

Black Dwarf

The Chichester-Clarks
Genet on Black Power
Creedence Clearwater
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Jack Straw/Mao

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FOOTBALL FOOTBALL



No Foreign Troops in Trinidad!

As we go to press the U.S. Guadalcanal, with 15 helicopters and 1,000 marines on board, is steaming towards Trinidad. Two British frigates, the Sirus and the Jupiter, and five other U.S. warships have taken positions off the coast. The Guyana and Jamaican armies are ready for action. Venezuelan warships and planes have been moved to the North East sector. And overnight the US has sold the Trinidad Government 50 machine guns, 82,500 rounds of machine gun ammunition, 10 81m mortars with 200 rounds of shells and 150 smoke shells.

An independent, revolutionary Trinidad threatens the whole of the Caribbean. The US prides itself on having isolated and contained the Cuban revolution. Cuba lies off Florida in the North of the Caribbean. In the South, Trinidad lies a few miles off Venezuela—well placed to run arms into the guerilla-torn province of Oriente, and from there to the whole South American continent. Trinidad's oil would end the petrol rationing in Cuba; Cuba's experience would help make the revolution in Trinidad. And between them lie the West Indies: Jamaica, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Anguilla, Barbados.

Trinidad is an island divided by imperialism. Racially 46% are Black, 36% Brown; Economically the Blacks predominate in industry and the oil fields while the Indians are ground down on the Sugar Plantations; Politically the party system is divided on racial lines.

Eric Williams Progressive National Movement has won every election for the last twenty years on the basis of the Black vote. Williams, a progressive bourgeois, is impotent before the power of imperialism. He has sat ineffectually on the fence while his ministers proceed with the profitable business of smuggling and land speculation. Just to make sure that it remains in power, the PNM bribes the opposition, and has shipped in voting machines from the United States.

The present crisis began after independence with the reawakening of the labour movement, which has a history of militant struggle going back to 1936. The Unions had been weak and inactive until, in 1961, the Oilfield Union was forced by grass-roots pressure to call a strike over a massive wage demand. The dock and transport workers unions blacked all oil shipments. The Oil Union had its own reserve, and effectively it ran the country for the duration of the strike, while British warships sat in the bay and the US troops stayed on the alert in their lend-lease base (since disbanded). Eventually the oil workers won a massive wage increase, and in the wake of the victory a new progressive leadership was elected in the Union and has led the struggle ever since. The old President joined the CIA. The next crucial event was a strike of the sugar workers in 1965. The sugar workers, who suffered appalling working conditions, had learnt from the oil workers and even actively sought their assistance. The reaction of the government was swift. A state of emergency was declared, the sugar belt was invaded by the army and the strike was smashed. The Government handed the union over to a gangster, set up a commission on subversion, and in rewriting their report found a communist under every bed. This final capitulation to the imperialists was sealed by the passing of the Industrial Stabilisation Act. This made strikes illegal and established an industrial court to settle disputes.

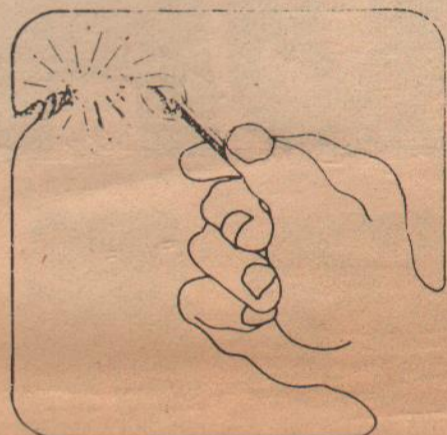
At first the ISA was effective. The workers went through the proper

and unreported, strikes grew in frequency. Above all, illegal activity increasingly forced the unions to

become political organisations so much so that they now constitute a real extra-parliamentary political opposition. As discontent among the workers has increased, the militant unions have gained in strength.

Now the workers have started to act, for they have been joined by another force, the young unemployed.

Unemployment in Trinidad is probably around 25%, and many of these are young people who have benefitted from free secondary education. It is these young people, apparently led by the students, who have constituted the core of the black power movement which has swept Trinidad in the last year. The original inspiration for the movement came from Stokely Carmichael, himself Trinidad born. But in Trinidad black power means, unequivocally, anti-imperialism. It is aimed against the domination of Trinidad's economic life by foreign Big Business.



EDITORIAL

The last link in the chain is the Indian sugar workers. Faced with worsening employment prospects and working conditions they have been getting increasingly militant. On the other hand they are clearly wary, in a country riddled with racism, of black power. The leaders of the progressive struggle realised this and in the last few months they have tried to tone down the blackness of their rhetoric. They now speak of afro-indians. They recently held a march into the sugar belt to recruit their brown comrades, and first reports make it clear that some brown workers have joined the struggle.

It will be hard to overcome the racial divisions bequeathed by colonialism. It will be even harder to end the massive exploitation of the islands by Britain (Tate and Lyle own the sugar), and America (Texaco own the oil). Black and Brown power on the island means more than moving coloured men into the top jobs of these companies. It necessitates their total expropriation—without compensation.

Imperialism in the West Indies has always been violent. The US Marines invaded Dominica in 1965, Dutch troops patrol Curacao, the British police Anguilla. Now the war in Vietnam has opened a new era of revolutionary struggle. Decisive battles are being fought against imperialism by civilians within the imperialist countries themselves. Any intervention in Trinidad by British or American forces must be met by uncompromisingly militant demonstrations here in Britain. Black, Brown and White must ensure that the British government, the Trinidadian High Commission and

Tinfoil Tiger.

The Apollo 13 space mission should be the last for a very long time. These particular extravaganzas of the capitalist spectacle have already consumed enough of the world's resources and technology. They have already sickened people enough with their flag-waving ballyhoo and their shoddy chauvinism.

The first landing on the moon was a great triumph for mankind, and socialists would be cold fish if they didn't share a sense of excitement over it. But for the Venezuelan peasant whose children die of hunger while Rockefeller makes millions out of his Venezuelan ranches, the achievements of the U.S. on the moon seem very uninspiring. Their appeal must be even more limited for the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian people who find that same American technology employed in obliterating their homelands.

This last moonshot, which nearly killed three men and achieved absolutely nothing, cost £180 million. The total U.S. space programme costs £8,000 million a year. That this kind of money should be poured into space while millions of human beings here on earth suffer needlessly from poverty, drudgery and disease is, quite simply, lunacy. It cannot be justified, whether it happens in the United States or in the Soviet Union.

But it is not merely the waste and misdirection of resources that calls these exploits into question. Equally important is the twisted concept of human progress, the grotesque distortion of human potential, that the space race represents. Space travel is an activity that the majority of the people are totally alienated from. Blather about it being a collective enterprise because it involved thousands of technicians obscures the fact that for the American people as

a whole it is just one more Television show. It may bedazzle them, they may get sucked into the orgy of national tub-thumping that surrounds it, they may "identify" with the glamourised stars at the centre of it all. But they are not involved in it, they have not helped to create it, and they are certainly not the ones who make a profit out of it. The idea that the American people—still less humanity as a whole—make any real progress as a result of the moonshots is a monumental trick.

When we understand the values inherent in these efforts, we begin to understand why the American Government is prepared to invest such vast sums of money in space investigation. The space programme says some very important and very destructive things to the world: ordinary people are impotent and useless, they cannot do anything significant about their fate, progress means leaving it to the experts, technology is the answer to all our problems, America is biggest and best, it doesn't matter anyway so long as it's a good show, meanwhile, just sit back in your armchairs and enjoy it on the telly, worship the superstars served up for you by the system, and wait for Uncle Sam to pull his next trick out of the bag.

To this false and anti-human ideology, we must oppose our own revolutionary concept of progress. People can and will control their destinies, and not even the technology and might of American Big Business will stop them. It is the masses—the ordinary people of the world—who will collectively create the future. It will be a future free of poverty, free of fear, free of the rotten values of capitalism. And they will build it here on earth, not up in the sky.

The Dwarf is moving into new offices. We urgently need a large table, chairs, desks, filing cabinets and other office equipment and materials. Please phone us at 370-4435 and we will collect and pay (knock-down prices only). Here is your chance to get rid of unwanted stuff that you have been trying to give away for ages.

Also—a reminder. As stated in our last issue, the Dwarf has increased its size to 16 pages in order to make room for more news and information and special features. This has meant a rise in price to 2/-. We hope you think that the new Dwarf is worth it, and that you will take out a subscription. You can still subscribe at the old price:-
£1 for 6 months—13 issues.
£2 for 1 year—26 issues.

EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE

Anthony Barnett, Vinay Chand, Clive Goodwin, Fred Halliday, John Hoyland, John McGrath, Adrian Mitchell, Mike Newton, Sheila Rowbotham.

Editorial: Patrick Burns, Ian Clegg, Jonathan Coe, Jo Dale, Judy Ferguson.

Layout: Dave Craddock, Mike Newton, Ruth Prentice.

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CARRY ON CAPITALISM

Edinburgh has 28,500 "amenity deficient" houses without baths and hot water. Most of these are concentrated in Leith, the city's sea port. The figure, produced in 1967 does not include houses due for demolition that year; most are still here today, so you can add another 3000 slums to the total.

Ferrier Street is one of the slum streets. Hard up against the railway line, its drab crumbling tenements were sold by British Rail a few years ago to the Westholme Property Company Ltd of Glasgow, one of their directors is the Glasgow Sherrif. Their memorandum of association states that they were to "carry on business as bankers, capitalists etc".

In pursuing their aims as capitalists they are exploiting the housing shortage in Edinburgh. Young couples and others who cannot get a council house have to buy a tenement slum and hope to get rehoused. Some chose Ferrier St. John Laing, the agent for Westholme, generously helps by offering the house for a deposit of £20-£50 and so much a month...but they don't give you the title deeds. These aren't available till you've paid off the house. If you fall behind a month you lose everything. Its rent really, but it gets out of the rent act. Some of the streets occupants are real tenants, some have never got a rent book, others have had their family allowance book taken away till they pay their rent. Needless to say no repairs have been done. A demolition order has been hanging over the street for years. Westholme is making what it can whilst there is still time.

There are also about 10 or 12 squatter families in the street. They have kicked in a door, moved in and offered to pay rent. The landlord however, doesn't want rent, he wants them to buy (much better for tax

and clearance compensation). He wants a £60 deposit to start with.

Things came to a head when several families were due to be evicted. One family was actually evicted by bailiffs, but Sandy Ross, a young solicitor's Clark, pointed out that the eviction order was for someone else and persuaded them to put all the furniture back! (Eviictions are a common occurrence in Ferrier Street, bailiffs simply leave all the furniture in the street—whether its raining or not).

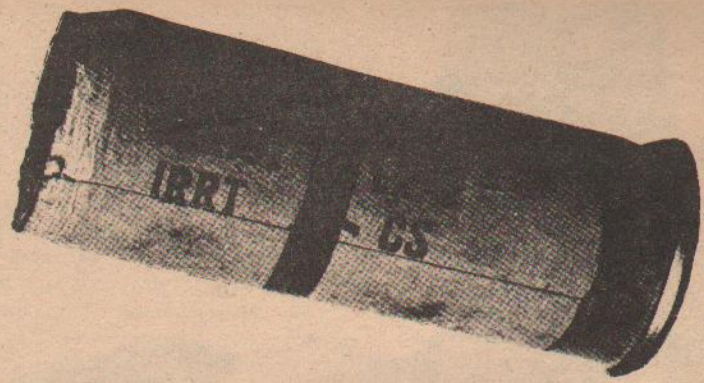
A meeting in the street was called and the whole area leafleted (see photo). At this meeting necessity for a strong community organisation was explained and a provisional committee set up. A collection was made to pay for legal action against the landlord to prevent further evictions and this was successful.

Since then several meetings have been held in the nearby community centre, and the South Leith Tenants and Residents Association has been born. These meetings have attracted plenty of councillors who are prepared to talk, and do nothing, and so the latest meeting of 50 people decided that the Association should put up their own candidate for the local council, Mrs Hilda Stevenson the chairman.

This idea was eventually dropped, but there are still plenty of things to do, such as getting rid of the rats and mice, getting repairs done, taking the landlord to court for illegal evictions and no rent books. The Association is having to work hard to end old antagonisms between owner-occupiers, tenants and squatters, all are gradually realising that they are in the same boat.

TOM WOOLEY.

(information about tenants action in Edinburgh from: S. Ross, 20 Spey Terrace, Edinburgh 6)



CS=CHILD SLAUGHTER

BALLYMURPHY
from a special correspondent

In less than eight months, the British troops in Northern Ireland have completely destroyed their image as impartial defenders of minority rights. Welcomed as replacements of the RUC and B-Specials in Derry and on the Falls Road last August, the troops are now viewed differently; since their repeated confrontations with street gangs in the Bogside and, most recently, the Ballymurphy area of Belfast.

Their counter-insurgency tactics ensure that the very people whom they claim to protect—the silent majority of the familiar cliché,—will be driven to the side of the young insurgents. While the middle class civil rights leaders have been quick to denounce the street gangs as hooligans, their parents and neighbours in places like Ballymurphy have strengthened their loyalty to the 'hooligans' in the face of harsh military intimidation. Mothers walk their seventeen year old sons through the streets at night to prevent them from being 'lifted' by the ubiquitous Army arrest squads. When the first lot of hooligans were brought to trial following the events of April 1 and 2, hundreds of Ballymurphy families turned out to pack the courtroom.

A crucial factor in the British Army's alienation of communities like Ballymurphy is its use of the riot control agent CS. CS as the people of Bogside (last August) and Ballymurphy know, is a weapon of community punishment. Not because CS affects 'hooligans' and bystanders indiscriminately; but because it does discriminate-against those whose age and health make them the least likely to be involved in the incidents which the military is trying to control. CS has its most severe effects on the old, the very young and the previously ill. In a place like Ballymurphy, where there are many children already suffering from malnutrition and even more people of every age who are chronically ill, the use of CS involves risks of very serious casualties. The reports of an independent investigation (see

New Society, April 9) show that CS was fired into houses in Ballymurphy, causing families to evacuate their homes. Both children and adults suffered the now familiar effects of vomiting and diarrhoea, and one fifty-seven year old man, with previous heart and chest complaints, was hospitalised after collapsing in the street following exposure to CS. A two year old child living on Ballymurphy Road died in hospital on April 7 after suffering from severe vomiting and diarrhoea. The MP for the area, Paddy Devlin, stated, 'This child was in good health. It is quite possible that his death was connected with the use of the gas in the area'. He was putting it mildly.

CS is also a symbol of the Army's hope that advanced military technology (or in General Freeland's echo of Curtis LeMay, just plain 'firepower') may stabilise the Ulster situation. The Army is not the RUC, and it tries constantly to emphasise the distinction in terms of military efficiency. When trouble starts, the troops appear promptly in tight formation. A helicopter circles ominously overhead. The Saracen tanks move in. Every fourth or fifth soldier seems to be equipped with electronic communications apparatus. The image is complete when they don their gas masks and begin firing CS. As the people panic because they cannot breathe or see, the Army moves steadily forward with robot-like efficiency, with tanks, respirators, walkie talkies providing a grotesque science fiction scenario.

But the real fiction is political. The Americans have amply demonstrated in Vietnam that no amount of terror technology can compensate for the political shortcomings of an unjust régime. Far from isolating the 'hard core' rioters and hooligans, General Freeland's counter-insurgency operation in Northern Ireland is beginning to force the mass of both Catholic and Protestant workers and their families into extreme, hostile positions. At the moment the use of CS risks the lives of infants, the aged and the infirm. In the long run its use may prove fatal to British soldiers themselves.

THE DOCKERS' STRIKE

The last issue of the *Black Dwarf* carried a long article on *Striking for Control*. In part it was about the one-day national dock strike. Tony Topham has sent us this additional report.

The major ports of Britain were stopped for a day on March 17th while the Commons' Standing Committee 'D' debated Clause 41 of the Ports Bill. The one day strike was supported by 14,906 dockers in London, (95 ships idle), 10,500 dockers on Merseyside (78 ships idle), 3,000 in Hull (26 ships idle, 1,700 in Southampton (several freighters idle), 1,800 in Tilbury (15 ships idle), 375 in Goole (14 ships idle) 200 in Rochester (8 ships idle), as well as smaller numbers in Immingham, Grimsby, Leith, Granton, and Dundee.

The strike marks a break-through in the application of working class pressure on the Labour government. It was supported

Manchester and Bristol were unaffected. Two demands formed the central aims of the strike: workers' representation and nationalisation of all ports.

The situation did not arise over-night. It was the product of a long period of analysis by rank and file leaders and the more progressive wing of the dockers' union. The analysis pointed directly to the necessity for political action to meet the mounting threats to the docker's security and their control over the labour supply in the industry.

The dockers have been opposed to the Ports Bill since the February 1969 White Paper. It proposes to nationalise only ports handling over 5 million tons. The smaller, but growing ports, are thus left as a permanent threat to the workers' bargaining position. The Bill allows for the continued existence of private stevedores after nationalisation and excludes harbours used by manufacturers importing raw materials for their own processing. Labour Party proposals for elected

government is empowered to vary—by Ministerial order—the crucial Dock Labour Scheme.

Three factors combined to bring the dockers to the point of consciousness that produced the strike. The industry is the scene of one of the most dramatic and far-reaching manifestations of the technological revolution. Productivity of labour under containerisation, roll-on roll-off ships, palletisation, liner trains, etc. increases by hundreds of percent. It is claimed that at the Tilbury container terminal 15 men could handle the whole UK-Australia trade. Secondly, as this threat to the old established patterns grew, the T&GWU started on a much needed reform. This brought to the fore new full-time officers and rank and file leaders among shop-stewards and committee members who were prepared to examine seriously the economics and politics of the industry.

The other factor weighing heavily with the mass of dockers was that technology and political interference were undermin-

ing control of labour supply and discipline whereby employers are unable to hire and fire without the consent of the union side of the Dock Labour Boards. Recently both employers and government spokesmen have been pressing for abolition of the scheme. However the dockers have won a partial victory in compelling the Minister of Transport to issue assurances that nationalisation will not result in changing the scheme.

Since the government has conceded neither the demands for full nationalisation or workers' control the dockers are developing a campaign to extend the scheme's coverage. Already Hull dockers have called several one-day strikes to protest against the arrival of ships which have visited 'non-registered' ports en route for Hull. A national shop-stewards meeting, representative of all the main ports, is to convene shortly to adopt a programme on this issue. Whatever happens to the Bill, the dockers have identified a threat to



The Woodentops.

Successes in Bannside and South Antrim for the Rev. Dr. Ian Paisley's rapidly developing brand of fascism focuses attention on the leaders of Westminster's client government at Stormont. Determined to maintain a semblance of parliamentary democracy, the British Government is engaged in buttressing a clique of individuals who, tested against any criteria, even Wilson's own, must be regarded as distinctly seedy.

Major James Chichester Clark, head of the Unionist Government, holds a parliamentary seat by grace of the voters of the South Londerry constituency. This seat has been regarded as a hereditary fief, and has been in the possession of immediate members of his landlord, mill-owning family since the inauguration of the Northern Ireland state. Brother Robin, parliamentary member at Westminster of the Londonderry Constituency likewise follows a tradition of family representation of holding the county area in direct succession to other members of the clan.

Over the last 50 years that brand of sectarianism now execrated in public declaration of Unionist leaders as "Paisleyism" and "extremism" has been carefully fostered by the ruling families of the province, by the Brookeboroughs, Hamiltons, Stronges and the Chichester-Clarks. Year after year Major James, as he is locally known in true landlord style, has marched in Orange procession to meeting places within his constituency and on each July 12th has delivered speeches which wed well into the sectarian pattern expected on these occasions. His latest effort, stammered from the always-supplied, carefully worded speech, was regarded as an open incitement to sectarian subjugation of Catholic protestors. That was made at a time after he became Prime Minister, but before his texts were prepared in Whitehall. The tactic of formenting traditional religious bitterness to perpetuate an artificial division of the working people has been well if unimaginatively utilised by the man who is now styled as an ally of Harold Wilson; and even described in the slobbering editorials of the Observer in terms that indicate him as the epitome of liberalism and progressive solacies.

A few facts should be borne in mind. Clark resigned from the O'Neill government, which received the same

grounds that he did not think it was "opportune" to introduce universal franchise in the North of Ireland. Representing, as he does, a rural area with a sectarian tradition, he has sought election on each occasion by openly formenting religious hatred. South Londonderry is a constituency which all who know Northern Ireland would regard as even more likely than Bannside to return a man of extremist views. But in the February 1969 General Election, when unofficial (extremist) Unionists stood in most contentious areas, Major James was regarded as an acceptable candidate by the vigorous band of extremists in Maghera, by the Ulster Volunteer Force and by the Ulster Protestant Volunteers.

This is not surprising, for Wilson's brightest hope for Ulster had been closely associated and well informed of the activities of these organisations. The Clarks are traditional war-lords of the Derry area. The family founded the special constabulary in the county, led it on its murderous forays, and retained its armed members as personal bodyguards and protectors of their factories. It is also an accepted fact, conveniently forgotten by the Labour Administration, that James and Robin Chichester Clark were privy to plans for an assault on the People's Democracy march in Maghera on January 2nd, 1969. Perhaps Wilson should be reminded that a scheme to carry out wholesale beatings of marchers was formulated at a meeting of Major James's con-

stituency party in Maghera Orange Hall. A meeting which took place only nights before the disturbances that led to a virtual sacking of areas of the town by mobs of Chichester-Clarks' supporters. The man who later became Prime Minister of Northern Ireland was present as these discussions progressed, knew well the identity of the leading assailants, and cannot be ignorant of the fact that it was, that night, agreed that the same building would be used as a meeting place for the distribution of weapons.

Robin Clark, with a conventional Tory landowner younger son's background in public relations and journalism, endeavours to present the face of "reasonable" unionism at Westminster, appearing in television discussions to babble about "destructive and constructive criticisms." He also, was closely involved in the events round Maghera and, out of the view of the television camera, can rant off a sectarian speech in the manner now styled Paisleyite. The photograph above which shows the Prime Minister talking with police at Annaharish cross-roads prior to an attack on a television cameraman and the obstruction of the Peoples' Democracy march, also pictures the slicker scion, Robin, advising on tactics. The man who assaulted the television film-maker was later charged and convicted. Following some loose-mouthed disclosures he was later obliged to run around denying the shocking canard that Major James had personally paid his fine.

For these decayed county folk, the Bannside election presents an insoluble conundrum. The protestant working people, brought up in feudal tradition, have been encouraged to hate their catholic fellow workers. Their teachers have been the Clarks and Chichesters and now, when the lords and masters have decided that diplomacy is the order of the day, and a desperate attempt is being made to present a respectable image in order to encourage capital investment in an economy which had entered a terminal stage, the bewildered protestant workers turn to the man who tells them the same old story, and sings with them the same old songs that Unionist leaders have canted out for over half a century.

And such are Wilson's allies. Major James is a man of ability and intelligence so limited that he is known as "Woodentop" by his Civil Servants. Bewildered now by the shattering of the protestant monolith, and losing the automatic support which he has always regarded as his hereditary right, Chichester Clark's incredible government can only stagger from crisis to crisis, kept in power by massive British military aid. It can't work. But Wilson still dreams of creating some soggy alliance of bourgeois non-political people, of the John Humes, Basil McIvors and other prototypes to construct some hazed reflection of his own wretched government.

GEORGE MARSH



Declaiming that the petrol bomb is beyond doubt the most nauseating weapon devised during the twentieth century, Robin Chichester Clark is introducing, at Westminster, a Bill which would impose a sentence of twenty years imprisonment on anyone found in possession of this device, whose shadow of terror he finds greater than that of napalm or nuclear weapons. Here is a photograph showing the first petrol bomb tossed during the current Northern Ireland troubles. The date, January 4th, 1969, the place, Burntollet Bridge, the constituency, Robin Chichester Clark's, the throwers, members of his constituency organisation and of the special constabulary. Targets were student marchers, press men and sassing cars. Robin arrived at Burntollet Bridge just about the time of this particular explosion and the photograph is taken from a position

FOOTBALL

We commissioned this article on football to initiate discussion on the question of sport. It is far from a final analysis. What are the actual changes that have taken place in the game? What are the changes in the gates, in the money generated, in its mass following? Most controversial of all, the article argues that the distinctive working class nature of the game and its supporters makes it anti-capitalist. There is a long tradition in Britain of regarding all working class behaviour that preserves and protects workers from the rigors of capitalism, as being, by that very fact, revolutionary. Football is a proletarian game under capitalism. Does it really follow from this that it shows us the nature of sport under socialism, or even that it presents any fundamental challenge to capitalism?

If there is one overriding passion which unites the working-class of this country, it is football. Watched, played, argued about, fought over—football is about the only subject that challenges sex as a topic of conversation amongst working-class teenagers. Yet Marxists have hardly written anything about sex. And as for football—the silence is deafening.

Football is a working-class game. The players, the trainers, the managers, the coaches—they are all working-class. There is a straight, unbroken line of continuity between the tin-can that is kicked around the back alleys of Hackney and the World Cup Final. Football belongs to working-class people, and in return many of them give it their complete loyalty. Even those players who become successful businessmen and star personalities retain their positions in the team not because of their money or their charisma, but because of their skill as footballers—and because football is literally their lives. When their usefulness is played out, most become managers and trainers. More important, compare football with that other focus of the aspirations of working-class youth—pop-music. The comparison is interesting because both football and pop offer young workers the dream of escape from the drudgery and boredom of their lives. Both seem to be a quick route to stardom and success. But the pop world is permeated to the core by the domination of PR men, financiers and middle-class managers. Whether or not a pop-musician has talent, he depends for his success on promotion—on the commercial sales machinery. Georgie Best, on the other hand, is not an Engelbert Humperdinck, the synthetic creation of a smart agent. He made it to the top because of his skill and dedication alone. And if his ability diminishes, no agent, however smart, is going to stop him being dropped from the Manchester United team.

The huge numbers of working-class people who gather together every Saturday to watch the game are taking part in an unconscious preservation of their class identity and their class solidarity. Even the fighting between rival gangs of supporters and the desire to see our team win cannot dispel this feeling.

Bingo and the working-men's clubs are more than mere gambling dens or cheap boozers. In the same way, the packed terraces of the big crowd are a response to the privatisation and dehumanisation that workers are subjected to in their work and in their council houses. It can hardly be coincidental that the biggest, most loyal crowds in football (even when the teams are not doing well) are to be found in the areas where industrial oppression, unemployment and social conditions are worst: Lancashire, the North East, the West Midlands, and Glasgow.

To dismiss this need to be together with people of the same social class as merely "herd instinct" is the kind of bourgeois contempt for ordinary people which equates "crowd" with "mob". In the security of the football-crowd, among people he recognises and trusts, the individual can be freer and more "himself" than at most other times during the week. Then he can express his views and his emotions without jeopardising his job or the facade of respectability which deadens much of his home life. The exuberant, obscene chants and the collective hand-clapping of the crowds behind the goals are a raspberry blown at a middle-class "Decency" which the worker is otherwise forced to kow-tow to.

But football is not only an exuberant affirmation of working-class culture. It is not only a temporary escape from bourgeois domination. There are aspects of football which actively promote those characteristics of the working-class which are *in opposition* to the values and assumptions of capitalism. One of these is the collective nature of the game. A comparison with cricket is interesting. Cricket is individualistic and specialised, depending on the virtuosity of the batsman and the bowler and the effective use of the captain's authority. Football, on the other hand, is a collective enterprise; depending on constant co-operative interaction among the players.

Besides the collective nature of football, there is another aspect of the game that embodies a potential working-class opposition to bourgeois values. Football crowds may be violently partisan, but at the same time, because of their peculiarly close relationship with the game, they are extremely critical of what they see. The bourgeois theatregoer, to take an example from a different culture, tends to go to the theatre for the "experience", or for the social occasion. His relationship with what he sees is generally passive, and he seldom has the kind of critical awareness that Brecht demanded (but rarely got) from his audience.

The football fan, on the other hand, often knows the game inside out. He is able not only to describe it, but to analyse it in at least a rudimentary way. The strengths and weaknesses of the individual players, the manager's tactical plan, the weather, the state of the pitch: all of these are discussed and analysed in a world where *nothing is sacred and nothing is inevitable*. This ability to theorise, this creative, analytic approach to the game, is extremely important, even if it is only

applied in a very limited context. The point is, it *could* be applied in other, more revolutionary contexts.

It could be argued that the aggressiveness in football is a reproduction of competitive capitalist society. But it should be remembered that the aggressiveness takes place within the context of collective teamwork, with the passionate solidarity of tens of thousands of people. Perhaps, therefore, we should look on this aggressiveness as a real (but displaced) form of working-class militancy. Nobby Stiles was the real folk-hero during the World Cup. Players like Bobby Charlton, with their school-captain qualities, are throwbacks to a more passive era. It is hardly surprising that the television and the newspapers should reserve their eulogies for him.

Militancy on the field is echoed by militancy off the field. The question of the skinheads, the vandalism and the fighting is one which really needs an article by itself. The anti-authoritarianism of the game has already been mentioned (though the discipline of the team under their manager—who is regarded as part of the team—is another matter). This anti-authoritarianism spills off the field onto the terraces, and even out of the ground altogether, where it has led to groups of young people attacking the police. Naturally, this is having its effect on the game and the composition of the crowd. Many of the older fans are now being frightened off by increased aggression of the crowds.

Once again, this can be regarded as a *displaced* form of militancy, a genuine but unproductive response to the boredom and oppression that our society subjects young workers to. It could be argued that "getting rid of frustrations" on the football field is a containment of working-class militancy that keeps the ruling-classes very happy. But clearly the collective nature of this violence, the fact that it frequently involves a confrontation with the police, and the fact that it often leads to attacks of shop-windows and private property and above all the fact that it gives workers experience of fighting on the streets—these things make the bourgeois media and the politicians uneasy about it.

This possibility is reinforced when we remember that football has on more than one occasion played an important part in the escalation of political struggles. There was the Guatemala football match that sparked off a war with Nicaragua. There are the yearly battles between the Protestant and Catholic supporters of Glasgow Rangers and Celtic. There has been the connection between football matches and violence in Northern Ireland. There are the ice hockey matches between Russia and Czechoslovakia. Sport, especially international sport, is closer to politics than is at first apparent. We should therefore examine the kinds of loyalties that occur in sport very closely. Is the loyalty to the team a sad and ultimately futile attempt to create a sense of community, purpose and belonging that capitalism has otherwise succeeded in destroying? Or is this loyalty an important preservation of that sense of community—does it actually open up the possibility of this sense of community emerging from the football ground and becoming an active force in the shaping of our society? The power of football's cultural hold on local communities cannot be

exaggerated—think of the mammoth civic receptions and festivals that take place when the local team returns home from a victorious away match.

But without question the dubious values of community generated by local teams can become a vitriolic form of chauvinism in international matches. Alf Ramsey, briefed the England team before the world cup final four years ago with a vivid description of the war the 'lads' did not remember, and the suffering (detailed) that their mothers would have endured under a Nazi occupation.

The bourgeois media have been quick to promote this chauvinism, in a more moderate form, and this has been a large factor in creating middle-class football fans. This new element is one of the many dangers that now confront football. For what is happening is that football is now under attack, not as a game, but as a preserve of working-class culture and collective action. Big business is moving into the game in a big way. It already controls the administration of the game, and although its relationship with the game is still largely parasitic there are signs that football is slowly coming under its domination. Meanwhile, the rules are being changed, advertising is playing an increasingly important role, the media are intervening with the usual trivialising effect—turning football into a fashionable cult, like pop or films or TV shows. If the working-class are forced to accept the mounting pressures of this commercialisation, football will be moulded into yet another form of bourgeois passivity, as safe and as insipid as the "Tom Jones Show."

The pressures will be difficult to resist. Fords have just announced that next season they are to sponsor—to the tune of £100,000—a "brighter football" competition: plus points for goals scored, minus points for players sent off. In several places—Coventry City being the most notable—go-ahead businessmen directors have already started to turn their grim, old-fashioned stadiums into giant fun-palaces, with plush restaurants, floor-shows and the rest of the paraphernalia essential to "a good night out for the whole family."

In recent months there has been a fantastic upsurge in the number and circulation of football magazines aimed at the teenage fan. "Goal," "Shoot," "Score" and others have joined the older-established "Charlie Buchan's Football Monthly" and "The Jimmy Hill Soccer magazine" in an attempt to reduce the game and its players to a series of rags-to-riches stories and pin-up photos. This is paralleled by a general drive in the media to glamourise (and thus de-humanise) the football stars. Georgie Best is the most notorious protagonist (or victim) of this process. Best is now a star, almost a pop-star. He opens boutiques, models for clothes, has his own fan-club and—like several other football stars—is responsible for numbers of girls beginning to take a kind of interest in the game! Chelsea have issued a record to celebrate their arrival in the Cup Final; the B-side is entitled "Ozzie," a hymn of praise to Peter Osgood. It probably won't be quite as successful as the hymn of praise to Georgie Best that is now creeping up the charts.

On TV the attempts to cheapen the game are gathering momentum. The BBC, alarmed by the "noises off" during its Match-of-the-Day broadcasts, has organised a national competition for the best football crowd song—clean, of course. Kenneth Wolstenholme, David Coleman, Brian Moore and Jimmy Hill, the big-match experts, drown what little they know in an unending stream of platitudinous superlatives and after-the-game interviews a la Simon Dee. This assault on two fronts—the trend towards a Showbiz presentation, and the pressing of the game into the service of a crude nationalism, is backed by a third physical containment. The police, applauded by the liberals, have now installed crowd-watching TV cameras at Chelsea Football Ground as a "safeguard" against skinhead violence.

Football belongs to the working-class as precious little else does. It is more than just a game. It is a part of genuine working-class culture. However inarticulately, it expressed a kind of class solidarity, and a kind of opposition to bourgeois domination. But like every other aspect of our society and our lives, it faces the penetration of capitalist values and capitalist control. That is why we must discuss it, and understand it—and learn from it.



Jack Straw is a new phenomenon. As President of the National Union of Students he represents a decisive break from past NUS bureaucrats. From his term of office at Leeds, which saw his double act of victimising students and then 'leading' them in an occupation, to his response to the Warwick files, his behaviour has been consistent. A combination of ideology and action which last month led him to attack *The Black Dwarf*—and have dinner at No 10 Downing Street.

We made an initial investigation of Straw's record. We went along to see him.

Cracks are appearing in the walls of No 3 Endsleigh Street. The structure of the building is so shaky that even the entrance, the public frontage of the National Union of Students, is propped up with timbers. Inside, bulletins for vacation work and other tatty notices litter derelict notice boards. The only colour in the drab office is red: the election red of labels stuck to telephone dials, self-consciously prophesying 'Labour will win'. There are chaotic piles of paper, scribbled messages, hasty snatches of conversation from decaying professional students half hidden by piles of defunct literature; the immediate impression is boredom. The atmosphere astonishingly reflects the stultified nature of NUS politics. Here, in its central headquarters, the passivity and ineffectiveness of the National Union of Students becomes concrete.

In his office, up a precarious three flights of stairs, is a pale-faced man of twenty three. He has a marked conventional appearance with short hair cut as smoothly as his suit, for all the world giving the correct appearance of a young, possibly dynamic, ICI management trainee. It is Jack Straw—President of NUS. The man billed by Fleet Street as the leftwing, militant, socialist, atom-age, student leader. Let's trace Straw's career and see what his politics amount to.

THE BIRTH OF A BUREAUCRAT

Fleet Street mythology sees 7-year-old Straw discussing with his grandfather the fight to convert Epping Forest into a national park. But for Jack, the real crunch came at the age of eleven when his parents divorced, leaving him head of the Straw household. This event gave him the maturity (and the insecurity) of his ambition.

Straw said of his home "The family thought it to be a sin to be a conservative or a communist—it was part of the conventional wisdom of us all." And at the age of 12, young Jack was pleading for the aged at a Labour Party meeting. He was introduced to the meeting as a "future Prime Minister"; a warning. He went to Brentwood Public School, responded in his first terms by running away, then capitulated and in his last years became deputy head boy. Sear of the 'Daily Mirror' quips "...always a socialist, he was tolerated by his richer and Tory School friends mainly because of his likeability." With three 'A' levels, Straw chose to go into law—he still wants to become a solicitor—and he went up to Leeds in October 1964.

At this stage, his first term in Leeds, he was, to quote a contemporary, "a radical pacifist." The immediate, and formulative influence on him was Labour's General Election victory in the same month. It was, tragically, an inspiration.

By the end of his first year he

JACK STRAW:

A Special Black Dwarf Report
by Patrick Burns & Jonathon Coe.

this later session (1966-67), he moved into the NUS bureaucracy for the first time. Constitutional debates dominated NUS at the November 66 conference, and Straw threw himself into these with remarkable enthusiasm. He played a leading role in such world-shattering discussions as the Single Transferrable Vote. It was at this conference that NUS established the Structural Commission. In the voting for members of the commission, Straw came first and contemporary hero Dave Adelstein came second. Both were greatly helped by the CP—Young Liberal, Radical Students Alliance. Effectively, the Structural Commission rewrote the NUS constitution, providing Straw with an intimate knowledge of its mysteries and sharpening those necessary bureaucratic skills. Straw's chairmanship of the commission marks the end of the first stage of his political career.

When asked about his election successes, Straw told us "that they have always genuinely surprised me." His early success at Leeds was not the fluke that he would like it to appear.

At Leeds, Straw came under the influence of Alan Hunt. Hunt was an impressive and influential operator in a powerful Communist Party group. Led by Hunt, who now teaches at Manchester College of Commerce, the CP group engaged in bureaucratic politics, using their base to control Union committees, especially those with access to the NUS. They made little attempt to radicalise the mass of the students and there was, as a consequence, a strong right-wing element in the union, mainly in the applied science faculties. Straw, summing up the situation with all the skill required of an aspiring president, rose to power on the back of the CP, since when they have never ceased trying to remain underneath him. His appeal then, as now, was bureaucratic administrative competence, which dazzled the CP with the white heat of its Wilsonian pragmatism, and was 'realistic' enough to win the approval of the budding scientists. Straw was very cagey with us about his CP connections. He referred to "a general left movement that had existed in Leeds since 1960, which I came in on."

In February 1967 Straw won the Presidency of Leeds. A year later, Easter 1968, he made his first miscalculation. With two months of his office at Leeds to go, he stood for election to the presidency of the NUS, against Trevor Fisk. He lost, and had to take on the dud job of Vice-President. Fisk, a total disaster for the NUS, was completely out of touch with students. But Straw, the RSA candidate, had not gained credibility. He had to prove that he was not a puppet in the hands of the militants and the 'extremists.' Then followed the issue which allowed Straw to establish his credit with the right: The Mrs Patrick Wall incident.



to speak to his party's supporters there. It was that glorious month—May 1968—and Jack Straw was Leeds president. When the meeting ended Wall and his wife had to make their way through students protesting against their presence on the campus. Here is how the Yorkshire Post, a reactionary rag then owned by Yorkshire Conservative Newspapers Ltd., dealt with the event next day. It trumpeted from its headlines: 'MP's wife kicked to the ground and trampled on.' Straw presided over Britain's biggest student scuffle.

What actually happened? A confidential memo, brought to light by the Warwick students, gives an accurate picture. Written by Leeds vice-chancellor Stevens, for other V-C's; the memo explains: "Mr and Mrs Patrick Wall were the guests of the Conservative Association of the Students Union on May 3rd. After a noisy meeting they were taken to lunch across a courtyard in which various scuffles broke out, and there was a lie-in on the steps of the refectory. Someone spat at Mr Wall and Mrs Wall fell and tore her clothing when a lie-in raised his legs. The incident was widely and adversely publicized and both the Vice-Chancellor and the Union (acting mutually in concert) decided to hold inquiries. Those charged with offenses by the latter were brought under

Straw, in mutual concert with the vice-chancellor, took action against fellow students for raising their legs against Mrs Patrick Wall—while they were lying down. If that were not enough he satisfied his zeal for law and order by leading the prosecution in person. He told us that it had been his "distasteful duty" (to his fellow students?) and that the "executive prosecuting ensured impartiality." In fact it acted to ensure that the students concerned were isolated and deprived of the organised force of the union to defend them against the university authorities. Any student president worth his post would at least have ensured that it was the authorities who were forced to move against militant opposition to Powellite politics. Straw did the authorities' dirty work for them. By the end of the month Jack Straw's politics were plain for all to see. He was not a tool of the communists, he was not a hot-headed student militant. Rarely has a student president acted so repressively against members of his own Union. Jack had cleared himself of the red smears.

But the month also saw the May events in France. Students were moving strongly, en masse, into direct action against the authorities. Straw's dealings with militant students were far from over.

strations and guerillas, their freedom was completely suppressed,

A lot of Western intellectuals look upon Cuba as they used to look upon Czechoslovakia before the Soviet invasion. What do you think would be the future of the intellectuals in Cuba?

I think the future is unknown. I would go back to this idea of the vicious circle. Now there's a possibility of something different, of even committing our own mistakes. And Cuban writers now commit their own mistakes, the country will commit its own mistakes, but we will be in this sense creative. And when you're creating, the future is unknown. It's a challenge and we have to participate and take whatever risks that are involved in this, the risk of committing mistakes, risks of being wrong, especially when you consider that Cuba's small under-developed country. We have to work with these limitations and struggle with them. But I think that the challenge is what is important, the possibility of something different. Now the outcome depends upon us, but it's not a closed circuit. You don't know what the future will be.

Do you think the first criterion of art must be an excellency of form and content or how it relates to political issues?.

The revolution has taught me that politics are all pervading, especially in the early stages of the revolution. Everything is political. Now even the rose is political as with the poet who says that the bomber is raking the heart of the rose. Therefore it has also affected me as a writer. But I think there's a difference. My writing is also influenced by political considerations in another sense. I would say that, in a way, it's like what Machiavelli said about a politician—'He has very strong principles and he has to be an opportunist on a number of issues, but there are certain basic principles on which he would never surrender'. Now I've made concessions in certain areas which I think are tactical. But there are certain basic principles of what I think writing should be, or what I think an intellectual should be, or what I think a revolutionary society. On these I don't think there's the possibility of any concession. You have to understand that socially everybody functions according to a number of political considerations. There are issues on which people can modify their behaviour and their point of view, but there are issues on which they can't. I think the important thing is to maintain your integrity on these issues and also be supple and pliable on these other issues to survive.

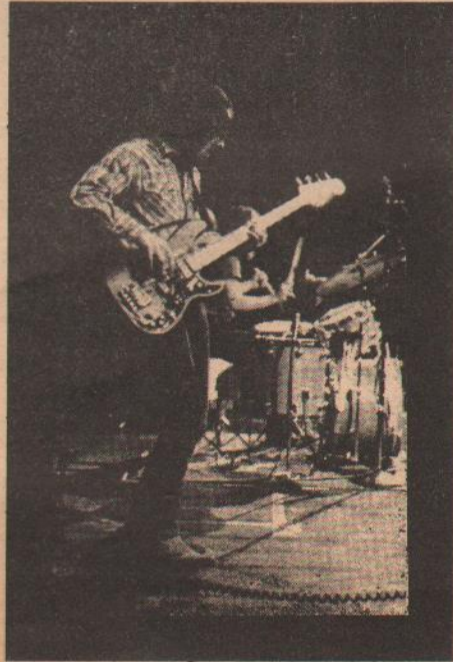
What happens if the personal truth you're searching for does not coincide with the truth the society is proclaiming?

Well you would try by all possible means to make your statement and if this is not possible at a given moment you can keep quiet and wait for the right moment. But it is fundamental, if you are part of a society, not to break away from it, and a revolution is a total experience, therefore you cannot break away without alienating yourself. It's a very fast train and if you jump off you won't be able to get on again. Not because they won't let you but because you haven't participated in the experience. Therefore I think it fundamental to wait for the right moment and to continue to struggle for this. But not to make yourself against the system, because this would be destroying yourself. If you

Creedence at the Albert Hall.

CREEDENCE CLEARWATER AT THE ALBERT HALL

Rock music has lived through the first two chapters of its history. Fifties rock was a primitive synthesis of black and white musical traditions, which its Southern protagonists thrust into the heads of young, urban whites. It fizzled out with demise of its original heroes, or their cooption by the entertainment industry, which rock music's own social base was still too insecure to resist. What made sixties rock possible

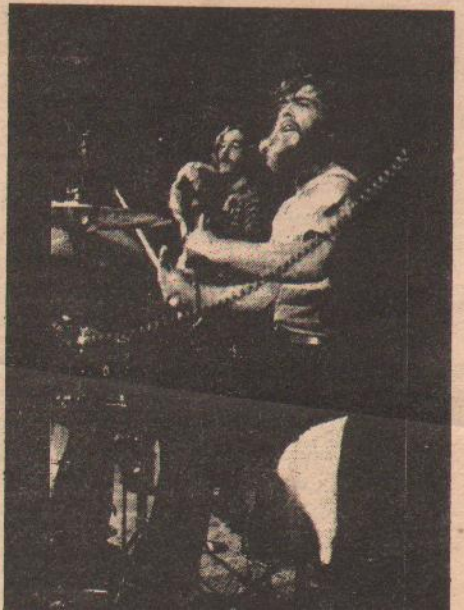


was that a significant sector of white college-age youth had freed themselves sufficiently from ruling class ideological control, and got far enough into the American musical heritage, to be able to play for themselves the music that had meant so much to their adolescence. This explains why sixties rock was closely connected in America, with 'the movement'. Firstly Dylan, then the West Coast groups, then the British groups, all combined artistic advance with a mass audience. Rock broke down the divisions of elitist avantgarde "culture" for the intellectuals, and pulp for the masses. It epitomised the collective personality of a generation, of which the revolutionary youth movement seemed only the political visage.

This second chapter drew to a close with Chicago '68 and the crisis of SDS. The idea of 'the movement' no longer formed a bridge between music and politics. Politics has become deadly serious, and the music has had to shed the naive optimism of the San Francisco era. Rock can no longer go hand in hand with real politics (though some groups, such as Jefferson Airplane, are still producing very fine music premised on illusions not yet left behind—listen to 'Volunteers').

The time is now ripe for classicism: consolidation and synthesis of past gains, a diligent musical professionalism, a turning away from the audience to the internal demands of the music itself.

These new qualities are epitomised by The Band and Creedence Clear-



water, the two groups that have left most mark on the rock scene since 1968. In training for this role, both groups stayed together for around ten years. They acquired a coherence that enables them to create a sound that is pre-planned in utmost detail, a sound that is almost indistinguishable on stage from on record. But Creedence's classicism is a double one. The Band's music reflects their willing incorporation of musical developments as they occurred—from Southern rock (Ronnie Hawkins) via second phase Dylan to a complex and meticulously elaborated style that reworks its sources in the harmonic, rhythmic and lyrical structures developed by sixties rock. Creedence's perspective is almost the reverse; they intend to play rock'n roll (i.e. fifties rock), but they resist the snares of parody and caricature, and preserve the true spirit of rock'n roll by making only minimal changes to it—in accord with the 70s era of musical authenticity. When Creedence play Good Golly Miss Molly they recreate the feel that Little Richard had in 1956, which Little Richard himself can't do by playing his old numbers.

Creedence are a fine group to watch on stage. If rock depends on the tension between the basic beat and the nuanced over-rythms woven by the vocal, the instruments and their interplay, then Creedence make this process visible. John Fogerty (vocal, lead guitar) stands sideways on stage, facing his rhythm section. The group are so tight and rehearsed that if a power cut struck them deaf and blind they would still finish the number dead on. But John visibly conducts them throughout—without the least pretence or show—urging the right emphases from bass and drums. (Contrast The Band, where Levon Helm leads from behind, invisibly, from the



drums).

Each number—only a couple were not from their records—was ecstatically pure rock. Fogerty sings with the effortless 'meanness' of Southern rock; his guitar work draws on the gamut of fifties tradition (Chuck Berry, Scotty Moore, Carl Perkins) and he also uses the solid runs and fills of the East Texas bluesmen (Jefferson/Leadbelly/Willie Johnson). Stu Cook's bass provides the powerful support indispensable to a group of this kind. The only possible criticism is that their set was simply a series of individual numbers. Their penchant for singles is a facet of their classicism, but on stage a series of single hits of 2 to 2½ minutes is jerky, to say the least. An old Ray Charles blues stood out, and they ended with an extended arrangement of Keep On Chooglin', which raised the roof. Inevitably, they spoke scarcely a dozen words to the audience and went straight off stage at the end, their roadies immediately dismantling the equipment despite a ten minute ovation.

more hardened fans in Britain. A sprinkling of freaks, a sprinkling of skinheads, no visible rockers—the bulk of the audience were shop and



office workers in their early twenties, very straight looking—an audience a rock group would never meet with in the States. Despite the success of the home product, the cultural significance of rock in Britain remains far more ambiguous than in America. The Albert Hall management tested this by playing the National Anthem after the the ovation, which cowed at least half those present.

Andrew Chester

“U”

“U”—THE INCREDIBLE STRING BAND AT THE ROUNDHOUSE.

The incredible String Band's early music was original, personal. A "psychedelic" freedom of language and instrumentation was grafted onto a firm folk-base, producing music that was constantly surprising without departing from a popular, traditional appeal. Mike Heron and Robin Williamson borrowed from Indian and medieval styles, and they mixed traditional folk-narrative with fairytale and LSD imagery. The result gelled and their first record was one of the finest to come out of the "Hippy Year" of 1967.

Now the most incredible thing about the Incredible String Band is their descent into whimsicality, feyness, vagueness and frivolity. It's a dramatic demonstration of the flabbiness and bankruptcy of hippy culture. Their show at the Roundhouse had the germ of a good idea—the combination of dancing, singing and lightshows into a collage of mythology and magic. But the Incredibles refused to use their intelligence about it. They refused to structure the show, to give it any shape. They refused to project anything concrete in their songs other than a kind of naive quaintness that got increasingly tawdry as the evening drew on. Maybe if you were completely smashed out of your head you could stay with them and enjoy the random, rambling collection of images that they and their partners produced. But for anyone who had their wits about them the waste of talent and opportunity was infuriating.

Saddest of all is the decline in their music. The Incredibles have now left far behind the folk influences that formed them. Instead they have opted for a mish-mash of styles that is a mixture of everything and which ends up as nothing. Worse the sheer cosyness of their mysticism has removed all tension from their music—which even sounds amateurish.

Symptomatically, almost the last words of the show were: "You can have your liberty if you want, It's really been there all the time". This is what is wrong with the world created by the Incredibles; its a world of fantasy without any reference to the world that people actually live in. So

Between the Bible and the Little Red Book.

At the end of March, at the age of 84, the extraordinary American journalist Anna Louise Strong died in Peking. A prolific writer worked on Russia's *Moscow News* from 1930 to 1949, interviewed the leaders of the Chinese revolution, was expelled from Russia, reinstated, and spent her last years in China as a Red Guard.

Anna Louise Strong was a Middle-West, bourgeois American. She was at first a religious writer and among her early books are titles like *Bible Hero Classics in Words of the Scripture* (1908). A pacifist during the first world war she was radicalised by reporting on a general strike in Seattle in February 1919, and by 1912 she was working to relieve the famine in the Soviet Union.

Her non-conformist religious background was the basis of a transition from bourgeois ideology to support for communism—but she never rid herself of simplistic enthusiasm. In her early period as a revolutionary she was unable to distance herself from the cult of Stalin. She successfully conveyed the enthusiasm of revolution without being able to adopt a critical marxist position.

Anna Louise Strong first went to China in 1925 where she met Comintern agent Micheal Borodin. Borodin introduced her to one Chinese official by saying: "Miss Strong has been unlucky in her revolutions. She came too late for the one in Russia and now she is very much too soon for the one in China". She was, however, a lot luckier than Borodin himself, who in 1927 had to flee China when Chiang Kai-shek massacred the Communists; he was later shot by Stalin in 1939.

Returning to Moscow Anna Louise Strong worked on the *Moscow News*, and the one time that she met Stalin got him to order changes in the way it was run. She was a loyal apologist for Stalinism and even denied that he had ordered the extermination of the Kulaks, Russia's rich and revolutionary peasants: "Stalin had merely analysed and authorised what farm hands were already instinctively doing".

1946 saw her great work of journalism. Visiting the red areas of China she made a series of systematic interviews with Mao and other Chinese leaders. This at a time when Stalin was telling American visitors in Moscow that the Chinese were only "margarine" communists, and when he was trying to get Mao to form a coalition with Chiang. It was not fully realised at the time that the famous interview with Mao where he first describes the imperialists and the A-Bomb as "paper tigers" was aimed as much towards the Soviet Union as against the United States. Mao argues quite clearly that the USSR need not take up defensive positions through fear of nuclear weapons, but rather should take an offensive strategy where the US was gaining ground—in the colonial countries. Originally titled "World's eye view from a Yen'an Cave" Mao is arguing to a *Moscow* journalist that mass struggle and people's war is the answer to the US's bomb. (Below we print excerpts from the interview).



Anna Louise Strong with Mao (1966)

Anna Louise Strong built her interviews into a book, *Dawn out of China* which describes Mao's creative application of Marxism to Chinese conditions. She includes a critical history of the Chinese C.P., in particular arguing against the Moscow trained "dogmatists" in the Chinese Party.

Plans were made for the books publication throughout the communist world. But it constituted an open deviation from Stalin's line. In February 1949 Anna Louise Strong was arrested and deported from the Soviet Union for being a "US agent". Her book was stopped in the presses.

Although she was later rehabilitated in 1955 and her arrest blamed on the 'Beria clique', the charges were in fact a move by Stalin against Mao. But she herself went blandly on and in 1957 published a book in praise of Stalin (*The Stalin Era*).

From 1959 to her death she lived in Peking. She sent a regular *Letter from China* to the US left and became an honorary member of the Red Guards. She was also the first non-Chinese journalist to get into Tibet, after the March 1959 rising was crushed. On her return, when she wrote about it, she included rubbish about the reconciliation of Buddhism with Marxism. Her culture, her abilities and her blindness expressed a particular form of middle class solidarity with the socialist revolution.

Interview (1946)

STRONG: Do you think there is hope for a political, a peaceful settlement of China's problems in the near future?

MAO: That depends on the attitude of the U.S. government. If the American people stay in the hands of American reactionaries who are helping Chiang Kai-shek fight the civil war, there is no hope for peace.

STRONG: Suppose the United States gives Chiang Kai-shek no help besides that already given, how long can Chiang Kai-shek keep on fighting?

MAO: More than a year.

STRONG: Can Chiang Kai-shek keep on that long, economically?

MAO: He can.

STRONG: What if the United States makes it clear that it will give Chiang Kai-shek no more help from now on?

MAO: There is no sign yet that the U.S. government and Chiang Kai-shek have any desire to stop the war within a short time.

STRONG: How long can the Communist Party keep on?

MAO: As far as our own desire is concerned, we don't want to fight even for a single day. But if circumstances force us to fight, we can fight to the finish.

STRONG: If the American people ask why the Communist Party is fighting, what should I reply?

MAO: Because Chiang Kai-shek is out to slaughter the Chinese people, and if the people want to survive they have to defend themselves. This the American people can understand.

STRONG: What do you think of the possibility of the United States starting a war against the Soviet Union?

MAO: There are two aspects to the propaganda about an anti-Soviet war. On the one hand, U.S. imperialism is indeed preparing a war against the Soviet Union; the current propaganda about an anti-Soviet war, as well as other anti-Soviet propaganda, is political preparation for such a war. On the other hand, this propaganda is a smoke-screen put up by the U.S. reactionaries to cover many actual contradictions between the U.S. reactionaries and the American people and the contradictions of U.S. imperialism with the other capitalist countries and with the colonial and semi-colonial countries...The United States and the Soviet Union are separated by a vast zone which includes many capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries in Europe, Asia and Africa. Before the U.S. reactionaries have subjugated these countries, an attack on the Soviet Union is out of the question. I believe it won't be long before these countries come to realize who is really oppressing them, the Soviet Union or the United States. The day will come when the U.S. reactionaries find themselves opposed by the people of the whole world...

STRONG: That is very clear. But suppose the United States uses the atom bomb? Suppose the United States bombs the Soviet Union from its bases in Iceland, Okinawa and China?

MAO: The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon. All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful...

Take the case of China. We have only millet plus rifles to rely on, but history will finally prove that our millet plus rifles is more powerful than Chiang Kai-shek's aeroplanes plus tanks. Although the Chinese people still face many difficulties and will long suffer hardships from the joint attacks of U.S. imperialism and the Chinese reactionaries, the day will come when these reactionaries are defeated and we are victorious. The reason is simply this: the reactionaries represent reaction, we represent progress.

WORLD

FACTS....

*** (WASHINGTON) There may be almost twice as many American deaths in Vietnam as the Department of Defence (D/D) claims. Former Senator Wayne Morse has charged that the D/D has two sets of statistics; the real ones and those released to the public in its weekly "statistical summary". Morse first made the charge last August, claiming 70,000 rather than 30,000 Americans had been killed in Vietnam combat at that time. An ex-marine, who was stationed in Marine H.Q. in Washington, told an October Vietnam Moratorium audience, "I realised that the Corps was, as a matter of policy, announcing a death toll that was just about half of the number of deaths reported to our office—I talked to guys who were clerking at Army H.Q. and they said the same thing was going on in their office...The fact is, twice as many Americans have died in Vietnam as the military admits". Slightly more than 40,000 Americans have now been killed in Vietnam, according to the D/D. If Morse and the Marine are right the figure is actually closer to 80,000.

AND FIGURES

*** (SAIGON) A Vietnamese legislator has said that if government figures are to be believed there are no Communists left at all in South Vietnam. Deputy Nguyen Dac Dau told a news conference—called by 16 opposition members to criticize President Thieu's administration—that according to the government the country had 200,000 Communists two years ago. "But now the government says that more than 300,000 have been killed by the armed forces, another 100,000 have defected under the open arms policy and 100,000 are in jail", he said. "So where are the Communists now?" he asked.

KEEPING TABS

*** "The US Army employs nearly 1,000 plain clothes investigators "to watch" political protests of all kinds—from Klan rallies in North Carolina to antiwar speeches at Harvard," a former captain in Army Intelligence reported in the January issue of the *Washington Monthly*. The article by Christopher H. Pyle, who worked for US Army Intelligence Command, outlines some of this spy network, which is distinct from the FBI's.

Pyle noted that "The Army periodically publishes an eight-by-ten inch, glossy-cover paperback booklet know within intelligence circles as the "blacklist". An encyclopedia of people and organizations who might "cause some trouble for the Army". A number of revolutionary organizations in the US are known to be looking out for a copy.

Chicanos against the War.

An important anti-Vietnam war march took place in Los Angeles on Feb 28th 4,000 people marched for two hours through heavy rain, and then stood for another hour in Laguna Park listening to speeches. In case that doesn't seem very special, it should be added that the people were Chicanos—Mexicans living in California. And they were led by their own security guards, the Brown Berets, dressed in full uniform.

The slogans of the march pin-pointed the problems faced by this almost-forgotten-about section of the American people.

"Queremos paz, justicia y libertad!" they shouted. "Quiero hijos, no heroes!" (I want sons, not heroes!) "Chicanos will not be used as cannon-fodder!" And—most significantly—"El plieto es en el Barrio, no en Vietnam!" (The struggle is in the slums, not in Vietnam!)

The Chicanos, like the Negroes and the

They are the victims of a racism every bit as pernicious and deep-seated as the white prejudice against the Negro. Advertisements put out by the big U.S. companies even exploit this prejudice as a selling-device. Lark Cigarettes show a Mexican house-painter covered with paint, looking sloppy and undependable. Camel cigarettes show a "typical" Mexican village with everyone asleep. And Arid Deodorant actually shows a Mexican bandit spraying his underarms with the caption: "If it works for him, it'll work for you".

This is the cultural problem the Chicanos face. The physical problems are the extreme poverty of the Barrios, the high unemployment rate, the number of Chicano children forced to drop out of school. These result in a spectacularly high proportion of Chicanos ending up in Vietnam. (Draft counselling among the Chicanos hardly exists—it's strictly laid on for middle class college kids).

"19% of the whites get drafted; 37% of the blacks; and 48% of the Chicanos".

These statistics are echoed gruesomely in the Vietnam death-rates. The Chicano proportion of the population of California is 11%. But 23.4% of the Marine deaths of people from the area are Chicanos, while the official Congressional records show that 19% of all Vietnam deaths and casualties from the Southwest were probably Chicanos (the source of this information being the surname of the person concerned).

The Chicano community has never particularly liked the United States Defence Department, as it is the largest consumer of California table-grapes—boycotted throughout the country because of the famous 11-year-old Chicano grape strike. Now the number of brown-skinned people being shipped off to kill—or be killed by—yellow skinned people at the orders of that same (white) Defence Department

are being made between the war abroad and the conditions in the barrios at home.

It's an up-hill struggle because the army is, for many Chicanos, an escape from the poverty and social backwardness of the Chicano community. What's more, the Chicanos cling dearly to the notorious Spanish-American concept of *Machismo*—aggressive masculinity. This *machismo* has led many Chicanos to believe that joining-up was a necessary proof of manhood and virility.

But now that the bodies are beginning to be shipped home, that idea is changing fast. The action on Feb 28th is to be followed by a day of nationwide activity on May 5th, and a conference to plan a Chicano Moratorium. Rosalio Munoz, one of the organisers, explained that the Chicanos aimed "to show solidarity with the Vietnamese who, after all, have the highest death-rate in Vietnam". He added that they also aimed "to put our machines

SHORTS

A STRAIGHT REPORT

*** (PARIS) Napoleon's penis was withdrawn from an auction recently. Several weeks ago a Paris auction auctioned off 72,000 dollars worth of Napoleon's relics including a death mask and a packet of hair from various parts of Bonapartes body. But nobody wanted to pay 40,000 dollars for his penis, described as "a small dried-up object" in the sale catalogue. So the member was replaced in a box and returned to its owner, an American business man who is now waiting for the penis market to go up.

WAR IS LOW—MURDER HIGH

*** United Press International reports that army medical advisers believe that up to 30% of all G.I.'s in Vietnam have smoked marijuana, and that afterward some "have even committed murder"

FROM THIRD WORLD NEWS SERVICE



GUINE (PORTUGUESE GUINEA):

The African Party for the Independence of Guine and Cape Verde, which has already liberated two thirds of the country, revealed in its latest bulletin that at the end of March, the Portuguese bombed and napalmed a school in Tambico, in the northern part of Guine. In the raid, 7 children were killed, and eight were wounded. This followed an earlier raid in February, in which 8 children were killed and 17 wounded.

COLOMBIA:

The Colombian Peoples' Liberation Army carried out several operations in Cordoba province in the middle and late March, killing several army and police, and carrying out educational and political work among the local villagers. With a Presidential 'election' due in Colombia in April, the Government are increasingly worried by their inability to control the guerrillas, who are spreading their work through the rural regions of Colombia.

RABAU:

Police were used again at the beginning of April to attack islanders in Rabaul (New Guinea) protesting about an Australian government decision to allow their lands to be expropriated by Rio Tinto Zinc. The attack took place in Malagana village, and 9 police were injured before the villagers were forced off their ground with the use of tear gas and a baton charge.

NICARAGUA:

The secret police chief for Leon department in Nicaragua was killed by guerrillas from the Sandinista National Liberation Front in early April. The Front also executed Alfonso Arana Espinosa, the cousin of President-elect Aran of Guatemala, who was working in Nicaragua. Both Arana's were involved in the brutal repression of guerrillas in Guatemala.

LESOTHO:

Following the preparations made by the Congress Party during the two months after the Jonathan coup, fighting is now spreading throughout the country. Without the support of his British officered and commanded police force, Jonathan would have been overthrown already—it is by no means certain that he can stay even with British backing.

*** Uruguayan guerrillas, members of the Tupamaros organisation, have staged two successful hit and run attacks in Montevideo in the last month.

Some weeks ago, 9 members of the group raided a Montevideo Tobacco firm and made off with \$400,000—the biggest robbery, excluding US profits, in Uruguayan history.

In the second incident, on April 13th, the Chief of the country's special Anti Subversion Police was machine-gunned on his way to work. Inspector Hector Moran Charquero was dying in hospital as police began a nationwide man-hunt for the guerrillas, who all escaped after the attack.

*** The Vietnamese likely to be jailed for their political crimes once the U.S. gets out of Vietnam talk about it the least, according to Tran Van Dinh in a recent issue of "New Republic." Between \$1.5 and \$2 billion has been deposited in European banks so far by the present oligarchy, and about 10,000 Vietnamese have (mostly illegally), left the country since the Paris negotiations began. They paid anything from \$800 to \$5,000 each to bribe their way out. The Vietnamization of Switzerland seems to be progressing satisfactorily.

*** (WASHINGTON) The nation's unemployment rate shot up in March and the wages of most workers continued lagging well behind the nation's worst inflationary spiral in 20 years.

The rise pushed the jobless rate from 3.9 to 4. % of the 81 million labour force, the second consecutive huge monthly increase.

The rate was the highest in nearly five years, the nine tenths rise in the past year was the sharpest in 10 years.

The weekly earnings figure was up \$7.07 in the past year but the more than 6% increase in living costs cut purchasing power by \$9.37 a week, more than wiping out the wage gains.

White unemployment rose in February from 3.6 to 3.8% to bring the increase in the past year to 748,000 persons; while the jobless rate of other races, mostly blacks, rose from 6.3 to 7.0% for the month, to bring the year's rise to 124,000 persons.

MEANWHILE... U.S. CORPORATIONS expect about a 6% increase in profits before taxes in 1970, a McGraw-Hill Publications Co., survey announced last month.

The survey indicated that pretax profits of the large industries co-operating in the study would amount to \$95.2 billion, compared with \$90 billion in 1969. It said that 69% of the companies included in the survey expected an increase in profits this year.

*** The April 13th 'Newsweek' reports that "CIA agents in Saigon are actively recruiting both American and non-American civilians there...to lead raiding parties of Meo tribesmen against the North Vietnamese in Laos. One such offer last week included a salary of \$1,000 a week and a week's vacation in Taiwan for every 4 weeks in the field."

*** Total bomb tonnage dropped on Vietnam exceeds the total dropped in all theatre of World War II by 60%. By February 1969, 200,000 tons of bombs had been dropped on Vietnam. This amounts to 180 pounds of bombs for every man, woman and child. 25 tons of bombs have been dropped for every square mile of North and South Vietnam

*** (WASHINGTON) The Labour Department has released a report which shows that women lose no more time from their jobs because of disability than do men—including time lost for pregnancy and childbirth. Where men and women are in similar levels of employment, they have similar rates of absenteeism, job tenure, and mobility according to the report.

The report, prepared by the Womens' Bureau, shows that it is not more costly to employ women and that differential treatment of women based on alleged cost differences is totally unfounded.

*** The repression in France continues. On April 14th, a Bill was tabled "quickly and firmly assuring the maintenance of public order and punishing those who violate this by actions condemned by the immense majority of the public."

The new law provides for a speeding up of the judicial process, and for a doubling or even trebling of sentences for damage to property. To quote the French Prime Minister, "The smashers will be the payers."

Chaban Delmas is obviously hoping to round up 'troublemakers,' impose huge prison sentences and get them out of the way before the real defence can be prepared. Although the revolutionary left is the target of this Bill, it has also angered other groups. The extreme right is afraid that its activities will also be affected, while lawyers and liberals see the new law as a threat to the delicate balance of French democracy.

*** (CALIFORNIA) Prisoners in the Santa Clara County jail were watching the TV news when it was announced that five Conspiracy defendants had been found guilty of crossing state lines to incite a riot. Moments later, six fires were blazing in different areas of the prison and more than a hundred prisoners, were smashing furniture, equipment and windows in the jail, and throwing mattresses and pieces of broken furniture on to the fires.

Fifty guards and deputies with fire hoses were brought in to quell the riot—one of the most violent to take place in the jail.

DWARF ADS

9d a word. First 20 words FREE for revolutionary fraternal or progressive magazines, papers, and publications. Send the information, and cash in advance, to 79 Cromwell Road, London S.W.7.

Anarchy: 3/-, monthly. Pubd. by Freedom Press, 84B Whitechapel High St. E.1.

Anti-Apartheid News: 6d. monthly, from 89 Charlotte St., London W.1.

Big Flame: Merseyside rank and file paper. Issue no.3 just out. 6d., from 78 Clarendon Rd., Wallasey, Cheshire.

Black Power Newsletter: Voice of the Universal Coloured People's Association. News about the black community here and abroad. From 45 Fairmount Rd. S.W.2.

Cardiff Peoples Paper: 16 Gordon Rd. Cardiff CF2. 3AJ

Catonsville Roadrunner: revolutionary Christian monthly. May issue has free broadsheet on revolutionary U.S. Catholics. 2/- from 3 Caledonian Rd. London N.1.

Challenge 1/- monthly. YCL magazine with extensive ads for holidays, poster, events.

Communist Comment: 6d. fortnightly. Pubd. by Irish Communist Organisation. Mainly Irish events.

Confrontation: 1/- news and events. 63A Brick Lane E.1.

Direct From Cuba: fortnightly. Press service with articles and info. on Cuba and L.America. From Prensa Latina, Foreign Service D, 17 Rue Boissiere, Paris.

Enough is Enough: 1/-, Bristol Womens Liberation Group, 1 Apsley Rd., Bristol, B5H 2FH.

Free Palestine: 1/3d., monthly. Bulletin of the Free Palestine Committee. (See Note.)

Freedom: 9d, weekly. Anarchist Federation of Britain. 84B Whitechapel High St., London E.1.

Grass Eye: Manchester radical/underground paper. Hibernated for the winter, first new issue out May 1st.

Idiot International: 2/6, monthly Revolutionary mag.

International: 1/6, monthly. IMG publication survey of british and world affairs. 8 Toynbee St. E.1.

International Socialism: 3/-, monthly Theoretical journal of the I.S.: 36 Gilden Rd. N.W.5.

Irish Communist: 1/-, monthly. Theoretical journal of the Irish Communist Organisation. 38 Mercers Road, N19.

Irish Democrat: 1/-, monthly., linked to the Connolly Association and to the R.P.

ISRACA: 2/6d, monthly. Pubd by Israeli Action Committee Abroad. 219 Putney Bridge Rd. S.W.15

it: 2/-, fortnightly. Sounds 'politics,' and beautiful people.

Jude: 1/-, weekly. Oxford's weekly Community Paper. 38A Cowley Rd. Oxford.

Keep Left: monthly paper of the Young Socialists (SLL). 186A Clapham High St., S.W.4.

MARXIST STUDIES—Spring issue. Workers' Control and Marxists, John Walters. Self-Management in High Schools in France 1968, Nicolas Baby. The Law of Value and Self-Management in the Workers States, Ernest Germain. Factory Councils, Gramsci. Book Reviews etc. 3/4 pp BMS Publication, 16a Holmdale Rd. London N.W.6.

Marxist Youth Journal: 1/- Youth bulletin of IMG. Bulk terms by request P. Gowan, c/o 75 York Way. N.7.

Militant: 6d, monthly. Pubd. by Labour Party Young Socialists. 197 Kings Cross Rd. W.C.1.

Mineworker: 4d. Pubd by Mineworkers Internationale, 16 Abbeyfield Rd., Dunscroft, Doncaster, Yorks.

The Mole: 6d. Brighton socialist community paper, 11 Sudely St., Brighton, Sussex.

New Left Review: 5/6, bi-monthly, from Carlisle St., W.1. Tenth anniversary issue just out.

Open Secret: 4/-, Pubd. by Free Communications Group. New issue exposes Lew Grade empire. From 20 Creek St. W.1.

The Other Paper: Leeds revolutionary paper. 1/- from 36 Ebor Place, Leeds 6.

OZ: 3/6 monthly. Glossy play-power mag, of the underground scene.

Peace News: 1/-, weekly. 5 Caledonian Rd., Kings Cross, N.1.

Real Time: 2/-, about the interrelation of computers with politics and society. Issue No.3 just out. From 66 Hargrave Park, London N.19.

Rank and File: 1/2, quarterly. Militant teachers journal. 87 Brooke Rd., N.16.

Red Front: 1/6, bi-monthly. Theoretical journal of Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain. (Maoist)

Red Mole: 1/6, fortnightly. 182 Pentonville Rd., N.1.

Red Notes: 1/-, monthly information and news bulletin from Agitprop, 160 North Gower St., N.W.1.

Revolution: 6d, monthly. London (Maoist) RSSF news sheet. 5 Dorset Court, Chichele Rd. N.W.2.

Rustle: 2/- Inter-schools mag. Little Garnetts, Dunmow, Essex.

Sam: 1/- 29 Southdown Rd., Beacon Park, Plymouth. P12 3HN. Schools Alternative Mag.

Sanity: 1/-, monthly CND 14 Grays Inn Rd., W.C.1.

1/ Paper: Rev. Socialist Cambridge University Publication 3 Round Church St., Cambridge.

Shola: 2/- monthly. Rev. Pakistani journal in Urdu. c/o Pakistani Marxist Group 8 Toynbee St., E.1.

Shrew: 1/-, monthly. Discussion journal News and opinion. Womens Liberation Workshop, 154 Barnsbury Rd., N.1.

Socialist Standard: 9d, monthly. Official journal of Socialist Party of G.B. 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4.

Socialist Woman: 6d., bi-monthly, from 16 Ella Rd. West Bridgeford, Nottingham.

Socialist Worker: weekly paper of the International Socialists. Subscription £2-10 a year. Details 6 Cottons Gardens, London E.2.

Solidarity: 6d, for "the libertarian revolution". Produced by different groups around the country. Main contact address is 53A Westmoreland Rd., Bromley Kent, but most Solidarity pubs. can be obtained from Agitprop (see Red Notes).

Spokesman: 3/6, bi-monthly. Pubd. by Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. 45 Gamble St., Forest Road West, Nottingham NG7 4ET

Struggle: 6d, monthly. 4 page pamphlet by Communist Federation of Britain, (Marxist-Leninist). 1 Grovedale Rd. N19.

Synic: £1 p.a. Libertarian news sheet. 14 Hanley Rd., N.4.

Third World Reports: monthly. Well produced reports for the liberation organisations. First issue just out. 209, Abbey House, Victoria St., S.W.1.

Tricontinental: 6/- + 10d post from Tricontinental Committee, 15 Lawn Rd., NW3, or Black Dwarf.

The Worker: 6d, monthly, 4-page paper by C.P.G.B. (Marxist-Leninist). 155 Fortress Rd., N.W.5.

Workers Broadsheet: 1/-, monthly. Pubd. by Working Peoples Party of England—"a new kind of political party." and a rude one. 54G St. Giles High St. W.C.2.

Workers Press: 6d, The only revolutionary daily paper. Pubd. by Socialist Labour League. 186A, Clapham High St., S.W.4.

Vietnam: 1/-, monthly. Pubd. by V.S.C. 13 Whites Row, E.1.

The China of Mao Tsetung. All books, Magazines, Art Posters, Badges, etc. 10% discounts. Marx, Lenin, Famous Pamphlets. Lin Piao: "Victory of People's War". 4d. Stamp brings Lists. D. Volpe, 114 Evering Rd., London N.16.

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MUSSS MAG: fortnightly paper of Manchester Union of Secondary School Students; price 2d. from 26, Queensway, M/c M19 IQP.

APOLOGIES: There were a number of mistakes in our previous Free Ads column—which was produced under great pressure. Freedom was mixed up with Anarchy and Socialist Worker came out as Socialist Woman. The most serious mistake of all was our reference to Free Palestine, a paper which is completely independent of the Arab States. Our deep apologies to them for the error.

Jean Genet on Black Panthers



For the Whiteman, History, past and future, is very long, and his set of references is very imposing. For the Black man, Time is short, for his History has been brutally interrupted and modified in such a way that the Whites did everything to prevent him from having his own, original development. And in the USA, we are still busy setting limits on Black people's Time and Space. Not only is each and everyone of them more withdrawn within himself but he is also imprisoned by us. And when we have to, we assassinate him

Because of his exceptional political stature, Chairman Bobby Seale's trial which just started is, in fact, a political trial of the Black Panther Party, and, on a more general basis, a race trial held against all of America's Blacks.

The reality of the Black colony within the United States is very complex. Disseminated as they are within a nation full of pride, which likes to think of herself as master of the world, the Blacks, spread among a White population, oppressed by the Whites' racism and indifference, threatened by an oppressive police and administration, have been forced to operate a very new type of fight, in this very singular situation. That is how the Black Panther Party was created, first of all to defend the rights of the colonized Blacks inside the USA, then also to initiate an original political thought process.

Before the vigor of their action and the rigor of their political reflections, the Whites—and especially the emotion of the dominating caste in the USA, the police—had a racial reaction almost immediately: since the Blacks proved that they were able to get organized, the easiest thing would be to throw discredit on their organization.

The Police were therefore able to hide the true meaning of its intentions behind unqualified pretexts; trials based on drug, murder and conspiracy charges. The fact of the matter is that they were trying to massacre those responsible for the Black Panther Party.

What about us, what are we doing? When the bombs hit Hanoi, we had some epidemic reactions; so did we during the Korean war. These massacres were taking place far away. Here and now, we are finding out that our own Colonized, which still appeared to us like shadows in our midst, are just about to become our adversaries, in this very country.

The majority of Black people live in misery. It is not the Police which stopped drugs in the Black colonies; we know that there is a collusion between

started to do something about that.

But we shut our eyes, our mouths, our ears, so that the Blacks' misery would not disturb us too much. If we looked straight into American reality, we would quickly understand that the Blacks are more and more capable of taking care of their own affairs. And so the simplest, the most prudent way is to leave them in a state of physical and mental misery, in a state of absolute solitude.

Let us not be afraid of words; this misery permits our own comfort. To moan about bombings far away was a luxury. Our cowardice will prevent us from opening our eyes here. In order to complete this, we have set up a high-level imposture: we have granted a few, carefully chosen Blacks notoriety, and we have multiplied their image, but only so that they should become what we want them to be: actors.

Bobby Seale and his comrades have over-stepped our boundaries, they speak and act as responsible political people, and we can't bear this. We'd rather have misery for the Blacks and the racism it implies, than to recognize the political value of the Black Panther Party.

One really has to understand that Attorney General Mitchell, by trying Bobby Seale, is trying all of us. Our liberties are being threatened more and more. May be we're not going to do anything, but our sons and daughters are faster than us, they have made a hero out of Bobby Seale in his prison.

We won't do anything, and our children already are contemptful of us for not doing anything.

Stonybrook University should be cited as an example; when Bobby Seale was transferred to Connecticut, that University's response was to offer him a Professorship. The very day of the transfer, the University also created a Support and Defense Committee in favor of Bobby Seale and the Black Panther Party.

We have entered a period comparable to the fifties' McCarthyism. The same terrorism is being used against the intellectuals sympathizing with the Black Panther. Should the Police fact be accepted or fought? Should one continue to fear the Black Panther Party like a mythology, both terrible and childish, an image of which is paralyzing us?

Should one accept that the Black people, colonized within a White empire, should attempt to free itself?

Because of the very fact that the Black Panther Party and we ourselves, White people, have the same enemy, meaning the police and, beyond the police, the White House Administration and the

struggle.

We should not let ourselves be distracted by the sexual myths which are said to be the origins of racism.

The origins of racism are socio-economic. We do have to make this a very precise notion, for this is the starting point of our solidarity with the Blacks and the Black Panther Party.

Where the political thought-process of the Black Panthers is concerned, I am convinced that it originates in the poetical vision of the American Blacks.

More and more do we realize that revolutionary thought originates in this poetical emotion. This is why one has to understand that it is starting with singular poetical emotions that Mao Tsetung was brought to revolutionary consciousness, later on to the Long March, then to the revolution called the "one hundred flowers" revolution and, finally, to the cultural revolution. And it was the same for Ho Chi Minh.

And so was it for the Black Panther Party which, from the poetical resources of its oppressed people, draws the means to have a rigorous revolutionary thought.

The Whites, and particularly the young, must understand that the relationship with their own revolutionary organizations must be new relationships, and that one has to organize right now TACTICAL revolutionary alliances.

I also believe that the time has come to use new vocabulary and syntax capable of making everyone better aware of the double struggle, poetical and revolutionary, of the White movements which are comparable to the Black Panthers.

Where I am concerned, for example, I also refuse the word Brother, which is too laden with evangelical sentimentalism, and when talking about the Blacks, I want to talk about comrades in arms fighting against the same adversary.

When the Black Panthers contacted me in France, I came right away to the United States to put myself at their disposal. Your youth, your intellect and physical agility, your moral imperatives, are capable of making you act faster than I, and with greater efficiency. This is why I am counting on you to help the Black Panther Party and to prevent Bobby Seale's trial.

One has to think that this current of culture, which has been brutally interrupted by the White slave-drivers, is coming back again, not on the level of revolutionary consciousness. It is therefore a very simple, but very obvious paradox which today

Dear Editor,
Referring to March 7th, 1970 copy of "The Black Dwarf" I find I am becoming increasingly irritated by your infuriatingly inverted snobbery. As a student I could find much to sympathise and agree with in your Editorial on University files, but unfortunately you invalidated your arguments very nicely by continual references to an outdated ideology—"class".

Yours irritatedly,
Rosemary Mosley

Only the working class can create a classless society, and to do so they have to struggle—to overthrow the bourgeoisie and abolish exploitation.
BD

WHERE IS POLITICAL POWER?

Dear Dwarf Comrades,
I am writing to raise a question about Fred Halliday's "People's War Smashes British Imperialism." In it he says that the People's Liberation Army is firmly controlled by the party. Surely this is dangerous, as the party head must be in the capital. After all, that is where the political life of the country, be what it may, is concentrated. This is where the organs of central power are. The commander of the army, or guerrilla force, must descend to the city; he can always send an emissary to the mountains. The commander must be in the city to discuss political positions, when they do not accord with the concrete problems of his men, such as when they request aid etc. But this will put him sooner or later in a dangerous position, and leave him open to assassination or capture by imperialist forces. I would like to know if this is so in the Gulf. I would like to hear Fred Halliday's view on this.
Life to the Revolution,
Yours in the Revolution,
David Nixen.
Blackburn, Lancs.

The comrade is quite right to stress that the centres of political power in Arabia are the cities. The Sultan of Muscat lives in Salala, capital of Dhofar, and in the Gulf there is virtually no population outside of the coastal cities.

It is precisely because the city is the strongest point that it has not been attacked first. The revolution has begun at the weakest point—in the Dhofar countryside. By building up in the countryside it will then have a strong base from which to launch urban insurrection, and the urban strongholds of the regime will be weakened.

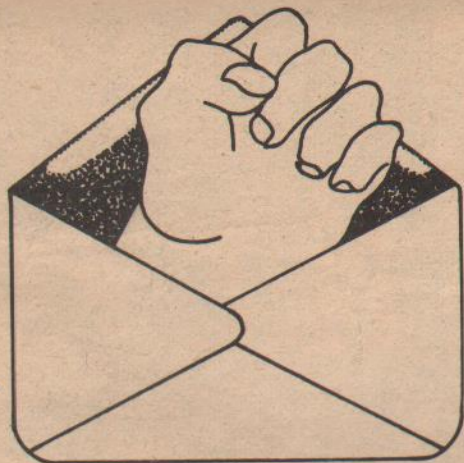
This was the strategy of the Chinese revolution, and it raises the question of how to ensure political and strategic communication between town and countryside. At the initial stage of the struggle a revolutionary leadership need not be physically in the towns, but it has to know the conditions in the towns and maintain constant contact with them. The rural guerilla war itself cannot be launched without prior political preparation in both town and countryside.

In Latin America the rural strategy has been largely abandoned; revolutionaries there have adopted urban guerilla war as the main form of struggle. In Arabia it has been possible to create a liberated area. But it is separated by hundreds of miles of desert from the oil cities of the Gulf, where political life is centred. It will be relatively easy to capture the cities of Dhofar still held by reaction; it will be a lot more difficult to translate the guerilla war in the mountains into armed insurrection and military invasion of the Gulf cities.

There is a political movement among the workers of the cities. The struggle in the mountains is both an encouragement to them and will increasingly form a concrete military and political ally. It is precisely when the two arms of such a struggle are controlled by a revolutionary party that victory is possible.

A GOOD START

Dear Sir,
We are a group of revolutionaries in Geneva, Switzerland. The importance



LETTERS

cannot be overemphasised. There are people from ALL nations, and if we can form militants here, the movement will spread all over the world when they return to their various countries. Our efforts are concentrated on the youth of the International School of Geneva, the school that we go to, and we have started a weekly underground newspaper, called "Barricade".
Fraternally,
The Action Committee of Revolutionaries in Geneva.

BLAST

Comrades,
During tea break discussions at our steelworks we found great difficulty in explaining the editorial of Dwarf (32) to our fellow workers. Apart from this one half page of very confused thinking we found Dwarf (32) to be most informative.

In further discussion at home one of our workmates put forward the view that the editorial was somewhat out of tone with the rest of the Dwarf and he was sure that middle class confusion and petty bourgeois radical ideals were once again seeping into Dwarf's otherwise revolutionary pages.

We suggest that you take a little leaf from Uncle Joseph's book and eradicate those responsible.

Remember that the revolution is for the working class and not for the sake of middle class polemics. And when the revolution comes, and comrades it fucking will, then beware, for present diversionary blind alley intellectualizing will have to be answered for, and those responsible crushed, eaten, shitted out and used as fertilizer.
Greetings Comrades.
K.S. Willy Jones and J.F. Gwyn Jones. The Blast Furnaces, East Moors Division of Steel company of Wales Cardiff.

Dear Comrade

We liked your article on the squat in Abour Square, but we want to make our position clear about what happens when the Courts decide against us and the police and bailiffs move in. In Tower Hamlets the issue is more than merely a punch-up with any old Council. The break-up of the Labour Party, even in its traditional strongholds, makes it vitally important politically that our confrontation with the Labour Council in Tower Hamlets be used to raise the consciousness of people in the district as to what the Labour game is. Thus we would hope that a confrontation between C.C.H.S. and the Council will interest the Left generally, and we want the Left to help us when the time comes.

What we would hope for is that if the confrontation is large enough and we use the issue correctly, far from being a defeat for the squatters' movement and the Left in general, it could be a victory. The larger issue is that Tower Hamlets Council has, like a parasite, lived off the Labour movement for too long, and as you correctly state in your article, while hypocritically supporting the rent rebels against the Tory G.L.C., they make no effort on their own part to spell out the economic realities of housing. If they did so, they would indict, along with the G.L.C., the Labour Government. Which gives us an

trick." The Tenants' Associations are showing increased interest in our own small movement, and with the broadening of the housing issue it becomes easier to politicise those who suffer under the policies of this Labour Government.

If you agree with us, please help us.

Fraternally,

Tony Mahony

pp. Campaign to clear Hostels and Slums.
3 Osborn St., E.1.

As we go to press we have just heard that the Council has now moved against the squatters of Arbour Square. Gas, electricity and water have been cut off, and the squatters are preparing themselves to fight.

The left should give these people as much assistance as possible—which can be done by ringing 790 4964 if the struggle is still on. But in giving them this support we must also ask some questions about the usefulness of this kind of activity in relation to the more general question which must always be our ultimate priority: the development of a mass revolutionary movement.

What, in fact, are the priorities of Comrade Mahony's Campaign? Is he primarily concerned with exposing the Labour Party? Or is he primarily concerned with the housing situation as a political issue? Or is he primarily concerned with the squatters themselves? If the first, what are the arguments for using squatting to expose the Labour Party, as opposed to other forms of political action? If the second, Comrade Mahony must justify this particular form of direct action as the best method of demonstrating the political realities of the housing situation. If he is primarily concerned with the squatters themselves, then victory in a confrontation with the council is vitally important.

We must also ask questions about the idea of "using the issue correctly." If Comrade Mahony's intention is to expose the Labour Party, then what campaigning has his group done against Labour? What political questions has he raised? What issues (besides the squat itself) are being used? In other words, what political preparation, groundwork and propaganda are being carried out?

As regards the confrontation itself. We agree that confrontations can have the effect of raising political understanding. But only when they are conducted in a political manner—when politics is in command. The confrontation alone will not do the job for us, any more than a skin-head who has a fight with a policeman will immediately gain a great insight into the nature of the capitalist system. We must also ask what Comrade Mahony is doing to make the confrontation bigger in terms of getting local support—as opposed to getting support from leftists from other parts of London via letters to the Black Dwarf

The essence of the problem Comrade Mahony faces is this: our article on the squat, while giving the squatters full support, also raised the problem of how the masses relate to this form of struggle. While Comrade Mahony seems conscious of the limitations of squatting as a method of developing a mass-based movement, we still do not feel that he has satisfactorily answered this important question.

J.H.

EVENTS

APRIL 31 and MAY 1: Literature Festival in Old Theatre, L.S.E., Houghton St., Aldwych, W.C.2.

MAY 1: Merseyside dockers strike against unemployment, Tory anti-union plans and Vietnam war. Construction workers strike at Dista site in Speke, and at Girlings. Organised by Liverpool Trades Council.

MAY 1: Eviction of young couple with children from 24 Grafton Terrace, N.W.5. Demonstration organised by St. Pancras-Camden United Tenants, Association. If you want to help stop this eviction, ring Mrs. Luby, 267 1299.

MAY 1: Left Unity—the Working Class. I.S. public meeting. Holborn Assembly Hall, John's Mews, W.C.1.

MAY 1: Public meeting. May Day—Left Unity—The Working Class. Holborn Assembly Hall, John's Mews, W.C.1. 7.30 p.m.

MAY 2: May Day Fair on Brighton seafront all day. Contact Patrick O'Riley at 6a Vernon Terrace, Brighton. Tel: 732 032.

MAY 2: Mass meeting and demonstration outside Lords Cricket Ground from 10.30—3p.m. Public speakers.

MAY 2: Dinner for Sir Oswald Mosley's old mates at the Victoria Street Restaurant, 117 Victoria St., S.W.1. at 8p.m. Would not like our comrade waiter to come to any harm.

MAY 3: National Front/Monday Club Rally in Trafalgar Sq., at 2.30p.m. Fascists anonymous.

MAY 3: Demonstration 'Law and Order' at Folkestone Harbour at 2.30p.m.

MAY 3: Y.S. May Day march from Charing Cross embankment starts at 1.30p.m. Followed by public meeting at Lyceum, Aldwich at 4p.m. Coaches from all areas. Contact Y.S., 186a Clapham High St., S.W.4.

MAY 5: Chinese film of nuclear tests. Exhibition Hall, Camden Studios, Camden St., N.W.1. 7.30 p.m.

MAY 8: A WOMAN'S WORK IS NEVER PAID FOR. Public Meeting on Women's Rights, 7.30 p.m. Speakers: Chris Norwood M.P., Anne Spencer NUTGW, Audrey Wise USDAW, Chairman Brian Nicholson, TGWU. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

MAY 8: Chinese film; "FROM VICTORY TO VICTORY." East Finchley Library, 226 High Rd., N.2. 8 p.m.

MAY 13: Peter Haine and others speak on Apartheid in Sport at Cope-land School, Wembly High St., at 8p.m. Organised by Wembly/Harrow Anti-Apartheid, but will possibly be a joint venture with Brent Community Relations Board. Further details from: 902 2117.

MAY 15: Meeting to organise anti-Powell demonstration. Meet Alper-ton Park Hotel, 183 Ealing Road, Alper-ton, Middx. (Alper-ton or Wembly Cen. Stns) at 7.30p.m. Organised c/o 15 Taylor's Green, W.3. 743 1172.

MAY 15: Meeting to "mark Palestine Day" at Friends Meeting House, Euston Road, N.W.1. at 7p.m. Organised by Palestine Solidarity Campaign.

MAY 15: Bernadett Devlin, Michael Foot, Paul Foot and others to speak at rally to demand the release of Irish prisoners in England. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. at 7.30p.m. Organised by the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign.

MAY 16: Public Meeting; "Hand and Brain in Chinese Culture." Speaker; Dr Joseph Needham. Main Hall, College of Preceptors, 2 and 3 Bloomsbury Square, W.C.1. 7 p.m.

MAY 18: Lecture on Productivity Deals and how to fight them by Tony Cliff at Forrester's Hall, Highgate Road, Kentish Town, N.W.5. 8pm. Contact R. McGibbon, 22 Estelle Rd., N.W.5. of Camden I.S.

MAY 17: Enoch Powell rants in Wembly at Wembly Conservative Club, Copaland High School, Wembly. Details from Ad hoc Cttee., c/o 15 Taylor's Green, W.3. 743 1172.

MAY 22-5: Unfree Pop. 1 mile from Keele, 2 miles from Newcastle-under-Lyme. Organised by Blackhill agency.

MAY 22-25: March and rally planned about David Kitson. From Ruskin College to Trafalgar Square. Organised by Ruskin College Kitson Committee.

JUNE 1: South Africa Cricket team arrives. Demonstration at Heathrow Airport. Organised by Stop 70 Tour.

JUNE 6: Cricket demonstration. March from Marble Arch to Lords Cricket Ground. Organised by Stop 70 Tour.

JUNE 6: Party drinks and music at Camden studios, Camden Street, N.W.1. at 7.30p.m. Organised by Camden movement for Peoples



DIARY

REPRESSION

For flagrantly and deliberately drinking a cup of coffee Paul Hoch has been sent to Jail for 28 days. At the hearing, today, in Queen's Bench Court No 2, he was jailed for breaking an injunction that LSE had put upon him not to enter the School. He explained to the court that he did not break the 'spirit' of the injunction, and he offered to promise never to enter the schools for disruptive reasons. This was not enough for the LSE, who insisted on taking their pound of flesh.



Hoch pictured here, an ex-editor of Senate, the London University newspaper, is a Black Dwarf contributor. He has just written a book for Sheed and Ward on 'Academic Freedom in Action', and the next issue of Black Dwarf will carry an article by him on the ownership of the press.

As we go to press the repression of student militants is escalating sharply. In Cambridge, Liverpool, Essex, Oxford and the LSE, university authorities are on the move. We have dropped our student reports from this issue, they were overtaken by events, and there will be a full discussion of the repression in the next Black Dwarf.

CELEBRATING LENIN

The Lenin Centenary has created severe ideological problems for the Soviet regime. This menace was so great that at a celebratory showing of a film on the life of Lenin at the Soviet Embassy in London, an official had to get up before the film and say: "In order to avoid questions on this being asked afterwards, I would like to say before hand that the reasons Stalin and Trotsky are not shown is that they were both away at the Front at the time".

In London they try to chase history off to the Front. Things in Moscow were not much better, where four leading members of the Party's ideological section have recently been dismissed. The following incident, in particular, is rumoured to have been the cause of the dismissal of Vladimir Stepanov, former head of the Central Committee's Department of Propaganda and Agitation.

Last December *Pravda* published a set of political theses to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth. The fourteenth theses contained the following passage:

"In his preliminary notes on the report about the international situation and the principal tasks of the Comintern, Lenin listed five social factors of the proletariat's force: 1) numbers, 2) degree of organisation, 3) their place in the process of production and distribution, 4) activity, 5) education".

This passage does indeed occur in Lenin's report to the Second Congress

Social-Democrat Otto Bauer and come from his anti-Leninist book *Bolshevism or Social-Democracy?* Lenin prefaced his use of these sterile categories by saying: "This is an example of how Marxism has been debased, of the level of banality and defense of the exploiters to which the most revolutionary theory can be reduced. It is only the German variety of the petty-bourgeois spirit which could produce a theory according to which the 'factors of social force' are..." Lenin went on to say: "Perhaps this example is a bit ludicrous, but it is of the nature of contemporary opportunism that its struggle against contemporary *Bolshevism* does become ludicrous" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31 pp.229-230).

This "mistake" was corrected, without explanation, when the theses were reprinted in the theoretical journal *Kommunist* a month later. The incident is politically very significant: not only does it reveal the staggering ignorance of Leninism that characterises the Soviet regime to-day, it also shows how the modern revisionism of Brezhnev and Kosygin naturally reproduces the old revisionist errors of fifty years ago.

The Spanish Workers' Defence Committee is calling for solidarity with two young Basques who are awaiting trial for throwing molotov cocktails at the Spanish Embassy. The last person tried for this offence got seven years. More important still, one of the Basques, Juan Echebarria, is wanted by the Spanish for political crimes that could carry the death sentence. The Spanish Authorities are asking for extradition. The British must be stopped from handing him over. Contact: SWDC, 31, Dartmouth Park Road, London, NW5.

GUERNICA

The Franco government recently invited Pablo Picasso to return and allow his famous painting of the fascist atrocity "Guernica" to be shown in Madrid. He refused, saying that only when Spain was a democratic republic again would he allow the painting to return.

Now in the wake of the My Lai massacre 265 American writers and painters have written to Picasso asking him to withdraw the painting from the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

THE DAILY ETHICS

In a series on the Left in *The Daily Express* gruesomely entitled *The Bloodstained Banner* the writer Alain Cass finished with these words.

"And as if to symbolise this recent insidious growth an organisation calling itself Agit-Prop (Agitation and Propaganda) provides a world-wide contacts service for extremists.

It charges £3 to £5 for information on groups in Britain. Thus in the few years that street politics have grown in Britain, a small industry has sprung up for the New Left.

It deals in slogans and political diatribe. It is as mercenary and as adaptable as the sex-industry of Soho, and its end product is—significantly—violence".

As most readers will already know Agit-Prop is an excellent voluntary organisation of comrades rubbing along on a few donations and trying to provide a much needed Left information service. Though not illusioned about the role of the bourgeois media two Agit-Prop comrades decided to gently question Cass on his motives for this particular distortion. So they phoned him at the Express. His first reaction was to deny that the comparison with the sex-industry referred to Agit-Prop at all. That didn't work and he was asked whether he would publish a correction in his paper, but of course he refused. He then said that he had "Great respect for the New Left" and he was only referring to, "The idiots who chase around waving red and blacks flags and shouting confrontation and bourgeois and who wouldn't know Das Kapital from their arse".

Well, came back the answer, if he liked the New Left so much, why didn't he write positive things about the contents of its actions and writings, rather than a lot of destructive



A GARLAND FOR MAY DAY 1895 DEDICATED TO THE WORKERS BY WALTER CRANE

when you work for the Express you become an intellectual prostitute."

"Fine" they said "As long as we can print that, then our opinion of the role of the Express is confirmed".

"Print that" said Cass "And I and the paper will sue you for every penny you've got. Besides, this isn't Alain Cass you're talking to anyway".

"Yes it is" they said, "There are two of us this end who heard you answer the phone. And we haven't got any money anyway".

"This is a personal conversation" said Cass, "You're breaking every code of ethics if you print it out of context".

So the two from Agit-Prop asked us to print the story in its full context.

IWC v. DUNLOP

Inspired by the Institute for Workers Control, seven militants picketed Dunlop's head office in Ryder Street on April 17th. Dunlops are closing down one of their three Canadian Plants. The men there offered to buy the factory and keep it in production. Dunlops refused. Charles Levinson, of the International Chemical Workers, has threatened retaliation against Pirelli, the giant Italian Rubber company now merging with Dunlops. Excited by this unprecedented possibility of international action against a branch of monopoly capitalism, the Institute are trying to stir up opposition in Britain as well.

KINO FIST

Agitprop has now published a useful preliminary film-list, classifying most of the available left wing movies by subject, distributor, and cost of hire. The difficulty they had in compiling the list led to discussions with a number of socialist film-groups, with the aim of rationalising the present situation so as to avoid duplication of effort and increase co-operation. There was disagreement on the priorities of socialists in this field: should the main job be to use a few selected films as political weapons, incorporating them in a general agitational offensive—or should the main aim be to build alternative distribution networks to the big commercial ones, including the possibility of printing new films from abroad and providing an outlet for radical film-makers generally? The different groups represented had different views on this problem, but they agreed

a streamlining to the existing revolutionary film-scene.

Meanwhile, the main groups working with films are:

Angry Arts Film Society (6 Bramshill Gardens, NW5, 01-263 0613); a groups that regularly shows revolutionary films with well-prepared discussion handouts as preparation for the showing, and lengthy discussion after the film on its implications for revolutionaries.

Newsreel (11 Liston Rd, SW4 01-622 958); the group that handles films made by the newsreel group in America, plus any other films that come their way, including one or two British ones. Most films cost £1.0.0. to hire.

London Film Co-op (1 Robert St. NW1. 387 6573); not concerned with the politics of their films, they nevertheless have facilities for making and distributing films for anyone who wants to use them. Membership of the film-making group (entitling you to free use of their equipment) is £5 p.a., or £2 per quarter.

Polit Kino (5 Beaufort Gardens, SW3, 01 584 2735); handles exceptional foreign films—usually very left-wing—that wouldn't otherwise get shown in this country.

Cinemantics (117 Hartfield Rd., SW19 1 542 3018); a bi-monthly film magazine aimed at rethinking the process of film-making in the direction of understanding film as a socialist activity. Important interviews and feature items on many aspects of the industry.

Grip (The Other Cinema, 18 Carlisle St., W1. 01 734 7448); another radical film-magazine, First issue includes important theses by Godard in revolutionary film-making, plus an interview with Glauber Rocha ("Black God and White Devil.")

STOP PRESS

The Black Power demonstration, on Sunday April 26, against the Trinidad High Commission met with appalling police brutality. First there were provocateurs, then snatch squads, finally truncheon whippings, as demonstrators fought back and went to help individuals who had been singled out. 20 comrades were arrested.