Contact between the tenants is also maintained at work - on the docks, in the markets etc. - and it is largely as a result of this that the tenants' movement as a whole has won the promise of industrial support from dockers and Smithfield workers.

FIRST INCREASE

The GLC implemented their first rent increase in October 1968, and it was withheld by 20,000 tenants. This was followed in November by a pledge from the GLC that there would be no evictions - clearly a triumph for the tenants since the task of evicting 20,000 families was obviously too much. The GLC then embarked on their characteristic waiting game, designed to break tenants' morale through inaction. This situation continued until February of this year when they sent letters to those in arrears threatening to summons them for debt if they did not pay up. Threats. Tenants sent the letters back to County Hall. Idle threats. The GLC did nothing but

withholding ALL his rent since October. The result? A court farce. The public gallery was packed with tenants who caused uproar when the case came up. The registrar walked out. The police outside were not called in and for the first time in history the public gallery took over the court. The tenants dictated the terms of the Registrar's return, to which he agreed, and the case was resumed peacefully. The result was that Mr. Jackson paid up his back rent minus the increase, and after three prominent members of the GLC were issued with subpoenas by Mr. Jackson demanding an explanation for their proposal to sue for possession of property because of non-payment of the increase, thus disregarding their no-eviction pledge, the summons for payment of the increase itself was withdrawn unconditionally. Another victory for united action by the tenants.

To compensate for a hostile and biased press the tenants have had to create their own newspaper - the News - which has a circulation of 10,000.

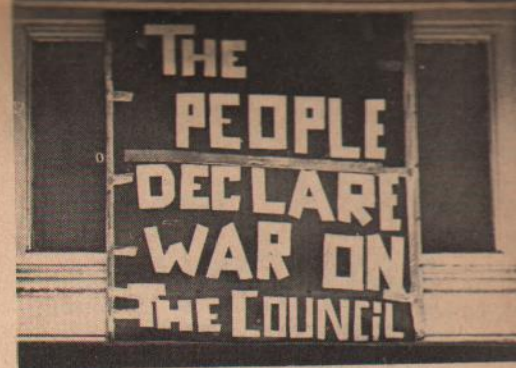
The fight has been punctuated by various actions and demonstrations. GLC meetings at County Hall are regularly broken up by angry tenants, sometimes with stinkbombs. In July last year, 10,000 tenants marched to County Hall and returned 30,000 rebate forms in a coffin which they laid at housing chairman Horace Cutler's feet. In November, 10,000 marched again to County Hall to protest to the Tory Council. This year, however, they chose a different target - the Minister of Housing, Labour Mr. Greenwood. Early in February they marched round Hampstead Heath to Greenwood's house. Their purpose was to present him with a Tenants' Charter and ask him to rescind the GLC's increases. When they arrived at Greenwood's road, a flimsy line of police prevented entry into the road. Anger. The police line broken. Suddenly hundreds of police reinforcements. Fighting. Women hurt. Four people arrested. Greenwood did not appear.

But he appears to have taken notice. Early in April he announced his rejection of the GLC's plan to levy a second 7/6 a week increase in October 1969. Why did Greenwood do this? Nominally because of Prices and Incomes Policy. In fact as an electioneering gambit; one in the eye for the Tories at County Hall who reacted characteristically: they accused Greenwood of reacting "too easily to mob demonstrators". Said the GLC: "This is a slap in the face for local government, for obvious political ends, by a completely discredited government." But, from another point of view, Greenwood's move appeared as a Labour/Tory conspiracy: if the tenants did not have a second increase to face, they might well give up the fight and pay the first. The way would then be clear to reintroduce further increases whenever Greenwood decided to change his mind, or when the Prices and Incomes Policy comes to an end next January as planned. So the shout went up: "Continue to withhold the increase. Don't let them kid you into paying up!"

The GLC tenants' fight has now broadened. They have been joined by the tenants of many of London's Borough Councils who are also raising their rents. Both the GLCTAC and the Tower Hamlets Federation have opened their organisations to embrace the Borough tenants. The GLCTAC has now become the United Tenants' Action Committee. This united action against GLC and local Borough increases is important. From the Borough tenants' point of view the support of the GLC tenants gives their fight an organised start and strong backing. For the GLC tenants it is important because the GLC intends to hand over half its estates to local boroughs by 1970, at which time they themselves will become Borough tenants.

BARRICADES?

The GLC tenants' struggle is now approaching a critical point. It seems that the rent increases may have been illegal in the first



place. Under Section 12 of the 1968 Prices and Incomes Act "... a local authority's notice of increase (of rent) shall not be valid unless it tells the tenant of his right to terminate the tenancy and of the steps to be taken by him if he wishes to do so..." This the GLC did not do. Not only may those who are withheld the increase never have to pay it but those who have paid may get their money back!! If so the GLC stand to lose £4,500,000 - the amount of money that is already involved in the increases.

Cutler and his henchmen at County Hall are worried. The possibility of the rent increases being illegal has provoked a panicky reaction from them. On July 22nd they went back on their 'No-eviction' pledge of last October. 'If you don't pay your arrears within three weeks, they said 'we'll take steps to evict you'.

The GLC say that 6,100 families are still withholding the increase - 20,000 people - 'conservative' estimate. To conceive of evicting this number is ridiculous. When Cutler was questioned about the illegality of the increases he skirted the challenge and said: "I'm not prepared to give defaulting tenants an opportunity of evading their legal responsibility by attempting to involve the council in prolonged litigation on obscure points..." He is clearly worried.

Two days after the eviction warning carnival demonstration sang and marched the way to County Hall, headed by a brass band. A delegation went in to see Cutler who was enjoying a summer banquet with his capital friends. The delegation served him with the Charter that questions the legality of the increases. Cutler visibly reddened when industrial action was threatened if the GLC attempted a further evictions.

This industrial action is no idle threat. Mister Cutler. The tenants have the support of dockers, market workers, post office workers. Many of these are themselves GLC tenants. Watch out Cutler and the GLC, you may have started something bigger than you can handle. If you try to evict anyone, you'll have more than barricades to face.

Tenants Charter as presented to Antony Greenwood, Minister of Housing

We believe that housing is a social need and a necessity, and should be treated as such. Council rents are too high because of excessive interest charges and rising land prices. The Government must deal with these fundamental problems. Until they start solving these we have no intention of paying a penny more.

The following are the 5 cardinal points of our Tenants' Charter:

- 1 NOT A PENNY ON THE RENTS - rents to be frozen to pre-September 29, 1968 levels.
- 2 SECURITY OF TENURE for Council tenants as for private tenants in unfurnished properties.
- 3 Council to be legally and financially responsible TO THE TENANTS for repairs and decorations. Tenants to have the right to withhold rent against such times as the Council fails to do these.
- 4 REPRESENTATION, subject to recall by the tenants, on the Council's Housing Committee.
- 5 No further sale of Council properties.

CHRIS RAWLENCE MARION SEDI

SCHOOL REPRESSION

HUGO RADICE

Caluden Castle Comprehensive, Coventry.

The comrade concerned (previous crimes - long hair and an ability to think for himself) had a university place conditional on two good grades in his A-levels, and was due to take three subjects at A-level this summer. Naturally enough, he concentrated in his work on his two best subjects. The third one happened to come first in the exam time-table. When he walked out of a paper, feeling that he was wasting his time, he was suspended, and was not allowed to take his other two A-levels. One master attempted to help him, but was in too weak a position. It took three weeks for the local Tory education committee to send an official letter giving the reasons for his suspension. The

headmaster because of his long hair, unpunctuality, etc. The headmaster was not in his study, so the comrade waited there, which is apparently against the rules. When the head turned up, an argument took place, and the comrade was suspended indefinitely, the reason given being that he had used the words "fuck off". When he turned up for a school exam, he was refused admittance, threatened with the police, and finally removed physically from the exam room.

At the same school, a meeting on LSE organised by SAU comrades was broken up by a teacher on the grounds that the class-room might be needed for 'other purposes'. The headmaster made accusations about 'agitators' and threatened several students with reporting to the board of governors if they did not obey his every whim.

St. Clement Dane's, Shepherd's Bush (voluntary-aided)

During an art A-level the headmaster walked in

irrelevant and rubbish. He was told that he was 'not welcome' at the school, but was re-admitted to that happy band of scholars after agreeing to write a letter denouncing the SAU and naming its members. 250 pupils turned up at a protest meeting, and were prevented by prefects and masters from having a walk-out. 'Jim Morrison', an SAU member, was picked out for victimization: the headmaster accused him of incitement to riot, tried to pin a theft rap on him, and made him 'not welcome'. He has now left the school. As last term ended, more reprisals and more protest seemed imminent.

Elliott's Green School, Northolt.

All but one of the boys' lavatories were temporarily closed for repairs. The one remaining one was inside the main school building, and only 6th-formers are allowed in there during break. A duty master put a large number of boys in detention for trying to use the lavatory during break; two 6th-formers

at this school. For example, academic thug D. V. Knight sat two boys on the floor talking. He hit them on the head with a ball of rubber and pulled their hair.

Some of these cases may seem laughable. Others, such as the fact that girls in Glasgow are beaten for wearing their skirts too short, are not. Several points need to be stressed:

- 1 The legal rights of school students are very weak, if not non-existent. The NCCL is interested in looking into the whole problem, and clarification of the legal side of things would be very useful. In general, it should not be difficult to enlist liberal support.
- 2 Most headmasters/mistresses seem to be more stupid than Adams of LSE. This could be very useful.
- 3 Support must be enlisted from militant teachers, but remember that their position is often much weaker than that of the students.
- 4 Schools' comrades can always do a lot. A-levels from their local technical colleges, expelled, and in any case the local authority

THE SKINHEADS - A YOUTH GROUP FOR THE NATIONAL FRONT?



"What me and my mates like to do is go up Hamstead and roll the hippies. You know - we go up to 'em and ask 'em for money, and then duff 'em up if they don't give us any. It's good, it is. You should see their faces when we start 'tting them."

This remark was made during a class-discussion at a College for Further Education by one of the "skinheads" - a new group of delinquent youths that emerged out of the last football season. Although there are not very many of them - yet - they already constitute a problem. A youth club leader in Walthamstow told me:

"They are ten times worse than anything we've had before. They are completely negative and completely brutal. They bring out your worst instincts - you wish someone would come and lock them up for a very long time..."

The betrayal of the working-class by the Labour Government - the revelation of its inadequacy as a repository for working-class aspirations - has left a vacuum of bewilderment in people's consciousness. In such a vacuum any polarity of thought which is dynamic and seems to know where it's going will gain ground. At the moment this polarity is being supplied by the right as much as the left. The skinheads are only one example - perhaps only a small one - of a drift towards a fascist or semi-fascist position by sections of the British working-class.

They are called skinheads because they wear very short crew-cuts. They are also called crop-heads and pin-heads for the same reason, and hobs because they wear hob-nailed boots (all the better to kick you with).

At first they confined their activities to having punch-ups on the terraces with the supporters of rival football teams, and going around smashing things up when the match was over. But by the end of the season they have developed a corporate identity, and their activities spilled out of the football ground. Press reports said that during the race-riots in Leeds a lot of the worst violence against the blacks was perpetrated by "large gangs of youths chanting football slogans."

They were also very much in evidence at the free pop concerts. At the second concert at Parliament Hill Fields they went around the edges of the crowd systematically beating people up, and finally brought the concert to an early end by throwing bottles at the group on stage. It was clear that they had come to the concert with the specific intention of disrupting it as far as possible, and in this they were successful.

The skinheads may well only be a passing phenomenon. But the signs are that with the coming football season they will become more and more in evidence - to the extent that they may well represent a hazard for the left.

The interesting thing about the skinheads, is that they represent an assertion of working-class identity against the Hippies and Lefties - groups that they very reasonably consider middle-class and irrelevant to their life-situation. A lot of it is straightforward jealousy. The Trendies are the ones who come top in class, who usually come from comfortable and secure homes. The skinheads are the real drop-outs - as opposed to the fancy drop-outs who take a few months off work to do very nicely living by their wits.

These latter people aren't really drop-outs at all - they are people whose dissatisfaction with society had led them to take a long holiday from it. The skinhead is rejected by society. He is dropped out - because he is thick, because he can't cope with responsibility, because he's disorganised. He lands up in the lowest-paid job where he has to work long, boring, unrewarding, unrecognised hours before going back to a home that has blatantly missed out on the glitter of the affluent society.

These people have watched the Trendies getting all the glamour and the girls for as long as they can stand. Now they are asserting

really started the whole thing - and in the uniform. The big boots are the boots of the building labourer, and are often nothing more or less than work-boots. Then they wear large pairs of jeans with, believe it or not, braces - a masterpiece of unhipness. Finally, they wear cardigans and the very short hair that has given them their name. The combination is a cross between an ordinary English workman and an American teenager of the fifties.

Their attitudes, also, represent a crude expression of a lumpen working-class identity which has been untouched by psychedelia and (middle-class) Swinging London. To put it quite simply, they hate 'long-haired hippy wierdos, student layabout lefties, and wogs.' They see all three groups as living off their backs; as having a privileged existence which doesn't stop them from making trouble and in some way assaulting the identity of ordinary people.

On things like strikes - and working-class militants - the skinheads are rather more confused. They sympathise instinctively with the rebels against the bosses (whom they also hate), but most of them are so naive they fall an easy prey to official propaganda about the Interests of the Nation and the Needs of the Economy. They also feel that industry, like everything else, is a competitive jungle where the smartest guy wins. If the boss can make more profit out of his workers (and if South Africa whites can keep the blacks in slavery) then that just proves that he's clever and is getting what he deserves. "E's got it up 'ere," they say with admiration.

It's the blacks, of course, that they really hate, with all the passionate contempt that the underprivileged have for the even more underprivileged. They would happily see all the "fuckin' wogs" kicked out of the country, or even slaughtered. Most of them have participated in beating up of blacks, and have enjoyed the sense of power it gave them. Leeds is only the most dramatic example of this.

It would be a mistake to think of the skinheads as straightforward fascists, though. They aren't - not yet, anyway. They hate Lefties and Hippies, but they hate coppers (the Bill) even more. At Parliament Hill they were singing:

"Harry Roberts is a king,
Is a king, is a king,
Harry Roberts is a king,
He kills coppers."

Traditional institutions like the monarchy leave them cold. They may occasionally mouth patriotic platitudes about the country going down hill, and about spongers living off the tax-payer, but their loyalty to their country is far less important to them than their loyalty to their football team.

They are in fact almost completely negative in their outlook. They reject just about everything, and are systematic about nothing. It would be more appropriate to call them Reactionary Anarchists than Fascists.

The danger is that the attitudes they do have are largely unconscious and unformulated. This makes them easily manipulated by any group that seems to think along most of the same lines as they do. This has not been lost on the National Front, for whom the skinheads now frequently profess at least verbal support, and who are rumoured to be active among them.

More serious still, the skinheads' combination of racism and brutality means that in any racial explosion they would almost certainly play an important and vicious part.

The skinheads may well restrict their activities to spoiling football matches, and provide more trouble for the police than for anyone else. But they could also become a strong enough influence on working-class youths to have political as well as social significance. It might not be a bad idea for us to prepare for this possibility.

There are two things we can do about the skinheads. The first is to mobilise the working-class kids that have not been taken in by the skinheads' mystique. There are many thousands of working class boys and girls in this country who were deeply impressed by the May Events in France, for whom the word "revolution" is an exciting word, who are anti-authoritarian in a positive and constructive way. These young people - some of them still at school, at Further Education Colleges, some at training centres and factories - see the skinheads as the nasty, thick little louts they really are.

It should become a major priority of all left-wing organisations to reach these young people and organise them. In fact it is a fantastic error that this work has not been going on for months already - an error that confirms a lot of what the skinheads say about the left and its priorities.

The other thing that may have to be done is that the left itself may have to defend itself against these charming little thugs. Free Concerts of Hippies have already been attacked. It seems quite likely that well-publicised left demonstrations will be the next in line - particularly demonstrations about race. The

PICCADILLY POLICE REPRESSION

After many weeks of discontent in the Piccadilly scene because of police persecution of English and foreign students and beats, the scene suddenly erupted after the brutal methods used by the police on Sunday evening, August 3. The confrontation began after general harassment by the police, like kicking and pushing people and ordering them to get up from the steps and square around Eros. Violence broke out when one French student lost his temper and shouted at the policeman who was pushing him. Immediately three policemen were on him and when he struggled they knocked his head against the iron railings and dragged him away.

This aroused a spontaneous rising by the people around Eros which developed into a militant demonstration. The demonstrators followed the police into the street adjoining the square and massed together completely blocking the traffic while several fights broke out. The police who did not expect this militant action looked quite disturbed amidst the singing of the 'Internationale' by the demonstrators in the streets, with chants of Ho Chi Minh and occasional shouts of 'fuck the fuzz' while a large crowd of spectators and an increasing traffic jam developed. After police reinforcements restored "order" some of our militant comrades organised a demonstration against police brutality and unjust arrests outside that notorious police station West End Central, by route of Regent Street; there more battles raged and later these events were reported to the BBC by the demonstrators.

In both demonstrations, the demonstrators were brutally beaten, 16 unjust arrests were made and the latter were badly

treated by the police as some of the actual incidents and facts will show. Policeman A608 went around pulling people from the crowd and arresting them without reason. Police A339 continuously hit a demonstrator with his truncheon. Policeman A169 and A317 were trying to get a demonstrator into their car; they were unable to do this so they beat up the demonstrator and dragged him in. One policeman ordered a middle aged citizen-spectator to move from the pavement, the latter refused so two policemen dragged him away. In the course of this one of the policemen knocked down a 70-80 year old lady from the pavement into the road, both treated this as a joke as both were laughing. Claude Tissot, a French student, was arrested by a policeman for no reason whatsoever. He was taken to West End Central and there insulted and brainwashed by the police. When he asked for a cup of water it was brought to him and thrown all over him by a policeman. Early next morning he was slapped awake and forced into another cell by three policemen; he was then held against the wall and brutally beaten up. That day Claude Tissot was fined £10 for assaulting a policeman by the magistrate. (the irony of the law?)

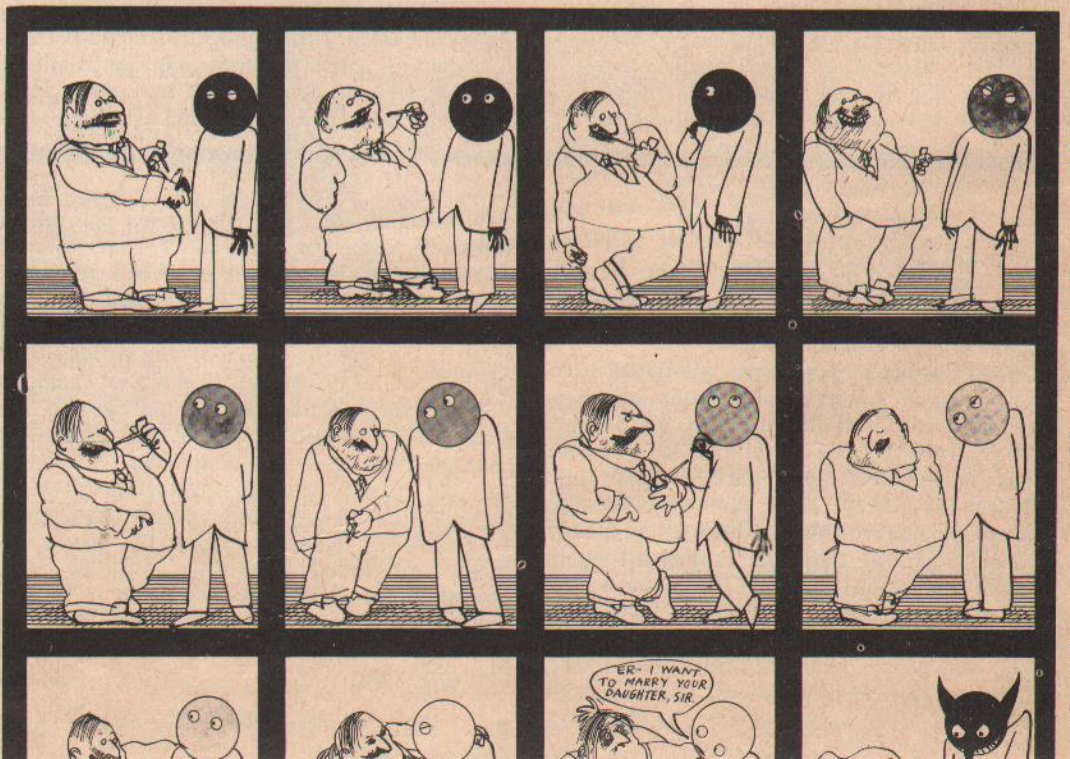
On the whole the demonstrations were glorious victories for the students and beats of Piccadilly and shameful defeats for the police. The main results of the demonstrations are that the police will not be so ready to bust more people in Piccadilly after the trouble that the demonstrators caused them. The British and foreign people actually saw the brutality and injustice of the British police in action, a feeling of militant solidarity has been brought into the Piccadilly scene by the acting together of the people, and finally the realization of the need of further organization to repel future attacks by the police. One thing is certain though, the students and beats of Piccadilly will fight to the last in resisting the injustice and the brutal methods of a police state.

OLD COMRADES

Date 2nd August Place Royal School of Military Engineering, Brompton Barracks, Gillingham Kent Personnel Barry Hayhurst, Ken Hyland (Sec Gillingham LPYS), Pete Hyland, Mike Kennard (Vice-chairman Southern Region LPYS); all members of Medway Valley Left Forum (or Liberation Front). Time 2.30 pm.

Barry and Mike, after standing around for ½ hour trying to sell B.D./badges/NATO Rest in Peace pamphlet, decide to go in to look round. First thing we came to was recruiting caravan. Young Negro private comes up to us; we ask him for literature (all dressed in our revolutionary gear); he tries to persuade us to join the army, obviously not knowing how to deal with the situation; we take their propaganda, and hand him NATO pamphlet; then leave caravan, as pig enters, cunningly disguised as officer in civvies. We wander round, thinking of the cost of this massive P.R. exercise, then decide to have a drink. We go into a mess which has a large banner outside saying "WELCOME TO ALL OLD COMRADES" (which obviously meant us!) Alas, we are wrong, for along comes a very meek-looking sergeant, who asks us if we have ever been in the army. Barry mutters something about the Boy Scouts, and sergeant points out plebs bar. Having obtained our drinks (after normal closing hours), we are sitting outside when along strolls a Big Pig, chatting to what

looks like an ex-Pig. His eye lights on our literature, a whole range of interesting expressions pass across his face, and he ever-so-casually strolls off. Seconds later, the adjutant hurries up, snatches up literature and asks us to leave the camp. We start talking to him about his medal ribbons, and gently remove literature from his hands. While we are chatting, along comes another Big Pig, probably a Lieut.-Col., and screams at us to leave the camp "this instant". We slowly sip our beer, while he jumps up and down yelling about us disseminating subversive literature in his camp. We stroll out, followed by the Quartermaster. Outside the gate, "Q" talks to civilian fuzz, while M.P. shouts at us that if we were to try and enter the camp again "carrying those things", we would be thrown into the guardhouse and we wouldn't get out for days! While he is wildly gesticulating, a freelance reporter took a photo. Immediately two other M.P.s rush up and warn him about taking pictures on army land (this was the pavement outside the camp). Meanwhile Ken and Pete tried to enter, but were recognized by their badges, and "asked" to leave. This is not the first time that comrades have upset the authorities over actions concerning the R.S.M.E. When H.M.E. Windsor opened the place in March 68, four of us were busted for handing out leaflets, and in the ensuing enquiry into the police conduct, the head of West Kent CID resigned. There will be an open day at Chatham Naval Dockyard, and it is hoped to organize something for the occasion. comrades should contact the Dwarf if they are interested and have nothing to do at the end of August.



Still Life with Raspberry published by Rapp and Whittings.

DWARF LETTERS

It is unfortunate that Martin Shaw's letter in the July issue of BLACK DWARF was written in the way it was. He raised important issues which need discussing in a very serious way. However, instead of putting forward a clear political line he preferred to rely on sneers, self-righteousness and a very factional approach towards IMG.

Whilst BLACK DWARF can play a valuable role in discussing general problems of socialist strategy and theory the last thing it should become is an arena for squabbling between left-wing groups. This would repel the thousands of young people who are coming into left-wing politics (and BLACK DWARF is intended for just those very people). Martin Shaw's own organisation understands this very well; that is why it has a policy of not attacking other left-wing groups in the columns of SOCIALIST WORKER.

Martin Shaw's letter postures as an attack on sectarianism and an appeal for unity. Sectarianism in its most general form is the putting of the interests of one's own grouping above those of the working class as a whole. The sectarian is one who looks at all activities purely from the point of view of how these activities will enable his organisation to sell papers, make contacts and recruits. A typical sectarian (and his organisation) will abandon activities, regardless of their class importance, because they are not fruitful in building his organisation. A recent example of this typical sectarian behaviour was when some groups pulled out of Vietnam activity because this activity no longer, in their view, politicalised large numbers of people thus cutting down the numbers of expected sales, contacts and recruits. The fact that the Vietnam war continued and that the people of Vietnam needed solidarity action all the more in this period because of illusions in the Paris talks was immaterial.

It is, unfortunately, typical of sections of the British left to replace sneers and generalisations for the examination of ideas. Cracks about "which Fourth International" can be funny and they have the added advantage that they save the "wit" from saying where he stands on basic questions. Where does Martin Shaw stand on building an international revolutionary party (the declared aim of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg, etc.)?

Does he think it possible to be a "revolutionary in one country"? or does he confine internationalism to having informal links with such organisations as the ISC of the United States, which has anti-communism and the overthrow of the NLF in its statement of aims? Or does he think that internationalism consists of publishing articles in support of the LSSP of Ceylon, which participated in a bourgeois government with an "Enoch Powell policy" towards Ceylon's stateless Indians?

What are the facts on "which Fourth International"? There are, in Britain, three organisations which might go on demonstrations with the words "British section of the Fourth International" on their banner. The largest, the Socialist Labour League declares its aim to be the "reconstruction of the Fourth International." The smallest, the Revolutionary Workers Party, belongs to a tendency which broke away from the Fourth International because the latter would not support the idea of the Russians launching a Pearl Harbour-like attack on the United States.

The International Marxist Group is affiliated to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, which was formed when an overwhelming majority of the World Trotskyist Movement united in 1963, thus ending a 10-year-old split. The SLL, together with a group in France, refused to go into this unification because of the "Pabloite revisionism" of the supporters of the United Secretariat.

Those wishing to find out which of these three organisations is really part of a world-wide movement have only to study their respective journals.

The main difference between Martin Shaw's organisation and the IMG is over the class nature of the "communist" countries. Sneers about "The Fourth International" cannot hide the fact that proponents of the state capitalist theory who are consistent arrive at very different conclusions from those who hold the workers' statist view. In most countries this means entirely different attitudes towards the Vietnam war. In the past it meant an entirely different attitude towards the Korean war, so much so that a separate "state capitalist" organisation came into existence in Britain.

An attempt to build an organisation without firm political principles leads either to splits in the future or the creation of an

of trying to construct a democratic central party or not?

Most revolutionary marxists believe that the experience of the workers' movement over the last 60-odd years demonstrates that such a party is absolutely necessary if one is to overthrow capitalism.

One can agree with much of what Martin Shaw says about unity in struggle but he again confuses things by not drawing a distinction between unity in struggle and unity of organisation. It is possible, here and now, to further unity in action and struggle, without making this conditional upon being linked with organisational unity of the various groups. The success of VSC, PSC, etc., which Martin Shaw notes, rest precisely upon the fact that groups and individuals are brought together on a common minimum platform without having to lose their identities. Again we must ask: where does Martin Shaw stand? Does he think, as could be construed from his letter, that unity in struggle must be linked with an immediate or short-term perspective of organisational unity? It is no use whatsoever creating a semi-hysterical attitude on the question of unity which glosses over these questions. To do so brings the danger of the swamp or further splits - both of which would be a step backwards. It also creates bad faith and suspicions that those shouting most about unity see this as a tactic (as does the practice of attempting to recruit members of the organisations one is supposed to be trying to unite with) designed to embarrass other organisations.

If Martin Shaw wants to discuss these things fruitfully he should elevate the discussion to a political one, dispense with sneers and misrepresentations (such as claiming that IMG's perspective is that of Labour Party work) and argue intelligently. A first prerequisite to all this would be for him to state where he stands in clear political terms.

PAT JORDAN
INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP
(British Section of the Fourth International)
8 Toynbee Street, London E1.

I am editing, for Panther Books, an anthology of revolutionary and radical poetry by young British poets. The intention of the book will be to demonstrate the political aspirations of young people today. And to justify them. I would welcome contributions from your readers. Poems should be sent, with s.a.e., directly to me.

Alan Bold, 19 Gayfield Square, Edinburgh 1

Dear Comrades,

I am a member of the Australian Young Communist League and on a twelve months permit in the U.K.

After spending three months, to date, surveying the Left scene here, I find that I have finished up feeling very depressed indeed. Quite apart from the fragmented state, there appear to me to be other weaknesses even more cause for concern. It is my considered opinion, that, in fact, the British Left is in a complete state of impotency, in London at this particular time. I will here describe a very recent experience.

You are probably well acquainted with the details of the current circumstances of Mr. Letlaka the South African lawyer who has, up to date, been refused permission to remain in this country and, even worse, threatened with deportation, which will mean certain very tragic consequence for him. At the same time we have the circumstance of one Soviet defector, who is useful to the Establishment as raw material for the Imperialist propaganda machine. In direct contrast to the treatment they have meted out to Mr. Letlaka the HOME OFFICE have without hesitation granted Kuznetsov permanent residence in this country. There is no doubt whatsoever, in my mind, that here we have a very good case for holding a protest demonstration outside the HOME-OFFICE. I approached A.N.C. and the Y.C.L. and proposed that we stage a protest one evening this week outside the HOME OFFICE (even thirty demonstrators would have been sufficient, or even less!)

HAD this happened in Australia, a group of protesters would have been assembled, promptly within twenty four hours!

We would certainly have regarded such an excuse to harass the Establishment, too good to miss! We like them to feel our presence. But on this issue I merely met with a completely negative response. However, in all fairness I feel that in the case of A.N.C. they have genuine reasons for not taking action and therefore exclude them from this criticism.

I have merely cited the above as a rather classic case in point. I wish to say is that the ENTIRE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT in the U.K. must be seriously reviewed.

The History of Revolution has proved to us, beyond doubt, that nothing was ever gained, by, for instance, one Revolutionary group sitting smugly back and saying "Oh, well! OUR group is well organised so it is not our business to concern ourselves with the other groups (except perhaps to convert them to our own

of Communists, Anarchists, Socialists, and so on and so on.

If the popular front is made up of small groups, not completely in agreement, that is not any real cause for concern.

But if many or most of these groups are semi-impotent through serious flaws in leadership and organisation, then this is a matter for the COLLECTIVE concern of ALL REVOLUTIONARY BODIES!!

We could, perhaps consider the idea of setting up a Liaison Office comprised of only the most dedicated and hard working Revolutionaries, calling ourselves the REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE. This COMMITTEE to be made up from members of each faction. The main task to be investigation of weaknesses in respective groups and serious attempts to rectify them. This is only one suggestion and I would welcome any other suggestion from interested persons. This way someone is bound to come up with better ideas. In this era, there is too much at stake for us to pass up this very serious issue!

I intend to get in touch with other groups on the above-mentioned subject. But my main reason for making Black Dwarf my first choice is that fellow members of our Australian Y.C.L., while visiting the U.K. last year gave it as their opinion that Black Dwarf seemed to them to be the most militant and most active of the Revolutionary groups here.

Anyway, comrades, at least think about it!

It is my own opinion that something must be done and fairly soon.

With all best wishes,

I am, Yours in solidarity,

Laurette Decrez
109 Winchester Street, SW1.

Dear Black Dwarf,

Enclosed £2 for a year's subscription. I like most of the Dwarf very much but won't be able to help sell it as I devote my political life to the CPGB, whom I consider to be the only serious working class based revolutionary party in Britain. Our programme - 'The British Road to Socialism' - is I believe a great Marxist programme (often ridiculed as the 'parliamentary road'. It's NOTHING OF THE SORT! The main strategy is Unity of Workers and allies eg, students IN MASS STRUGGLES, ie, Strikes, Tenants, Anti-Racism, etc. But as Parliament exists and the worker has won a vote on it, we must not ignore it) and I invite your paper to discuss it - to which discussion I would gladly contribute. A friend at medical college (Ron Gordon - Charing X Hospital Med. School) occasionally sells the Dwarf and we together with other progressives are trying to whip up socialist and revolutionary ideas amongst our by and large establishment colleagues.

One comment on your report on Venezuela in this issue (Black Dwarf 20): You say the CP there is 'soft line' - which I suppose infers that it does not support guerrilla movements - THIS IS A LIE. The Venezuelan CP works on two fronts - one in the towns and trade unions (75% population in towns), the other in guerrilla bands. Only last month, comrades tunnelled INTO a prison in Caracas to free two leading CP guerrilla fighters so that they could continue the struggle more effectively. I think the legalising of the CP in the towns is partly an attempt by the establishment to split the CP - IT WILL NOT SUCCEED.

Avanti populo,
David Kessel, 48 Platts Lane, NW3.

PS Read the 'Morning Star' - only daily of the left (until and if they bring out the 'Daily Newsletter').

Dear Comrades,

I thought Dwarf readers might be interested in the case of two local grammar school students, who attend Harold Malley Grammar School for boys.

Stephen Hill, and David Livingstone were about to start their A-Level maths exam, when their headmaster Mr. Collins stopped them. He then handed them shaving equipment, and ordered them to shave off their sideboards and moustaches or else.

They refused, and were not let into the exam room. Immediately the sixth form was against the Head, plus many sympathisers.

The story found its way to the pages of the local press, plus The Daily Mirror and Guardian. It even made the Midland TV News. Finally, Solihull Education Board stated that although Mr. Collins acted within his powers, he did not take the most appropriate action.

Although David and Stephen are pretty certain now to sit their A Level exam, the incident has aroused other issues at local schools. A Schools' Action Union is now underway in the area, alongside a Birmingham one.

We are determined to be treated fairly, and not hounded by stupid rules in OUR schools.

Yours fraternally,

Derek Cattell, 107 Victor Road, Solihull

Dear Comrade Dwarf,

With reference to your article on the squatters

I will let the I.S. speak for itself though I feel that your warning against raising 'theoretical differences to the level of dogma' will find its mark in their direction (and not only in the case of the squatters).

As a member of the C.P. & Y.C.L. I will speak as such. I have been an active Communist in the Redbridge borough for about four years now and I have never heard it referred to as the C.P.'s strongest base in the country and nor does it (unfortunately for all of us) have anywhere near 2000 members.

We have been involved in the fight against the Ilford Town Centre Re-development plan (which you might guess, although unmentioned in John Weals article, is just a property speculators charter) since its inception. A C.P. demonstration a year ago in Ilford pin-pointed the empty office blocks already standing and further token-occupation of an empty office block in Ilford High Road on December 21st last year was also organised by the C.P. & Y.C.L. A petition launched on this day during the same day got 1200 signatures and received £27 in donations from the public (we are not believers in petitions for their own sake, O.K.?). Shortly afterwards the squatters took over their first house in Ilford. Although we had not been forewarned we had ten comrades on the spot within an hour of a phone call to King St., from the squatters asking for support.

Since that day we have given constant political and material support to the squatters with public meetings, leaflets and letters in the local press. A substantial amount from the collection on our petition was also contributed to the squatters along with an electric cooker and offers of furniture from Party members. Every meeting of the Redbridge Council since then has been halted by joint forces of squatters, I.S., C.P. & Y.C.L. On the Wednesday morning at least two of our members took part in the defence of the houses against Quartermain thugs and by the same evening we had a further five staying overnight. Since then a handful of our members have regularly stayed overnight. In June Ron Bailey spoke at a C.P. rally in Barking and was enthusiastically received by the mainly Communist audience.

The Morning Star has given wide coverage (see today's copy, for instance) to the squatters with both articles and news items in support, so too has the C.P. weekly 'Comment'.

The support from the Fords Shop Stewards and the A.E.F. did not occur spontaneously, either. So you see (or should be able to) that the C.P. & Y.C.L. have given support to the squatters from the beginning and will continue to do so. Our support is not conditional on the correct political shading of the campaign; instead we inject out revolutionary Marxist perspective into the struggle without forcing it to the point of disruption. This is (or should be) the role of all revolutionaries - to raise the political understanding of the participants and onlookers in any struggle based in the class struggle and to bring this understanding to the point of them joining a revolutionary organisation which in turn participates in and more and more becomes the leading force in the struggles.

It is when this process becomes a recognisable feature of revolutionary work (and not just isolated occurrences) that we will be on our way and much of the play-acting which passes for revolutionary work these days will assume its proper significance, even in the pages of 'Black Dwarf'!

Anyway that's another story, just a passing shot for John Weal - If the contribution of the Communist Party to the squatters struggle mounts to 'not a murmur', I hope he is wearing his hearing aid when the revolution starts!

Till two and two and fifty make a million.

Yours fraternally,

Harry Perry, 1 Percy Road, Goodmayes, Essex.

Dear Dwarf;

John Weal says in his article on the London Squatters (Dwarf 20) that the Squatters have received no tangible help from the vast majority of left-wing groups. We would like to inform you that the information you have been given is completely false.

Before and in anticipation of the London Squatters coming to Redbridge, half the members of our branch were constituted as a cell to devote their whole attention to squatting. Further, branch duplicating facilities and other aids were generously open to the Squatters.

Shortly after, a difference in views on the political significance of squatting split the cell in half, one part joining the London Squatters, the other half staying in I.S. The peculiar way in which strategical and political decisions are made in the London Squatters dampens down democratic discussion and alienates revolutionary socialist involvement.

We cannot speak for the other left-wing groups in Ilford, but we consider the article's treatment of the S.W. Essex Y.C.L. and C.P. grossly unfair.

Indeed, it seems strange that John Weal and the Squatters are so despondent, since they consider the campaign in Redbridge as a

INDIA

After 22 years of 'Independence'
India is still bound economically to World Capitalism.
The alternatives are clear.
Fascist take-over or Socialist Revolution.

India now enters the 23rd year of 'Independence'. It is now 22 years since Nehru made his 'Tryst with Destiny' speech and the Union Jack was hauled down. The Union Jack left an India where 60% of industry is in foreign hands: mostly British and American. It would be a waste of time and space to attempt to unmask the history of Imperialism in India here. It is more than self-evident that what took place in 1947 was more a change in form than substance. It is the India of the 60's which should draw our closest attention.

Six firms in India control the non-government controlled industry. Of these, two (the House of Birla and Tata) can be described as monopolies. Birla financed the Indian Independence campaign waged by Congress. Gandhi was shot dead on his lawn (he refused permission to make the house into a museum). Temples are named after him. The Birla Empire is so large that firms within it often compete with one another. This empire includes a half share in over half the motor car industry of India. Tatas own steel in the private sector and are now expanding into fertilisers in a big way.

Recently there has been increased criticism of the big industrialists from a very wide section of people. Birla faced with such criticism from Congress joined the other industrialists in a slow shift of financial backing from Congress to Swatantra and Jan Sangh on the far right. Congress has retaliated by calls for an enquiry into the activities of the big industries and by vested criticism of the Birlas.

The point at which the big industrial firms were not prepared to continue support for Congress was reached in Bengal. Here the vast and significant gains made by the Left gave birth to the adoption of new tactics by workers. Managers and owners were imprisoned in their factories until demands were granted, occupations, riots and strikes became as commonplace as the massive political demonstrations in Calcutta. The tactics made life for the industrialists intolerable. They were willing to put up with the Communist Party dominated coalition which ruled Kerala, indeed Birla has recently built the world's largest timber plant there, they even looked forward to tolerable arrangements with the United Front

which runs Bengal but their condition was the control of what they described as 'industrial anarchy'. Although the United Front can call strikes which even immobilise private cars, although even in municipal elections catastrophic electoral defeats have been suffered by the right, the United Front could not exert decisive pressure to ease the situation for the industrialists or prevent the series of incidents provoked by groups working with peasants in the countryside.

The centre (Congress) exerted strong pressure upon the United Front Government to keep order in Bengal. The Front could neither resist this pressure nor had the capability of controlling the elements responsible for the militancy in factories or the groups seeking to launch guerrilla warfare in the countryside. The Congress Government then attempted the same tactic that they had used five years before in Kerala. Taking political instability among the coalition for granted they cleaned the decks and prepared to smash the Left in Bengal. Elections were called for in February, a strong right winger appointed as Governor of Bengal and leading industrialists assured that the election would result in an indecisive victory for the Left, which would look unstable enough for the strong armed Governor to call for Presidential rule and the army could then guarantee order. The electorate ruined the plan by giving the Left a decisive victory at the polls. So confident was the United Front government that they refused to recognise the new Governor and this 'Archaic symbol of British Raj' was replaced by G. Mehta, the ex-High Commissioner to London (a man with a left background in the distant past).

The Right nurtures dreams of a take-over by the Army with support of the extreme right. Changes in the Army hierarchy during the last 12 months have made this more likely. Having lost the opportunity in Bengal this February, the Moraji Desai faction attempted a coup within the Congress framework. Moraji Desai is the man who brought prohibition to India with a vengeance and has not been noted for maintaining scruples in his manoeuvres. He is identified with the extreme right which, on this occasion, was willing to enter a coalition with his-faction in Congress to

provide a right wing alternative to Indira Gandhi. The latter realised that there exists a general yearning for radical reform in India, forestalled the coup by moving 'left' - she nationalised Indian banks and found the old Congress references to Socialism. The Moscow wing of the Communist Party joined left bourgeois parties in endorsing her reforms as an instalment in a programme acceptable to them. But it is clear that this has only provided a temporary breathing space for Indira Gandhi. Moraji Desai, Chavan and S. K. Patil (the CIA stooge in the Indian Cabinet) all hover like vultures while in the shadows stand the extreme right eagerly awaiting the Right Coup which will bring them to power and allow them to imitate Indonesia in an annihilation of the Left. The Americans have huge rupee resources in India thanks to the P.L.480 food 'aid' programme and they do not hesitate to use these holdings. A large part of the hierarchy in the army look forward to the day when they can become the Colonel Nassers of India. The lessons from Pakistan are eagerly lapped up as proof of the inevitable course of events.

What these groups refuse to realise is the complete change that has taken place in West Bengal. A change which does not depend on the Communist Party leaderships, a change which is not confined to elites or even Calcutta; but a change which has altered consciousness throughout West Bengal and which carries within it possibilities of a revolution in India over the next decade. No Indonesia can be repeated in India.

However, if it is true that the Left is impregnable in Bengal, it is equally true that there can be no Socialism in one state in India. The industrialists are attempting to pull out capital from the state. The concessions necessary to halt this process are not in the hands of any political group but in the hands of the proletariat which is not likely to make the desired changes. The Centre exerts intense pressure upon Bengal to curb seditious developments. The United Front Government cannot ignore these pressures, yet would lose its political base if it gave in to them to any obvious extent. The Police suffer in this dilemma. They are told to halt guerrilla actions against landowners, yet know that they will not be supported in such actions. In July several hundred

uniformed police invaded the Legislative Assembly with a dead colleague. They left under fear of huge demonstration by people against their action. Incidents are reported daily of landowners being killed, police stations being sacked and the activity of groups in the countryside (now split into Guevarist and Maoist factions) which hope to spark off a guerrilla war. As yet their activities are not co-ordinated enough or significant enough in scale to launch such a war, but the activities have been serious enough to provoke the press barons into making hysterical noises and demanding strong action against them. The basis for such action exists in legislation passed during the last two years and in the huge army of 1,200,000 men which India maintains. As has been maintained in this article, obstacles such as high ranking officers reluctant to back the right in any action against the Constitution have been gently eased out and the hierarchy which is emerging is used to thinking in terms of seizing power. If needed a threat from China can always be played up to justify such action.

There is also great sympathy for Pakistan in its efforts to contain an explosive situation. Troops were allowed to pass over India to East Pakistan at the same time as permission was withheld for Soviet aircraft to transport armaments to Vietnam. Indian press reports were sympathetic to the Pakistan establishment and played down developments. As in the mid-40's, crisis in both India and Pakistan engulfs the political boundaries of the two states.

The next move is likely to come from the right. The election of a President gives an opportunity to strengthen ground for such an action. But the disillusionment with the corrupt politics of 'Independent' India, added with slow progress in a world moving fast, the increasing proletariat and the urban unemployed make such an action inadequate in warding off the storm which is gathering. You do not buy MP's any more, you buy a Cabinet or two.

In a recent article in one of the left faction newspapers in Britain, a leading 'theoretician' asked a question about Ceylon: "What can a revolutionary socialist do in a place like Ceylon?" The answer would be the same as in India 'Make a Socialist Revolution!'

DWARF CORRESPONDENT



PAKISTAN

Yahya's Martial Law.

GHULAM HUSSEIN

Martial Law was imposed in Pakistan on March 26th, 1969. It was brought in by General Yahya Khan. President Ayub graciously made way for his Commander-in-Chief. The main reason for its imposition was to put an immediate end to the student/worker uprising which had embraced the entire country since November 1968. A subsidiary but equally important reason was to prevent the return of a civilian government (however, bourgeois-democratic it was) which might begin to question the allocation of money to the Pakistan Army.

In East Pakistan this Martial Law was defied one day after its imposition. Workers refused to go back to work in Khuina and Chittagong; fresh workers came out on strike. In some of the distant villages of North Bengal peasants demonstrated against the army and some of them snatched rifles from the local police. Anti-dictatorship slogans were painted on walls in Chittagong and Dinaspur. Left-wing trade-union leaders have gone underground.

In West Pakistan too, coal-miners in Baluchistan refused to go back to work and the army opened fire killing a few miners, wounding others and arresting the leaders. Some weeks later in a textile factory in Karachi (Valika Textiles) three workers were sacked for no apparent reason. They were utilising a tea-break to drink tea in a nearby cafe rather than in the factory canteen. The next day the entire factory was out on strike. The managers called in the army. A Colonel arrived with a group of armed soldiers. He ordered them to point their rifles at the workers which they did. Then he warned the workers: "I'll blow this whistle three times. The third time

the soldiers have instructions to open fire unless you return to work." The whistle was blown thrice, but the workers stood still. The Colonel began to sweat. "That was simply a rehearsal. This time we mean business". A few of the leading workers took off their vests and bared their chests to the soldiers. One of them told the Colonel: "We'll save you the trouble of whistling. Here shoot us in the chest and kill us, but we won't return to work until our mates are given back their jobs." The colonel began to sweat and ordered the soldiers to retire. He then left and ordered the boss to take the workers back. The next day the workers celebrated this victory. The story spread to other factories like wildfire. Needless to add none of the Pakistani newspapers have printed this. Officially there is no censorship and *The Guardian* tells us that Yahya Khan is sensitive and sensible.

The existing leadership of the 'left' political parties is providing no leadership at all to their cadres leave alone the nation at large. Mr. Bhutto is on record as welcoming Martial Law though of late he has been demanding early elections. Maulana Bhashani, after condemning Martial Law in a BBC Panorama interview now seems to have adopted an ambivalent position and after Air Marshal Nur Khan's visit to Peking (where he was warmly welcomed by Chou-en-Lai and hosts of red-book waving Red Guards) seems to be giving support to the regime.

As General Yahya's Martial Law enters its sixth month there is a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction in the country. The only sections who are pleased are the owners of capital and the feudal landlords. There is said to be

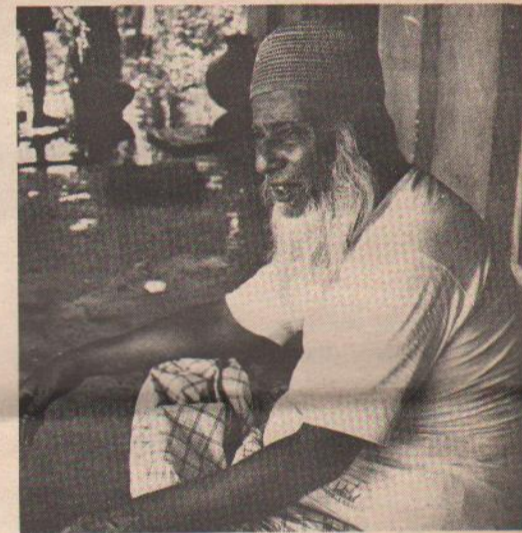
unrest among the junior officers in the army who are demanding that Ayub and his sons be brought on public trial for defrauding the country and that they be shot, if found guilty. The two 'reforms' promulgated by the regime under the aegis of Air Marshal Nur Khan (described by some as a 'socialist in uniform') in the educational and industrial field are insufficient and in the case of education utopian given the country's existing structure. Nur Khan has successfully wooed and won many young, 'progressive', middle-class intellectuals (eg, Dr. Aynisur Rehman) to advise him on important matters. They are the regime's 'whiz kids' and will no doubt one day pay the price for collaborating with a military government. The case of Hamza Alavi is more serious. Hamza known to many on the Left in Britain (a regular contributor to *SOCIALIST REGISTER* and a one-time Director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation) was a hardened Marxist. In the early days of the Ayub dictatorship he produced an excellent publication in London called *PAKISTAN TODAY*. The fact that he has joined the new dictatorship as part of Yahya Khan's 'think-tank' with the rank of Joint Secretary in the Civil Service of Pakistan is an occasion for sadness to all those who knew him.

But despite the 'progressive' facade provided by Nur Khan and his 'whiz-kids' and 'think-tanks' the new civilian government sworn in by Yahya Khan consists of discredited and reactionary politicians, retired Army men and civil servants. An alliance of feudal landlords, the army and the bureaucracy. It only needed a member of the pro-American Haroon family to be brought in to represent the capitalists

(Hamza Alavi would have analysed the class structure of the new regime brilliantly.)

Though Yahya is promising elections few believe him. The general feeling is that he will manipulate the politicians to provide an excuse for not having a General Election and will then unilaterally impose a constitution on the country in which the role of the Army will be paramount. The army has, however, increased tenfold since Ayub's coup D'etat in 1958 and there has been an influx of petit-bourgeois elements. Perhaps it is this which causes the optimists to say that Yahya is another Neguib. To which pessimists could well retort: Maybe but there are no Nassers! The task of socialists inside and outside Pakistan is to organise themselves within the new few years because the options are now limited. Either we organise ourselves or we are destroyed like the Indonesian left. Struggle for a Socialist Pakistan. Educate, Agitate and above all ORGANISE.

Maulana Bhashani - how long will he sit still?



THAILAND

After Vietnam?

RICHARD E WARD

Thailand's leaders are suffering from withdrawal symptoms. Recognizing that the U.S. will inevitably be forced to quit Vietnam, Bangkok's rulers fear that Washington might also leave them at the mercy of their own people.

There is now a virtual panic in Bangkok, best understood in historical perspective. Expecting Japan to emerge victorious from World War II, Thai rulers became allies of the Japanese empire. Thailand, occupied by Japanese troops, supplied Japan with raw materials for its war effort; as compensation Thailand seized parts of British Malaya and Cambodia.

After the war Bangkok became a U.S. satellite, hoping to profit from the new American empire in Asia. "The reason we Thais are on the American side is because we have confidence in the U.S. victory," Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman told Harrison Salisbury in 1967.

Without any formal agreement to safeguard Thai sovereignty, the U.S. has constructed a complex of military bases in Thailand, one of the largest in the U.S. empire. Thailand has not even a nominal right to be consulted about U.S. operations from the bases; planes from them bomb Vietnam and Laos and do aerial reconnaissance over those

Another Bangkok project is the support of rightist Laotian leaders. Gen. Phoumi Nosavan, former chief protegee of the CIA in Laos, is presently in "exile" in Thailand. Phoumi Nosavan's chief adviser is a one-time member of the Oakland, Calif. police force who came to Thailand to test counter-guerrilla equipment for the Stanford Research Institute, a top Pentagon contractor.

Thailand also sustains a rightist military organization in Cambodia. The June 12 Far Eastern Economic Review reported that, according to Phnom Penh, "the Khmer Serai, supported by a 'private' Thai society, had created a Cambodian Liberation Front, commanded by... a Thai lieutenant colonel."

U.S. aggression in Vietnam has been enormously profitable for Thailand's bourgeoisie. Besides the U.S. military apparatus which protects the reactionary Thai power structure, construction of bases and other U.S. spending has produced an influx of dollars, used to offset Thai trade deficits which last year reached an all-time high of \$500 million.

But now the house of cards cemented by visions of U.S. victory is collapsing. With the completion of military bases, U.S. military spending in Thailand is declining, and U.S.

revenge by assisting the Thai revolutionary movement.

In desperation, Thai generals have been loudly advertising that they may talk with Peking and Hanoi to settle Asian problems among themselves, without U.S. interference. But that, of course, is the last thing Bangkok wants. Even with the assistance of U.S. "advisers" and modern U.S. equipment, Bangkok's army has been unable to make inroads against revolutionary forces engaged in armed resistance in several regions of the country. But talk of accommodation with Peking, however transparently hypocritical, is enough to flash red lights in Washington.

U.S. forces are already engaged in operations in Thailand, although both Bangkok and Washington deny it. Thanat Khoman recently told a Western reporter: "The Americans who are here in Thailand are not playing any role in the defence of Thailand... This has been the subject of much misunderstanding."

The reason for this "misunderstanding" is that Thanat's assertion is contradicted by known facts. In 1967, for example, U.S.-piloted helicopters were ferrying Thai troops into combat against guerrilla forces. When the fact was publicized in the

additional appropriations for newly developed OV-10s, used in forward air control work (target spotting) by U.S. forces in South Vietnam and Thailand.

These and other U.S. "advisory" activities in Thailand are likely to continue after U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, as they are aimed at maintaining a regime favourable to U.S. investors. The situation was put plainly in the March 6 Far Eastern Economic Review, whose Bangkok correspondent wrote that the U.S. community in Bangkok does not like criticism by U.S. journalists of Thai officials since "the investment climate is good because the government, whose interests at present are aligned with the U.S., is in control."

Shortly before the construction of U.S. bases and the influx of troops began, U. Alexis Johnson, the U.S. ambassador, now an Under Secretary of State, asserted that "Thailand presents an opportunity for American capital to demonstrate what private enterprise can accomplish." Since that statement in 1960, U.S. investments have grown eightfold, from \$25 to \$200 million, and the U.S. share of the Thai market has grown from 16.7% to more than 37%.

U.S. investors and Thai merchants have a community of interest which a high U.S. Department of

Ulster: turn the Civil War into a Revolutionary War.

Salute the liberation fighters of Bogside.

Salute their courageous and determined victory over the Royal Ulster Criminals. They have shown that urban guerrilla warfare led by an armed proletariat is possible in the United Kingdom.

The fighters of Bogside have turned the history of Ulster on its head which is the first real step towards its abolition. The oppressed of Ulster have decided to

fight and they are right.

They have defeated the vicious and powerful police force by urban struggle and not by using the I.R.A. They have turned Orangemen against the British; they have put an end to the Unionists' pathetic hopes of finding international financial salvation. The cramped and inhuman conditions of the Bogside ghetto, exposed beneath the walls of Derry have been transformed into

a military advantage and socially liberated. And this against the wishes of Stormont, of the Dail, of Westminster or the pious bleatings of the Vatican. The people of Bogside *have taken their lives into their own hands*. It is not for us to complain that Bogside welcomed the British troops as a temporary relief from the Unionist police terror. Bogside as well as Belfast and Dublin will learn that real independ-

ence does not come in in the form of British troops or with Lynch and his opportunist, comic-opera appeal to the United Nations. They will learn that the tricolour of the bourgeois dictatorship in the South and the holy cross of Roman Catholic superstitions are their bitter enemies and that their only friends are the starry plough and the red flag.

Bernard Reaney reports from

Derry

The imminence of a new crisis about to break over Ulster was clear in Bogside before the Apprentice Boys demonstration. On Monday and Tuesday morning Bogside was busily building its defences. Barricades were going up and the community organisation was swinging into action. A system of radio communications between different areas of the Bogside was in operation; police radios were being monitored; first aid posts, manned by nurses and doctors were established; and ambulances stood by to take the seriously injured to hospital; stocks of petrol bombs were hastily being made — Bogside was preparing for a siege.

On Tuesday afternoon the first volley of stone clattered onto Wellington Place where the Orange march route touched on the Bogside. The march, a provocative display of masonic regalia, with the deafening noise of bands playing 'The Sash', was in full swing as the RUC reached for their shields and riot helmets.

By evening it had become clear that the people of Bogside were not simply digging-in to defend their home. That was of course their primary task, but the mood was one of attack; an offensive against the squalor and deprivation to which Unionist corruption had consigned them in this pit of Derry.

It is not a question of organised conspiracies, as Chichester-Clark claims — though the conditions in Bogside would be more than enough to inspire several conspiracies to overthrow Clark and his government. The people live in a state of permanent siege from the forces of Unionist reaction. They are denied control of the public authority by the gerrymandering of wards, despite the numerical superiority of Catholics in Derry's population. Unemployment is high. Housing is appallingly bad, and new homes are built at a density several times higher than that for the country as a whole — a necessity for the Unionist to maintain their political control. The mass of the working people are oppressed in every conceivable way by the Unionist rulers. Now the people have realised a new sense of dignity an understanding that tyranny is not only to be feared but also to be fought. Every man, woman and child contributed to the rising of Bogside, not only by their physical effort, but through the fearless spirit that pervaded their ranks. Their strength is expressed in their courage on the barricades against the bullets, batons, and tear-gas of the police, and the Paisleyite gangs, and in the discipline and fraternity within the working class community.

The impact of the Civil Rights movement has helped raise the most oppressed section of the masses from their knees — that was the meaning of what happened in Derry on August 12th. The offensive against the police that followed at Newry, Strabane, Belfast and other places confirmed the events of

sense of an emerging revolutionary socialist movement will expose the greatest weakness of the Irish workers and peasants. The Civil Rights organisation is no substitute for building such a movement, the task of which will have to be undertaken by the revolutionaries around the CR and Labour Movement. Never was there a greater need for such a movement, capable of explaining the state of battle at each turn and unravelling in its course the knots of bigotry that divide the working class.

The right of self-defence against violent attack, and to struggle for civil rights by whatever means necessary has articulated itself in the new mode of self activity of the Irish masses, which holds out the most encouraging prospect for the creation of a new socialist movement. Furthermore, whatever the opportunist motives of Lynch, he has contributed to raising immediately the question of self-determination for Ireland. This was again evident in the Bogside where people were hopefully expecting the armed intervention of the Southern Army of volunteers, and in Dublin where demonstrators have demanded guns to go and fight in the north. The development of such a coherent movement for Irish self determination, backed up by large scale aid from the people of the South would threaten the very existence of the Ulster police state.

Consequently British troops patrol the streets of Ulster in defence of the police state which they have maintained for fifty years. Their credibility as protectors of the local population is already in doubt.

The cover they have provided for the indiscriminate machine gunning of homes carried out by B Specials, and the arrest of many opponents of the Unionist regime is quickly being exposed.

The Labour movement and the left in Britain must understand the seriousness of the situation in Ireland and the responsibility they have towards the Irish people, suffering under their own native imperialism. To underestimate the dynamics and pace of the crisis, and to fail to mobilise all the resources of the Labour movement against British intervention, will leave the Irish people at the mercy of a bloody repression by British troops. The heroic people of Bogside will be the first to feel the forces of the counter revolution that Wilson and Clark are mobilising, just as they have been the spearhead of the Civil Rights movement and the present upsurge. To force Wilson to take out the troops; to defend the right of Irish to defend themselves against the murderous forces of Orange reaction, and to take up arms for the fight for national self-determination is the elementary duty of the working class movement in Britain.

Whatever Wilson's strategy for maintaining the status quo in Ulster, or manoeuvres to prop up the old regime, the stage is being set not for peace, but for war. A war between the Irish people and British Imperialism in Ulster. However much Wilson attempts to avoid it,

would be forced to fight for their lives against an immediate revolutionary' upsurge throughout Ireland, which would not only destroy Unionism but threaten to topple the 'Green Tory' establishment in Dublin. But no less an unpleasant prospect for Wilson, is a period of open and protracted violent struggle against British Imperialism, that will emerge out of the present crisis. From Derry to Belfast a new period of the Irish revolution is opening up — the Irish people prepare to take the freedom they have been so long denied.

Clive Goodwin in

Belfast

Belfast is a city in the grip of a Catholic working class rebellion against vicious oppression. The main Catholic areas are completely sealed off by barricades. The strength and extent of these fortifications is amazing. I counted over 50 commercial trucks, including a Coca Cola lorry, all overturned and pressed into barricade service. The barriers are manned day and night by workers wearing helmets carrying pick handles. Inside the ghettos the organisation is superb: the solidarity appeared to be total. Much of the early work on defence was a spontaneous reaction against the police terror. But a leadership is now slowly emerging. Inevitably, in the working class district around Falls Road it is mostly the I.R.A. (or "the Army" as they are known). In the slightly more middle class area of Andersonstown it seemed to be People's Democracy. Stewards are everywhere and visitors are constantly checked for identification. Contrary to Protestant belief there are very few guns although Catholics claim that it was only this myth of armed strength that saved their lives on the terror nights of August 13th and 14th. There are a few walkie talkies and there is the P.D. run Radio Free Belfast which has just begun transmitting. Defence is organised on a street by street basis with the committees sending representatives to larger action committees concerned with overall strategy and vital problems of supplies and defence. The barricades look impregnable. Behind them one can feel safe. I cannot believe that the Catholics will dismantle them without definite concessions. The minimum demand is the break up of the B Special storm troopers. Wilson's phoney peace package must be rejected. To rely on the G.O.C. British troops to disarm the B Specials is ridiculous. It will never happen. The rebels now hold the initiative. They must strengthen their defences and hold on to it.

Dave Kendall reports from

Dublin

heroic victory of the people of Bogside against the attempted invasion of their home by the RUC and the B-specials (Irish SS). The angry mood of the crowd was inflamed by the descriptions of the shooting and killings in Belfast given by two people who had come direct from the embattled Falls Road and Ardoyne districts. Their pleas for immediate armed assistance were met by shouts of "We will come" and demands for 'Free State' Army intervention. A number of liberal speakers won a fairly enthusiastic response from the meeting but offered no more perspective for action than the reiterated call for pressure on the Lynch government. A Catholic priest was greeted with little more than a murmur when he said "I disassociate myself from the intervention of the Army but what else is there to do? I don't know. All I can say is God Bless you". (sic). To a liberal who suggested that the State Council be recalled and President De Valera be asked to intervene there were shouts of "What's he ever done for us?" Some of the speakers had stressed the necessity of bringing pressure to bear on the Government to send troops into the North, to occupy "a handkerchief of land" or a town to internationalize the situation. If they failed to do this they must give arms to people who wanted to go north and fight. A lone speaker from the Labour Party expressed his contempt for "the hysterical socialism of Wilson and Callaghan", and the British Labour Party. Cheering greeted his claim that his party was the party of Conolly and Larkin. The Plough and Stars (Connolly's flag) as well as the Tricolour was flying that afternoon. The crowd was way ahead of the platform. They wanted action now and were saying that they would go to the North. The mood of the meeting was such that a large part of it would have stormed a Free State arsenal that afternoon had they not been addressed very coherently by a Dublin Trade Union leader. He said that the Irish had thrown away their opportunities before because they had not organized themselves properly. They must not throw away their opportunities again. He did not want to discourage people from going over the border but only asked that they do it in an organized manner as an organized force. They would be able to get the guns. If the Government did not give them guns, the soldiers at the barracks who had the keys would do so. (A message from a group of Free State NCSs was read later saying they were ready to go North as soon as the word was given by the people). The government of Ireland would have to move quickly. If it did not a general strike would be called throughout the South. Furthermore, they would call for the establishment of a people's army to complete the socialist revolution begun by Larkin and Connolly. With 1½ million Irishmen in Britain, most of them unionised, the Irish working class was capable of bringing the struggle across the waters by militant solidarity action. British socialists and British workers

Ulster Debate

Dear Comrades,
Pressure of our work stops me from replying in full to the editorial in your July issue. But there is at least one point which must be answered.

Martin Shaw in his article to list point 6 of the demands of the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign, the right of self-determination for the Irish people. This may be the reason why your editorial allowed itself to get side-tracked into discussing the merits or otherwise of the demands for jobs and housing. I say side-tracked because the first task of British socialists is to campaign for that right, armed for an end to Westminster's complacency in the denial of Civil Rights in Ireland, of which the denial of the right to self-determination is the greatest, from which the others flow.

All other demands, FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE BRITISH LEFT, can only be P.S.'s to the main one. In this regard let me say that British comrades who insist upon the demand for workers' republic in Ireland are not raising the demand for self-determination to a higher level. They are limiting that demand. To say we will campaign only if the demand is for a workers' republic, is to tell the Irish people: You can have self-determining, providing it's a socialist self-determination. This is to place limits to the right to self-determination to add to it.

One more point. While being in favour of the greatest political discussion, I believe Martin Shaw is right. The order must be "support first, and only then, if you must, criticise." To do otherwise is to risk the old curse of the British left, a heck of a lot of criticism and very little support.

GERRY LAWLESS

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

THE DEMAND FOR JOBS AND HOUSES.

Dear Dwarf

In July's editorial the Black Dwarf asked whether or not PD's demands for jobs and houses were revolutionary. Recent riots in Derry and Belfast indicate that PD is seen as irrelevant by the most militant sector of the population: civil rights is no longer what is happening on the streets. This article tries to isolate some of the inadequacies in People's Democracy's approach, and suggests an explanation for its failure to combat sectarianism.

About Easter of this year, Eamonn McCann justified the demands 'One man, one job' and 'One family, one house' as follows: '... the transformation of Irish society necessary to implement the reforms is a revolution... We are definitely in a pre-revolutionary situation in the North... The Unionist Party must give something to the pope-heads of Derry to get them off the streets, but if they give them anything the Unionist Party will break up. So by supporting these demands in a militant manner, we are supporting class demands and we are striking hard against the ruling political party.'

What McCann says about the position of the Unionist party is doubtful: the Party's problems are now more diverse and may even unite them, at least temporarily. But if he were right - would that mean that PD's demands were revolutionary? A demand, purely in itself, is not a force at all, it is its expression OF a struggle which lends it social force, which integrates it INTO the struggle. And a struggle can only be revolutionary if it 'understands' the activity and life-process of the ruling class (and hence how the ruling class exerts its stranglehold over society) AND actively negates it.

But CAN this be the case in Northern Ireland when the basis of all the relations on production and consumption which actually determine the nature of Irish society are ignored by the key demands and the consciousness of the Civil Rights struggle?

Capitalism STEALS from the proletariat its life activity: the proletariat works FOR the bourgeoisie, so that its labour becomes not life activity for the workers, but merely a MEANS for life. The proletariat has sold its labour, its life activity, to provide itself with the means of physical survival. 'A BEING only considers himself independent when he stands on his own feet; and he only stands on his own feet when he owes his EXISTENCE to himself. A man who lives by the grace of another regards himself as a dependent being. But I live completely by the grace of another if I owe him not only the sustenance of my life, but if he has, moreover, CREATED my LIFE - if he is the SOURCE of my life.' (Marx, 1844 manuscripts). Even the means of physical survival bought by one's labour is the consumption of the products of the other, on the terms of the other.

But the proletariat of Northern Ireland has not only had its essential BEING stolen, but even the means of its survival are in short supply, so that there are neither jobs nor houses enough to go round. The bourgeoisie, formed and produced by capitalism as much as forming and producing it, cannot of course grant houses and jobs enough owing to the peculiar nature of Northern Irish capitalism (see RSSF paper on Ireland). But this does NOT mean that the demand is anti-capitalist. To demand more jobs and houses is precisely to demand a more efficient administration and the centralisation of capital. The struggle for this demand does not constitute, and in itself cannot lead to a revolt against 'the very production of life'. The demand could be met by a revolution but not by the Northern Irish capitalists, yet the demand itself accepts the maintenance of capitalism, albeit in another form. It is like asking a thief to steal equally from everyone!

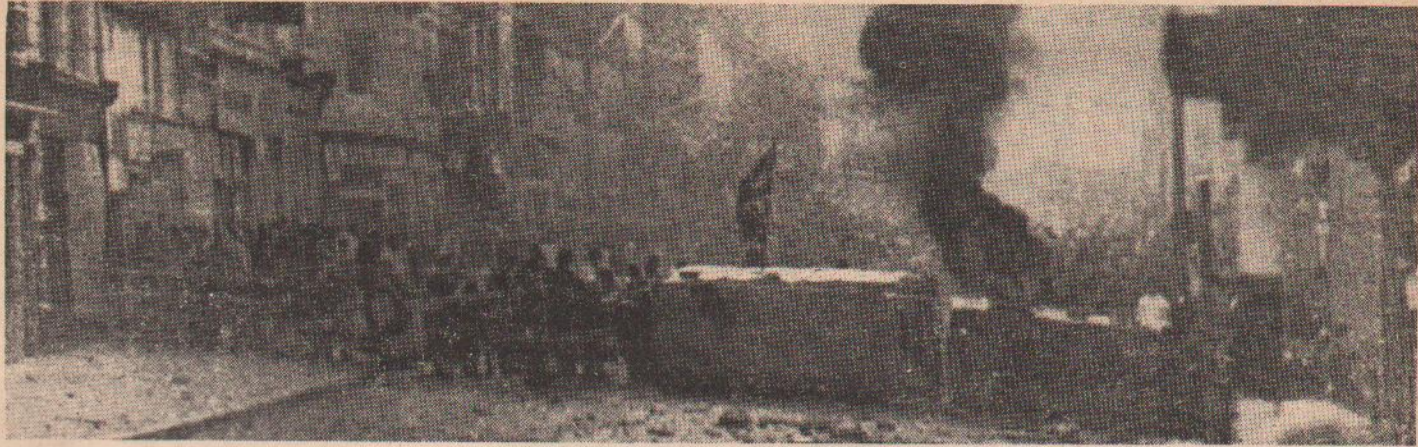
But how much is this demand, pure and simple, really what the struggle is about? Its inadequacies are certainly clear to the protestant and catholic street gangs. Nor is the provision of homes and jobs the end that many in PD are really fighting for. So to reiterate the demand as the limit of the struggle, as PD do, is to be afraid of one's own consciousness, to be afraid of one's relation to the movement as a whole, to deny the potential of its own free dialectical movement and progression. This cannot help that large sector of the movement whose militancy, whose self-creating violent struggle actually CONSTITUTES a reappropriation of their life-activity and environment, yet who cannot articulate their struggle except as sectarian, or as a demand for more efficient administration. The Civil Rights movement has ignored both problems: sectarianism and capitalism! And hence also the real situation of the people of Northern Ireland.

Farrell and McCann have stressed the need for real political education as to the class nature of Northern Ireland. But 'PD Voice' Number One PD's new paper, nowhere goes beyond the failure of the Unionist Party and local councils to grant houses and jobs. Its Programme, 'Why PD Voice?' posits the struggle firmly within the targets of the Civil Rights movement: 'People's Democracy believes that the basic Civil Rights are the rights to a job and a house'. And therefore the lack of political distinction between the 'socialists' in PD and the 'liberals' of NICRA (of which McCann complains in NLR 55) is perpetuated: the difference is posed, but only in terms of militancy, for example: 'The Civil Rights movement mustn't let them (the Unionists) get off the hook. The People's Democracy certainly won't.'

The recent riots illustrate PD's dilemma well. What has filtered through to us via the press indicates that PD were unable to relate to the Derry riot and able only to apologise for it. In Belfast there was no point even in that, PD have often been in the position of apologising for the protestants to the catholics, now they are also apologising TOO? Their failure to posit them in the same struggle in any terms except those of jobs and houses has meant that Catholic endorsement of PD's non-sectarian position has often been purely verbal, as PD realise. If the struggle is based on these issues, it is not surprising that the protestants who both constitute the ruling class AND have, in general, distinctly better living conditions should be seen by Catholics as the enemy - not so much in their capacity as the ruling class, much more as OF THE PRIVILEGED AND OPPRESSING SECT.

The editorial in July's Dwarf also said: 'As a result of their (PD's) militancy the Civil Rights movement has now polarised in Northern Ireland and may well split. If it does we must be prepared and must support the militant wing and PD. But at the same time we should encourage PD not to walk out of the unified Civil Rights movement but to attempt to seize its leadership.' But if PD does remain with the Civil

Major Bunting, loudspeaker in hand, hailed the fighting protestants of Belfast. Like William of Orange before him, at the Battle of the Boyne, he cried "Let us go into the church and pray". A stone hurtled through the air and hit him on the head. "Oh Fuck" said Major Bunting.



The traffic signal echoes the protestants message. For the first time the Union Jack is deployed against the RUC as the Shankill Road tastes the heel of Anglo-Irish Unionist Rule.

The wretched economy of Northern Ireland, the rundown and decrepit region of Ulster, holds no golden promises of affluence for any of the working class, either Catholic or Protestant for the first time ever stoned their religious leaders and got down to some reappropriation. "Looting" cried the press and the RUC moved in.

In Derry the current bitter fighting and unprecedented use of tear gas comes from a deeper hatred. Throughout Derry's history, the Catholics have been beaten and oppressed. The decade of quiet since the end of the last IRA campaign has given a new generation time to look around. They see their town being systematically deprived of investments and left to rot, while their contemporaries in England swing to a life

endlessly celebrated by the media. In January following the police riots in October the RUC rampaged through Derry terrorising the inhabitants. Since then in January, in April, and now in August the new men of Bogside are teaching the RUC that they will fight back.

The first reports from Bogside on August 13 seem to show that the local police are refusing to obey their Headquarters. Rumour has it that HQ were overheard, ordering their men not to enter the Bogside and the Radio officer replied "we have enough men here to end this once and for all". He then cut the communications.

Whether the radio officer said this or not - it will not be the RUC who will have the final word.



A group of Civil Rights marchers being forced into the Burntollet stream whilst more of the attackers race into the foreground to cut them off. One girl was left half-conscious face down in the stream.

Police are always partisan. There is no 'order' that is above history and no force of 'law' that is above class struggle. But the brutality and partiality of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the R.U.C., is something extra special within the United Kingdom.

Ulster has a history of self-defeating, internecine, working-class violence. The present bout started with last year's actions by the Paisleyites and the Civil Righters. This year opened with a bang when on January 1st the students in People's Democracy set out to march to Derry and four days later were ambushed at Burntollet. The clashes have escalated ever since.

Burntollet is now the name of a short and exhaustively documented book by two Irish comrades in the People's Democracy. It gives an account of January's long march and of the ambush on Burntollet bridge at the outskirts of Derry. It is no simple description or existential tale of a civil rights march; but a systematic indictment of the entire apparatus of state power in the Six Counties.

Police are charged with being "engaged in criminal activities." 'B' Specials, members of the reserve police force, are named as taking part in the Burntollet ambush. The Orange Order, the backbone of the ruling Unionist party, is shown to be inseparable from the organisation of the ambushers with its halls being used as headquarters by the armed dupes of the Anglo-Irish squirearchy. Robert Porter, the then and still the present, Minister for Home Affairs is shown up as a dithering if not a deliberately dissimulating liberal doing the work of reaction. The police are condemned for rampaging round Derry after the ambush, smashing their way into shops, and terrorising Catholics in their homes (no doubt they were frustrated at having to leave the active part of the ambush to the 'specials' and their friends). Finally, the present Prime Minister, James Chichester-Clark is implicated in the arrangements of a smaller ambush which took place between Toome and Maghara.

These are the book's conclusions: "The sum of our researches (they took seven months over it) indicates that three hundred and twenty people took part in the attack on the marchers at Burntollet. Of these we have identified two hundred and fifty-seven. Nearly a hundred have records of service with the constabulary. And these people uniformly appear to have had direction and control of the attack."

"The attack was organised locally by representatives of the Orange Order and the Special Constabulary, in close collaboration with some members, at least, of the Royal Ulster Constabulary... The police force on duty, as a whole, knew of the place and the approximate magnitude of the attack... Specifically, or by clear indication, the members of



Twenty of the attackers in this photograph have been identified. Twelve turned out to be members or ex-members of the 'special' police force.

the force learned that they were not expected to resist or arrest attackers."

Cool and lucid, the book gives a rare insight into the bloody workings of Ulster; it is a model of militant research. Inevitably the authors have to publish it themselves to their own personal cost. It is called BURNTOLLET; it costs 10/- or £4 for 10 copies, from 48 Notting Hill Gate, London W.11. We urge readers to buy it.



Prime Minister, Major James Chichester-Clark, approves the diversion which led, two miles up the road, into a police cordon and a well organised ambush.

IRISH CIVIL RIGHTS SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN BRANCHES

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ISLINGTON:
Rachel Carroll

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Frank Roach
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Murray Smith
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Birmingham Irish Civil Rights Group
(independent but working with ICRSC):
c/o 67 Birchwood Crescent, Sparkhill,
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MEETINGS
South West London: alternate Thursdays at William

"Our leaders will emerge because of their actions not their rhetoric. We are building a solid underground resistance army."

GREECE

Greece is in the hands of the most savage military dictatorship since the Nazi occupation. But now the resistance forces are gathering for a war of liberation. For several months members of one group, the Democratic Resistance Committee (D.E.A.) have been carrying out regular acts of sabotage with high explosives coupled with a simultaneous underground propaganda campaign. Other organisations ready to fight to topple the self-imposed dictatorship are the National Democratic Resistance Movement, Democratic Defense, the National Anti-Fascist League (E.A.S.), and the Patriotic Front. Although members of Papandreou's Centre Union Party have pledged themselves to the fight against the regime, only the revolutionary groupings are taking any effective action.

The junta is aware of the immense weight of feeling against them from the majority of the population, and the colonels are running scared.

As most of the British press reported at the end of last month (July 23rd, 25th and 26th) the Greek military attaches in London, Rome, Paris, Bonn and Vienna have been instructed by the Athens security headquarters to keep a careful watch and report on all the possibly anti-junta forces among emigrant students and workers and their foreign comrades. A translation of the instructions in the Guardian of July 26th(!) refers to the foreigners who "are taking advantage of their capacity as tourists to transport into Greece propaganda material and military equipment (explosives, pistols, etc.) for the subversive underground organisations inside Greece."

How right they are to be scared of these forces: the solidarity of European comrades with the Greek Liberation armies is strong. Many have pledged themselves to form a new International Brigade. Anthony Williams, sentenced on July 25th for possession of bombs he was taking to Greece, is only one of many who have helped boost British exports by taking out samples of English light industry: revolvers, automatics, and sten and sterling sub-machine guns, plus various explosives.

A Black Dwarf Foreign Correspondent recently contacted two Resistance Movement members training abroad for the offensive against the junta. Despite the spies, the arrests, the imprisonments and torture, they have returned.

"It will be a tough war," said one. "I can't be too optimistic about living through it."

This movement has steadily gained strength ever since, and its threat to the future of capitalism was used as a rationalisation for the coup d'état of April 21st, 1967. Papadopoulos' message on the second anniversary referred to "... the pre-existing corruption of moral values, the growing strength of the communist threat, the appearance of mob rule ..."

We had the support of most of the population in opposing the fascism of our leaders, and we had toppled several governments. The colonels are right in believing that revolution was imminent. And their vicious control of the country can do no more than stave it off for a while. We have been fighting fascism for a long time. This time we will win.

As far back as 1936 King Paul was the leader, during the dictatorship of General Metaxas, of the official Youth movement, an organisation very similar to the Hitler Youth.

Queen Frederika's relationship with the C.I.A. has been widely known for a long time.

From 1954 to 1963 the National Radical (sic) Union government was led by Karamanlis. The Communist Party had already been outlawed in 1949 and many of its leaders jailed, although 71 of its ex-members remained as deputies. This oppression strengthened the discipline and unity of the movement. During the Karamanlis regime, power was maintained by use of the "Trabuki" - gorillas - brutal thugs paid out of secret government funds for the systematic terrorisation of the peasantry: beating them into pro-government votes.

By the beginning of the fifties the Marshall Plan investments were showing heavy returns and the U.S. poured in more capital to exploit Greece's resources. Esso built two refineries in Salonika and the famous Pesenai aluminium plant was constructed. The gathering concentrations of industrial

workers required more sophisticated policing and the more intelligent Trabuki were trained by the C.I.A. to become an efficient secret police.

In 1963 Karamanlis was forced by the High Court to resign, and in June the popular communist deputy Grigori Lambrakis was murdered to prevent him giving leadership to the left.

But the revolutionary students took him as their posthumous leader, forming the 'Lambrakis Youth' to spear-head resistance against whatever government was imposed on the Greek people.

The unusually high vote - 63% - in the 1963 elections brought Papandreou of the Centre Union Party into power. Despite his attempts to pacify the left by the release of most of the 2,000 political prisoners and some weak-kneed educational reforms, he was forced to resign in two years instead of four.

Students and workers immediately struck and demonstrated to demand free elections, which the king refused. In July Sotiris Petroulas, a 24 year old Athens University student and a member of the Lambrakis Youth, was killed by a police gas grenade. His martyrdom was taken as the symbol for two years of continuous demonstrations.

The Americans found the progress towards revolution increasingly threatening to their economic interests and military presence, so they worked furiously to break up the left organisations. C.I.A. trained spies were continually found attempting to infiltrate our groups.

During the next two years we fought continually and successfully to oppose each of the four attempts to impose undemocratic governments on us.

Then on April 21st, 1967 we woke up to find the colonels had seized power according to Plan Prometheus, the NATO document taken by Patakos from the Pentagon.

Due to the inefficiency of the Lambrakis Youth and the irresponsibility of the other political leaders they were able to impose censorship and the abolition of personal rights without opposition.

Immediately they rewrote the constitution, suspending elections, to preserve their own power, and - under American pressure - to give themselves the appearance of legality in the eyes of the world. In September 1968 a plebiscite was finally held on the constitution. Even the thuggery of the junta-paid bosses, union leaders and police wasn't able to force the result, and the figures had to be faked, giving the obviously impossible result of a 93% vote in favour. In fact the junta has the support only of those it has bought, particularly the army officers who had their salaries doubled after the coup d'état.

But two months later, at the funeral of the last elected Prime Minister, Papandreou, the Greek public had the opportunity for a mass meeting and a demonstration of their true feelings. Nearly half a million Athenians turned out with banners reading: "IT'S TODAY WE'RE VOTING", and singing the National Anthem - "Why did fear overshadow them, and why did slavery oppress them?"

Anyone suspected of leftism was whisked away to the infamous headquarters behind the National Museum. If you refuse to sign a pledge of support for the junta you are tortured into signing a confession of communism and then tried by military court for sedition. Or else quietly placed in one of the concentration camps on the islands of Giaros or Leros, or the women's camp of Alekarnasos in Crete. Many of the latter's 350 inmates have been there without trial since the coup.

Much of the popular opposition is centred around the illegal progressive democratic parties like the Patriotic Front and the Democratic Defense Committee. But beyond the overthrow of the dictatorship they have no real political programme which can serve the people, other than a return to the so-called democratic regime of the early sixties.

The students are prepared to start the fight for a socialist revolution. Students have been at the forefront of the struggles since 1963, when they struck to demand the educational proportion of the budget be increased from 8% to 15%. 50,000 occupied the Universities at Athens and Salonika for a month, and all other schools and colleges closed down in support.

The junta is aware of the danger from both staff and students. Every department now has a permanent official from the Ministry of Co-ordination to observe the professors. These ex-military officers also have absolute right of veto at all staff meetings. The Ministry of Co-ordination is one of the four that Papadopoulos has taken under his personal control, the others being Defence, Education and Foreign Affairs. Co-ordination

mentioned in his article, was burned. Stanley maintains that his article was not seditious but that it was misinterpreted in the translation from Papiamento, the local dialect, to Dutch. Nobody believes that the strike was, or needed to be, instigated by one man. It was a spontaneous protest against Westcar, a Shell sub-contractor which lowered wages and sacked workers. The strike spread to Shell itself, which represents rather more than 90% of the national income. It then escalated into the march on Parliament and flared into violence when the demonstrators were met by armed police.

This paradise to which American tourists crowd all year round is in reality a ghetto. 90% of the population is black and is ruled by a white elite. There are three newspapers: 'Bleurs', 'La Prensa', and 'Amigoe'. Two of them are owned by the white elite, descendants of the former slave owners, and the other by the White Catholic Church.

Back in 1957, Dr. M. F. da Costa Gomez published a book 'Human Rights in the Netherlands Antilles,' because of the behaviour of the Dutch editor-in-chief of 'Bleurs'. He was deported, but the elite again got control of the paper and the present editor in an ex-policeman.

Radio and T.V. are prohibited to all politicians except for the party in power who use both mediums to make speeches right up to the night before elections. Political opponents are jailed on any pretext and set loose after the

is responsible for the economy and ideology of the country, as well as infiltrating the administration of every possible organisation.

Papadopoulos had to take control when he found it impossible to get competent Ministers who would co-operate. Papakostantinos resigned from Education on grounds of ill-health in June and the Minister of Foreign Affairs quietly left for Switzerland and has not returned.

As the government begins to fall apart so it will increasingly try to maintain control by violence. But as it does so, so also will we find it easier to mobilise armed resistance.

But our main task must be to formulate and have accepted a long-term programme of action that will take the people of Greece into power and prevent the return of any right-wing minority.

New leaders will be recognised only by what they give to the struggle. We are not interested in ex-politicians. Our leaders will emerge because of their actions not their rhetoric. We are building a solid underground resistance army. The groups training abroad are beginning to return to train others. The vanguard is ready and the time is NOW."

"Doctors must take advantage of the psychological influence they have over the ill to make propaganda for the regime".
Communique from the Army to the Medical Association 1968.

Chronology of a Dictatorship

21 April 1967: Proclamation by the Junta: "There is no longer left, right or centre; there are only Christian Greeks". Martial law established, abolition of all civil rights, all organisations banned, with the death penalty for handing out leaflets. Mass arrests.

Summer '67: First trial. Heavy sentences on the right and left-wing military and on listeners to foreign radio stations.

September '67: First evidence of torture. First purge of the administration.

October '67: Creation of three prison schools for the children of 7000 politicians exiled from Yaros.

Every functionary must sign a 'declaration of honour' in which participation in the anti-Nazi resistance (1940-44) is qualified as an 'anti-national act'.

November '67: Instructions to school directors to blacklist their pupils according to their political beliefs and those of their parents. First important increase in military credits. Closure of the free student canteens.

Two large trials against Patriotic Front militants.

December '67: Reopening of the Nazi camps and prisons established 1940-44. Failure of King Constantine's counter-coup; enormous but indistinct repression.

'Recommendation' to the journalists to publish "nothing unfavourable to the U.S.; in particular concerning the Vietnam war."

January '68: Purge of the army and the administration leaves these powerless. Submission of the Universities to the direct control of the government. Two new concentration camps opened.

February '68: Sacking of 56 University professors. Amnesty International's report on the camps and torture in Greece.

March '68: Purge of the Greek church.

April '68: Military units 'adopt' the schools.

August '68: Arrest of more than 650 political personalities after the attempted assassination of Papadopoulos.

September '68: United Fruit and other U.S. trusts set up in Greece. Obligatory vote (under pain of prison and sackings) for the 'constitutional referendum' of the 29th. 23% abstentions.

October '68: Rehabilitation of the assassins of the left-wing deputy Lambrakis. The assassins were police officers and other members of the police force. Arrests, sentences, assassinations of the witnesses and magistrates at the trial.

It was revealed that Papadopoulos's brother had created a brigade of marine fusiliers to be sent to Vietnam. An announcement at the Paris negotiations postponed the project indefinitely.

November '68: A new wave of repression. Panagoulis's trial. 500,000 people at Papandreou's funeral. Publication of new revised textbooks.

December '68: Creation of a new police force out of the army, with powers over the civil population; this police force would have many of the characteristics of the SS.

Creation of the 'Commissions of Public Safety' Decree of the 'Duties and Rights of Students'; any student opposing the regime to be excluded from the University.

February '69: "There will be no more elections in Greece and no return to a normal political life until Greeks are re-educated". (Papadopoulos). "Falsification" of identity cards with a number enabling the police to immediately find the dossier and political tendencies of every individual.

The Caribbean's Black Ghetto

The Caribbean tourist paradise of Curacao was ripped apart by riots last May when the police refused to allow striking oilmen to enter the capital. Law and order was nominally restored by the arrival of 600 Dutch marines, but in reality it was restored by the resignation of the Democratic Government after 14 years in power. That was 14 years too long according to 90% of the population.

The elections have been fixed for Sept. 5th and the newly formed, militant, and the pro-independence, *Frente Obrero* has warned that if the Democrats are re-elected the riots of May will be repeated with even more violence - the damage last time was estimated at between £20 and £40 millions.

At the moment Willemstad is quiet and tourists photograph the gutted buildings in brilliant sunshine. However, the Coralspecht penitentiary is crammed with 300 political prisoners where they can be kept for up to two years if necessary, 'while their cases are investigated'. This has always been the white elite's way of silencing political opponents at election time.

erected by the people of Curacao to honour Tula and Kerpat, two slaves who revolted and were tortured to death in 1799; was pulled down to make way for an American hotel.

In this paradise the native can't swim in the sea because the beaches are private, he can't drink water from a tap because there are no taps. 10,000 of the 140,000 inhabitants can't use a toilet because they haven't got one. Shell has huge sweet water swimming pool but the poor man has to pay 10 cents for a bucket of water.

In Texas-Instruments, an electronic company, the black girl gets 70 cents an hour while across in Shell the Dutchman gets 10 dollars and more an hour.

Thousands are forced to live in shacks with leaking roofs, no toilets and no water because the government boycotted the building of council houses for political reasons.

However, the chances of the Democrats being re-elected are thought to be remote, and 'Frente Obrero' offered considerable threat to the traditional parties. The leader Amador Nita and Stanley Brown, are prominent and popular Union militants. Last year they were the leaders of the boycott against White Label Whiskey and Camel cigarettes. Also running for election are the other two Right wing parties the Nationalist and the Radical, and the Catholic party 'Union de las Reformas Antillanas'. but 'Frente Obrero' is the only one to support total independence from Holland.

MARXISM AND THE KUZNETSOV AFFAIR BY DAVID MERCER

The Soviet writer Kuznetsov has explained at some length, and with moving detail, his reasons for leaving his country. His account of the persecutions, the censorship and punishment of writers in the Soviet Union for what they have written is indisputably a true one. The evidence in support of it has been accumulating for nearly half a century: first under Stalin's regime; a temporary relaxation when Krushchov was in power; then increasingly during the years since Brezhnev and Kosygin took over the Kremlin, its apparatus of power and control, and the entire wretched and vicious legacy of a deformed revolution back through the death of Lenin — ultimately to the deeper roots which lie in the long tragedy of Russian history and Czardom.

That the Bolshevik Revolution materially transformed Russia on a huge scale is equally indisputable; but the choice made by Kuznetsov, and the fate of his fellow writers who failed to conform to their bureaucratic masters, is part of a greater testimony to the political, ideological and moral disintegration of that first great victory of those who work and produce over those who own and profit: October 1917.

Kuznetsov, however, in his letter of resignation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, goes further: "After much serious reflection over many years, I have arrived at the complete rejection

of Marxism-Leninism. I consider today that this doctrine is utterly obsolete, rigid and naive. It is utterly incapable of resolving the contradictions in society today, and, what is worse, it has led, continues to lead, and threatens to go on leading to frightful social tragedies."

We are then forced to ask ourselves the question, what does Kuznetsov mean by "Marxism-Leninism"? His whole account of his reasons for finally taking the drastic step of leaving the Soviet Union rather suggests that by Marxism-Leninism he means the theory, dogma and practice which led to the miseries and injustices he describes. Which is curious, when one reflects that the calculated distortions of the meaning and intention of Marx and Lenin's work commenced after the death of Lenin.

Conveniently (and one hopes unintentionally) for the West, Kuznetsov identified the work of Stalin and his collaborators, and its terrible consequences for the Soviet people — with Marx and Lenin! He manages to imply that it follows from applying the theories of Marx and Lenin that there must result the kind of society which developed under Stalin. By the same kind of logic one might then have to say, for example, that because Einstein conceived his Theory of Relativity — then eventually someone would have to drop an atom bomb somewhere. And one would have to reply that history intervened as critically in the first case as in the second — which disproves neither Marx, Lenin or Einstein, but reminds us that dialectical change includes not only the complexities of economic laws but also the actions and decisions of men. In this sense Marxism-Leninism is neither deterministic nor absolute. Like all attempts at a scientific methodology it must follow definable empirical procedures.

Kuznetsov would be right to say that once Stalin seized and held power, he reduced a historical-social-economic

body of theory to a sterile mythology devised and propagated to rationalise his own personal and pathological absolutism, to mystify the Soviet people and thus create ideal conditions for the operation of systematic terror; and perhaps finally to cover the discrepancy between his ruthless sense of necessity and its indefensible consequences in terms of human suffering. But Kuznetsov does not say that. He looks for his views of historical causality in those criminals Marx and Lenin, who were rotting in their graves before Stalin's servile criminals began throwing good, honest communists into their graves. He has nothing to say about the conditions in which the Bolshevik Revolution was torn inch by inch from its idealism — conditions of a nation exhausted by an imperialist war; poverty, hunger, destruction; a willing but tragically depleted proletariat; civil war; intervention by the Western powers. The catalogue of threats to human idealism struggling in a bog of famine, violence and chaos is endless.

Nor does Kuznetsov have anything to say about Stalin's cynical handling of the Party after Lenin's death: the exile, humiliation and persecution of the Old Bolsheviks — and their ultimate destruction in the nineteen thirties. Nothing about Trotsky, and his savage and brilliant critique of the post-Lenin period. Nothing about the Moscow trials. In fact, all Kuznetsov has to say really is that nothing resembling a humane communism developed in the Soviet Union, and that he personally has had enough of it. No communist with intelligence and humanity can judge Kuznetsov, or condemn his personal choice of action. No one can convincingly fault his picture of life in the Soviet Union as experienced by most intellectuals and artists of conscience.

But Kuznetsov's fault lies in his analysis, and in this he innocently provides excellent political ammunition

for governments and institutions everywhere who are running the lives of millions of people for the most totally ignorant of Russian history, pre and post revolutionary. One distinguished communist has chosen Western freedom — and a very freedom it is, for precisely the people is talking about: writers, artists, journalists, intellectuals of all kinds. Freedom to make public their views, whether as men and women who believe in and enjoy the society created by capitalism — or as people who are nauseated by it and reject it.

It is quite likely that steelworkers at Port Talbot care as much for this freedom for these people, as the Soviet miners of the Don basin. *They* free in any profound human sense. Are their conditions of life and their human possibilities determined in any real sense by *them*? The answer is no, both for those who live under Socialism — "communism" and those who live under capitalism. Nor does anyone suppose longer that the simple essentials of Marxism-Leninism — the opposition of dispossessed and possessing classes, the necessity of a revolutionary party — one imagines that these precepts are a necessary and sufficient condition for the liberation of men from the squalor of consumer technology or its pseudo-ideological Soviet equivalent.

But without these precepts, their critical relation to contemporary processes of dialectical change — with their implementation by men and women who have taken the trouble to learn the lessons of history, which there for all to know and comprehend then there will be a simple choice between the barbarism against the human spirit which Kuznetsov knows and the comfortable, subtle, insidious barbarism which we know. It destroys quite painlessly, but none the less destroys us. And we call it capitalism. And so did Marx and Lenin.

PAN-AFRICAN CULTURAL FESTIVAL

One of the reasons for holding the first Pan-African Cultural Festival was to celebrate the emergence of African culture from under the shadow of colonialism. African countries, under colonial domination, found themselves in the same position, experiencing the same situation, politically, economically, socially and culturally. But colonialism, even ignoring its more subtle forms, the neo-colonialism that Fanon described, is far from dead. Today 45 million Africans still live under the yoke of direct colonial rule; 6 million square kilometres of the African continent are still occupied by the mercenary forces of western imperialism.

The First Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers was organised by the members of the OAU — the politically independent African nations — and representatives of various national liberation movements, as a reassertion of African culture — to show that despite the tragedies of slavery, exile, deportation, and depersonalisation, Africa has succeeded in preserving its entity, its spirit, and creativity. It was also conceived of as an assertion of unity — Pan Africanism, the unity of shared experience on a common soil. The festival probably succeeded in the former aim in that it was a powerful manifestation of cultural Africanity, but in its latter aim, as a statement of unity at a mass level, it met many obstacles. Not least among these was the primitive racialism of the Algerians towards black Africans and the disappointingly low level of mass involvement. Most of the spectacles took place behind closed doors — including the Symposium, an OAU debate on the meaning and role of African culture — for the benefit of members of the national bourgeoisie of the participating countries and for European journalists. The events which did take place in the streets were

marred by the jittery Algerian police, ever wary of large crowds. Algerians jostling for a view between TV and film crews ran the risk of getting their heads flattened by a matraque. Also to the discredit of the host country was the cultural repression imposed by an Islamic culture on that of black Africa — censorship, the covering up of beautiful black breasts, inhibiting the freedom of movement that is such an essential part of the African dance. Although each country offered its own traditional and modern dances, choral ensembles, theatre and cinema presentations, in an attempt to show a panorama of African culture, the competition for the best performance in each category with its Olympic games type prize ceremony, tended to have a decisive effect. On the other hand, one of the most significant events of the festival was American sex-man Archie Shepp's jam session in the Casbah with Algerian musicians playing traditional instruments. It epitomised what the festival should have been — a communication through culture between Africans (from

different countries, even continents).

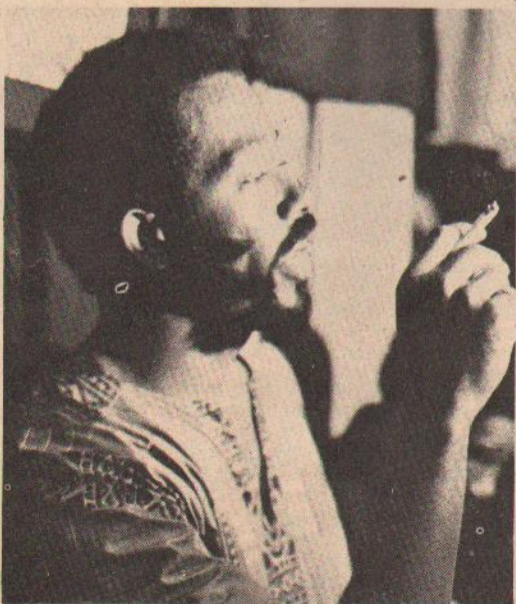
The festival was basically, in the words of a comrade from Guinea, "a bourgeois carnival" with the exception of the revolutionary culture of the national liberation movements; a delegate from PAIGE, relating culture to liberation, said: "Since the armed struggle for national liberation affects all aspects of communal life of our fighting men, it would appear to be a cultural activity in the highest sense of the word." The liberation movements represented included FRELIMO (Mozambique); MPLA (Angola); SWAPO (S.W. Africa); ZAPU (Zimbabwe) PAIGE (Portuguese Guinea) ANC (S. Africa) and an Afro-American delegation. The Afro-American delegation consisted of two factions, The Black Panthers (including Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information who has been in 8 former colonised countries since he went into hiding last December) and Stokely Carmichael, who recently resigned as Prime Minister of The Black Panthers and has come to the festival representing himself. Stokely, whose presence was barely felt, was rarely seen around the Afro-American Centre, nor did he attend any of the many Panther meetings at which he could have engaged in polemics with the Algerian Students. That was probably a wise course of action, as the criticism initially leveled at the Panthers arose from the mistaken belief that they were pushing what was essentially Stokely's line. Stokely's basic difference with the Panthers arises from their "continual co-operation with white radicals" (whom he criticised as being inately racist) and from his dismissal of socialism as a "white man's bag". He is a passionate Pan-Africanist believing that black Africans need a base in Africa. He plans to re-emerge in the political limelight by "leading Dr. Nkrumah back to Ghana" Stokely, the man the Panthers accuse of being braver the further he moves from the scene of actual struggle, has said he will live and die beside Kwame Nkrumah. The Panthers, who recently took the initiative in the States by calling for a conference of all militant groups to form a 'United Front Against Fascism', held public meetings and film showings, not all highly successful. At the first meeting David Hilliard, the Panthers' Chief of Staff, incensed the audience composed mainly of students and young party (FLN) members, by refusing to answer criticisms about the Panthers' claim to be a marxist party while retaining its racial basis. Cleaver, at a subsequent meeting, defended the party by stressing the degree of co-operation with white groups while opposing the idea of a permanent alliance at the present time, as the most important thing was to



GET THEE BEHIND ME STALIN

As we go to press it is not possible to know how the oppressed citizens of Czechoslovakia will demonstrate on August 21, 1969. The stay-in strike, if successful, could act as a morale boost of immense significance. It would show the bureaucracies throughout Eastern Europe that the spirit of resistance is still alive in the Czech workers and students. More important it would demonstrate to each and every individual Czech worker that he is not alone.

It seems quite clear that unless the political necrophiles, who sit in the Kremlin determined to prevent socialist and political revolutions throughout the world, remove their troops from Czechoslovakia the situation might deteriorate further from their point of view. This autumn might see the beginning of armed Czech resistance to the Occupation. If it does, revolutionary socialists will support the Czech fight by all means necessary. We shall render them both moral and material aid. The march of history can not be delayed.



Eldridge Cleaver at the Conference

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|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
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DWARF DIARY

Mr. Donald Smith erstwhile "security advisor" at Leeds University has moved to a similar post at Cambridge. Mr. Smith achieved notoriety at Leeds following the Patrick Wall affair last year when it became known that he had been keeping political files upon left wing students in the University. It is well known in Leeds that Smith had been retired from the Leeds City Police for over zealousness (believed to be in connection with the arrests of police officers for drunken driving after police parties). He then moved into the University where he proceeded to militarise the University security force and set up his student spy system with the help of right wing members of the Conservative association. Members of the security force at Leeds have on two occasions threatened strike action against Smith's methods unless he was removed. Perhaps his transfer to Cambridge is a promotion. Anyway we trust that Cambridge comrades will know how to deal with him.

MORE ABOUT PULLEY

"This general council of the North Kensington Labour Party is concerned about the serious allegations that have been made against an officer at Notting Hill Police Station, Constable Pulley. We feel that it would be in the best interests of the local police, the people of North Kensington as a whole and, not least, Constable Pulley himself, if an enquiry could be set up to look into these allegations. We therefore call upon the Home Secretary to instigate such an enquiry without delay."

A few weeks ago the Colonel commanding the Green Berets in Southern Vietnam was arrested along with some of his junior officers on charges of murdering a Vietnamese civilian. Peace groups in the United States must have been somewhat puzzled as the Green Berets - the Asian equivalent of the Gestapo - has been murdering civilians for the last seven years. Conclusive evidence was provided by a former Beret Master Sergeant at the hearings of the War Crimes Tribunal. However, it soon emerged that their latest victim also happened to be an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency. Hence the fuss. What the case underlines is that anti-beret allegations by the left are true beyond doubt.

It is therefore interesting to note that the same week the American press blew the beret murder story wide open a British newspaper magazine decided to speak on Vietnam. He did so in Salt Lake City, Utah. Lord Thomson of Fleet claimed that "the thinking people of Great Britain are entirely behind the United States in its struggle over Vietnam." For Thomson who owns a chain of influential newspapers to claim this is the height of ignorance and stupidity. His own newspapers have printed surveys which show that a majority of people in Britain oppose American action in Vietnam. We hope that INSIGHT will soon put him right and if it doesn't we might even complain to OPEN SECRET...

THE BLACK DWARF AT PORTON

The Black Dwarf writes: I wasn't invited, by some clerical error, to the three-day bunfight for defence correspondents and other domestic animals at Porton Down, Wilts. But I couldn't pass up the chance to see how I was going to be defended by the Chemical Defence Experiment Establishment. And I am a keen-minded investigator - if I want to find out the truth about beating and bullying at public schools, I attend the Eton-Harrow match. Like Richard Cox of the Daily Telegraph, I was totally convinced by the hospitable boffins. As Dicky put it: "the myths put about by demonstrators in the past about it, and its sister establishment, which deals with microbiological warfare, were effectively dispelled." I can honestly say that I did not see one polio bomb, not so much as a vitriol grenade. It was, dialectically speaking, a fun visit. They showed us a movie of Commandos trying to organise an attack under the influence of LSD, falling over each other and giggling. This had a notable effect on my colleagues from the Street of Adventure, who fell over each other and giggled. We were told that it had been decided that in fact acid couldn't be used in war because it was much too hard to spread. At first I thought that maybe this could have been worked out before they paid our gallant commandos 3s. 6d. a head for their trip - then I recalled the first principle of security, check and double-check.

We were assured that any locked doors we noted would be opened for us on request. Requests were mainly aimed at a suspicious looking cabinet which turned out to contain reviving drinks.

By now our party was in hilarious mood, but we sobered considerably as we heard that Porton's scientists have now developed two antidotes to nerve gas, one of the nastiest weapons with which the Russians/Chinese/Cubans/Angolans are planning to conquer the Free World.

The first of the antidotes is an oxime tablet. Directly you know that you are about to be bombed with nerve gas, you swallow an oxime cube. Sooner or later it will dissolve and then you will probably be immune to the odd drop. The second, and even more spectacular, antidote is the wonder drug atropine. As soon as the nerve gas hits your skin, you pull out your special atropine syringe and give yourself a fix.

There are only two minor snags yet to be negotiated by our boys in white. The first is that neither antidote can be tested on humans properly, since only the smallest unit of nerve gas can be taken without a very unpleasant death. The second snag is that atropine is poisonous, even to Commandos.

But don't worry, readers. Porton, defensive as ever, has developed a chemical and biological protective suit - the CB suit. As Dicky says: "British forces are now receiving a standard CB suit better than anything known to have been developed elsewhere."

Just a moment, Dicky, we're not in the forces. Shut up and listen: "It could also benefit the civilian population, since Porton's protective developments are made available to the Home Office for civil use if wanted."

I've written off, enclosing my measurements, to the Home Office. I may need that suit when the cops (or it could be the European Community Riot Police), start spraying us with Porton Protective Developments like blindness and madness aerosols.

To all those who answered the request to help the Dwarf by being a Dwarf contact in their area, thanks very much. We shall be writing to everyone who wrote with concrete suggestions as to how they can help the paper.

The new military government of the Sudan is making surprisingly radical noises. Its new leader General al Nemeiry told Eric Rouleau (of Le Monde and a personal mate of Nasser's): "We intend to make the new democratic republic a lighthouse of socialism on our Continent like Fidel Castro's country in the Western Hemisphere." The General went on to attack the religious organisations such as the Moslem Brotherhood which "we intend to banish from political life. These reactionary movements have constantly exploited religion to their own ends." General Nemeiry will soon realise that it is not easy to become "another Cuba", but he might well become slightly more progressive than the Syrian Baathists who told a Dwarf correspondent in 1967 that they would "make Syria the Cuba of the Middle East." We are still waiting.

The promised article on how to print your own posters, from Poster Workshop has been held over until the next Dwarf.

Violence from the racist right is accelerating rapidly. Obi Egbuna's house was attacked late the other night. The raiders tried to force entry but failed. They contented themselves with smashing metal over his car and burning it to the

Free Radio is a phoney cause, but it's fooled some of the Dwarf's friends. Using the natural reaction against the tapioca of Radio One, the campaign is being pushed by businessmen who only have eyes for money. If they get their stations, their programmes will be confined to sales promotion for record companies, interrupted by commercials.

That's not what we need to pull radio out of the dark ages. It's certain that we do need more stations, but stations controlled by non-profit making trusts. We want the kind of free radio which makes it possible for groups of journalists, musicians, writers, actors, etc. to create and broadcast free from the bureaucracy of the BBC and also free from the money-junkies of commercial radio.

And it can be done. If SUBSCRIPTION RADIO was legal in Britain, broadcasting could be raised from the dead. An example: in the States, Radio Pacifica exists entirely upon money sent in by listeners. Pacifica continually defies political pressure to transmit a varied, exciting, leftist schedule including pop, jazz, open-ended arguments, plays, classics, commentaries and documentaries. At present, broadcasting in this country is in the hands of the rich. Commercial radio wouldn't change that. Subscription Radio is our only chance of grabbing some airspace for the revolution. Roll on, Radio Dwarf.

An aspect of the Kuznetsov affair that must have struck many people as a bit weird was why he should have chosen the Sunday Telegraph to announce his defection. It seemed to us that The Observer might have been a more appropriate place for a liberal convert to declare himself. Apparently, this was in fact Kuznetsov's first idea. He actually did walk into The Observer office and asked to see the editor. He speaks very little English and had some difficulty in explaining why he should want to see the editor and no one else. The doorman decided he was dealing with just another boring middle European with an axe to grind and threw him out with the suggestion that he should write a letter. Kuznetsov's feelings at this point must have been interesting: whatever they were, he went straight to the Telegraph. Repercussions at the Observer when they discovered they had missed such a giant scoop were intense and farcical: there was a lot of pacing up and down and various arrangements were made by the owner/editor David Astor to make access to him a little easier. Nothing much will change, of course, but we know one optimistic member of the Observer staff who having tried to meet David Astor for the last 2 years is now busy learning Russian.

EVENTS

SEPTEMBER 12: NATIONAL EQUAL PAY DAY. Details haven't been finalised yet, but there will be a large meeting in London, plus meetings in 40 other areas. Organised by the Women's Equal Rights Campaign (London committee of NJACCWER). Contact Daisy Nolan, 25 Oakfield Road, Finchley, London N3.

OCTOBER 10 - 13: COMMUNIST SCHOOL OF ART AND DESIGN: ART/DESIGN/REVOLUTION/SOCIETY. At Marx Memorial Library, Clerkenwell Green, London EC1. Details from Nick Wright, 16 King Street, London WC2.

OCTOBER 19/ or 26 (date to be confirmed): To commemorate the October 5th march of last year, the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign are planning a major national demo on VSC lines; March from Charing Cross Embankment to the Ulster Office, Berkeley Street, W1. (off Piccadilly) and on to Hyde Park. Contact Pat Denny, 01-GUL 0476.

NEW PRODUCTION AT UNITY: 'The Diamond, Hammer and Bone and Along Shaughs of Ulster', their new play about Irish civil rights. Fridays to Sundays only, 7.45 pm. Tickets 5/- to 10/-, Unity Theatre, 1 Goldington Street, London NW1. Tel: 01-EUS 8647.

Heavy Music in Manchester and Stockport. Thursday: At the Warren Bulkely (Stockport Town Centre).

Fridays: At the Two Brewers (Regent Road, Salford). Admission 4/-. Starts 7.30. Bands include New Religion, Strawberry Blues, Climax Chicago Blues Band, Spider King, Greasy Bear. Sponsored by "Grass Eye". Get your copies of the alternative press from Mike's bookstalls at the Grass Eye Nights.

"THE RAINY CITY RAP-IN". A weekend of discussion, revolution, rock and film. Sponsored by "Grass Eye" for the Manchester, Salford, Oldham and Stockport Secondary Schools Unions. Starts Friday September 12th through till Sunday Night. Speakers on Communications, International Affairs, Social Reform, Direct Action and Social Issues. Workshops for poets, artists, film makers. Street Theatre, Sculptors, Photographers. Rainy City Rock Show Saturday Night. Blues and Film Friday Night. At the Manchester University Union. Further details as they come available from Grass Eye, 52 Corporation Street, Manchester 4.

Scoop preview

New film on Castro

Angry Arts 8pm 28-29 August

SOCIAL WORK SERVICE

Adventure Playground Leader required for October, for one year in the first instance. Starting salary £1,000 p.a. Wide scope for individual initiative. Details from Bob Holman, c/o Social Administration Department, Birmingham University, Birmingham, 15.

"The Peterloo Massacre" Joyce Marlow. Published August 14th. Rapp & Whiting, 72 New Oxford St., WC1.

Schools Comrades contact Schools Action Union, 2 Kidderpore Gardens, NW3.

TREVOR PATEMAN, 154 Barnsbury Road, London N1. Tel: 01-278 1791.

has a room empty for 4 weeks or possibly 8 weeks from Tuesday July 29 on. No rent, and some food supplied, but anyone who might like to live there MUST be prepared to work with them on the following projects: Building a workshop for children from the Adventure Playground; Starting a silkscreen poster workshop to do posters for tenants and housing associations; Work with local Tenants Action Committee over GLC eviction threat. They will also be continuing their housing survey on local landlords, racketeering, profits, etc.

FOR SALE. 1926 BOUND EDITION OF LABOUR MONTHLY, including spirited defence of Leon Trotsky by Palme Dutt. Write Box JS69, Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ.

LEEDS SQUATTERS: Douglas Jordan, 28 Grantham Road, Bradford 7 is willing to start a squatters group in the Leeds-Bradford area, or co-ordinate with existing groups there. Leeds comrades please contact him.

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

The Dwarf always needs help from illustrators, designers, and photographers, so if you have some good pictures, or want a commission (expenses only!) let us know.

SPECIAL ISSUE OF INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS: DOCUMENTS OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL. Includes Resolutions and Reports on New Rise of World Revolution, Latin America, "Cultural Revolution" in China, World-Wide Youth Radicalisation, Tasks of the 4th International. 70 large size pages (printed), 5/- post paid from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee Street, London E1.

HOW CAN THE JEWS SURVIVE? A socialist answer to Zionism by George Novack, 2/6 post paid.

THE LAST YEAR OF MALCOLM X (The evolution of a revolutionary) by George Breitman, 17/6 post paid. Both from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee Street, London E1.

Malcolm X Poster. 4s 6d including postage from Peter Martin, 19 Fairmount Road, London SW2.

What's Black and White and Red All Over? Poster 2s including postage from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St., London W1A 4PZ.

Smash Capital Now. Christopher Logue Poster. 5s post free from The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St., London W1A 4PZ (Poster in two colours, black and red).

DIRECTORY OF ORGANISATIONS, 300 groups for left activists, 1/6 post paid. From: 18a New End Square, London NW3.

OLD DUPLICATOR WANTED FOR REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION. Free or cheap. Contact Box BD105.

Scouter, free or cheap, wanted by Dwarf militant to help in sales drive. Contact Mick Shrapnell c/o The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle St., London W1A 4PZ.

Poems published. SAE Ken Geering. D/Breakthru, Lindfield, Sussex.

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

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS - a revolutionary weekly journal that specialises in news from Africa, Europe, the Americas and Asia. Sample copy 2/4d post paid from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee St, London E1.

Mozambique. 20 minute film shot in liberated areas for hire. 1/6 or 35mm. £2.10.0d. o.n.o. Pamphlet available 1/4. Write to Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, 531 Caledonian Road, N7. Telephone 01-607 2170

NLF Badges and Flags. Also others. SAE for details. McGee, 42 Pendarves St., Beacon, Camborne, Cornwall.

HASLEMERE GROUP campaigning against exploitation of Third World, needs hard working secretary from October. Some Wages available. Write Box No. BD103.

BADGES MADE TO YOUR SPECIFICATION Colours: Red, Black, White, Green, Yellow, Blue, Saxe, Purple, Orange. 1" Diameter 1/- each 10/- doz. 1 1/4" diam. 1/6d each 15/- doz. 1 1/2" diam. 2/- each. £1 doz. Lettering: Black, white, red, blue. HAF, c/o 138, Pennymead, Harlow, Essex.

ANGRY ARTS FILM SOCIETY For all revolutionary films. Very reasonable terms for the movement. 10 Downside Crescent, London NW3. Tel. 01-794 3228.

Enormous posters (30" x 40") of Trotsky, for sale. Only 6/-. Send 6/- to: - 71 Osborne Road, Manchester 19.

Release. Tel 01-229 7753

BIT Information Service. Tel 01-229 8219

Cuban Day of Solidarity Posters. Imported from OSRAA AL Cuba. 4s post free

