

# The Black Dwarf

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Fortnightly 1/6

If the people at the bottom of the pile stopped grinning and let go, what would happen?



Ireland-Smash British Imperialism

It would be a mistake to see the strikes in Britain in isolation. The situation in Western Europe as a whole is worrying the bourgeoisie and they would obviously like to integrate the British ruling class into a strategy for combating the workers' movements as soon as possible. Hence the recent statement by the Dutch Foreign Minister on the 'urgency' of an EEC meeting to discuss Britain's entry.

In the last week of September, workers were on strike in:

Lubeck: 1,200 shipyard workers

Kiel: 7,000 workers

Copenhagen: 600 workers

Milan: 2½m. workers

Rome: Doctors threatened to join strike in solidarity with millions of workers

Palermo: Transport paralysed

France: Rail strike

Many of the strikes are for higher wages, but these wage demands will undoubtedly spread to more specific anti-capitalist actions. Periodic fights which are limited either to readjusting or

increasing wages are necessary but by themselves are not sufficient for making any serious headway. The challenge can be mounted effectively by demanding and forcing the capitalists to open the books, to abolish secrecy in banking and to yank out and expose all the hush-hush mechanisms of profit and big business. The Merseyside action should be seen as a beginning. Paid agents of the City like the Editor of *Punch* can complacently write in the *Guardian* (15 Sept. 1969): "Occupation of factories is unlawful, and workers who take part will lay themselves open to all sorts of trouble. Mr. Weinstock is hardly the sort who takes things meekly on the chin . . . (the

workers) are a good deal less interested in idealism than in the financial backing of their weekly pay packets." Of course hacks like Davis object even to the latter. They talk about 'partnership' and 'realistic concepts.'

However, what they fail to see is that we are living at a time when capitalism is on the brink of the third industrial revolution. Change is paramount — various branches of industry, various jobs will disappear within the next few years. Manual labour will gradually disappear, and the number of technicians involved in production will increase. This coupled with the fact that the level of training and the education of workers is

increasing rapidly. The more workers who are educated, the greater will be the demand for workers control. The argument that the bosses know best and only the bosses can run plants will be turned on its head as it will no longer be true and workers will know much more about running industry than either the bosses or the hordes of financial journalists who are their public relations men. The narrowing of the technical knowledge gap is not as far off as it seems.

The wave of strikes in Western Europe is reminiscent of the post-war periods in Europe in 1918-24 and 1945-47. In the latter instance the workers were betrayed by the traditional social-democratic and Stalinist leaderships. May 1968 in France was both a dress rehearsal for a socialist revolution but also a grim reminder that only a revolutionary party opposed to the twin policies of the social-democrats/Stalinists and able to attract large numbers of young workers will be able to seize state power.

The gates are back in LSE made of wood instead of steel. Marcuse's advice ("Burn them down") goes unheeded. The revo's are still there as well, but then politics is not. A full year's action leaves the socialists licking their wounds and learning their lessons.

In one year 1968/69 LSE saw a three day occupation over the weekend October 27th; a well conducted exposure of the school's support of Rhodesia and South Africa; a partial take-over of the Oration Day Lecture given by the apologist for Greek Facism, Trevor Roper; the violent removal of internal security gates; the closure of the school by the police and a counter offensive including arbitrary arrests, trials and injunctions; an all party parliamentary smear campaign orchestrated by Edward Short; counter demonstrations; nation-wide solidarity actions by students; the dismissal of a shop-steward and two lecturers; a student strike during the beginning of the final term which ended with a one year suspension of two students.

The aim of the socialist society at the LSE this past year was to transform the politics of morality, practised by most English students, into revolutionary socialist politics. Most students are morally opposed to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, fascism in Greece, and apartheid. However, they make no connection between apartheid and those institutions in England, including, inevitably, the university, which support apartheid. Therefore, their politics are isolated from their daily lives and revolution remains for them an abstract concept, perhaps meaningful for South Africa, but with no relevance to England. LSE socialists sought to involve students in struggles with the institutions which control their lives by showing the true nature of those institutions.

The strategy of the first three confrontations at the LSE was basically the same: an event was chosen which would focus attention onto an issue over which the left held moral and political hegemony (Oct. 27 for Vietnam, Trevor-Roper's oration for Greece, the Commonwealth P.M.'s Conference for Rhodesia.) Research was carried out into the connections between the LSE and the issue in question. Invariably, the connections were there. LSE's Court of Governors is virtually a Who's Who of the imperialist, monopoly capitalist ruling class; LSE has investments in everything from South African companies to I.C.I.; LSE offers recruiting facilities to the same type of companies that it invests in (and that its Governors control); and LSE's professors, in general, teach the kind of shit that makes apartheid possible. These connections were published and debated. Then the demand was put forward either that the connections be severed, or that they be compensated for (e.g. the demand that no firms operating in South Africa be allowed to use LSE facilities for recruiting or that the school be made available to the Oct. 27 demonstrations.) On each of the occasions the demands put forward by the socialists were adopted by the mass of students, and were then backed up by some form of direct action (no direct action took place over Rhodesia; the gates came down before that could happen).

This strategy of interlocking a political moral issue with a direct mass action against the authorities for their class role, was very successful. On each of these issues, we were able to show students that they could not enjoy the luxury of moral indignation over Vietnam or Greece while continuing with business as usual at the LSE. Students came to see that they could not oppose the war in Vietnam without also opposing, at least, temporarily, the LSE and by

# Editorial

## The Strikes Continue

# LSE

## In Retrospect

An integration that is only achieved on action (almost no-one at the LSE will support apartheid IN THE ABSTRACT). Direct action also made our demands on these issues credible and confronted the administration with an insoluble dilemma: either to meet our demands, whereupon we would have proven to ourselves our power to change things; or to refuse our demands and repress our efforts to achieve them, in the process further educating us to the need to struggle against the LSE. We raised the issue of student power but not in a reformist campaign to improve our already privileged position. Instead we sought power over our own institution in order to prevent that institution from servicing a system which oppresses the many for the sake of the few.

But very serious mistakes were made at the LSE this year. Fundamental was our lack of any perspective beyond the above strategy. Confrontations serve to mobilise students, they also help to educate them. However, in and of themselves, they do not organise students. This last year at the LSE saw a series of isolated confrontations which temporarily activated a large number of students but which failed to integrate them into any permanent and serious socialist movement (see Tom Fawthrop's article in *Solidarity* Vol 5 No. 10).

Without such a movement students can become "pop" socialists, participating in confrontations because they're trendy or fun, but disappearing into the library in time to save their careers and avoid the hard political work that needs to be done. Because there was no sustained attempt at education, agitation, and organisation, confrontations soon became, if not counter-productive, then at least much less productive than they could have been. This was the case with the removal of the gates and the attempts to prevent the victimisation which resulted from that action. The removal of the gates was fundamentally correct — we were acting to control our environment against the wishes of those who normally control it for us and it was clearly an important action for those who took part — when the first sledge-hammer was swung all sorts of inhibitions were smashed along with the gate. However, we were neither prepared to take the next logical step, to extend our control over our own environment, nor capable of defending ourselves against the administration's retribution. Therefore, the relevance of and the reasons for the violent removal of the gates were never clear to most students. The violent removal of the gates enabled the administration to take the offensive, and forced us to devote all of our energy to a campaign to prevent victimisation.

*Solidarity* is fairly strong sentiment among students. However, it is not strong enough to defeat the fear of losing one's place in the university or of jeopardising one's career. LSE Socialist society could offer students no way of fighting victimisation without entailing these risks. In this situation, most students

strike — this was another example of a fundamentally correct tactic misfiring because it was not done properly; i.e., in the context of and following from a long campaign to expose the concept of "academic freedom".) By the final term, students were simply tired of repeated confrontations, and pessimistic about the chances of success. In this situation, and in the absence of a feasible socialist society strategy, victimisation could not be prevented.

Because we lacked a commonly-held long range political perspective, LSE socialists made at least two other major errors. The first concerned the way in which we failed to relate struggles within LSE to struggles outside. We never succeeded in resolving the contradiction between the need to secure support from large numbers of non-socialist LSE students (which meant we had to take into account non-socialist, although sympathetic, sensibilities in planning any action); and the importance of widening the struggle beyond the LSE to involve the left throughout the country (which meant taking the kind of militant action which would inspire other revolutionaries to support us). Almost invariably, whatever action we took would alienate one group while winning support from another (the best example being the ULU occupation and retreat; the exception being the Oct. 27 occupation.) In retrospect, it seems clear that LSE socialists were overly concerned with winning immediate and complete support from so-called moderate students, and therefore came to act like moderates themselves. Support from moderate students is crucial, but it must be support for socialist programs and actions, and such support can only be won by taking principled socialist positions. On the other hand, it is also clear that revolutionary students elsewhere were not sufficiently sensitive to the need for a mass base within the university (both LSE and their own school). Thus, they repeatedly flocked to LSE revolutionary happenings, criticised them for not being revolutionary enough to suit them, and at the same time neglected the crucial work of waging the struggle within their own university. (This criticism of course does not apply to all those who came to LSE and rendered socialists there invaluable support on several occasions.)

Finally, LSE socialist society adopted a fundamentally incorrect policy in relation to student union politics. We placed primary importance on winning Union mandates for our actions, failing to realise that it is involvement in, not support for, actions that is important. By the end of the year, we could win almost any vote in the Union, but could not involve the students who voted for our resolutions. We had encouraged students to think that they were working for the revolution if they voted for it. They did vote for it, but did nothing else. We should have gone into Union meetings to argue the correctness of our actions, but should have seen our actions as being basically independent of Union mandates. This would have forced us to take more responsibility for, and to involve more people in, our actions.

We were also mistaken in our policy towards the students Union in deciding to run for bureaucratic positions in order to occupy them. Union elections can, in some circumstances, provide a platform for socialist propaganda. Union office however, can only encourage bureaucratic tendencies among those elected, and passivism on the part of the mass. Our aim should have been to destroy Union bureaucracies, not to staff them as we ended up doing.

Hopefully, the revolutionary student left will

## THE FIGHT FOR EQUAL PAY

National Equal Pay Day – September 12 – was a disappointing affair. It had originally been planned by NJACWER (National Joint Action Campaign for Women's Equal Rights) as a nationwide day of meetings and demonstrations, but ended up as one meeting in London with the emphasis on the nurses' situation.

In the context of the equal pay struggle, this choice of subject was somewhat out of place. NJACWER demands equal pay for equal work: industrial figures in April this year show that the average increase in a woman's wage was 6.15d per hour as against men's 10.35d per hour, about 60% of the men's increase. It is certainly true that nurses are exploited, but they are exploited as women in a traditionally female role, that of inferior creatures who can fetch and carry for (men) doctors, an extension of the female domestic. Within the medical profession the nurses' struggle is – or ought to be – aimed at smashing the concept of 'women's work'. Thus the meeting reflected the obvious confusion within NJACWER: what exactly are its priorities – the specific aim of equal pay for equal work, or the struggle for equal rights at all levels?

Sister Pat Veal from the United Nurses Association talked at great length, mostly in anecdotes, and on a purely descriptive level she provided a good insight into the conditions under which nurses have to operate. Since 1933, for example, the TUC have been searching for a Nurses Union: at present nurses are incorporated into NUPE (National Union of Public Employees) or COHSE (Confederation of Health Service Employees). Since there is a general wage pool in both these unions, nurses fare extremely badly so that a student nurse earns only £5.15.0 per week, a staff nurse £12.10.0. Nursing Agencies, to which a large number of newly qualified nurses are turning for work, take up to 12½% off the girl's salary; the hospital isn't charged. Pat Veal is right when she says, 'Nurses are their own worst enemies': they don't realise just how much they are being exploited. The official nurses working week is 42 hours, and attempts are being made to bring shifts of 5-5½ days. At the same time, nurses will flock in response to Agency ads which run: "If you're energetic, work 6 hours a night, 72 hours a week for £29". It might be good money but in the long run nurses are doing themselves no good at all. They are beginning to solve the problem of understaffing, and in hospitals with up to 100 agency nurses it's very much in the interests of the authorities to maintain this situation. The Nursing Council which since 1920 has been 'safeguarding' nurses is unconcerned with the rapid growth of agency nursing, or with unjust sackings, victimisation of UNA members, the high failure rate in final exams, the equally high drop-out rate. But although nurses are by now very pissed off they are scared of taking any kind of militant action. In their isolation they are likely to be struck off the roll and left jobless.

This was as far as Sister Veal went. What she never touched on was the one thing that counts in terms of the equal rights struggle: the structure of the medical profession. Which can be summed up quite simply as that women are traditionally nurses and men traditionally doctors. The fact that the doctor's subordinates are nurses (i.e. women) makes it easier for him to push them around. And although a standard 15% of medical school places is 'kept' for women students, those women who are determined to become doctors are under great pressure to be shunted off into nursing. Thus the delineation is perpetuated. There is the argument that women doctors are of little use to the profession since they will leave to have kids almost as soon as their 5-7 year training is over. But this just reflects on the idea that women are not really in their proper place unless they're at home washing nappies.

The nurses' struggle is obviously closely related to the women's movement as a whole, but 'more pay for nurses' is a somewhat different call from 'equal pay for equal work' in factories. Blatant sex discrimination is different from simply being paid low wages, something which isn't solely confined to nurses. It was the blurring of the issues which ran through the entire meeting. Unfortunately, the confusion apparent there represents a confusion and disorganisation inside NJACWER itself.

One of the reasons why Equal Pay Day was not organised on the national scale was that there is practically no co-ordination between local secretaries. Some branches thought the Day had been cancelled and throughout the holiday period there was almost complete inactivity. National co-ordination would be greatly improved if local secretaries were on a General Council; the present General Council was constituted at the founding meeting last

practically no money; it is a voluntary society and therefore had to depend on donations to survive. If it were legally reconstituted as a friendly society then regular subscriptions could be demanded. Another suggestion is that trade unions should be asked to subscribe to any Newsletter produced. If NJACWER was more democratically organised and activities better co-ordinated, and if there wasn't this chronic shortage of money, National Equal Pay Day could have been far more militant than it was.

All this is not to belittle the importance of NJACWER, but to point out some of the reasons why its activities up till now have been limited. And on the political level, there is some disagreement as to what its role should be. A number of the CP stewards in NJACWER see it as a pressure group on Parliament, a group which should simply make propaganda for equal pay, maybe to persuade Wilson and the TUC to bring in equal pay some time before the promised 1975. But Wilson's equal pay programme is rather an insidious one. In order to maintain profits, Wilson and the TUC will have to demand sacrifices from men workers – both in terms of a wage ceiling and speed up in the factory – in order to give a pay rise to women. This will effectively split the working class and pit one section against the other. With the prospect of this distortion of equal pay, it is vital that NJACWER retain its autonomy as a grass roots movement which will organise women (and men) workers to prevent anything like Wilson's scheme from coming in. Women factory workers have got to realise that the aim is to raise women's wages to the level of men's without any material disadvantage to the latter, and that subsequent pay increases involve the same amount of money for both. In a situation where only 11% of working women are getting equal pay, NJACWER has a vital role to play in the fight for genuine equality of pay, and in the fight for full unionisation of women, both full and part time. To a great extent the result of the struggle will depend on the amount of agitational work they can do. But in order to prepare the ground for this work they are going to have to restructure the organisation and get it running efficiently. For unless they manage this we may be faced with repetitions of National Equal Pay Day 1969.

LUCIA

## PORT TALBOT

Iron-ore had been stockpiled for months on the Glasgow docksides. The working people had seen nothing like it since before the Second World War. Carriers came on stronger each day and the piles of iron-ore grew and grew. That's April.

At the car plants all over Britain vehicles had been stockpiled all through winter, spring and the new end of summer.

Then the strike at Port Talbot. The steel industry being the mid-link in the chain from iron-ore to motor car.

One why answered... the owners were not making sweet bread. In America the owners of the car plants here were making no kind of bread either. They were trapped, and are, in an impasse as the foundations of their greed come apart all over the world. If the owners in America were not making pennyone profit, then, you'd better believe it, the owners' servants in this country would never be allowed to go out alone in their quest for greed.

Port Talbot produced strip steel for the motor industry. When the strike began the car industry was on holiday. The owners had been giving their work people high wages. Not out of the goodness of their hearts. They have no hearts. To enable them to stockpile. High wages given out of intention. The owners then provoked at Port Talbot a strike that they had created the patterns for with their huge over-production. Work people were forced to act. They had some bread saved for their own holidays. No one knew this better than the owners for they had paid the handouts. The owners then called the strike for at both ends of their greed-system, raw materials and consumer product there was over-production.

The Unions following the directives of Wilson's crew tried to carry out the old myth. That the workers had been 'got at' by oddballs and their like and were striking for selfish reasons. So chatchat from Feather and his mob would be the bumfluff the work people would

have to take home as their dignity. It's nice for the owners if the myth comes out of the Union structure. Unions, hand in hand with Wilson, with the owners and with the greed they all have in common. The work people in Port Talbot were set-up as ignorant troublemakers trying to screw up the already screwed up economic scene in Britain and elsewhere. The Unions through the T.U.C. and Wilson saw to it that the strike would never become official. The words ran, 'If you don't work workers then we won't talk to you at all. Your time is to work, Not to talk. Not to think. Certainly not to act.' So the credo goes all the way down Press and Media and servants of the owners in this position and that position.

The workers were being forced out into an exposed position in Wales for the owners were curious to see how effective certain propaganda myths had been. Wales was the mythical kingdom of Charlie boy and the robber barons. A place where the owners had been spinning their divisive tales for years.

Why not a strike in Scotland or in the North East? Why not in the South? Wales was the scene as the Moon had become a bag of useless stones. The workers in Port Talbot, however, did not follow the pattern the owners anticipated. They told their Union leaders and the others to go get fucked. They organised themselves for their people. They refused to be brought out on words by the Press or the Media. They elected their own strike committee and they prepared to carry on their own struggle. Their women and their children became involved. The television sets were deserted. The women were on the beaches with their children talking among themselves. The work people went to their pubs and for the first time in many years old and young put their heads together. Port Talbot was united as a community against a common enemy of that community.

In spite of the heads that flew around looking for proof of their particular theory for it all, the workers and the community they lived in moved to organise their people. Local council, housewives, youth, workers all united in support. The heads way out on theory were split among themselves as all angels are with the pin that can't stick nowhere. The people had acted, had organised their own actions, had talked, had thought and they won every one of their demands.

Port Talbot was one step forward by the community and the development was on every level of their lives. A community was organised in a just struggle. The Unions, the Government, the owners were seen for what they are... enemies of working people. A small victory perhaps but a victory for the working people in Port Talbot. The mythical bullshit in Wales was exposed also. So they progressed and they have taught all of us that when people organise themselves for their rights then they will always win if they are a community. They gain their dignity and above all they gain security among people and take up the confidence that the system shaved from them year by year since their birth. There is no way out of the fact. No adjective or processions of adjectival hang-ups will prove otherwise. The people will win. Have won and will continue in their day to day struggle to win their rights and their humanity. Port Talbot is important and much more than the place the people. In a coming winter when great struggles will take place over this land Port Talbot's lessons should be learned and practiced, developed and driven on as the people waken from the sleep the owners and their agents have carefully dropped them under for many years. The people will win!

Ken Murray

## NEW POLITICS- NEW TRADE UNIONISM

At the 1969 Delegate Conference of the Transport and General Workers' Union, Jack Jones, speaking of the developing ideas of workers' control and rank-and-file union democracy, coined the phrase "trade unionism with a human face". With its calculated evocation of the experiments in socialist democracy which were beginning in Czechoslovakia before

the Russian occupation, this is a good description of a new mood in trade unionism and socialist political organisations. It sums up a spirit of militant democracy, of active opposition to arbitrary political and economic power by one man over another, and of regard for the creative capacities of the working people, which are so fearfully choked back and stifled in our present society.

It is true that workers in Britain enjoy certain democratic rights, which are crucially important to their livelihood and the defence of their conditions and standards of life. It is equally true that many of these fundamental rights are under heavy attack, by the employers, the State, the Conservative Party and the predominant groupings within the Labour Government. The trade union victory over attacks on the right to strike, for instance, was only the first round of a battle which will continue to be fought on many fronts for a long time. Unions are learning that they can only maintain their powers by militant vigilance, and that they must be prepared to fight on several fronts at once. But workers are also learning that it is not enough to defend the democratic gains which were made by their fathers and grandfathers. They are also being thrust into new appreciations, which teach them the gross inadequacy of many of the institutions which purport to represent or defend them, and which continually underline the need for an extension of democratic powers at the grass roots of society.

Nowhere has this process of learning been more clearly exemplified than at the Liverpool plants of GEC-English Electric. The fact is, that the enthusiastic determination of the Liverpool Shop Stewards to resist unemployment by actually occupying and continuing to work their factories is a copybook example of "trade unionism with a human face." The new unionism has learnt from the old, and learnt thoroughly and quickly.

Before he turned his attention to the Merseyside factories, Arnold Weinstock had already dismissed 12000 workpeople, of all grades and skills, from one end of the country to the other. Many of these dismissals were combated by every possible 'constitutional' means. A perfect example of such resistance is the quite remarkable struggle of the Woolwich workers, totally united and enjoying, as they did, the backing of a whole community. Five thousand people, or more, participated in an impressive march of protest. Town clerks protested, Members of Parliament were lobbied and joined in the protests, local authorities lent their weight to the campaign, work was blacked, and endless negotiations were undertaken with the company and the Government. The sum of all this activity was precisely, and entirely, zero. Never can the labour movement in one centre of population have been more completely united for resistance: yet, with all the pressure and lobbying, Mr Weinstock went his own way as if his plans were no more untoward than changing the brand of the canteen tea.

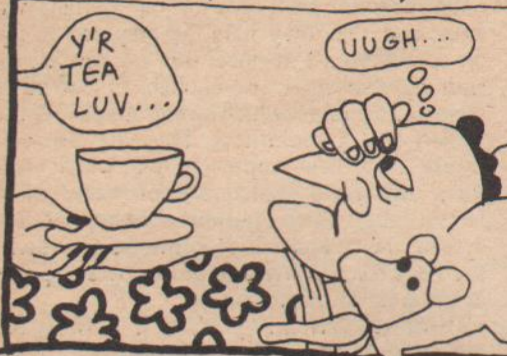
Power did not lie in the hands of the local councils, or the MPs, or the union executives. Mr Weinstock had the power, and the Government itself was impotent to challenge him, if it were to continue its misguided policies for 'economic recovery' which depend upon the success of the Weinstocks for their very life. The ultimate frustration of the democratic process was to be found in this: the largest Constituency Labour Party in the country is at Woolwich, and it certainly did not labour night and day to elevate Mr Wilson to office, in order to rationalise nearly six thousand Woolwich breadwinners out of their jobs. The lack of control, of elementary accountability, within the Labour Movement itself, could not be more clearly demonstrated than by this doleful story. That is why it is necessary for the Liverpool men to take over their plant. Nothing less will work. Reason will never be seen on high unless force is applied. The Political leaders have escaped from responsibility to their constituents, with the result that Mr Weinstock has a license to do as he likes on the Mersey, whatever happens to the people who have invested their lives in his undertakings.

An occupation of the Weinstock Plants will not lead into utopia. It will be a hard and testing struggle. The workers will need massive support from the Labour Movement. Unless their colleagues in other factories and industries collect large sums of money to aid them, they may be starved out. Unless a vast political and trade union solidarity movement arises, they may be forced out. They are making a brave, if desperate stand. In the process, they will learn a great deal about the problems of the new society, just as their fore-runners in the occupation of the French factories have learnt. The innumerable problems they will face must be closely watched by the rest of the movement, in order, first to help while help is needed, and second to profit from the experience for the future battles. Unless we change all the basic policies of Government, the next

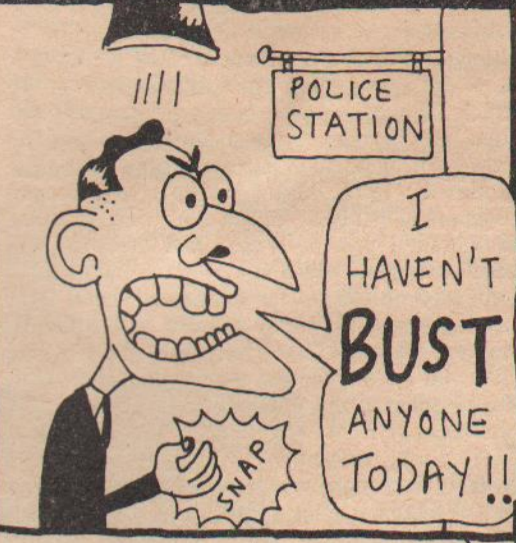


# THE ADVENTURES OF P.C. FRANK

P.C. FRANK AWAKES... HE IS TENSE AND DISTURBED SOMETHING IS MISSING... (NOW READ ON)



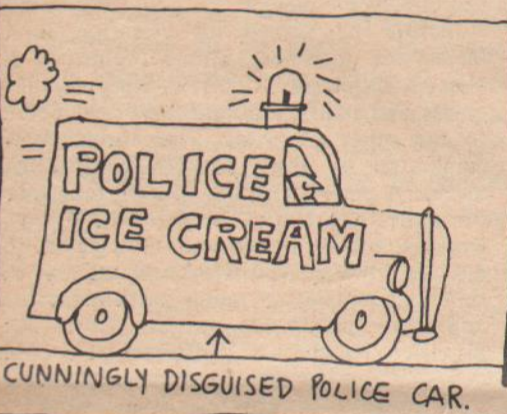
SOMETHING'S MISSING I WONDER WHAT IT IS??...



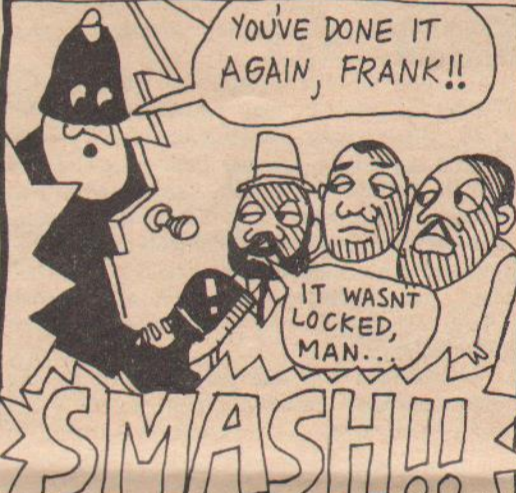
INSIDE THE STATION FRANK MEETS HIS BUDDY... PRISS..



P.C. FRANK AND PRISS DRIVE FOR MILES THROUGH THE STREETS OF LONDON'S ROTTEN HATE...



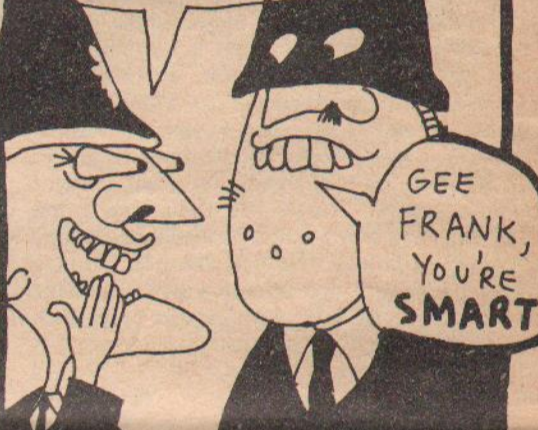
FINALLY THEY ARRIVE AT A HOUSE... AND...



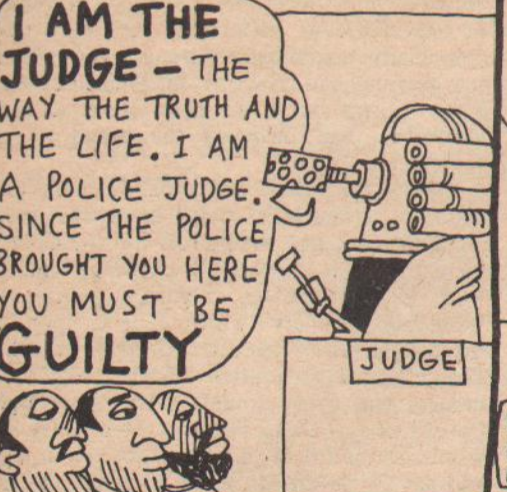
HOW DO YOU DO IT FRANK, BUDDY? HOW DO YOU SMELL THE STUFF AT THAT AMAZING DISTANCE?



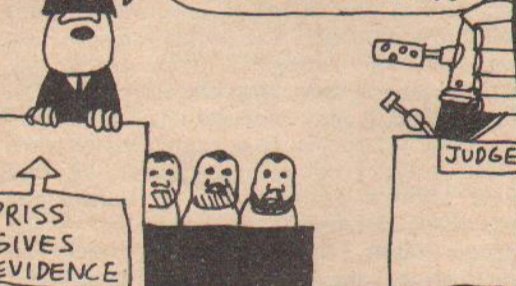
ITS EASY MAN. I SMELL IT ALL THE TIME... I KEEP IT IN MY POCKET...



IN THE COURTROOM...



WE WERE PATROLLING ROTTEN HATE IN AN ICE CREAM VAN, DOING A STEADY 90 M.P.H., WHEN WE OBSERVED 3 MEN ENTER A BUILDING. WE WERE IMMEDIATELY SUSPICIOUS. THEY WERE BLACK MEN.



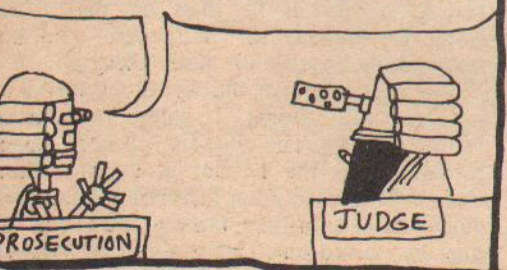
I ENTERED THE BUILDING AND DEMANDED TO KNOW WHERE THE HASH WAS - THE MEN WENT BERSERK - IN THE COURSE OF THE ENSUING STRUGGLE I REMOVED FROM THEIR PERSONS 3 SUB-MACHINE GUNS OF CHINESE MANUFACTURE, 2 PISTOLS OF RUSSIAN ORIGIN, AND 6 MACHETTES - BELIEVED TO HAVE COME FROM CUBA...

THEN FRANK.

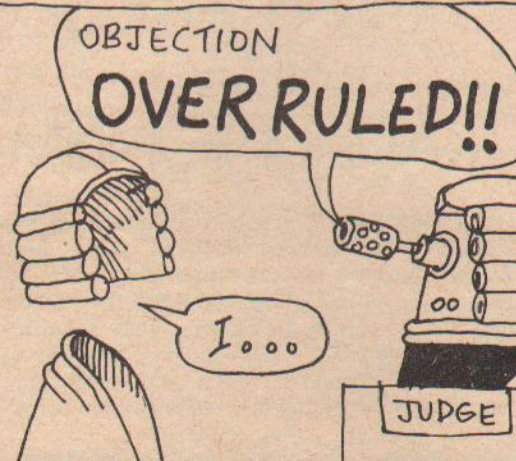
FINALLY, AFTER A THOROUGH SEARCH THAT DEMOLISHED HALF THE STREET, WE FOUND TRACES OF MARIJUANA IN THE BELLY OF A DEAD PIGEON, WHICH BELONGED TO ONE OF THE MEN'S GRANDFATHER..



YOU HAVE HEARD THE EVIDENCE OF YOUR LOYAL SERVANTS OH MIGHTY ONE, AND THE PROSECUTION RESTS SURE OF YOUR BEAUTIFUL JUSTICE JUSTICE.. JUSTICE



AND THE DEFENSE COUNCIL SPEAKS...



I HAVE HEARD THE EVIDENCE OF THE POLICE WITNESSES AND I AM VERY IMPRESSED BY THEIR HONESTY AND CANDOUR...



FROM 10 YEARS EXPERIENCE IN SMETHWICK, AND BEING A MEMBER OF THE RACE RELATIONS BOARD, I AM IN A POSITION TO SAY THAT RACISM DOES NOT EXIST IN BRITAIN. I FIND YOU GUILTY



P.C. FRANK WILL STRIKE AGAIN!! FOLLOW HIS ADVENTURES IN OUR COMIX!! IF YOU HAVE ANY IDEAS FOR STORIES ABOUT P.C. FRANK, WRITE AND TELL US!! SEE YOU SOON!!

## DWARF LETTER

Star" - only daily of the left (until and if they bring out the Daily Newsletter). I can't help but wonder how often he has read The Newsletter (at the present time it is published twice weekly). The Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League (The Newsletter is the official SLL paper) actively condemn the Communist Party of Great Britain comrade David's own

offers the only possible advice, unity of the left. It would be quite impossible to talk about unity with the YS. The fanatics would drown your questions (They never listen to anything against their policies) with cries of "no compromise". However, its members should not be neglected, the majority have only been in the

members tried to reason with the 'Newsletter' Editor. They said that he was splitting the left. This made sense, this fact annoyed the Editor, and unable to control himself with answers, he broke down waving his fist, screaming fucking merry hell as the meeting broke up and the majority of people followed the CP members out of the hall.

# SKINHEADS

## Attack

Dear Dwarf Comrades,

What is wrong with the cropheads? In this fucked up society everyone loves to categorise people, before it was long haired louts, now it is these stupid cropheads. IT, OZ and Black Dwarf and all left wingers seem to think you must have long hair, wear their clothes, like their music or else you're not part of the Revolution. What happens when a crophead goes into a place full of hips say in Hampstead somewhere, he is immediately shunned by all chicks and blokes, he may want to take part in their scene. This is what happens when a hippie goes into an old boys Conservative Club, he is naturally shunned, and we talk about the society before us and yet we are doing the fucking same things. Did Karl Marx say all revolutionaries must have long hair, dress different? No, what he really wanted was to smash Capitalism and this is where the British Left should take a peg from the Irish Socialist, it was a great sight to see long hair, cropped hair all fighting together to smash the same thing. So British Left Wing cop on before it is too late, the working-class (a great percentage are cropheads) need us, don't stamp them down because they dress the way they like, after all we are supposed to be after complete freedom in the Socialist Republic, freedom for censorship, rules and regulations and free for everyone to do their thing. On with the real revolution.

David Bucke, (Member of the Dublin Young Socialists) Sutton High Street, Surrey.

Dear Comrades:

John Hoyland ["The Skinheads: A Youth Group for the National Front?" *Dwarf* August 30] is not alone in noting the emergence of new movement in working-class youth. Gerry Stimsley recently managed to construct a much less misleading picture of the Skinheads in *Rolling Stone*. It is paradoxical that Stimsley, although writing for what Hoyland would consider a Trendy and presumably bourgeois journal, felt no need to launch into an unreflective attack on working-class youth.

Hoyland, writing for *Dwarf*, is concerned to isolate the Skinheads from the rest of working-class youth, and to offer as an alternative to Skinhead "mystique" the "excitement" of the "May Events". More than that, Hoyland is concerned to warn the Left that it may have to defend itself against "these charming little thugs".

Hoyland's sources are impeccable: one quotation from a Further Education class and another from a Walthamstow Youth Club Leader! His values are even cosier: defend the free concerts and "see the Skinheads as the nasty, thick little louts they really are". All this dense 'Marxist' analysis leads Hoyland to envisage an immediate, and apparently inevitable, link between the Skinheads and the cadres of the National Front. He does not even care to question the reportage given the Leeds Race Riot by the bourgeois press: of course it is in their interests to lay the responsibility on "nasty, thick, little louts". They are as concerned as Hoyland appears to be to avoid a socialist analysis of the first race riot in Yorkshire.

Hoyland's observations and prescriptions just will not do. To isolate (and smash?) the section of the working-class that is being most stringently hit by the constraints of incomes policy, by the class-determined limitations on education and life-chances and by the bourgeoisie's domination of the mass media, is not to 'smash fascism'. Rather it is to leave that section open to fascist ideas and action. Presumably we would not want to leave the Smithfield porters and London Dockers to the tender mercies of the National Front because a few of them marched for Powell?

*Black Dwarf* has been pushing the need for consistent socialist theory in its pages. Hoyland offers up a few gratuitous insults ("louts"), a sprinkling of psychologisms ("easily manipulated", "mystique" etc.) and a strain of elitism (he says we should concentrate on the "positive and constructive" element in working-class youth - and seems to prefer those at college). Hardly the most consistent Marxist analysis produced in *Dwarf* recently.

The fact is that the Skinheads represent the vanguard of a relatively militant resistance to bourgeois society. If nothing else, the magistrates recognise this quite clearly. Soccer

is to the 'competitors' most visible to you. In a class-divided social structure, 'competitors' tend to be highly visible precisely because of the structural requirement that you identify yourself. The middle-class student, for example, has a life-style and uniform, aiding communication and identification. It is no accident that students have formed more of a collective identification in recent years: a social group under siege will assert a collective identity of a kind. It does not mean that the group (in this case students) is a class. It may simply represent the temporary (historically-specific) achievement of a collective consciousness within a group.

Skinheads don't occupy the same structural positions as students. That is, their structural relationship to the powerful is rather different. The Administration, the capitalist Employers and of course the Government are not so immediately visible (as they are to students). The Skinheads are destined for the production line, educated on the football terraces and socialised in the street-corner pub. For all Hoyland's exhortations, they are not likely to be interested in Further Education as it stands. This offers no real alternative to the life-chances our society has mapped out for them. And if Hoyland thinks that Further Education colleges are the place for communicating the revolutionary elan of May 1968, he hasn't seen too many of them. "Education" within the walls of capitalism's training schools is of a certain kind: to think of these institutions as revolutionary bases it to deceive. The expansion of Further Education in recent years was not intended as an illumination of the contradictions of capitalism. If Hoyland is emphasising this kind of "education" as "positive and constructive", he is mistaking individual advancement within the system for revolutionary ardour.

Hoyland needs to be careful in deciding on the "louts" of the capitalist system. *Black Dwarf* needs to be careful in obtaining its "Insights" from the posh Sundays. Socialists in general should be careful not to write off signs of working-class resistance as pathological or as "naive... and unconscious". Most importantly, we need to say that just because the Skinheads do not come to us is not to argue that we should not go to them. Hoyland invokes the history of fascism. Examination of the downfall of the Weimar Republic certainly reveals the need to smash fascism "physically" if and when it has claimed to consciousness of the class. It also tells us that there is no inevitability about the process of consciousness within the class, and that if the Left ignores class resistance in favour of its own elitism and received ideologies it is likely then to abdicate the class. History does not tell us that working-class resistance to bourgeois-rule is made-to-measure socialism. Neither does it demonstrate a precedent for the Skinheads as an inevitable cadre for a future Hitler Youth.

Fraternally, Ian Taylor. Glasgow I.S.  
20 St. Vincent Crescent, Glasgow C.3.

Dear Black Dwarf,

John Hoyland really ought to know better than to generalize in so rash and unsubstantiated a fashion, about 'Skinheads' or anybody else. The 'Daily Mail' the other day had an article about these youths couched in almost identical terms, except that the writer did not end up with boy-scoutish recommendations to his readers to get moving and 'organize' the 'nasty thick little louts'. (I've met a few nasty thick little Revolutionary Students on my travels lately - but so what?) Under-privileged adolescents have been a nuisance in the streets for very many years and I do not think that the present generation is any more or less likely to enlist *en masse* under the fascist banner than their fathers the 'teds' or their grandfathers who used to waylay me on the streets of Barnsley in the early thirties and chase me home from school because my mother had not equipped me with hob-nailed boots (quite a fashion in those days, too).

Last year I was concerned in the production of a play about Nelson at the Roundhouse. The actors were professionals supplemented by a large number of non-professionals drawn from all over the shop, among them a group of Chalk Farm 'Skinheads' who (a) asked to be in the play, (b) attended every rehearsal with unflinching regularity, (c) entered into their roles with great excitement - they were cast as members of a press-gang and demanded that no-one else

professional's dressing-room and his properties and costumes. But if professionals themselves had slightly less conception of this same 'sacredness' - which can extend from dressing-rooms etc. to the very person of the noble actor at all hours of the day - then the theatre might not be quite so reactionary as it is. It is also fair to add that the 'Skinheads' did at times give off various racist and other intolerant opinions. I know of no area of British society in which such views may not, on occasion, be heard...

It is also fair to add that when a very big row blew up between the authors and directors of the play - on the one hand - and the Institute of Contemporary Arts (our financial backers) - on the other - most of the professional actors chickened out and ruptured themselves (by trying to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, change horses in midstream, sit on the fence, and other gymnastic feats, all at the same time) the 'Skinheads' came out to us in great anger and said that we had only to give the word and they would go down the Mall and 'do Michael Kustow' for us. Now I am not a Fascist and I had made no attempt to 'organize' those boys. But I had taken seriously their interest in the work they were helping me to do: and my annoyance at some of their wilder behaviour behind the scenes had not tempted me into sweeping denunciations of their entire class and age-group.

Yours fraternally,  
John Arden, 26 Cranbourne Road, London, N10.

## Defence

John Hoyland replies:

Firstly, I stand well corrected on my use of the phrase about "louts". You are entirely right about this.

Secondly, I have taught in Further Education Colleges containing a fair proportion of skinheads for several years. I could cite dozens of examples of their interest, friendliness, independence of spirit, etc. like the one described by John Arden (who, like me, is generalising from his own experience). This does not prevent me from criticising the social role they are now tending to play, so far as I am able to observe it.

Thirdly, at no point in my article did I attack working-class youth as a whole. My article dealt specifically with those skinheads (a small fraction of their age-group) who have identified themselves by punch-ups on the football terraces and by attacks on blacks and hippies (and their own working-class contemporaries) in the streets.

However, Comrade Taylor's letter in particular does not only suffer from his misunderstanding of my article and his absurd attack on a position I do not hold in relation to Further Education. Underneath his point-scoring about psychologisms and cosy-values, there is a kind of ouvrier romanticism which is as misleading and dangerous as the elevation of crime into an act of intrinsic revolutionary merit by sections of the anarchists and situationists.

Of course the skinheads may turn out to be no more significant (from the political point of view) than the Teds. Of course there is no inevitability about them turning into fascists. Of course they belong to the most beleaguered sections of the working-class - the sections that suffer most from the inequalities and injustices of our society. I was at great pains to make these points in my article, comrades, and I tried to make it clear that insofar as their behaviour is a defiant assertion of their (class) identity, socialists should view it with interest and understanding. I might have added that skinheads are victimised by the police and other authorities every bit as consistently as the hippies and left-wingers. But to go from there to claiming that the skinheads represent the "vanguard of a relatively militant resistance to bourgeois society" is absolutely incredible.

All three comrades choose to ignore the fact

that one of the prime targets of the skinheads who are organised into gangs is the black. Comrade Taylor might not like to believe that working-class boys were beating up Pakistanis in Leeds, but the fact is that workers sometimes do become active racists even if racialism itself is not caused by workers. I wonder how many blacks would look so kindly on this particular form of "resistance" as Ian Taylor does.

Comrade Taylor's theory of "visible competitors" is an interesting one. Along with points I made myself about the relatively privileged situation of students and hippies, it may help to explain why these particular "visible competitors" are also targets for attacks by some of the skinheads. We can understand why the skinheads respond in this way - we can go to them and argue with them about it as Ian Taylor proposes - but this is totally different from greeting their response as evidence of vanguard militancy.

We must reject this uncritical idolisation of the working-class which fails to see that sections of the working-class can at times play an objectively reactionary role even when attempting to struggle against their own alienation. No two skinheads are the same (just like anyone else) and their attitudes as a group are contradictory; but we can say that in as much as they are attempting to escape from their class-situation by carving a hierarchical niche for themselves within an unaltered society, they are opting for a capitalist and false solution. If we are to describe this as the activity of a vanguard, we might just as well say that the Kray brothers were running a guerilla foco in the East End.

Far from being evidence of militancy, attacks on hippies and blacks are dangerous diversions from militancy. It is true that in America some of the Chicago street-gangs have taken up an overtly revolutionary position, and this is a possibility in relation to the skinheads if we take into account their defiance and anti-authoritarianism. But it unfortunately remains much more likely that if they go anywhere at all (and particularly if there is a worsening racial situation in Britain) they will go to the right. We need not be alarmist about this. The skinheads are young, small in numbers, and by no means intractable. But neither should we imagine we are helping them "resist bourgeois society" if we encourage them in behaviour which is both self-destructive and against the interests of their class.

Finally, we are not abandoning the casualties of the system or showing elitist preferences if we offer the maximum possible support for the young workers who are ready to resist the system. In fact nothing will help the down-trodden sections of the class more than militant action by their own comrades.

John Arden is correct in his hostility towards the idea of one lot of people going around organising other lots of people. (Apart from anything else it doesn't usually work.) What is more important is that working-class youths should start organising themselves. Many young workers (for example, large sections of the apprentices) are potentially extremely militant, and will soon develop their own methods of struggle. But at the moment they lack confidence, and in many cases they have been confused by years of successive brainwashing both in and out of school. This is where socialists can help - through argument and example, through political work, through showing more awareness of young workers' problems.

What is important is that comrades like Ian Taylor should not fall into the trap of assuming that working-class people are necessarily inarticulate and incapable of a socialist response to their situation. This is tantamount to saying that they must remain eternally trapped within the confines of capitalist ideology. It is more correct to view the workers as the potential masters of their own destinies that they can and will become.

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# IMPERIALISM IRISH SELF-DETERMINATION

**"At the head of the whole people, and particularly of the peasantry—for complete freedom, for a consistent democratic revolution, for a republic! At the head of all the toilers and the exploited—for Socialism."** LENIN

The crisis in Ireland confronts the left in Britain with its most important struggle at the present time. Bourgeois politics will attempt to place the 'Irish question' outside the muted conflict of its two party consensus. It will be a bitter indictment of the left if it accepts this and limits its response to general slogans and political solidarity with the Civil Rights movement.

With the entry of British troops onto the streets of Belfast and Derry and the ludicrous 'intervention' of the Lynch regime in the South the basic issue at stake in the present troubles was made quite clear. It is the first issue of Irish politics and it is not the religious question: it is between Irish self-determination and British imperialism.

The present conflict, the use of British troops, Unionist rule all remain within the borders of the six-counties. But the fundamental politics of the situation is not so confined. No demand for self-determination, such as that put forward by the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign, and more important no socialist perspective makes sense if it is confined to the limits of a one party statelet. A statelet which was carved out of Ireland with the blessing of Westminster after a bloody war in the South, and which has been kept in being by a reign of terror in the North itself.

There has been confusion about how to handle the relationship between helping to develop an effective revolutionary theory and strategy within Ireland and supporting the popular national anti-imperialist forces there. Such confusion can only be overcome by being clear about the fundamental revolutionary objective; which is a United Socialist workers and Farmers Republic of Ireland. Two things follow from this. Self determination for the Irish people and the withdrawal of British troops. A revolution in Ireland will be much more than these two things, without them it will be impossible.

A number of important questions have been raised around these issues. It has been argued that for socialists the demand for self determination should replace the demand for a united republic; that the latter is a limitation of the former. Nothing is further from the truth. Socialism is the consummation of self determination, and it redoubles the vigour with which we fight for self-determination. For socialists to forget about their own objectives and go to the assistance of the bourgeoisie, means to hand over both their politics and the class that they are fighting to represent. There can be no compromise in the struggle for self determination, no 'critical' support that turns out to be no support at all, because self determination is a basic and fundamental necessity for socialism.

With regard to British troops we have seen the astonishing situation of socialists in England subordinating their principles and their overall politics to the demands of the minute in Belfast. Seemingly without realising that self determination is incompatible with the presence of British troops. The troops are on the streets in Northern Ireland to enforce the interests of British capitalism across the water; guarding the factories and enforcing a new policy upon the Unionist party. To keep silent about British troops, whistling in the air when they are mentioned, supports the solution they are attempting to impose.

But, it is argued, how can we demand the withdrawal of British troops when this would lead to a pogrom, when the most oppressed section of the population want British troops to be there? Only the bourgeoisie, in particular the

support the mass struggle for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland, and we must never forget it. But it is essential to distinguish between the vanguard and the masses. As socialists our duty lies not only to those engaged in the struggle at whatever level it may have reached, but to those who are trying to develop it and to those in Britain who are being mystified by the mass media.

### ICRSC

The ICRSC was founded about four months ago by *International Socialism* and the London branch of *Peoples Democracy*. The main distinction between it and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) with whom Clann Nah'Eirein (Sinn Fein) and the Connolly Association (a predominantly C.P. organisation) are working in an uneasy alliance is that the ICRSC is an activist campaign. By touring round factories, building sites and Irish residential areas, with or without Bernadette Devlin, it has tried to involve the Irish Workers in Britain.

It is worthwhile comparing briefly the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign (ICRSC) and the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (VSC).

a) The struggle in Vietnam was and is the most significant struggle in the world today between Imperialism and the advancing proletariat. British capitalism is not directly involved, but British complicity is well-established.

b) The Vietnamese leadership is conducting this struggle in a fully conscious Marxist manner.

c) The VSC was the first movement since the war able to radicalise something approaching a mass base in Britain on clear Marxist slogans and, furthermore, slogans which were in complete harmony with the aspirations of the Vietnamese people.

With the ICRSC on the other hand:

a) The struggle in Ireland is not pivotal in the world revolution.

b) But it is very important in the British class struggle because British Imperialism is directly involved in and responsible for the situation.

c) There is no Marxist leadership in the North or South of the island which has won the people's confidence.

d) the possibility of sharpening the class contradictions in Britain itself is furthered by the presence of over a million Irish workers in this country who could become directly involved

Revolutionaries working through the solidarity campaign should support all existing mass struggles in Ireland, no matter how weak their perspectives may be from a revolutionary's point of view, so long as they are a struggle against the forms of British Imperialism.

Should educate participants in the campaign into the exact nature of the struggle with a thorough marxist analysis.

Should expose and attack imperialism's actions or lack of them before and during the struggle so that a clear alternative analysis of the shifting situation is presented and propagated in direct opposition to the lies and deceit of the mass media.

Finally without ceasing to support the original struggle should attempt to show to the radicalised members of the campaign the need to build a unified revolutionary party to continue and develop the struggle against capitalism in other related struggles.

All support to the Irish Civil Rights fighters. Expose British Imperialism and its die hard

In August a citizen of the United Kingdom was jailed for three weeks and fined ten pounds for being in possession of the constitution of a political party. The man, Francis Cambell, was Irish, the government that arrested him, Northern Ireland's, the constitution was Sinn Fein's the political party whose military arm is the I.R.A. At his trial Cambell denied being a member of the Party and claimed that he had found the Sinn Fein constitution on a pile of rubbish, he pleaded "I have not read the booklet".

This wretched story contains many of the key elements to the present crisis. The gross injustice of a totalitarian state, the active and provocative role of the Unionist Party who have always controlled the state apparatus, the political backwardness of the I.R.A.; and the clash which underpins the situation, Republicanism versus Union with Britain. This may surprise readers who have been fed reports of religious rioting. But politics, the question of Ireland's relationship to England is the substance of the clashes between Protestants and Catholics. Religion is only the language with which battle is fought and religious institutions are only one of the means of organising the struggle.

For an outsider the present situation is astonishing. An old industrial city of over half a million inhabitants, proud possessor of the world's largest ship-building crane is torn in pieces. During August and part of September over 10,000 of its population lived behind barricades. Two weeks ago on their way back from work in Mackies, a skilled engineering plant employing 6,000 men, workers casually burnt out a Catholic family that was still living in devastated Cukor Street. Last week the British Army, or 'the military' as the Sinn Fein call them to distinguish them from their own Army, erected over half a mile of barbed wire 'peace' barrier!

The British army, for once the victim of its Imperial injustice, is trapped between two massed groups of frightened determined and armed workers who greatly outnumber it. They are tentatively and slowly attempting to gain unified political military control over the entire area without upsetting anyone too much. A delicate and ruthless operation which they know will take time and patience. Their colonial

history has prepared them for this kind of job, indeed some of the troops there have only known action against civilians, in Aden and Cyprus. Although the troops are keeping the two groups apart they are not playing a neutral role in the situation. The contradiction between Catholics and Protestants is the dominant contradiction at the moment, but it is strictly a secondary one incomprehensible outside the context of the national question. If Britain wanted to keep the old order it would be an easy matter for it to have turned the troops against the Catholic barricades, cry IRA vandalism when one of them got shot, and put the whole country back firmly into the hands of the Unionist clique. But Britain no longer has any interest in doing this. Its troops are there to guard the factories and to impose a new policy upon the Unionist Party. A policy of reform which will pave the way for a political reorganisation of Ireland more convenient and profitable to British capital.

The Southern Government also wants this solution. They have pressed for reunification and have insisted that there shall be no return to the status quo. This would give Lynch and his ruling party Fianna Fail a place in the history books and take the burden of Ulster from Wilson's shoulders. (It would also help Wilson, whose own constituency contains a high proportion of Irish Catholics, to win the coming general election.) Thus Dublin have put as much external pressure on Wilson as they can, by going to the United Nations and moving troops to the border, without forcing him into the hands of the Unionists.

### The Origins

The origins of the current situation lie in the partition of the country after the first world war. Ireland was partitioned because uneven economic development between the North and the South divided the working class and the bourgeoisie. Whilst the rest of the country remained almost pre-industrial Belfast's factories ensured capitalist support for the Orange aristocrats who led the political and military battle against home rule. Belfast, for historic reasons associated with the Protestant settlement, was the only region in Ireland where large scale industrial development took place during the nineteenth century. By the turn of this century it was dependent on access to Britain and the Empire's markets, whilst the Southern petit bourgeoisie demanded protection and tariffs to develop indigenous manufacturing.

Protection would have ruined the Northern capitalists. The two fought, reached agreement, and divided the country with the active assistance and under the sovereignty of Britain, which then and still exercises economic domination over the whole country. Protestantism was used to integrate the Belfast workers into a political alliance with their exploiters. They accepted the package because

completely to economic imperialism. By doing so they have dismantled the economic basis of partition.

At the same time the North's economy has collapsed. Its two great industries, shipbuilding and linen which were the backbone of the Ulster economy, used to employ 55% of the manufacturing workforce after the war, now they employ less than 25%. New industry, attracted in by massive grants and aid have failed to keep up with demand and have only just managed to create as many jobs as have been lost. Male unemployment is now 10%, the average wage is just over £10 a week. The North is suffering a chronic economic depression.



Acute depression, and worse, relative economic decline, is at the core of Protestant and Catholic protest and has divided Belfast between two hundred barricades. Both Paisley and the Civil rights supporters want economic and social equality with Britain. In a double reaction to the decline, Protestants have seen the collapse of their historic role as the economic and social vanguard of anglo-saxon virtues, while Catholics suffering twice the rate of unemployment and far worse wages and conditions have demanded in desperation a 'fair deal'.

Political crises are the result of politics no economics. The resentment created by the depression was transformed into the present fratricidal division by the Unionist Party's attempts to reform itself. Under pressure from Whitehall and some of the large international companies and as the South moved into line in preparation for joining the Common Market at the same time as Britain, the Unionists attempted to modernise the political and social structure of the country. The pious hopes of reform are in ruin. Protestant extremists, led by Paisley and urged on by Unionist M.P.s exploited the growing resentment by opposing the new line of the Party. Of necessity, for the Unionists are the party of the Protestant working class, and the allegiance of the Protestant workers essential to Unionist rule.

For their part middle class Catholics supported the new drift of reform by advancing demands for civil rights, in particular an end to gerrymandering. Socialists, taking advantage of the fact that local government voting was still based on house ownership demanded more houses and then more jobs. For the first time Catholics had found a legitimate means of political expression within the condition of the six counties. They demanded their rights as British citizens. The Protestants were infuriated. At the very moment that their own living standards had sunk

# M VERSUS TERMINATION

If Ulster had been relatively prosperous modernisation might have been possible. But new political structures are more difficult to build than new factories. The one party state proved too hysteric to change under adverse conditions. This is central to understanding the situation. The Unionist party, the Orange order, the police force, and the lumpen, 'B' special, are the state. There is no 'neutral' apparatus with two parties and a flexible centre. One social group, for historic and economic reasons which are fast disappearing gained power over a smaller group within a confined area and are attempting to keep it by keeping up the border.

Under order from Westminster the Unionists will put through reforms. But it has little hope of surviving. The British want to create a coalition government and are willing to impose this by force providing they don't have to open fire. Not even a long history of Imperial magic and conjuring tricks will make that an easy thing to achieve. No real reform such as abolishing the 'B' specials or The Special Powers Act, is possible, no 'central' state power can be created without splitting the Unionist/Orange bloc. Once split, the hard liners will have to be put down. The Catholics expect the British to tear gas them and shoot them down. The Protestants who are the fall guys of British Imperialism, don't.

Behind the barricades the Catholics have been led by the hierachical organisations of the Church and the IRA. The Church still has more popular power and is more effective. The areas leave mixed feelings with anyone who visits them. To wake up in liberated territory, to emerge into a run down Victorian ghetto and see that the streets belong to the people and that there are NO POLICEMEN, and to look down the street to the twenty-foot high steel barricade with workers guarding its side entrance; that is a really good feeling. But although physically liberated the areas were not politically free. There is no proletarian democracy, mass meetings are rare, the citizens defence committee is not elected. This is not surprising, it is not a city that has been freed, there are no areas of political or industrial production within the barricades (no factories, town halls, or even cinemas). The barricades are defensive and surround Catholic homes. The inertia of self-defence and the static position of being beseiged give an insight into why the Paris Commune despite its internal development, never marched onto Verseille.

The newspapers have tended to gloss over the overwhelming strength of the Protestants. Some simple index will illustrate the balance of forces. Of the 400 plus houses petrol bombed, less than twenty were Protestant. If you walk up Disraeli Street, which is Protestant you walk under Union Jacks and bunting strung across the street, tied onto the houses and already bleached from the summer. Not a petrol bomb could have been thrown into the street without bringing the bunting down. The street ends at a junction with the Crumlin Road and on the other side of the Crumlin is Hooker Street, a Catholic street on the edge of a small Catholic Ghetto called the Ardoyn. The entire area around Hooker Street has been devastated.

The I.R.A. built up by themselves as well as the Unionists into a bogey force of considerable fire power has proved itself to be a miserable and amateurish organisation. Many Catholics bitterly resent the fact that for all its boasting it could only produce two bren guns a few german pistols and a motley collection of shot guns when their help was needed, and then only after hours of burning and fear. Since the crisis the IRA have introduced a new weapon to defend their areas, an Irish version of the Claymore mine. They have brought in gelignite and plan to fill buckets with a double sandwich of Gelignite packed down with cardboard and polythene and topped up with nuts, bolts, rivets, and screws. You point the bucket down the street and touch off the layer of Jelly in the bottom.

It would be just if this weapon was pointed at the assembled Unionist Party in Storemont and put an end to that whole bunch of squalid and bigoted mediocrities. But it is a desperate weapon of defence and its explosion signals the loss of far more Catholic lives than Unionists.

## Conclusion

Caught in the vice of a declining client economy of British imperialism, both Catholic and Protestant workers have seized the period of reform to press their grievances and fears at the state of life in the North.

Desperately manoeuvring to retain control over their respective sections of the working class the Protestant and Catholic have clashed and unleashed a conflict as bloody as any in the history of the North. British Capitalism, whose interests now lie South of Belfast as well as in the North want thorough reform and an end to sectarian divisions. (The Financial Times responded to the Cameron Report by demanding the abolition of Stormont and justified this as being the "least dangerous course". For whom?) So the working class in Belfast will be told the grim truth. They will get no economic miracle from Britain. Inexorably they will be forced to share a common situation. It is a great opportunity for Irish socialists. For the first time in half a century the grip of orange sectarianism over the Protestant working class will be broken. If they seize their chances they may be able to



## Cameron- Whitewash for Whom?

**THE COMPOSITION OF THE COMMISSION**  
LORD JOHN CAMERON: From Edinburgh establishment. Law Lord (of Scottish Sessions). Climbed from the rank of Navy Advocate.

SIR JOHN HENRY BIGGART: Pro-Vice Chancellor and Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of Queen's University, Belfast. His faculty at Q.U.B. has a bad record of discrimination against Catholic candidates for entrance.

JAMES JOSEPH CAMPBELL: A 'Castle' Catholic Unionist. Prominent spokesman of segregated education. Attached to Department of Education.

### SITUATION OF THE COMMISSION'S WORK

The Commission was set up on the 3rd March as one of O'Neill's last crumbs to the masses. It began taking evidence on 18th April, ten days before O'Neill was dethroned. It reported on the 16th August, at the height of the Belfast riots. In other words, the span of the report covers the period of rapid political disintegration. So it became its task not only to analyse what had gone wrong, but to point the way out of the mess. To simply call for the restoration of O'Neill was inadequate. The Commission, like everyone else, knew what that would mean: a return to the chaos of O'Neill's inability to deal with any of the opposing forces. In any case, O'Neill no longer possessed a base and Cameron knew it. What were the remaining alternatives? Only Chichester-Clarke's brand of reaction or the Civil Rights movement. To back Clarke would be to back another loser. Only one possibility was open - a quiet eulogy of the Civil Rights movement. And that is what Cameron represents.

### THE REPORT'S FINDINGS

Cameron's problem was to establish a balance between making the CRA appear as the embodiment of rational progress and finding a dignified way out of Unionism. The solution adopted was to stress the NOVELTY of the CRA as its most important characteristic. This meant that it could at the same time be presented as:

1. a panacea for the future
2. an explanation why nothing was done in the past

wild-man, the RUC as indisciplined hooligans and PD as subverters of the constitution. On the second, things fall a bit more into place. We realize it is O'Neill who is being bashed. We remember that the first rule of cabinet decisions is collective responsibility. So O'Neill is simply shielded by the attack on Craig. And we realize, too, that the brunt of the attack on PD is that it is undermining the CRA, not the constitution. It represents a 'complication for policy-making' - the danger of the situation polarizing along class-lines. The CRA is warned against letting its control slip to PD-no less than four times (paras. 150, 193, 199 & 229). And as we slowly understand the significance of this, we comprehend the incredible balancing-act Cameron is required to perform.

In order to legitimize the CRA he must confirm the real basis of their grievances, but only in such a way that those Unionists who are sufficiently credible for a coalition with CRA can retain pure white political records. This in turn requires a lot of covering-up. Let's take a couple of instances.

First, who staged the Burntollet ambush? PD produce evidence that their march was attacked under the direction of the local Orange landowners and bosses. Cameron, on the other hand, blames Paisley and Bunting. Yet they simultaneously deride the organizational capacity of Bunting, pointing out most of the organizations he claimed support from were fictional. At the same time they describe the detailed planning that must have been necessary for both Burntollet and Armagh on November 20 (para 78). In other words, Bunting is blamed for organizing acts of terrorism beyond his powers to organize. The question of real responsibility is avoided.

Similarly, although Unionism is credited with corruption, patronage, violence, stupidity, cowardice and bankruptcy, throughout the text it remains free from any accusation of unfitness to govern. It is tried, convicted and receives a suspended sentence. But it is warned, especially about its connection with the Orange Order (para 153).

### THE CONCLUSIONS OF CAMERON

Cameron examines with relish how the CRA ruptured the twin fossilized power-structures of Unionism and Nationalism, but in doing so ensures the reader of the true character of the CRA's origins: - 'to suppose the CRA as a function, or even an aspect of religious antagonism would be dangerously superficial and erroneous and could lead and (we are convinced) has led to a wholly false evaluation of the real strength and character of the

established) inferiority and discrimination than in the past' (ibid)... 'It was members of the Catholic middle-class which in 1964 founded the Campaign for Social Justice' (para 12). 'It would be a grave political and social error to regard the CRA as narrowly sectarian or subversively political; it was and is a movement drawing support from a wide measure of moderate opinion' (para 233). 'So far, it has obtained, and still obtains, the support of many who are neither Catholics nor interested in constitutional change, violent or otherwise, and it is this ballast of moderate and earnest men and women... which has enabled the CRA to maintain its originally designed course.' (para 193).

We quote so lengthily because the point is so important. The CRA is the only way out. But there is only room for one, 'moderate' CRA. That is why PD is an 'UNNECESSARY ADJUNCT... providing a means by which politically extreme and militant elements could... incite political disorder.' (para 229 (b 12)).

Who can neutralize both this and Orangery? What man will lead Ulster from the wilderness? Who does Cameron whitewash? The answer is John Hume, of the Derry Citizens Action Committee (DCAC). Cameron writes that what is required is 'wise and courageous leadership'. It gives us six possibilities (as the contending forces engaged in struggle): they are - Unionism, the CRA, PD, the DCAC, the Paisleyites and the 'hooligan element.' All except the CRA and Hume's outfit are dismissed or dismiss themselves. Hume, on the other hand, is accorded a eulogy: 'Mr John Hume... from the beginning has taken the lead and shown himself both responsible and capable. He... was formerly a teacher and thereafter in business and is now dedicated to the political work he has undertaken. Prior to work in the DCAC Mr Hume was closely associated with the Credit Union and the Derry Housing Association... both flourishing and doing good work. Mr Hume's influence has been insistently exercised in favour of peaceful means... he has so far resolutely opposed violence and disorder. It was his action and initiative in particular... which prevented a situation arising on 20th April which could have led to disastrous consequences' (para 211).

Cameron is thus not merely a very selective whitewash, but a very committed king-maker. It points the way past the next crisis to a Hume-O'Neill coalition. For Cameron, there are no other alternatives, no other paths open to provide the necessary condition for the survival

# Major Chichester Clark

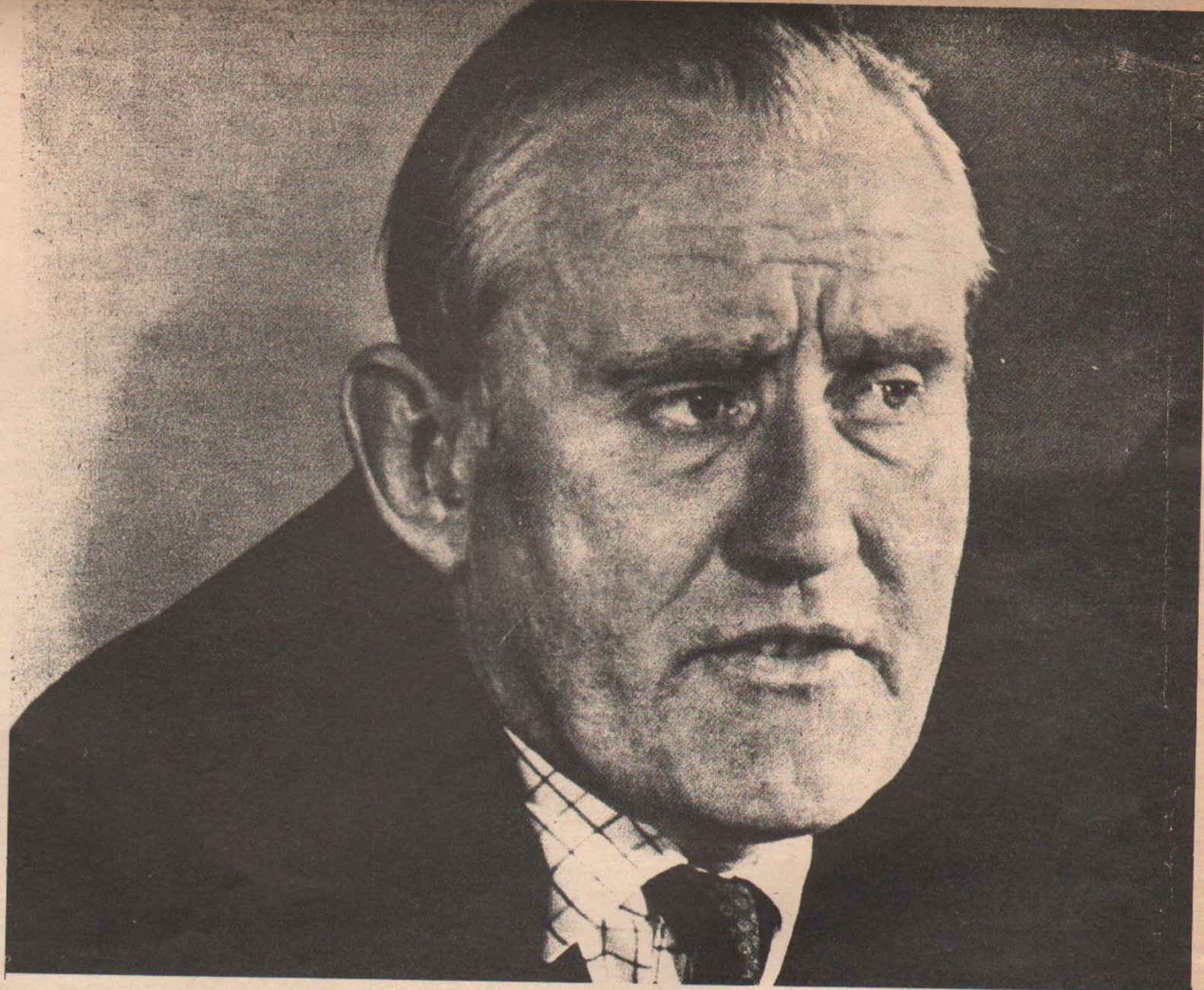
Clark was elected M.P. for South Derry in July 1960 and Prime Minister in May 1969. From retired soldier to Prime Minister in under 9 years is a rapid rise to fame. Even in as talentless a body as the Ulster Unionist Party one would expect the new Prime Minister to be something of an intellectual whizz-kid. In fact Major Chichester-Clark is a man of few words and not very sparkling ones. He was elected in July 1960 and did not make his maiden speech until February 1961. After that he spoke occasionally until 1963 when he became Chief Whip and from then till May 1967 his contributions to Stormont were limited to one-line interjections. In 1967 he became Minister for Agriculture and had to speak in agricultural debates.

Why the rapid promotion and swift rise to the top of this undistinguished back-bencher? Major Chichester-Clark was born in 1923 and educated at Eton, like Terence O'Neill, and most of the English ruling class. In 1942 he joined the Irish Guards and retired in 1960. In 1955 his brother Robert had become M.P. for Derry City and County at Westminster — a seat held by their grandfather in the 1920's. The Major's grandmother, Dame Dehra Parker, was M.P. for South Derry at Stormont and Minister for Health. She had held the seat since 1921 except for a short break from 1929-33 when she let her son-in-law, the Major's father, take over. In April 1960 Major James retired from the army. In June Dame Dehra suddenly resigned. In July the Major was elected. Asked by a journalist if she had resigned in order to hand over to her grandson, Dame Dehra said: "Well I wanted to give him a chance." It was all very convenient but not for R. A. Brown, Chairman of Magherafelt Rural Council, who was defeated by the Unionist nomination by the young Major just 3 months home from his travels.

The South Derry seat was kept in the family, as it had been since 1921, and an even older family tradition was maintained. On the Dawson side there had been an M.P. in every generation of the Major's family since 1695. Asked why he had decided to go into politics the Major said. "I was a man with a bit of spare time and I hoped I could do something useful." The spare time was after he had looked after his 570 acre estate at Castledawson. Still, his constituents didn't seem to mind a spare-time M.P.

The new M.P. was well connected. On the Clark side he was related to Henry Clarke, M.P. for North Antrim at Westminster. On the Chichester side to Phelim O'Neill, now Minister for Education, and Capt. Terence who was soon to become Prime Minister. A Chichester relative of the Major's was even married to Capt. John Warden Brooke, foolish son of a famous father. For what little it was worth his estate agent was an M.P. — Joe Burns from North Derry.

It was hardly surprising that the new M.P. advanced rapidly especially when Capt. Terence became Prime Minister, and, as Chief Whip for 3 years, the Major stood loyally by his aristocratic relation. But as things got worse for Terence the Major began to get ambitions of his own and in April 1969 when O'Neill won the last and narrowest of his votes of confidence Chichester-Clark stabbed him vigorously in



the back by resigning from the Cabinet. Inside a week O'Neill had resigned and Chichester-Clark was Prime Minister.

In the frantic attempt to preserve Unionist unity Chichester-Clark has tried to appear, simultaneously a liberal and a reactionary. Where do his sympathies really lie?

As the P.D. march from Belfast to Derry left Toome for Hillhead it was stopped at the junction of the Hillhead and Bellaghy roads. The marchers "were informed by the police that they could not proceed by way of Hillhead and Knockloughtim to Maghera as there was likely to be trouble with Loyalists.

On the side of the junction about 50 loyalists were drawn up across the road. The Local M.P.s, Major J. D. Chichester-Clark and his brother Mr. Robin Chichester-Clark M.P. for County Derry at Westminster spoke to the Loyalists. While this was going on an Ulster Television camera team, who moved in to take shots of the loyalists and the police, were attacked by the loyalists."

Mid-Ulster Mail, Jan. 4th 1969.

What did the Prime Minister and his brother say to the "loyalists"? Why did they not ensure that the police did their duty and cleared a passage for the marchers?

That night in Maghera an armed mob wrecked the town. Meanwhile "followers of Major R. Bunting met J. D. Chichester-Clark at his Moyola Park home. They asked him to contact Home Affairs Minister Mr. W. J. Long to have the rest of the march banned. Mr. Chichester-Clark phoned Mr. Long and later told the crowd outside his home that the Minister could do nothing without first consulting his advisers. Some consultation to the crowd for this fobbing-off was a promise by Mr. Chichester-Clark to be with them when they meet at Beagh cross-roads at 9.00 a.m. this morning." Irish News, January 3rd 1969.

Why did the Major not tell these people to leave the marchers alone? Why did he agree to join them next morning where they intended to block the march? Is it true that he was there with a stout walking stick?

We can only judge the Major's views by his own words. Though the Major's words in the House of Commons have been few and far between, the summer sunshine makes him wax more eloquent. Speaking at Garvagh on July 12th 1966 he said: "I can assure you that, as far as the Government is concerned, there is no weakness towards our enemies and there will be none. We have not forgotten the Boyne, we have not forgotten the 13 Apprentice Boys, we have not

forgotten the Ulster Covenant and we intend to preserve our heritage and our Protestant faith. There will be no surrender on any of these scores to-day or at any other time."

Major Chichester-Clark is of course a member of Castle-dawson LOL No. 97 and Bellaghy Scarlet Line R.B.P. No. 573. In the 1969 election he was seconded by the Rev. H. C. Conn, Deputy County Grand Chaplain of the Orange Order for County Derry. In an election circular which unaccountably reached only sections of the electorate he pledged himself to uphold the position of the Orange Order in public life.

Aristocrat, landlord, old Etonian Orangeman — this is N. Ireland's New Prime Minister. He became an M.P. because it ran in the family. He was rapidly promoted because he was well-connected. He was in the running for Prime Minister because he stabbed O'Neill in the back at the right time. He won the election because he'd said so little at Stormont that he'd antagonised nobody. What can the Civil Rights movement expect from him . . . nothing!

reprinted from PD Voice No. 2.

## The Betrayal of 1913

On the last Sunday in August 1913 James Nolan and John Byrne were batoned to death in the streets of Dublin by members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary. A further four hundred working people were injured as the police broke up a meeting addressed by Jim Larkin. Later Michael Byrne, an IT & GWU secretary, was tortured to death in a police cell; young Alice Brady while walking home with her strike allowance of food was shot down in cold blood by a scab; drunken police broke into homes in the slums of Corporation Street bludgeoning the women and children of strikers. Such brutalities were commonly inflicted then, as today, on the Irish working class in struggle.

The Bogside and Belfast people have recently experienced the ravages of drunken mobs of police and trigger happy Specials, while in Dublin workers have been clubbed into the ground. But British socialists should remember the strike breaking role of our own TUC and Labour leadership in Ireland in 1913. It will then be not so difficult to understand the deafening silence among the ranks of the labour aristocrats today when the most exploited section of workers in the British Isles face the prospect of an even bloodier repression than did the Dublin men and women in 1913.

The Irish general strike of 1913 was a decisive landmark in Irish history. The employers were out to break the Irish Transport and General Workers Union that had practised a unionism which went radically beyond the conservative form of new unionism in Britain. From 1911 the IT & GWU under Larkin's leadership had used the sympathetic strike in every industrial dispute in which the employers

early August when Murphy locked out the IT & GWU tram workers. By September 400 firms had fallen behind Murphy and demanded the signing of the notorious document which forbade membership of the IT & GWU, as a condition of employment. Rather than sign it, 30,000 workers marched out from their factories in solidarity with the IT & GWU comrades.

This brave resistance of the Irish workers was met by the full force of the police and military on the streets. Baton-charges, killings, savage prison sentences dealt out by magistrates who were shareholders in Murphy's Tramway company; and repression of meetings and free speech. But all over Dublin they chose to fight rather than sign the document. Connolly wrote in October of 'Glorious Dublin', "Baton charges, prison cells, untimely death and acute starvation — all were faced without a murmur, and in face of them all, the brave Dublin workers never lost faith in their ultimate triumph, never doubted but that their organisation would emerge victorious from the struggle. This is the great fact that many of our critics amongst the British labour leaders seem to lose sight of. The Dublin fight is more than a trade union fight; it is a great class struggle, and recognised as such by all sides. We in Ireland feel that to doubt our victory would be to lose faith in the destiny of our class".

The murder of Byrne and Nolan on 31st August made Dublin the centre of international labour struggle. The response of British workers in support of their Irish fellow unionists was immediate. The TUC, which was in session, sent a delegation to reassert the right of free speech and public assembly. Special relief ships were organised and carried food and provisions to the strikers paid for by British trade unionists.

For the first few weeks the strike was well supported, British trade unionists held meetings for Larkin and raised funds for the strike. But the TUC leaders were already beginning to vacillate. While they had so strongly condemned the August massacres they had been careful not to express support for the aims of the strike itself. Soon the Dublin workers were to face the barefaced treachery of the British labour leaders.

British TU support for the strike was crucial

was doomed. Unless British workers were prepared to strike with their Irish fellow unionists, not only would the strike be defeated, but they would turn their own unions into direct strike breaking organisations.

Early in the strike the British TU bosses had attempted to go over the heads of the IT & GWU to find a compromise with the employers. By November they had opened up a major attack on Larkin. Thomas Ashton, secretary of the Miners Federation, complained that Larkin was using his 'Fiery Cross' tour of England to cause strife between the trade unionists and their leaders. Larkin, released from prison in mid-November, was attacked by J. H. Thomas of the NUR and Havelock Wilson, president of the Seamen's and Foremen's Union, for appealing to British workers for strike action. Snowden and Smillie of the NUM also joined in the opposition to sympathetic action.

The final confrontation came at a special congress of trade unions on December 9th. Here, Arthur Henderson, Sexton of the Dock Labourers Union and Gosling, President of the Transport Workers Federation, joined with Wilson and Thomas in defeating the proposal for a blockade. It was left to the gasworkers union delegate, supported by the compositors, to raise the flag of proletarian internationalism. He declared that the Dublin employers should be told that while labour was prepared to exhaust the possibilities of a peaceful settlement, it was equally prepared to exhaust the possibilities of war. When Larkin replied to his critics, he declared bitterly that he thought he'd come to a conference elected by the rank and file, and pointed to at least one delegate who had scabbed on the Dublin workers. When it came to a decision the capitulators tried to cloak their deeds by saying that they had no mandate from the union rank and file, despite the fact that the conference had been three weeks delayed by the same gentlemen claiming the time to do precisely that.

This sell-out of the Irish workers was carried out in the face of strong sympathy among British workers for the Irish struggle. Huge amounts of money were collected, and Irish boats blacked. But in both Dublin and Belfast, men who refused to scab were told by their union officials that other union men would

the only way to end the Dublin dispute, and the Northwall Dublin NUR branch demanded a similar meeting to stop blacklegs being brought over. Both requests were refused.

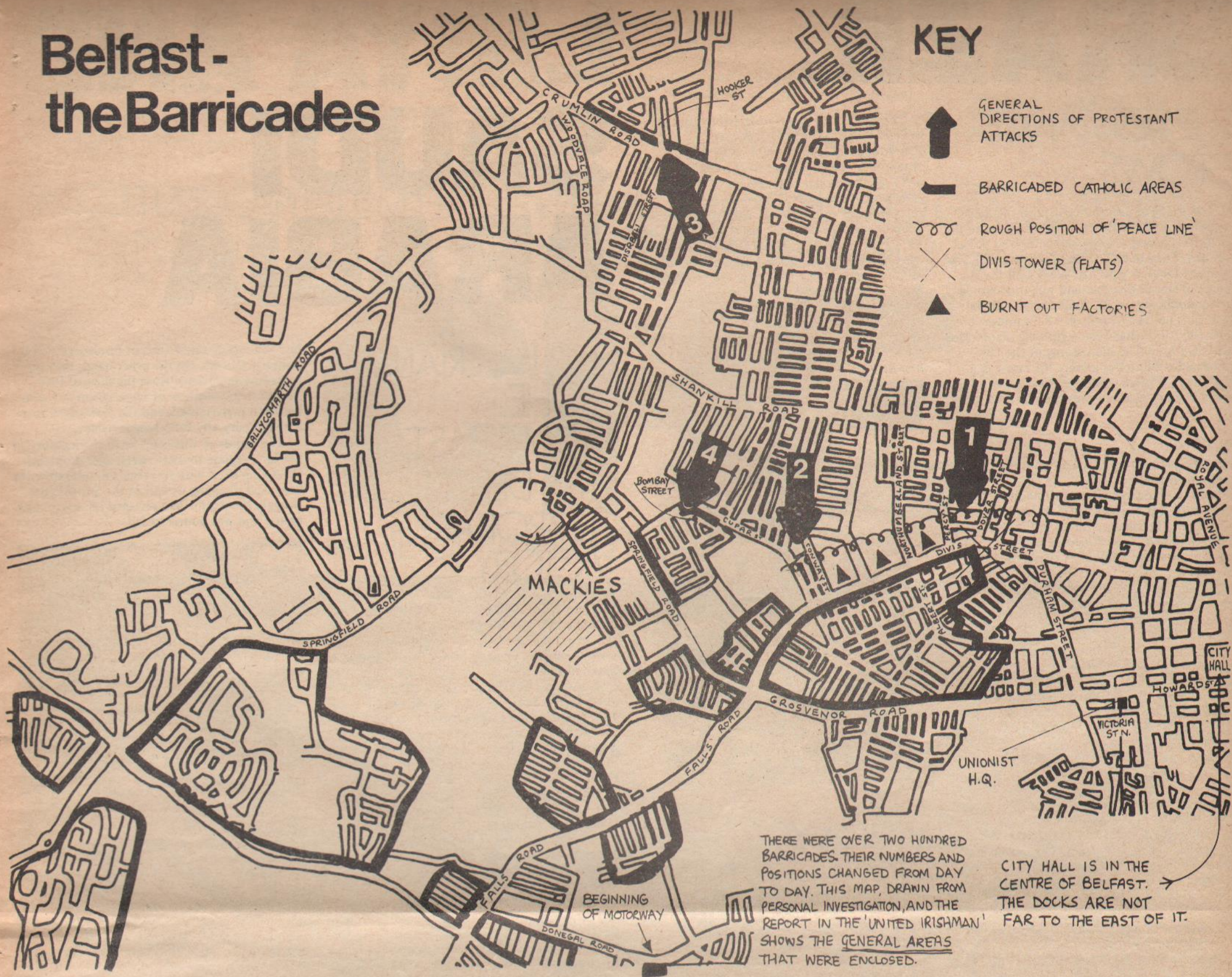
Following the London conference the NUR ordered its men in Dublin back to work. The NUDD and the Seamen's and Firemen's Union rapidly followed, ordering its men to unload and man ships, loaded by scabs. Immediately the news was out, the employers knew they had won and had nothing to fear from the British trade union movement. The strike continued till February when the men gradually went back under conditions which denied them the right to use the sympathetic strike. By isolating Dublin the British labour leaders had helped the employers beat the strike, and all but destroy the IT & GWU, inflicting a blow on the Irish labour movement from which it has not to this day recovered. Nor was this the first act of strike breaking by British trade union leaders. Sexton had broken the fragile unity of Catholic and Protestant workers built by Larkin in the 1907 Belfast strike, had expelled Larkin from the Union, and doomed the labour movement in Belfast to sectarian religious division. Taken together these two acts were decisive in dividing the working class and tipping the balance of Irish politics in favour of reaction in the North and conservative nationalism in the South.

More than fifty years later the attitude of the trade union and labour bureaucracy has changed little. We still have the hollow gesture of solidarity that was made by their predecessors in 1913. The odd murmur was heard at the Portsmouth TUC in solidarity with the workers defending their lives behind barricades but not a stifled mutter was heard against the imperialist policy Wilson is following in Ireland.

Yet the situation in the north grows more critical each day. Troops dismantle the protective barricades in Belfast. The Ulster Volunteers (i.e. 'disarmed' B Specials) are given time to prepare a further massacre. More urgently than ever is the need for British trade unionists to join with Irish workers in Britain to support the cause of Irish self-defence and self-determination. Nowhere in the labour movement



# Belfast - the Barricades



THERE WERE OVER TWO HUNDRED BARRICADES. THEIR NUMBERS AND POSITIONS CHANGED FROM DAY TO DAY. THIS MAP, DRAWN FROM PERSONAL INVESTIGATION, AND THE REPORT IN THE 'UNITED IRISHMAN' SHOWS THE GENERAL AREAS THAT WERE ENCLOSED.

CITY HALL IS IN THE CENTRE OF BELFAST. THE DOCKS ARE NOT FAR TO THE EAST OF IT.

The pogrom of August 14th and 15th in Belfast resulted in 9 deaths (8 official and at least one other known of); 300 people treated for injury, including 200 people treated for gunshot wounds (plus unknown numbers who dare not go to the hospitals); 162 houses totally destroyed by fire; 362 houses needing major repairs; 1500 families burnt out or expelled by intimidation; 5000 to 6000 people homeless.

The precise details of the fighting are still unclear. However, the 4 major attacks (arrows 1-4) give an idea of its extent.

**Attack 1.** On Thursday evening Paisleyites from the Shankill Road area poured down Dover Street and Percy Street onto Divis Street and backed up by B-Specials terrorised the Catholic area around Divis Towers Flats (x) where the young Rooney boy was killed that night. Here the police used whippets (armoured landrovers) mounted with machine guns. According to people in the flats one of these whippets was stationed behind a derelict building next to the flats, from which it made sorties to fire down the Falls Road. The flats themselves were sprayed with gunfire — but the people inside had no guns and could do nothing more than build barricades on the staircases while the entrances were racked with bullets.

**Attack 2.** Later that night the Paisleyite extremists of the Shankill Defence Committee came down Conway and Cupar Streets but were beaten back by Catholics before they could reach the Falls Road. The Catholics used sticks, petrol bombs and a few IRA guns. Then the RUC and B-Specials appeared and cleared a way down these two streets, to be followed by the Protestants who burned down Conway Street behind them.

By this time the Catholics were fighting for their lives and had started to put up barricades in all the side streets along the south side of the Falls Road to defend the main Catholic area. Snipers positioned on the tops of factories to the north fired into the Falls area. Young Catholics ran through the field of fire and petrol bombed the factories. At least one sniper was seen to throw down his rifle and perish in the flames. The Catholics were very poorly armed, the IRA's promises of guns were mainly empty; meanwhile on the Shankill Road the B-Specials were handing out guns to the Protestants.

**Attack 3.** As the Protestants advanced on the Falls area in the wake of the police others moved up Palmer and Disraeli Streets into the Crumlin Road and attacked the Catholics in the Ardoyne area around Hooker Street. Heavy fighting occurred here on Friday as well. The terrified Catholics took buses from the local depot to use as barricades. Even so the bottom of Hooker Street was completely burnt out and bullet holes clearly mark where the B-Specials and Protestants fired machine guns up the streets past the barricades into the Ardoyne.

**Attack 4.** On Friday, Paisleyites attacking by way of...



### SHANKILL AND FALLS

The difference between the Protestant Shankill Road area and the Catholic Falls Road area is striking, and in some ways the geographical differences mirror the sociological and economic differences between the two groups imposed by partition and unionism.

The Protestant area is larger and is centered on the Shankill which is a relatively wealthy shopping street. The Protestants have not closed themselves in, their barricades are few and directed against the mythical guns of the Fenians. Life continues much as usual and only the odd burnt out shop or pub catches the eye.

In Contra Street, the Catholic Falls area, is the maze of side streets which lies to the south of the Falls Road, between it and Grosvenor Road. It is a confined and isolated area, bordered by the desolation of burnt out streets and the empty shells of burnt out factories. The Falls Road itself is a no-mans land of demolition, choking dust, and troop patrols, strikingly different from the busy Shankill Road. The Catholic areas are on the defensive, their areas do not include factories and the men have to go outside the barricades to work.

Catholic areas adjoining the Falls Road extend up

The 'peace line' lies parallel to and to the North of the Falls Road. It encloses the fingers of Catholic settlement that lie between the Falls and the Shankill. At one point in Dover Street, the Army has been forced to build a corridor up to the house of an isolated Catholic family. It was the area which lies behind the line, in a broad sweep from Townsend Street to Cukor Street that suffered the worst blows. The Catholics in these areas were driven out, and forced to flee across the Falls Road as their homes and belongings were looted and burnt.

**Ardoyne and Andersonstown**

Other Catholic areas include the Ardoyne which is north of Crumlin Road (and extends off the map). The part of this bordering onto Crumlin Road including Hooker Street is old terraced housing but much of the Ardoyne is a new housing estate. Catholic areas off the Springfield Road are mostly new housing estates where the Catholics are being moved out to as the old areas of Belfast are demolished. There has been little or no trouble here but the people erected barricades because they feared attack. Some of the new estates off this road are Protestant and are

**Mackies**

Mackies is the industrial lynchpin of the Falls Shankill area. With 6,000 men it is the third biggest employer in Belfast and therefore in the Six Counties.

Mackies, which makes textile machinery which it exports all over the world is the main employer for the Shankill and less so for the Falls. Its skilled men earn good wages and the factory is Unionised though it has a bad labour record. Its apprentices are treated abominably and quite a few of them are extreme Paisleyites. There is no firm information on the number of Catholics employed in Mackies, probably around 25% of the labour force. There has been very little trouble inside the works although of course there was a lot of tension.

The Protestants, who had to go past the barricades in order to get to work at one point massed during their lunch hour and talked about pulling the barricades down themselves.

The management told them that any trouble meant unemployment and they were restrained.

Tina Osborne

# BRAZIL

## THE RESISTANCE GROWS

In 1964 the Brazilian military, with the active co-operation of the Peace Corps the UA and the US Ambassador Lincoln Gordon, seized power in Brazil. They ousted from power the socialist President Goulart who had sided with the unions in labour disputes and was threatening the economic power of the Brazilian middle class. This military regime is still in power, but since 1967 there has been a growing many-sided resistance to it. The kidnapping of the US Ambassador Elbrick is merely the latest in a long line of insurgent actions. Here we print a brief summary of them over the past two years:

1967

**1 March:** guerrilla operations reported in southern Brazil.  
**2 March:** a secret congress of thousands of students in Rio denounces US imperialism.  
**5 April:** 11 guerrillas captured in the state of Minas-Gerais. All are officers or soldiers expelled from the army after the 1964 coup.  
**July 10:** the former Governor of Rio Grande do Sul, Leonel Brizzola, is condemned to nine years prison; he is accused of having led the Minas-Gerais guerrillas.  
**August:** 350 delegates attend the National Union of Brazilian Students congress (UNEB), banned in 1964. They adopt a revolutionary programme.  
**25 September:** the Brazilian CP opposes the policies of OLAS and expels Carlos Marighela who claimed to represent them at the OLAS conference in Havana.  
**27 September:** bomb thrown at the home of the US military attache in Rio.

1968

**January:** a series of arsons in military installations in southern Brazil.  
**21 March:** bomb thrown at the US consulate in Sao Paolo.  
**30 March:** popular demonstrations break out at the funeral of a student killed by the police. Tanks occupy the town.  
**3 April:** armed clashes of students and police in many Brazilian towns. The US cultural centre at Fortaleza is burnt down.  
**5 April:** the army intervenes to put down students in Rio.  
**24 April:** Carlos Marighela creates a new Revolutionary Brazilian Communist Party (PCRB) and attacks both the orthodox communists and the pro-Chinese Communist Party of Brazil. He advocates guerrilla struggle and the establishment of a unified politico-military command to run armed struggle in the towns and the countryside.  
**2 May:** 400 arrests after an anti-US student demo in Sao Paolo.  
**5 May:** a fourth organisation, the Proletarian Communist Party, appears; backs OLAS and urban guerrilla struggle.  
**14 June:** 16,000 students strike in Rio.  
**22 June:** 6 students killed by police in Rio. 500 students occupy the Parliament in Brasilia.  
**27 June:** 100,000 people demonstrate in Rio calling for "the end of the dictatorship".  
**30 July:** dissident members of left-wing Catholic group Popular Action, join the PCRB.  
**4 August:** Fresh wave of militancy after arrest of student leader Vladimir Palmeira, accused of being a "Marxist agitator".  
**12 August:** left-wing militants rob a train carrying £18,000.  
**August-December:** a wave of robberies and hold-ups in and around Sao Paolo. These are attributed sometimes to the left and sometimes to extreme right-wing groups like the Anti-Communist Movement (MAC) and the Committee for Chasing Communists (CCC).  
**14 October:** 1,000 members of the university and all the leaders of UNEB are arrested at a meeting. An American army officer is assassinated by the left.

1969.

**27 February:** Police arrest 12 members of the PCRB. For the first time they admit that "terrorist groups" are near the capital. 18 members of another group arrested in Sao Paolo.  
**28 June:** Police arrest 32 persons accused of "subversion".  
**17 July:** 3 radio and TV stations in Sao Paolo are burnt down.  
**27 July:** 29 persons belonging to MR8 — the Revolutionary Movement of October 8th — are arrested.  
**August:** continuing arrests of members of MR8.  
**15 August:** a statement attributed to PCRB is broadcast on radio Sao Paolo announcing "a very important event". Radio station occupied.

(The following is a translation of part of the statement put out by the Brazilian revolutionaries who kidnapped the US Ambassador in Rio. They were members of the MR8 (Revolutionary Movement of October 8th) which forms part of the diverse revolutionary left in Brazil. Like the other components of this left it has come out of the left of the orthodox CP and is influenced by the Cuban position. One of the militants the military were forced to release was Gregorio Bezerra, a 70-year old ex-communist who was imprisoned for leading peasants in the impoverished North-East and who was paraded naked through the provincial capital, tied by a rope round his neck to a military jeep. At his trial he was asked by his judge if he had Czech arms and he replied that if he had he would have shot the judge down.)



## WHY WE KIDNAPPED THE US AMBASSADOR

"Revolutionary groups have kidnapped Mr. Burke Elbrick, ambassador of the United States, and have removed him to a place where is a prisoner. This action adds to the innumerable revolutionary acts that have already been carried out: bank robberies to get money for the revolution; the occupation of barracks, where arms and munitions were seized for the struggle against the dictatorship; the invasion of prisons, from where revolutionaries who want to participate in the popular struggle have been liberated and the destruction of prisons which symbolise the oppression and the injustice of gaolers and torturers.

The seizure of the ambassador is only one action in a revolutionary war which is advancing every day and will reach this year the stage of rural war. By the kidnapping of the ambassador, we shall demonstrate that it is possible to defeat the dictatorship and exploitation. If we arm ourselves and if we are organised we shall appear where the enemy expects us the least and we will disappear at once, demoralising the dictatorship, sowing terror and fear among the exploiters, as well as hope and confidence of victory among the exploited.

Mr. Burke Elbrick represents in this country the interests of imperialism which is allied to the big employers, the landowners, the big national banks in fact to the regime of oppression and exploitation.

So the seizure of the ambassador is a clear assertion that the Brazilian people will not stop and will never relax the weight of the struggle against them. We all know that it is a fight without a truce, a long and hard fight, which will not end with the replacement of one general by another, but which will end with the end of the exploiters' regime and the installation of a government which will free the workers of the whole country from the situation in which they are placed.

This is now the week of independence. The people and the dictatorship celebrate it in different ways. The dictatorship organises festivals, parades and march-pasts, and fire-works. In fact, it isn't celebrating anything at all. It is throwing dust into the eyes of the exploited, creating a false joy in order to perpetuate a life of misery, exploitation and repression. But one cannot hide the sun with a sieve. How can one make a people forget their misery when it is in their very flesh?

Independence week is celebrated twice by

# LIBYA AND SAUDI ARABIA

## FOR IMPERIALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST - ONE DEFEAT, ONE TEMPORARY VICTORY

The August military coup in Libya has dealt a massive blow at British and US imperialism in the area. Libya served a lot of useful functions until the military seized power; it will not do so much longer.

Libyan oil was discovered in 1959 and ten years later it provides a quarter of the needs of Britain and of the Common Market. Being in the Mediterranean the cost of oil has not been raised by the closure of the Suez Canal which diverted the flow of Persian Gulf oil round the Cape, and as long as it was controlled by a pro-imperialist monarch Libya could be relied on to keep pumping oil to Europe whatever imperialism was up to in the zone. BP had £75m. investments in Libya and British armaments manufacturers have orders of over £200m. from Libya for arms, tanks and munitions.

The arms sales served to re-divert back to imperialism much of the money paid in taxes to the Libyan regime, and they were uniquely intended for internal security since Libya faced no conceivable threat from her neighbours. The security of imperialism's stooge Idris was also ensured by having not one, but three armies, and it appears that the force based on Idris' home fief, Cyrenaica in the East, did try to resist the military takeover. This army, the Cyrenaica Defence Force, is trained by British mercenaries.

Giving money to Idris also enabled him to use it for reactionary purposes in Arab politics as a whole; along with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, Libya has been paying money to Egypt since the June War to make up for the loss of Suez Canal revenues and has in this way been able to mitigate Nasser's left nationalist positions.

Imperialism also used Libya for strategic purposes. The US had a big base at Wheelus Field, with 6,000 permanent personnel and 2,000 trainee pilots. It was used for transporting men and munitions to Vietnam. The British have still got 1,200 men there but are gradually withdrawing their men to Cyprus while keeping "staging posts" in Libya in case they need bases there for any future counter-revolutionary venture.

Politics in Libya before the coup was suppressed. Many leftist groups demanded that the foreign bases be expelled but king Idris refused to do this. The political composition of the present regime, however, is such that sooner or later they will expel the imperialists. They have already interned the representatives of the reactionary British Aircraft Corporation. From their statements, and the past history of their leaders, they would seem to be Nasserites of the kind that recently came to power in the Sudan. As such they will not create a socialist system

but will install a new class of bureaucrats and military officers. On the other hand, they do represent an advance from the days of Idris. The strategic position of imperialism in Libya has been undermined; and the flow of oil from a reactionary ally is no longer secure.

The causes of this coup lie in the inability of the Idris regime to solve nationalist problems: by allying itself with imperialism, tolerating the bases and dragging its feet in the anti-Zionist struggle the regime had revealed its reactionary nature and was bound to fall.



Another coup was recently attempted in Saudi Arabia, but this time it failed. Like Libya, Saudi Arabia serves imperialism in a number of ways: it allows the US to have a massive base at Dahrán, it plays a reactionary role in Arab politics as a whole, it propagates Muslim reaction and guarantees imperialism its oil. This coup was attempted in July by an alliance of a group of dissident ruling class families and some officers in the air force and intelligence services. The plotters included the military commander of the Dahrán area and engineers and workers in the Aramco, the dominant US oil company in Saudi Arabia.

A dissident proletariat has been developing in the oil fields for some years, and hundreds of workers were arrested for attacking the US base after the June War. The security of the regime is, however, backed by the arms sales of Britain and the US, and the CIA is alleged to have co-operated with the regime in uncovering the recent coup attempt. The regime as in Libya has also split the army, and has both a regular army and a special White Army, recruited from loyal Beduin, who guard the royal family.

The overthrow of the regime in Saudi Arabia would deal an even greater blow to imperialism than the coup in Libya; it will come, for side by side with the growth of a royalist and military opposition there is developing a socialist opposition among the intellectuals and oil workers. The strikes and arrests after the June war are one sign of this, and it is also reported that a guerrilla war was started by pro-Cuban revolutionaries in June of this year in the mountains of Asir near the Yemeni border. This force was destroyed by the Saudi army for in Asir, too, is the massive base of Khamis Mishayt built by the British and containing pilots trained by British officers "on leave".

Conflicts are developing within all the states of the Middle East as their regimes are more and more shown to be incapable of solving the national and social problems experienced by the workers and fellahin. Although the long march towards socialism has only begun the collapse of imperialist pillars in the zone represents an advance along the road.



In a few weeks/days time Twentieth Century Fox will release their version of Che. The film is a revolting and typical piece of Americanised cultural trash. It shows the length to which capitalism is prepared to go in order to increase profits. Many comrades will undoubtedly want to see Che in much the same spirit as they went to see *The*

*Green Berets*. Undoubtedly there will be many imaginative protests in England as there have been in the United States. In Scandinavia the left was so successful that *The Green Berets* could not be exhibited publicly. However, we suggest that the protests are organised in such a way that Twentieth Century Fox get no publicity. Comrades should arrange to

see the movie free as there is no sense in increasing Fox's profits. Also comrades should sell the Cuban version of Che's diaries (available from *The Black Dwarf*) outside and inside every cinema.

For the benefit of comrades we publish below an excerpt from this appalling film to give you some idea of the shit you will be watching. There is

always the possibility, however, that those who maintain that Cuba is a 'petit-bourgeois' country will accept this version of CHE as it is close to their own. Shit on them, but first shit on Twentieth Century Fox. Comrades wanting to sell Che's Diaries: Please ring Dave Kendall at 01-734 4827.

"IN CULTURE, CAPITALISM HAS GIVEN ALL THAT IT HAD TO GIVE, AND ALL THAT REMAINS OF IT IS THE FORETASTE OF A BAD SMELLING CORPSE."

# CHE

NAME OF MURDERERS: 20th CENTURY FOX



255 INT. PENTHOUSE SUITE - SHOOTING TOWARD FOYER - NIGHT. As Che enters, brushing past two of Fidel's bodyguards. He looks tense and angry. Camera moves with Che and widens to take in Fidel, Raul, Juan Almeida, Dorticos, Ramon, Rojas, A RUSSIAN GENERAL and the SOVIET AMBASSADOR.

A buffet table is laden with cold cuts, canapes, and caviar. The Soviet Ambassador raises a tumbler.

SOVIET AMBASSADOR: To world peace.

Their quarrels have always been private. But this time, despite Fidel's attempt to placate him - Che abandons his usual self-control.

CHE: Why wasn't I told of this meeting? I was deliberately excluded, wasn't I?

FIDEL: Let's discuss it when we're alone.

CHE: So you backed down and agreed to let them take back their missiles?

FIDEL: Relax. Pour yourself a drink. We'll talk later.

Fidel crosses to the buffet table, to the Soviet Ambassador's side and spoons a large gob of caviar on a piece of toast and begins to eat.

CHE: Why the caviar? What's there to celebrate? (to Soviet Ambassador) Why aren't our Russian comrades eating crow? Doesn't it sicken you that your cowardly leader - that cravenly bastard Krushchev fell to his knees and rolled over at Kennedy's bluff?

FIDEL: That's enough, Che!

CHE: (unheeding) You think the world can ever forget that you Soviet shits sold your honour along with Cuba? Do you think your million-dollar-a-day-handout to Fidel can ever erase your shame?

257 ANOTHER ANGLE - FAVOURING THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR. Tense and tight-lipped, he downs his Vodka.

SOVIET AMBASSADOR (addressing Fidel): If the Soviet Government are down on their knees, eating crow, if indeed we fear anybody, it is your careless Doctor Guevara - who doesn't mind setting off a holocaust, that neither the United States or my Government seeks - a full scale nuclear war. (a pause) I must inform you, on behalf of my Government,

speaking for this country.

The stunned Cubans stare at Che. Fidel has his arm round the Ambassador's shoulder accompanying him to the exit, followed by the Russian General.

Che pours himself a Coca-Cola and sits down. The rest gaze stonily at Che. He lights a cigar, ignoring them and waits for Fidel to re-enter the room.

Fidel re-enters the room. Che rises at once, CHE: Fidel - don't capitulate. The Yankees are bluffing.

FIDEL: They're not bluffing. They're enough nuclear-armed bombers in the air right now to reduce this island to cinders.

CHE: We've got two hundred thousand militia to take the missiles away from the Russians. This is our one chance to achieve parity with the imperialists.

FIDEL: A decision has been made. The debate is over!

CHE: Have you all become Russian puppets?

DORTICOS: It isn't bad enough that you drain our economy supporting guerrilla activities in countries that broke off diplomatic relations with us -

Che walks away towards the buffet table. Dorticos follows him talking at his back.

DORTICOS: - now you threaten the only source of income we have - the Soviet Union. We are in a state of financial crisis! And that's your contribution to Cuba, Major Guevara,

Che has picked up a sandwich. He whirls on him, dropping the sandwich.

CHE: And what the hell is your contribution, Dorticos? To fly into Havana after we've spilled our blood... and organise the anti-Che clique. Well you can stop plotting. If you're the best President Cuba has to offer - Cuba is in a hell of a crisis! I didn't fight for Cuba to turn it into a hog trough for a bunch of sleazy politicians! I've had enough of Cuba!

Dorticos, enraged, pulls out a revolver.

DORTICOS: You swine!

CHE: (taunting him) Go on, shoot! Shoot you bastard! You'll never get a better chance -

Fidel moves swiftly between the two men, but not before Che has wrested the pistol away

to Fidel. Che stares out of the window. A deep silence falls between them. There is not much left to be said.

## Che's Departure

266 INT. BEDROOM FEATURING FIDEL. He sits slumped on the edge of his bed, wearing pyjama bottoms and nothing else. His eyes are glazed, his skin sallow. At the moment of Che's entry he is pouring brandy into a glass. He quickly sets down the glass like a guilty youngster. Che comes over to him.

CHE: You don't look well.

FIDEL: I can't sleep. The air conditioner broke down again.

Che picks up a bottle of pills from the bedstand, glances at the label and puts it down.

CHE: Still on a diet of brandy and benzedrine?

Fidel makes no reply. Che tilts Fidel's head by lifting his chin.

CHE: Face the light. Let me see your eyes.

FIDEL: (brushing him aside) I didn't call you here for a medical checkup.

CHE: Then bring in your own doctor. Right away. You look jaundiced.

FIDEL: Later.

He lies back on the pillows, gazing evenly at Che, trying to remain calm.

FIDEL: They tell me you're leaving Cuba. For good.

CHE: Who are they? Your secret agents?

FIDEL: You no longer confide in me. So you're no longer above scrutiny.

CHE: (after a pause) Well, it's true. I am leaving. My departure is overdue.

FIDEL: (fights back the anger) Don't you owe me an explanation?

CHE: I was going to write you a letter.

267 ANOTHER ANGLE - THE BEDROOM. As Celia enters with a cold meal on a tray and approaches Fidel.

CELIA: Here... you haven't eaten since yesterday.

FIDEL: (turns away) It makes me sick to look at it.

CHE: Don't force him to eat. Just call his doctor.

FIDEL: I need you now more than ever, Che. In the name of our martyred comrades... I ask you not to desert us.

CHE: Fidel, let's be frank with each other. You used the Party to get here. You want to build socialism on one flea speck in the Caribbean. As things stand now you're doomed. Cuba's growth is stunted by the Yankees quarantine. You'll be forced to choose between the plague and cholera. I can only help you if the revolution is rekindled elsewhere. I've got to start more fires than the Yankee firemen can put out.

Fidel has risen impatiently from the bed. Affection wells up in Fidel. He grasps Che's shoulders with trembling hands.

FIDEL: You're more to me than a brother, More than anyone. I beg you... stay beside me. If I should die, I want you to take my place.

CHE: (evenly) I'm sorry, my mind's made up.

Fidel's emotions spin with the sting of his rejection. His hands fall to his sides.

FIDEL: The Soviet Ambassador called you a provocateur. I'm beginning to think he was right on target.

CHE: (stiffening) It's pointless to go on like this -

Che crosses to door and opens it. Fidel stalks him.

268 INT' PENTHOUSE BAR-GROUP SHOT. Celia and Ramon are standing at the bar in f.g. as Che appears, followed by Fidel.

FIDEL: (shouting) I see it all now. You want it to be your own show. All the way. You don't want my help or counsel because you can't bear being second to anyone. You glory seeker.

Che gazes at him thoughtfully, as placid as Fidel is turbulent. Then he turns and kisses Celia's cheek.

CHE: Good night. Remember to call the doctor.

He turns to Ramon, embracing him.

CHE: Serve him well. I'll drop you a line - from somewhere.

He walks a few paces across the room, then turns pointing at Fidel.

# DWARF DIARY

South-East Asia. It knows what it wants... Consolidation within the country has permitted foreign economic aid to flow in: significant investment in new productive forces, in the infrastructure, in reconstruction and modernisation... The entire article is full of shit like this which even the New York Times would have thought twice before printing. We hope that the Yugoslav students and workers will remind their government that the hands of the fascist government in Indonesia are stained red with the blood of nearly 2 million communists and socialists.

## FUZZ LEARN TO KILL

A Dwarf spy has unearthed the existence of a much-used rifle-range at Holborn police station. His attention was attracted by the fact that lorry-loads of fuzz turn up at the station regularly and are met by an R.A.F.-type instructor who is often carrying a box of ammunition.

"Funny," said the Dwarf spy to himself. So he managed to gain access to the station and have a look round.

First surprise: Holborn police station looks small. It isn't. Although there are only two floors above ground, there are at least four more below ground level.

Surprise number two: room L 607, on the first floor below ground level, is a rifle-range. On the door there is a notice saying:

"CAUTION! Danger. Firing when the red light is on."

It is used by cops from all over London. They come from other police stations in bus loads to receive instruction and get shooting practice. You can actually hear them at it - if you stand by the ventilator on Theobalds Road in front of the station.

The British police, of course, have no intention of ever arming themselves. Well. Not just yet, anyway.

N.B. By one of those little coincidences, Holborn police station also contains the Registry of Aliens office. The rifle-range and the Undesirable Aliens Dept. are in no way connected.

## EVENTS

**THURSDAY OCTOBER 2:** The Hollywood version of 'Che' is opening at the Carlton Cinema, Haymarket, London SW1. Current Dwarf should be on sale in large numbers outside the cinema - see film script on page 11 of this issue.

**SATURDAY OCTOBER 4:** The Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding invites all members and friends to a Grand Social Evening to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic. Music - songs and dramatic entertainment by Critics Group members and others, and Dr. Joseph Needham will speak. Buffet. Tickets 8/6 at the door. 7.30pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

**SATURDAY OCTOBER 4 - SUNDAY 5:** Porton, Chemical Biological Warfare Action Group weekend demonstration. Contact David Lewe, 77 High Street, Penge SE20.

**WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 8:** 'THEY LIVE ON'; to mark the day of the heroic guerrilla and to honour the memory of Ho Chi Minh, Tricontinental Committee are organising a meeting at Conway Hall (7.30pm). Speakers include Madam Lin Qui; there will also be revolutionary films from Cuba and Vietnam. More details from Tricontinental Committee, 15 Lawn Road, London NW3.

**OCTOBER 8:** 'The non-neutrality of science'. Harry Rotham - Lecturer in Liberal Studies in Science, Manchester University. 2pm Renold Building, UMIST (University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology), Union, P.O. Box 88, Sackville St, Manchester M60 1QD.

**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.

**SAURDAY OCTOBER 11:** RANK AND FILE DAY SCHOOL. From 10am at Conway Hall. First session: Democracy in Education - How do we start? Second session: Changing the Union - Strategy and Tactics. There will be a social in the evening. Fee is 5/- for London Supporters and 2/6 for outside-London Supporters. Credentials from Mrs C. Rosenberg, c/o RANK AND FILE, 87 Brooke Road, London N16. Overnight accomodation will be arranged for visitors from outside the London area.

**WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 15:** CHINESE FILMS ON SINO-SOVIET BORDER DISPUTE; followed by discussion. Holborn Central Library, Theobalds Road, WC1. 7.30pm. Organised by SACU, 24 Warren Street, London WIP 5DG. Tel: 387 0074.

**OCTOBER 15:** 'The university, society, and the state' - Tony Lamb, Lecturer in Modern Languages, University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology. Address for details is with October 8 meeting above.

**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, and on to Hyde Park. Contact Pat Denny, 01-GUL 0476.

**OCTOBER 20:** Ernest Mandel speaks on THE NEW RISE OF WORLD REVOLUTION, Trades Union Social Centre, 81 Carlton Place, GLASGOW C5. 7.30pm.

**OCTOBER 23:** Dr. Joshua Horn will give the first of a series of 20th anniversary lectures. Dr. Horn returned to Britain in the summer of 1969, having spent 14 years in China working as a surgeon in Peking and elsewhere. 7.15pm at Holborn Central Library, Theobalds Road, WC1. Organised by SACU.

**OCTOBER 26:** This is the provisional date for a mass Vietnam mobilisation organised by Tricontinental Committee, 15 Lawn Road, NW3. Slogans include 'Victory for the Provisional Revolutionary Government', 'Recognition of the 10-point peace solution proposed by the NLF', 'US out of Vietnam NOW'. All organisations prepared to take part, get in contact with the Committee at above address.

**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. 1/6. each 15/- doz. 1 3/4" 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.

**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.

**VIETNAM** - monthly magazine of the VSC, available from J. Suddaby, Room 1, 13 White Row, London E1. Price 1/6.

**ABOUT ANARCHISM** - new pamphlet by Nicholas Walter. 2/4 post free. Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.

**SECHABA**, English Language Publication of ANC. Annual subscription 15/- to Sechaba, 49 Rathbone St., London W1A 4NL.

Grass Eye. Manchester Local Paper. 52 Corporation St., Manchester 4. Annual subscription 15/-. Single copies 1/-. Bulk orders at 9d per copy.

**INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW)** is forming British section. Details write Box B52, Black Dwarf.

'ARC/DO' - Centre of Political Information, Document, Action: wants to receive all material on the extra-parliamentary opposition, on the students and workers fights, on Third World struggles, "in order to divulge it in Italy and abroad, helping anyone who needs to denounce fascism, imperialism and colonialism in the world." Write to them at Via Pioliti de Biancha 29, 20129 Milano, Italy with information.

A group of Mexican Political Prisoners wish to correspond with English socialists. Those interested should write in the first instance to Mexican Political Prisoners, c/o The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ.

**FOR SALE.** 1926. BOUND EDITION OF LABOUR MONTHLY, including spirited defence of Leon Trotsky by Palme Dutt. Write Box JS69, Black Dwarf.

**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.

**NEW TRANSLATION OF KROPOTKIN'S 'The State - Its Historic Role'**. 4/5 post paid, and ANARCHY 102 is on squatting. 2/4 post paid. Both from Freedom Bookshop, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.

**GLASGOW BLACK DWARF CIRCLE** is now meeting regularly to organise sales, reports, political discussions. Contact Phyllis Duniface, 53 Diana Ave., Glasgow W.3 (Tel: 041-954 8172).

**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 Marin, 19 Fairmount Road, London SW2.

What's Black and White and Red All Over? Poster 2s including postage from The Black Dwarf.

Smash Capital Now. Christopher Logue Poster. 5s. post free from The Black Dwarf (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.

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

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

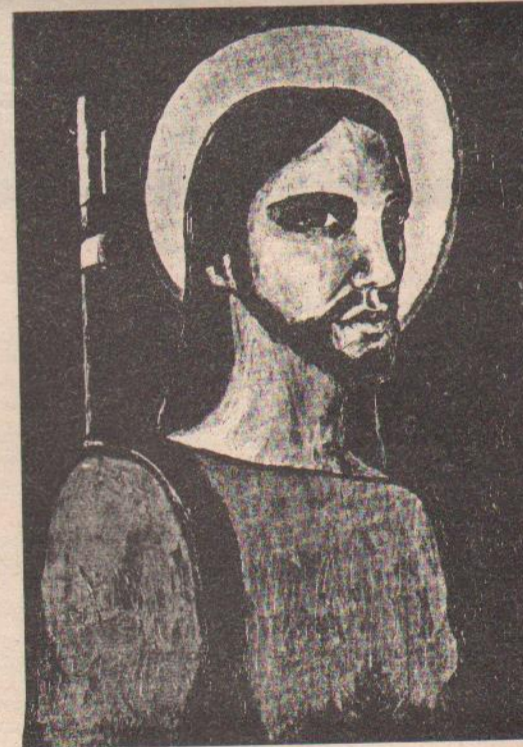
**INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS** - a revolutionary weekly journal that specialises in news from Africa, Europe, the Americas and Asia. Sample copy 2/4d post paid from Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee St., London E1.

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. McGree, 42 Pendarves St., Beacon, Camborne, Cornwall.

Radical theatre needs radical actors, actresses. Call Bob Mandel any day 5.30 to 7.30 p.m. 373 0453.

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