



ABOVE: MR CABLE IN FRONT OF COUNCIL BUILDINGS, POPLAR.

BELOW: CAMDEN COUNCIL WELFARE OFFICER MR BRUTHY

BACK TO THE GHETTO

COUNCIL THUGS IN ACTION—

Terror. In Grosvenor Road, Ilford, where a homeless family had been squatting for three months.

At dawn on April 22, thirty bailiffs and attendants broke down the doors, crashed through the house, and evicted the Beresfords — man, wife, and seven children. Their relocation? Council Buildings, Poplar, a Camden Council ghetto from which, three months ago, the Squatters helped the Beresfords move out.

Next stop for the council's thugs: Cleveland Road, Ilford, a house into which the Fleming family had recently moved. Here, they really went to town. One man was injured (broken jaw) as they kicked their way through doors and barricades. Breaking into bedrooms, they ignored the children's screams and hustled all into the street. Then they threw out their furniture and clothes.

A Child Welfare Officer, accompanying the bailiffs, advised that the children be taken to the local welfare office. On arrival, the Flemings found it locked and were left sitting on the step.



MRS BERESFORD
'I'D RATHER BE DEAD THAN
BACK IN COUNCIL BUILDINGS'.

before, *Dwarf* reporter Janet Ree, plus photographer, had visited the Buildings. Camden Council's supervisor, Mr Cable, drew up in his car as our reporter stood on the pavement chatting. The photographer stepped forward, when Cable cut him short.

'If you take that photo, mate, you won't be around for long'. He took it.

'If you print that photo, you'll live to regret it. And if you enter these buildings, you are trespassing and will be prosecuted.'

Poplar, East London, April 16

The notorious accomodation known as Council Buildings Poplar, belongs to Camden borough council. It is intended to provide temporary accomodation for homeless people who are waiting for a house.

We spoke to the people who are living there — some of whom have been there for four years. 'It's like a prison, isn't it?' one woman said to us, 'Holloway's a palace compared to this'. None of the flats is larger than two rooms; and we were invited into such a flat — bedroom, living room, and a kitchen, cupboard-sized and containing a lavatory, a cooker, and a sink.

The arrangement has a certain advantage. 'You can sit on the toilet and cook your dinner, and you don't have to stretch out at all', a pregnant woman told us, whose four children live with her in the flat. 'If my baby lives, the welfare may give me a place with two bedrooms; if it dies, I'll have to stay here'.

The baby's chances of survival cannot be rated very highly. Mr Byrne, with his family tenants of Council Buildings until the squatters helped them with 'rehousing', told of how he had come home at 10 pm from work to find his flat flooded with sewage overflowing from upstairs. His wife had been trying to bale it out, but the flow had been too great. Byrne telephoned the welfare officer for the Buildings, Mr. Bruthy; getting no response he took a sledge-hammer and smashed the outside pipes. The sewage poured into the courtyard at



to sending someone over to mend the pipes and clear the place; and when Mr Byrne spoke his mind he was threatened with being transferred to the 'problem family unit' at King's Cross.

SQUATTERS SENT BACK

Continued from Page 1.

While the tenants of these buildings assume that they are on a housing list, many of them are not, nor ever will be. They only get their names on the list if the welfare officer recommends them; and they are therefore in his power.

The tenants were understandably guarded when they spoke of Mr Bruthy and of Mr Cable, the supervisor (rent collector) from the Council. Nonetheless, we heard a lot of tales about these two. We heard tell of the threats that Cable has made against the tenants who get mixed up with the squatters.

Some said that both Bruthy and Cable were reasonable men who didn't interfere with them — the women were speaking here of direct interference; it emerged, for instance, that Bruthy knew every time one of the women spent an hour or so in the pub across the road. They are pleasant enough until you cross them. It's then that you have to watch out.

Six of us (reporter, photographer, and four people from Camden United Tenants' Association) were standing outside the Buildings talking to some of the tenants, when Cable drew up in his car. The photographer ran forward.

'If you take that photo, mate, you won't be around for long'.

He took the photograph.

'If you print that photo, you'll live to regret it. And if you enter these buildings you are trespassing and will be prosecuted'.

After we had been inside the Buildings, Cable re-appeared.

'Who's in charge of you lot?'

We said we were a group of citizens and therefore no one was in charge.

'Well, I warn you that if you publish this photo I'll sue you'.

What would he sue us for?

'For taking my photo without my permission' — and, to the photographer —

'You're lucky I didn't smash that camera over your head'.

One squatter described the welfare department responsible for the tenants as a 'breeding ground for thugs', but their problems extend beyond the narrow world of Mr Cable and his friends. It is almost impossible for a man to get work once his employer hears where he is living. A woman who needs to go into

hospital to have her baby finds the doctors helpful until she reveals her address — 'then they go unfriendly and don't want to know any more'. They cannot get hire purchase terms. Mrs Beresford was told in the TV rental shop that it was company policy not to instal televisions in Council Buildings.

They are regarded on all sides with disfavour. A girl from the United Tenants' Association was told by a member of Camden Council that the families living in Council Buildings 'aren't fit for human society. They have to be re-educated before they are suitable'. It is not mere prejudice alone. Redbridge Council offered the empty council houses which it had to other London councils, to use for housing homeless families. Camden was one of the councils which turned the offer down, on the grounds that it had quite adequate housing to offer to its tenants.

Ilford squatters have cut through this bureaucracy and cant.

Three months ago they helped Mr and Mrs Beresford and their seven children to move from Council Buildings and squat at 43 Cleveland Road, Ilford. On April 16, the Beresford family was due for eviction. At 4 am that morning, however, the Ilford Squatters evaded the possession order by moving the Beresfords into another empty house in Grosvenor Road; the Flemings, an Irish family of five, were immediately moved in, and, since a possession order applies only to a family by name, Redbridge Council will have to go through the legal process all over again. Nor will the council find it worthwhile so doing, Ron Bailey suggests, because, unlike the Beresfords, the Flemings have never been the council's responsibility: to evict them would incur the obligation to rehouse them.

The Beresfords are the first family to be successfully moved by Ron Bailey and the squatters from Council Buildings, Poplar. The tenants welcome the squatters, but many are scared to become too involved. Obviously the fear of intimidation by the authorities is very real. Ron Bailey, whose name was constantly coming up as someone the tenants rely on and trust, and whom the authorities are wary of crossing, said there was one important thing that had to be done — for more and more people to squat. Which is the way to put

horrific set-ups like Council Buildings, Poplar, straight out of business.

Janet Ree

(This article was written before the Ilford evictions.)

Late News. — Subsequently, and out of concern for the condition of Mrs Jean Montgomery, a Council Buildings resident whom the Council is harrasing, and a group of people from the St. Pancras Tenants' Association, led by Mr. Bill Wood, went down to the Council Buildings (April 19). After a long discussion, it was agreed that the residents of Buildings should form a committee, affiliated to St. Pancras TA, whose aim would be to evacuate the people living in the Buildings and to insist that these people should be found permanent homes — not 'temporary' accomodation. Later in the evening, Mr Wood told a meeting of the Hackney Tenants' Federation of the decision to establish the Poplar committee. Representatives of ten estates in Hackney, reacting to the news from Poplar, proposed an immediate demonstration outside the Council Buildings. Mr Wood suggested the adoption of the following plan: the removal of families in the Council Buildings to decent homes where they will not be subject to jobs discrimination; the demolition of the buildings; a demonstration to be held outside Camden Council's Bidborough House. Mr Wood then proposed that the meeting of Hackney Federation adopt this statement:

'We ask you to consider that the Rents battle is directly related to a system which makes people "problem cases" and then dares to condemn them for being so. It then inflicts upon them a "welfare" system which degenerates them even further, takes them from the areas in which they became homeless but had employment and puts them into a hovel where there is no employment worth having. It further dares tell these people that cheap rents will enable them to buy a home when they finally leave. It is only by understanding the root causes of our fight, uniting with all the victims of such a system, that we will be able to obtain security of tenure, abolition of the housing debt, and complete victory.'

RACE

Will you welcome students from:

1. USA and Dominions (excluding India);
2. Europe;
3. Middle East;
4. China, Malaya, and Japan;
5. India and Pakistan;
6. British West Indies;
7. West Africa and Sudan?

This imperialist shopping list is presented to landlords who wish to register with the University of London Lodgings Bureau. It serves not only to give official endorsement to racial discrimination, but also to encourage it. For landlords answering 'No' to the questions will receive an efficient, if racist, service from the Bureau. And if it is only a question of protection, that could equally well be achieved by listing only non-discriminating landlords — the adoption of this policy has, in fact, become the demand of a large body of opinion in the University of London.

The Bureau's policy is opposed by Students' Unions in many colleges, including the School of Oriental and African Studies, University College, and the London School of Economics in three days picketing outside the Bureau, over one thousand signatures were collected demanding an end to separate listings for white and coloured students; more than two hundred teachers petitioned the Senate (the governing body of the University) against the policy outside groups like the Black Panthers have lent their support.

But the University authorities are throwing their full weight behind the Lodgings Bureau's racist policy. None of the representations had any effect, and so on March 14 a one-day sit-down of students was called inside the Bureau to demonstrate a determination not to tolerate this racism within London University.

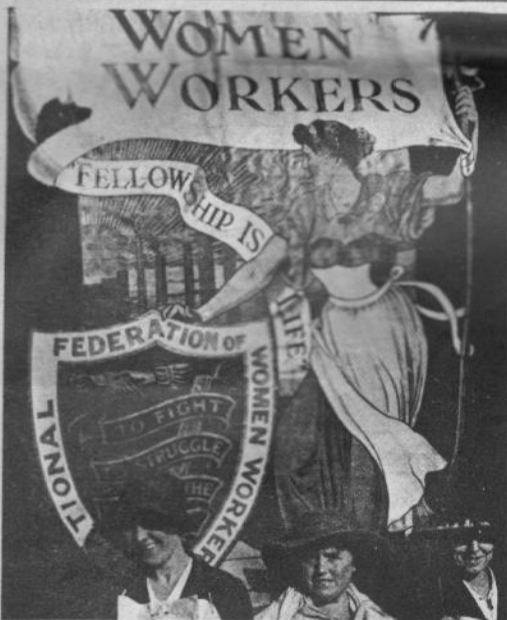
This threat panicked Sir Douglas Logan, Principal of the University, into closing 'my Lodgings Bureau' and gave him some capital to exploit when he appeared before the Parliamentary Select Committee on Student Unrest.

He complained of being pressurised by a 'militant minority' after 'consulting fully with the democratically elected representatives of the students as a whole.' Racism is becoming so popular that the Committee expressed no surprise on learning that only a 'militant minority' was opposed to it, and one member, Ronald Bell MP (member of the racist Society for Individual Freedom) even suggested the minority should be expelled. Sir Douglas demurred — perhaps not fancying the prospect of booting out the several thousand ringleaders. Nor did the *Times* which printed Logan's 'views' print any of the letters it received from democratically-elected representatives (e.g. the President of SOAS) which pointed out that Sir Douglas's second statement was a straightforward lie.

The strategy of Sir Douglas Logan and the refusal of Senate to do anything when it considered the matter on March 26 are not surprising in the light of their views. They have in common a deep implication with racism, especially in South Africa and Rhodesia. Sir Douglas is in Rhodesia just now, advising the 'illegal' Smith regime on the organisation of its 'illegal' University College, for which the University of London still examines and awards degrees. The members of the Senate include some outstanding monopoly capitalists: Lord Penny of Tube Investments, J. C. Gridley of Powell Duffryn, Lord Shawcross (with directorships too numerous to mention) and many others, all of whom have it in common that their companies make huge profits out of the exploitation of black labour in South Africa and Rhodesia. With such deep interests in racism, they are unlikely to oppose its manifestations here — which can also be a source of great profit, as Bernard Waley-Cohen, a property developer and member of the Senate, will know. Likewise, the Senate contains several ex-colonial civil servants who paved the way for the giant monopolies in Africa: men like R. C. Tress and C. H. Phillips.

Not only cannot the Race Relations Act be invoked against the Lodgings Bureau but the Race Relations Board actually advises the Bureau on its lodgings policy toward black students, and is thus directly involved in legalising racism.

Students in the University of London are mobilising on a broad front against the Bureau's policy. They are holding a mass meeting on Wednesday May 7 at 2.30 pm in the Portland Hall, Regent St. Polytechnic to which tenants, immigrants, and workers' organisations have been invited. After the meeting there will be a march to Senate House and a confrontation



If you ever feel exploited, victimised, rejected, study these figures and reflect upon the chances which working class girls have to get trained

Apprenticeships, 1966-1967.

	Males	Females
Scientists and Technologists	9,630	110
Draughtsmen	17,450	350
Other Technicians	12,150	160
Clerical and Office Staff	3,150	1,410
Other Administrative Staff	3,300	620
Skilled Craft Workers	271,650	5,430

(Source: Ministry of Labour Gazette, January 1967)

Only about 7 per cent of girls enter apprenticeships (predominantly hairdressing), compared with 43 per cent of boys.

In 1967, in the engineering industry, the

WORKING CLASS GIRLS

ratio of male to female trainees was:—

craftsmen	84:1
supervisors	40:1
technicians	60:1
technologists	69:1
managerial staff	99:1

What does the man responsible for industry training think about this situation? On the question of equal opportunity for women, Mr Hattersley spoke recently of 'continuing the development of education and training on an equal basis.'

Bewildered? So was the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions. They decided to find out what kind of jobs women workers were being trained for, how their opportunities compared with men's and whether there had been any improvement since the setting up of the Industrial Training Boards in 1964. The general pattern could be guessed but the results of their survey in percentage terms are still startling. While most boards don't bother to keep records of women trained, the statistics which exist show the scale of discrimination. For instance in the Knitting Lace & Net industries where two thirds of the work force are women, they are predominantly on the shop floor or doing clerical work. Only 8 out of 192 technologists trained in 1967 were women.

Very few women get day release at Colleges of Further Education. According to the 1967/8 annual report of the Engineering Industrial Training Board day release education for

clerical workers is making slow progress because, 'The employers appear particularly reluctant to release clerical trainees who it is claimed cannot be spared from the office, and are also unwilling to release girls whose working life is often short in any case.'

The situation is circular. Lack of training and educational opportunities mean the majority of women will have to take unskilled and frequently underpaid work. Inevitably these will be stop gaps before marriage. Inadequate nursery facilities will discourage women, except under severe economic pressure, from returning to work, and the difficulty of getting part time jobs aggravates this. Thus, girls will continue to be regarded by employers as simply a bad investment. At a time when further education is under attack and the growth rate is being drastically cut, it is obvious there will be no improvement without a fight. It is important not to argue on the lines of better opportunities for women workers instead of men, but to criticise the whole range of wrong priorities and inequality throughout the system. Any other approach would be simply one group of workers struggling against another. It's important that socialist teachers, students, and trade unionists link up to prevent not only the general reduction of educational opportunities but to secure access for girls to skilled work.

Incidentally there are only 5 women among 151 trade union representatives on the Industrial Training Boards.

Sheila Rowbotham

TRIBUTE TO AFRICA

Cupid's Inspiration

Indo Jazz Fusions

Ginger Johnsons Drummers

Cartoon Archetypical Slogan Theatre

Leon Rosselson

Trinidad Folk Singers

Biafran Atilogwu Dancers

AFRICA FREEDOM DAY

Sunday, May 18th

at 2.30 pm at the

ROYAL FESTIVAL HALL

(Gen. Man. John Denison, C.B.E.)

MAY DAY

At the 1889 Congress of the Second International it was agreed, almost by accident to select a time for demonstrations of solidarity, simultaneously in all countries on a given day.

That day was May Day: a turning point in the history of socialism. All over Europe, workers came out to press for an Eight Hour Day. Work stopped completely in 138 French towns; Northern Italy ground to a halt; 100,000 came out in Barcelona alone; 120,000 workers responded in Stockholm, and the paper *Social-Demokraten* was printed in red ink.

Victor Adler was enthusiastic, and pointed to the revolutionising effect which these demonstrations could have. 'In Austria the idea of May Day has taken root in the hearts of the workers whom we never could have reached with our programmes and speeches, and the impression will never be lost'. Writing of a mass meeting in Hyde Park, Frederick Engels proclaimed:

'On May 4 1890, the English working class joined up in the great international army... its long winter sleep is broken at last... and after 40 years it has rejoined the movement of its class. The grandchildren of the old Chartists are entering the line of battle.'

In 1890, there existed trade unions both old and new. The old unions, which the skilled workers formed, had degenerated into mere sick funds and burial clubs. The new unions, particularly that of the gasworkers, were essentially strike unions concerned with building up strike funds. The universal radical demand at that time was for a working day eight hours long; the old unions also expressed an interest in this, but, gathered together in the London Trades Council (LTC), they saw it as something to be won not by law, but by agreements locally and 'freely' negotiated, and then only as a basis for extracting overtime pay.

The difference between the old and the new affected the way in which the first English May Day was run. The Central Committee (CC) of

the Second International, trying to get all London workers to strike, invited the LTC to join in. The latter, however, was determined to channel the demonstration into no more than a pressure for their kind of eight-hour day; and entered an unholy alliance with the Social-Democratic Federation, a body as rigidly doctrinaire, its leader, Hyndman, as rigidly autocratic, as are any groups on the left in England today.

Only one meeting at a time could be held in Hyde Park and agreement had to be made with the Board of Works over the number of wagons to be used. The LTC and Hyndman at once secured the use of the park behind the backs of the CC. Then they announced that only Trade Unions, and not Socialist Unions and political clubs, could take part and carry banners. Finally, at the last meeting, the CC delegates discovered that the resolution had already been edited and the demand for a legalised Eight Hour Day had been deleted!

But the CC against all expectations managed to get seven wagons of its own for the rally. Came the day and the vast crowds rallying round their wagons and banners - even many members of the old Trade Unions - testified to their growing support compared with the pathetic numbers which the LTC - Hyndman clique was able to muster.

Subsequent years revealed how deeply the plant of socialism might take root in harsh, arid soil. Between 1889 and 1914 there stretched twenty-five years of unprecedented mass action, not only in Britain but in Germany, France, Italy and Russia too. The workers must choose. The parallel is almost complete and Engels description of that rally, now so many years ago, may hopefully be applied today:

'On the one side was stagnation, represented by the Trades Unions that have not yet quite freed themselves from the guild spirit, and by a narrow-minded sect backed by the meanest allies; on the other, the living free movement of the re-awakening British Proletariat.' John Weal



RE-EVOLUTION

Brian Darling recently returned from Prague where he attended a seminar on 'Re-evolution'. He has given the Dwarf his abridged impressions, originally written for the Czech journal Listy.

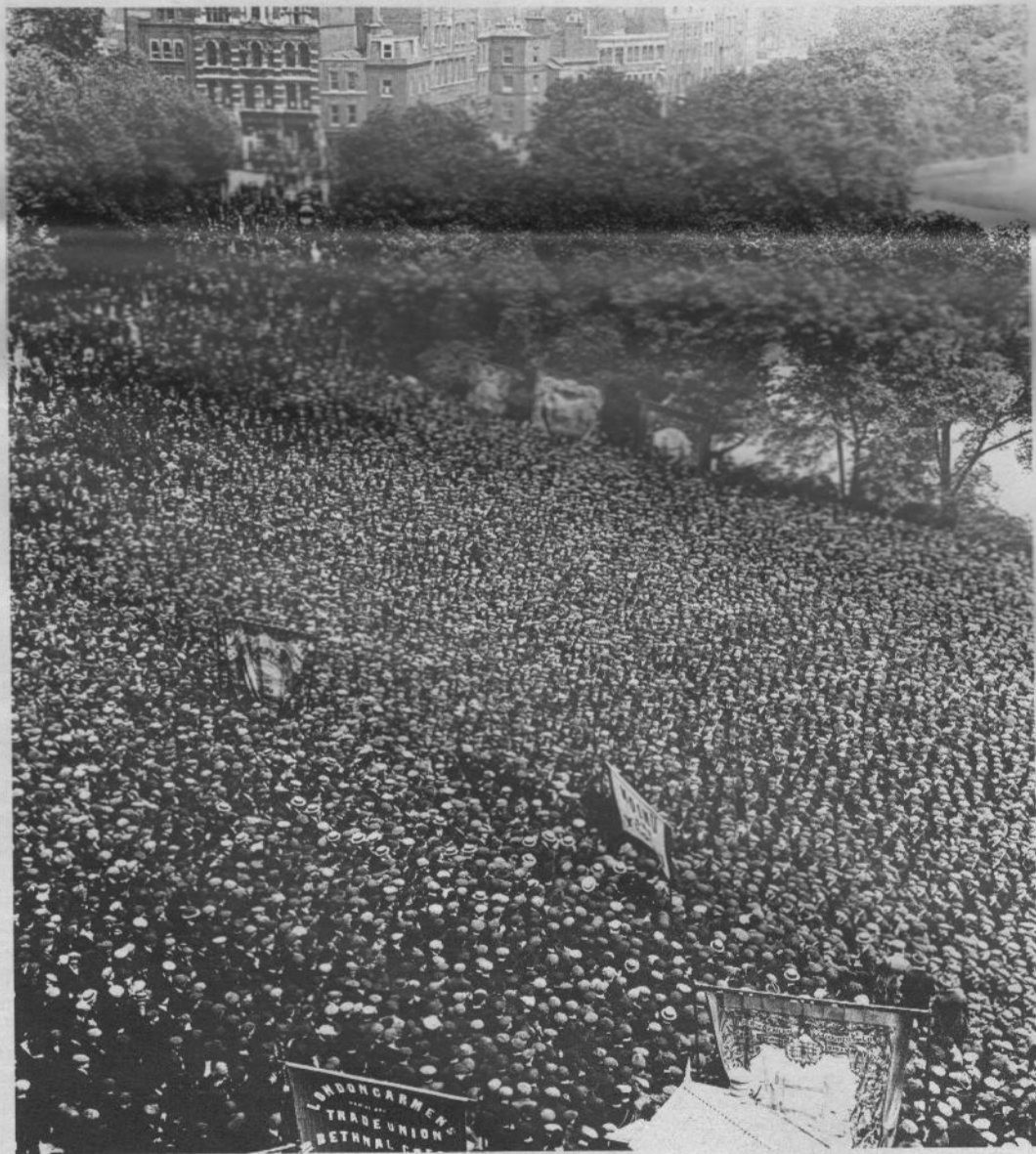
'The event' said the French philosopher Emmanuel Mounier 'will be our internal master'. We change internally as a response to events, as the Czech students have been profoundly politicized by their experience of the last two years. And from that internal change, that accession to responsibility, come our external actions which flow naturally from the demands of our new consciousness. In that sense we can claim to have talked politics in Prague, not the politics of the mass rally, of the scholastic disputes, of the sordid deals in quiet corridors. We have been seeking a true politics, a universal language which can unite us all at the level of consciousness, and must now be translated into action in our own societies to bring about that 'world re-evolution' of which the Czech students and workers are the historic prophets.

To hold an international gathering of young new left socialists in Prague at this critical time

requires a certain courage on the part of the organizers. When the object of the seminar is 'to discover a common marxist language on which we can base future actions on a large scale' one can't help wondering whether this courage is not mixed with a small dose of naivete. The fact that some of us felt that by the end we were making some progress is perhaps, then, the more remarkable.

Happily, of course, seminars do not just consist of papers read and discussed in full session. If this had been the case we would have been limited to an arid confrontation of orthodoxies - a scene which too many of us have experienced elsewhere and for which we had no reason to go to Prague. But there is also a subtle interaction going on over mealtables, sitting in the sun, wandering around the city. It is at times like this that those who remain silent in the plenary sessions talk of their pre-occupations, their apparent reticences. And it was from conversations in these contexts rather than from the major discussions that I found a common thread linking many of us and coinciding with the pre-occupations expressed by Czech students and intellectuals.

Brian Darling



Addressing ACTT's Annual Conference, held the week-end before last, Sid Cole, the Union's Chairman, spoke about *In Place of Strife*, saying: 'They [the Donovan Commission on TU's] felt that to restrict the right to official or unofficial strikes by the use of that blunt instrument the law, could produce chaos. Yet this is precisely the instrument the Government intends to use. Its White Paper, ironically entitled *In Place of Strife*, presents the Trade Union Movement with three of the most odious proposals with which it has ever been confronted'.

As a body, ACTT has been fast to react to *In Place of Strife*, faster still to act against the government. An Emergency Motion was passed overwhelmingly by the Conference, rejecting the restrictive purpose of the White Paper and reminding the government that the Labour Party was created and is sustained by the TU

discuss solely this item and to organise a one-day national stoppage of all [our italics] Trade Unionists'.

This resolution was a call to action. It produced an unprecedented TUC response - the recall of the Trades Union Congress, three months early.

ACTT's General Council has also met to discuss the view that the Association should take unilateral action on May 1. With only three opposing votes cast, the Council took this decision:

'In furtherance of the AGM's militant opposition to the government's proposed anti-trade union legislation, the General Council urges local shops to co-operate with local Trade Union Committees, Trades Councils and Shop Stewards' Organisations in planning united action on May 1, such action to take the form of meetings, demonstrations or industrial action

HARINGEY

The Tory controlled Haringey Council is busily proving that Powellism lives on. You don't have to go to Wolverhampton to find it - it is right here in London. The Council's plans to reorganise secondary education in the Borough are meeting bitter resentment from the black community who believe that the Council are acting in a racist manner.

The Council proposes to assess junior school children and then disperse them among the Borough's secondary schools regardless of parents choice. The decision that Haringey should go comprehensive was taken by the then Labour Council in 1965 and implemented a year later. In the first two comprehensive years, 90 per cent of parents sent their children to the school of their first choice. Now all this could change if the Tories revert to assessing secondary education on the basis of academic performance at the primary school.

A report prepared by A.F. Doulton, headmaster of the fee-paying Highgate School, tries to suggest that the average IQ of the West Indian children is lower than that of the white

16 meeting of the North London West Indian Association to discuss what action could be taken.

An ex-member of the Labour Education committee, Mrs Naomi Mackintosh gave the background to the crisis.

'There is no evidence at all for the saying that the West Indian children have a lower IQ', she said. 'In an era of Powellist emotion they are putting out scare statements. Cathles (the council chairman) is sending out leaflets saying some schools will have 70 per cent immigrants in the '70s. I am saying this statement is a lie'.

Most eloquent speaker was West Indian author and bookseller John La Rose. In a long speech he analysed the differences between the public statement the council had put out and the confidential document on which it was based. The West Indian Association had managed to get hold of a copy of the confidential report.

'We all know to be West Indian is to be black', he said. 'Immigrants in this society are blacks. We shall fight for our rights. In 1969 we

Belfast, Tuesday, April 22.
 Every section of the population of northern Ireland is trapped in an enclave of bitter sectarianism. Protestants and Catholics alike, all are members of embattled minorities: the protestants within Ireland as a whole, and determined to prevent union with the 26 counties, the Catholics within Ulster, where they are systematically deprived of jobs and housing; the protestants within Derry, where they are outnumbered two to one yet retain a precarious control over the city as a whole; the Catholics within Belfast, where during the 1930s they were subject to a reign of terror.

The Civil Rights Movement has taught the Catholics to express and to rebel against their political repression, and has united middle-class and working-class Catholics in a single movement around the non-sectarian demands for political participation and economic equality. The hard-core protestants whose real objective was lost with partition, and who have fought a defensive battle ever since, view any concession as the thin end of 'Rome rule'. Their Orange Order governs the Unionist party which has controlled Ulster since its inception. This power structure is the core of this abortion of a country. The latent sectarianism of the population is not the cause of the present crisis in northern Ireland, its manifestation is the result of an underlying division which is not found in the consciousness of the population but in the rigid organised sectarianism of the unholy triumvirate; the Orange Order, the Unionist Party, the Ulster state. The determining factor which fissures northern Ireland is the use of the entire apparatus of the state by the protestants to enforce their religious-political position. Every demand by Catholics for houses, jobs, and votes, which threatens the Orange monopoly of power, that is, the slightest concession, brings out the cabinet thugs and the vigilante Ulster Volunteers; fuses farmers, lumpen proletariat, ministers, and police in a common cause which splits the country from top to bottom.

With the economy close to recession, and the business classes in revolt, the Unionists for the first time show real signs of splitting. Civil rights, whether it remains a series of bourgeois demands for reform or is transformed, (which is conceivable) into a socialist programme, will ultimately sink the Unionists.

It has brought Ulster into a modern world where Orange protestantism cannot survive. By demanding civil rights it has posed the contemporary question of the state, has undermined the Unionist claim that they represent the national interest, and has prevented outside support for the barbaric repression which the Orangemen of Ulster usually apply to their hapless Catholics.

The Catholic population is still segregated, deliberately deprived of jobs and houses to ensure their emigration and the continual numerical superiority of the protestants (Alderman George Elliot, mayor of Enniskillen publicly refused to sanction building houses for Catholics and asked 'Why should we do it, we would only be cutting a stick to beat ourselves with.'). The continuing policy of religious apartheid was escalated to a new level last year when the first civil rights march at Dungannon in August was banned from specific streets by Craig, then Minister of Home Affairs. He included the non-segregated commercial town centre as officially protestant and not to be marched through, thus mobilising the Paisleyites to prevent the march and to 'defend' the town. The precedent and policy set by the government was willingly enforced by the police: at the Burntollet ambush, Paisleyites received news of the long march's progress from police radios and openly organised and armed themselves. When Porter, the current minister, banned the march through Burntollet last Saturday, the day after Bernadette Devlin's election, he declared that he knew of armed men who would prevent the march from coming through. He capitulated to the thugs of the Orange Order. The forces which his predecessor encouraged were now openly in control of the Burntollet road. Porter's refusal to take police action to disarm the Paisleyites, coupled with the openly sectarian behaviour of the police, could not have been more calculated to anger the Catholics. Especially as the evidence as to who the armed men are is quite clear. As reported in today's *Belfast Telegraph*, the South Derry Ulster Protestant Volunteers offered to put 'one thousand responsible able-bodied men' at the disposal of the police, and at the same time warned against another proposal to march from Burntollet bridge to Derry, stating 'if allowed to take place the march may well have fatal consequences'. Ivan Cooper, the Derry Protestant Civil Rights MP claimed that he knew there were men armed with telescopic rifles waiting for the marchers at Burntollet. But the police have not moved against them.

So much for the law. And the order which goes with it is battle order. At Derry on Saturday the RUC transformed a small crowd of forty civil rights demonstrators into an insurrection. The civil rights protesters had blocked four roads in the period of an hour



Police make a baton charge in the Bogside area

SO MUCH FOR THE LAW TOO LITTLE TOO LATE

Diamond, the focus of the tiny, walled centre of Derry, and after some sectarian shouting the Paisleyites were chased from the Diamond through Ferryquay Gate and down Fountain Street, which is the protestant part of the town. The police moved in and dispersed the crowd, who then, as the police put it, took up opposing positions on the wall at Butcher's Gate. The police lined up between the two groups, turned and faced the civil rights demonstrators, whilst the Paisleyites provided them with an artillery barrage of stones from behind. The fighting from this point on was confused, but what seems to have happened is as follows: the RUC attempted to block the civil rights into the Bogside. By doing so, they infuriated the Catholic population who came out in large numbers from the Bogside and beat

Samuel, father, 42, severe head and stomach injuries, false teeth and glasses broken, hospitalised;
 Harry, 20, son, kicked and struck with baton, head cut and minor injuries;
 Ann, 18, struck with fist, and her feet beaten;
 Cathie, 16, (just out of hospital where she has had stitches for a stomach operation) struck in stomach, back and legs, and was rehospitalised;
 Danny, 12, head wounds;
 Colette, 10, struck with baton on head;
 Jim, 5, struck on head;
 Fred Budd, neighbour, lay over the children to protect them, batonned on forehead and crown, thrown off the children, who were then struck, and received treatment in hospital.

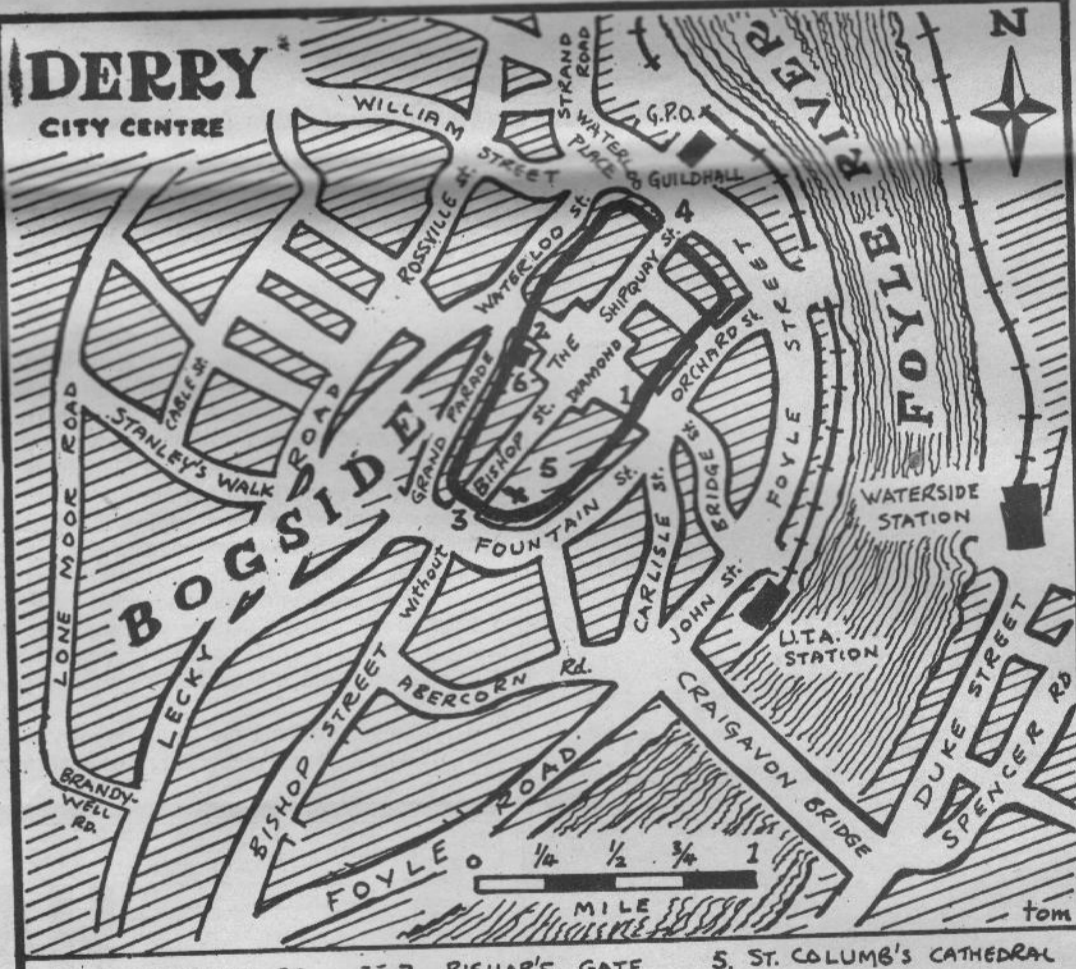
Catholic housing estate about half a mile up the hill away from the city. Thousands of the local Creggan population joined a mass meeting and at 5pm they marched back down the hill with at least 1500 armed men, the weapons mainly the traditional and very effective hurley sticks and long iron bars; the police faced with an ultimatum posed by the radical bourgeois civil rights leader John Hume MP, had evacuated Bogside at 4.45pm.

Meanwhile, that morning, at 1.20pm, a massive gelignite charge had been detonated at the Silent Valley reservoir in the Mourne Mountains: it destroyed the main supply valve controlling most of Belfast's water supply. In the same morning, in the heart of protestant country, at Annaboe, Kilmore, eight miles from Armagh, a 275 kilowatt pylon was badly damaged. While the civil rights and PD leaders were working to resolve the situation in Derry, a well-organised force was putting final touches to the plan for actions calculated to anger the civilian population of Belfast. Between 11 and 11.40 that Sunday night, eleven petrol bomb attacks took place, ten of them at post offices, nine of the bombs igniting, two of the post offices, both sub-stations, one at Grosvenor Road, the other at Durham Street, were gutted. One of them, it is rumoured, through lack of water. There can be no question that these swift and efficient acts of arson were coordinated with the explosion in Silent Valley.

Sunday evening and Monday evening also saw the familiar pattern of Paisleyite provocation, police reprisals against civil rights demonstrators, baton charges, and sectarian arrests. Lurgan on Sunday night is one example. Belfast at the Falls Road, which is the Catholic ghetto, on Monday night, is another. At the Falls Road, the RUC attracted the attention of the dispersing crowd by thumping their batons against their shields and taunting them while other members of the force cut off the side streets. Petrol bombs were thrown, the police charged, bystanders, later found innocent by the courts, were batonned and arrested.

Tonight angry Catholics will be gathering in the streets around Falls Road and Divis Street, while protestants will answer Mrs Paisley's call to mobilise. Both groups are inflamed by the blast which has deprived much of Belfast with water and incited by the demonstrations and the baton charge in Falls Road. Belfast is used to open sectarian rioting. In the 1930s, Falls Street was regularly terrorized with protestant petrol bombs. In 1964 the RUC openly smashed the local republican headquarters with the then up and coming Rev. Paisley and his mob cheering them on. Three nights of riots followed, and the unionists had mobilised their election support. But the political life of Ulster is changing, the civil rights demonstrators have shown up the moderate O'Neill for what he is - a reactionary. Their struggle now, if one accepts their strategy, must be to prevent their own Catholic based movement from becoming purely sectarian and ending up as yet another chapter in the long history of failure that is the Irish revolution.

Anthony Barnett



- 1. FERRYGATE ST.
- 2. BUTCHER'S GATE
- 3. BISHOP'S GATE
- 4. SHIPQUAY GATE
- 5. ST. COLUMB'S CATHEDRAL
- 6. APPRENTICE BOYS' HALL

the police down Waterloo Street, sometime advancing, sometimes retreating, did battle at Littlewoods Corner in Waterloo Place, broke the police resistance, advanced to the Victoria Barracks and smashed all of its windows. Then police reinforcements arrived, including heavy water cannon, and the demonstrators were driven back down Waterloo Street and down William Street, where a pitched battle took place at the junction of Rossville Street and William Street. Three barricades were erected where Rossville Street becomes Lecky Road, but by midnight the RUC, striking in force, smashed through the barricades and occupied Bogside, where they remained throughout the night with heavy patrols provoking the population.

Some of the police atrocities have been documented: a water cannon mounted on the pavement and ran down a youth, breaking both his legs. The RUC battered down the door of 69 William Street, which is just past the

The police have claimed that they were the victims of the brutality. 209 of their number were injured, 86 treated in hospital, 13 detained; but 79 civilians also received hospital treatment, unlike the police the civilians did not use firearms, and some of the photographs, on this page shows the real balance of forces; and one heroic unarmed demonstrator is said to have knocked down three policemen. If that is brutality, then the RUC thoroughly deserves it, despite tear-jerking articles in the *Belfast Telegraph* headed 'The anguish of the riot-squad wives'. The Derry police were given a beating which they will not forget. They had to call in between a third and a half of the entire official police force in Ulster. On Sunday morning they could only patrol Bogside in groups of thirty with shields and batons ready. That Sunday, the RUC were forced to face up to the logistic impossibility of suppressing the Catholic population. The civil rights leaders called for solidarity demonstrations to take the

HELP!

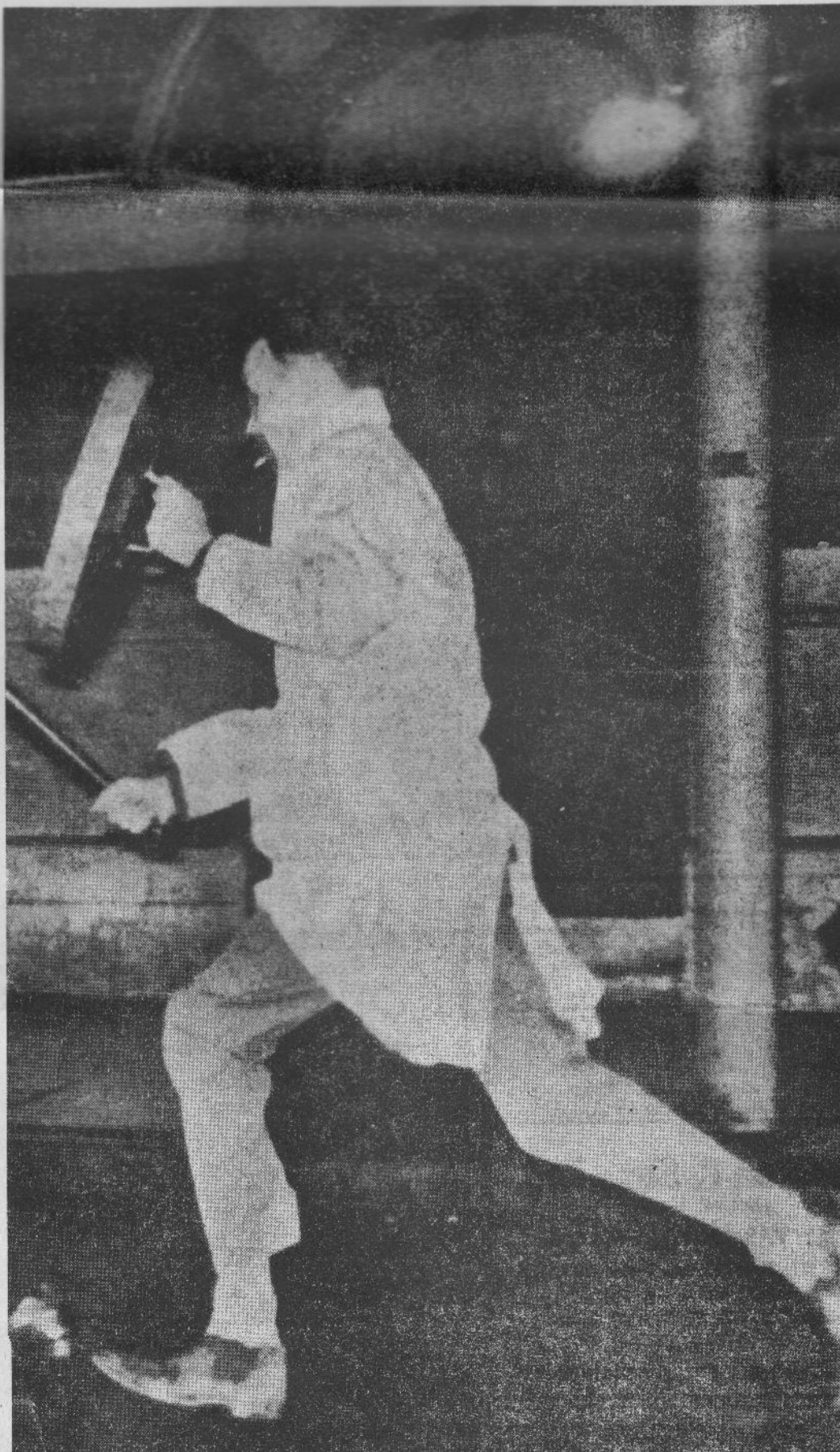
Come to the Dwarf office and help us get the new issue out to our subscribers and distributors. Volunteer help needed every issue, usually on alternate Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. Ring David Kendall or

EIRE



ABOVE: LITTLEWOOD'S CORNER, DERRY.

BELOW: PLAIN-CLOTHES POLICEMAN IN ACTION.



Not before time, and no thanks to English mass communications, the English are beginning to get a clearer grasp of what Irish politics are all about. The Trades Union Bill now before the Dail in Dublin, and currently in committee stage, represents a key phase in Eire's development towards a totalitarian Church-and-Monopoly-Capital-State. It is important to examine the Bill (and Eire's recent Trades Union history) in the context of the Wilson government's proposed legislation, and to consider the implications for industrial relations which Eire carries for the entire European capitalist arena.

The Electricity (Special Provisions) Act, 1966, was introduced about the time of the seamen's strike in Britain. It is a law which can be put into effect by a Government Order laid before the Dail, when the Government considers that power supplies could be disrupted by a strike in the Electricity Supply Board. The Act outlaws strikes and picketing within the ESB that might cause such a disruption. The effect of a Government Order would be to freeze rates of pay and conditions of employment for ESB workers to those obtaining before the Order was made. Compulsory Arbitration would determine the workers' claims. If the ESB wanted, for reasons of industrial peace, to pay a higher rate than that determined by the Labour Court or an Arbitrator, it would be forbidden to do so by the Act.

Once the Order is in force, any strike within ESB would be illegal. Workers would have no right to picket. Trade Unions would be legally prevented from paying strike money. Any individual who contravenes the Act may be fined up to £25, with a further fine of £5 a day. On conviction, the fine may be as high as £5000 and up to £100 per day for a continuing offence. The fines would be paid by the Trade Union, but only when the officials are acting on behalf of the Union. Section 9 of the Act imposes criminal liability on the individual workers whereby they could be fined and/or imprisoned for failure to pay fines.

This vicious anti-strike law effectively abrogates the protection extended to Irish workers, unions, and pickets under the terms of the Trade Disputes Act 1906 - 'the charter of Trade Unionism'. There was good reason, in 1966, to believe that the Irish Government had deliberately provoked a situation which would allow for the introduction of the ESP Bill. The Bill - which was encouraged by an inspired press campaign similar to the current cavortings in England - set the pattern for more anti-working class legislation directed at state control of the docks and transport.

Maintained and supported by the hideously reactionary Dublin press throughout the summer, the government saw the opportunity, in autumn 1966, to reveal its long awaited proposals for reforming - that is, shackling - the Trade Unions. A number of amendments both to Trade Union law and to Industrial Relations law (governing the Eire Labour Court) were proposed. Their principal features are set out below.

Paragraph 5 of the Minister's proposals for a new Industrial Relations Law stipulates that the system whereby the Irish Congress of Trades Unions nominated the workers' negotiators in the Labour Court would be abolished, the appointment of all members becoming the Minister's direct responsibility.

Paragraphs 6-14 contained proposals which would introduce Compulsory Arbitration in all cases where Unions rejected the findings and recommendations of 'Industrial Relations Officers.'

Para 28: The Court will sit in camera. Under Paragraph 36 of the governments' proposed Trade Union Law, a Union sanctioning a strike which breaks existing law in any respect will be subject to heavy fines.

Paragraph 37: In ballots for strike action 'the decisive percentage must be at least 5% of those entitled to vote or at least of those actually voting, whichever is the greater.'

Paragraph 38: 'Notwithstanding a ballot decision, an Executive of a trade union may decide not to issue a strike notice.'

Paragraphs 41, 42: The Minister will determine what new unions may be formed - or what unions continue to exist. (This proposal is contrary to Conventions 87 & 98 of the International Labour Organisation.)

Paragraph 47: A negotiation licence (the *sine qua non* for any union) will cost £3000 instead of £1000.

It is more than likely that these new repressive measures will be passed *in toto* by the Dail if Barbara Castle's legislation goes through Westminster. The Irish Unions (some of whose bureaucrats have actually welcomed the new laws) are barely capable of raising an effective mass campaign of opposition to the Bill. The need for English revolutionary socialists to support their comrades throughout Ireland grows at an astonishing rate. The fight

APOLOGY

The Ad. for the record "A Laugh, A Song and a Hand Grenade" by Adrian Mitchell and Leon Rosselson, which appeared in Black Dwarf no. 14 contained several errors. Our apologies to those concerned.

INTRODUCTION

The single most important aspect of the post-June '67 situation in the Arab Middle East is undoubtedly the emergence of the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of its armed vanguards — the *fidayeen*. For the first time in twenty years, the Palestinians have violently rid themselves of all ties of dependence on the various Arab regimes and finally taken into their own hands the solution of a problem which is primarily theirs. Amid the crushing humiliation of the third military defeat of the regular armies of the Arab regimes, a people — hitherto dispersed, mystified and oppressed — is reborn. It has learnt one essential lesson: self-reliance. It came to realise that the destruction of the Zionist, racist and expansionist structure of the state of Israel and the establishment of a de-Zionised, democratic Palestine where Arabs and Jews enjoy equal rights — is the only fulfillment for its right to self-determination and national liberation. This right can be enforced through one decisive means — armed struggle. Now, the Palestine problem is posed along radically different lines from those of the Arab regimes. The June war has at least revealed the incapacity of the Arab regimes, reactionary and pseudo-progressive, in imposing upon Israel the implementation of the UN resolutions concerning the 1947 partition of Palestine, the internationalisation of Jerusalem and the return of the Palestinian refugees.

Through armed struggle and propaganda by deeds, the Palestinian people want to impress upon the Jewish community in occupied Palestine this condition: 'if you care to remain in this land, rid yourself of Zionist designs and learn to live with us as equals!'

European leftists usually raise three issues in regard to the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people:

- the fate of the Jewish community in Palestine
- the help received by the *fidayeen* organisations from the reactionary Arab regimes
- the absence from the platform of the *fidayeen* organisations of any mention of socialism.

1. The Jewish community in occupied Palestine is objectively an *oppressing* community; the Palestinian people, displaced and evicted from its land by the powers of Zionist colonisation, is an *oppressed* people. Putting the 'rights' of the two on an equal footing is a mockery. The precondition for the recognition by the Arabs of the rights of the Jewish community in Palestine as an ethnic minority is the 'recognition' by this Jewish community of the right of the Palestinian Arabs to self-determination and national liberation. This recognition will not come of its own; in the present relations of forces between the Arabs and Israel — in which the latter obviously has the upper-hand — the solution of the Palestine problem depends on the imposition of a new balance of power. It is towards this goal that both the Palestinian liberation movement and the anti-imperialist struggle in the Arab Middle East is aiming.

2. Two points should be made clear about the position of the various Arab regimes on Palestine. First, the help given by Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Libya to the *fidayeen* organisations has a propaganda-political function. The regimes of these oil-producing states did not take part in the June war against the Zionist — imperialist aggression, and refused afterwards to maintain the embargo on the shipment of oil to Britain and the US as a means of exacting pressure on these two imperialist powers to press for an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. Seen in this context, their 'help' is but an attempt to buy with oil-money the patriotic, anti-imperialist positions they were unable to prove in deeds. Second, all Arab regimes came gradually to back the Palestinian *fidayeen* once the implementation of the November 22, 1967 UN resolution proved unlikely to occur as quickly as was expected. Those regimes saw, and still see, in the *fidayeen* auxiliary irregular Arab forces carrying on military activities behind enemy lines in order to pressurise Israel into implementing the UN resolution. This is as far as the Arab regimes have gone and will ever go in their support for the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. For the latter, of course, the question is not merely the Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967, but also the overthrow of the racist and expansionist Zionist state from the territories it occupied in 1948-49. In as much as the present Arab regimes come nearer to the so-called 'peaceful solution' imposed by the big Four Powers, they will have to liquidate the *fidayeen* organisations and put an end to their incursions into enemy territory. Hussein of Jordan has already attempted a show-down with them more than once, notably in November 1968 when his attempt was foiled due to the determination of the *fidayeen* to resist and to the huge mass support they rallied. Presently, a concerted effort is being undertaken in this direction. The commercial-financial pro-imperialist oligarchy of Lebanon has continuously arrested any Palestinian commands its forces could find on its territory. Its army has explicit orders to shoot at any 'infiltration' that crosses the Lebanese border. The Saudi regime is trying to distract public admiration from the guerilla organisations, especially Al-Fatah, by setting up its own rival group under that notorious traitor to the Palestinian cause — Haj Amir Al-Husseini. In Iraq, the Baathi regime — whose hands are stained with the blood of so many progressive and communist militants, Kurds and Arabs — has recently issued directives to the Palestinian organisations to submit all their activities to the Iraqi military intelligence and the Baathi — controlled Arab Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Most probably, the next few days or weeks will bring to the open decisive clashes between the Arab regimes and the Palestinian guerillas. The main battle-field will be Jordan where the uneasy 'dual power' between the state of the Hashemite monarchy and that of the Palestinian people in arms will have to be resolved one way or the other. It is within this context that revolutionary socialists should view the revolutionary role played by the Palestinian guerillas in the Middle East.



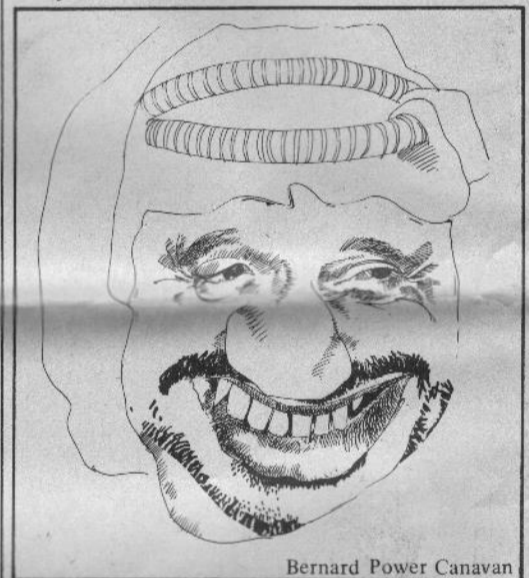
THE MIDDLE EAST Palestine, Parties & ...

This role can be resumed in two points: i) by taking the Palestine problem into their own hands, the Palestinian people have objectively robbed the Arab regimes of the opportunity to manipulate the Palestine problem in such a way as to blur the internal class struggle being waged. 'National Unity' against the foreign enemy (Israel) is a form of blackmail that is increasingly losing its effect: the point of reference on Palestine has become the *fidayeen* organisation, not the Arab regimes. Now, when the Arab masses are faced with this blackmail, ask themselves: 'if our government is so concerned about Palestine, why does it arrest the Palestinian *fidayeen*?' Moreover, the answer of the Arab masses has already been formulated: recently, peasants in the south of Lebanon faced the police force with bare chests in order to give the *fidayeen* enough time to run away to safety. ii) The classic Israeli response to the operations of the *fidayeen* is attacks against the neighbouring Arab countries. But, by doing this they are in the long run digging their own grave and that of the so-called moderate Arab regimes. Each Israeli raid serves as the living proof of the limits beyond which no present Arab regime can go in its opposition to Zionist colonialism — the limits of the common allegiance of both the Arab oligarchies and Zionism to one common master — US imperialism — and the limits imposed by the incapacity of the petty-bourgeois, state capitalist regime of Syria and Egypt in achieving integral emancipation — political and economic — from the imperialist camp, and waging a consistent anti-imperialist struggle.

3. Socialism is not inscribed in the platform of the *fidayeen* organisations, for the simple reason that explains its absence in the platform of the Vietnamese NLF: the present phase of the struggle of the Palestinian people is a phase of national liberation. The Palestine problem is a national problem; yet it has no nationalist solution. It can only be waged successfully

under the guidance of the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat — Marxism — Leninism. The social basis of this struggle is already in action; the refugees of peasant stock. And those who believe that those displaced peasants are going to liberate the land in order to hand it back to the very effendi families who sold it to the Zionists have another surprise coming.

Though its confrontation with Arab regimes on the issue of Palestine itself, the Palestinian national liberation movement will come to realise who are its real friends and enemies. It will have to choose between laying down its arms or definitely allying itself to the classes and movements which are waging the struggle against neo-imperialism, Arab reaction and the pseudo-progressive regimes. Once those two detachments of the Arab resolution are finally linked together, the victory over Zionism, imperialism and reaction will not be very far away.



Bernard Power Canavan
AL-FATAH SPOKESMAN ABU AMMAR

ZIONISM: A PROGRESSIVE FORCE

Zionism has aroused considerable sympathy on the left in Great Britain; and in the 1940s international communism supported the foundation of the Israeli state. These positions, however, directly conflict with those previously taken up by the Komintern, by Lenin and Trotsky; and with those which Fidel Castro and Ho Chi Minh, among others, have come to adopt. Published here are some of the positions taken on the left against Zionism over the past fifty years, and some opinions on the struggle of the Palestinian peoples.

LENIN

'It is essential to expose continually the deception fostered among the masses of the toilers in all, and especially the backward countries, by the imperialist powers aided by the privileged classes of the subject countries in creating under the mask of political independence various Government and State institutions which are in reality completely dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily. As a striking example of the deception practiced upon the working classes of a subject country through the combined efforts of the Allied imperialism and the bourgeoisie of the given nation, we may cite the Palestine affair of the Zionists, where under the pretext of creating a Jewish state in Palestine, in which the Jews form only an insignificant part of the population, Zionism has delivered the native Arab working population to the exploitation of England'.

(*Theses on the National and Colonial Question*, 1920.)

TROTSKY

'The very same methods of solving the Jewish question which under decaying capitalism have a utopian and reactionary character (Zionism), will, under the regime of a socialist federation, take on a real and salutary meaning'.

(*The Basic Writings of Leon Trotsky*, Howe (ed.) 1966.)

KAUTSKY

'For Zionism is not a progressive movement, but a reactionary movement. Zionism aims not at following the line of necessary evolution, but of putting a spoke in the wheel of progress... It is a delusion to imagine that the Jews arriving from Europe and America will ever succeed in convincing the Arabs that Jewish rule in this country will ever redound to the advantage of the Arabs themselves. In the early days of Zionism people were blind to this difficulty. Little more attention was paid to the Arabs than was paid to the Indians in North America. Only occasionally it was remembered that Palestine is already on occupied country... There is no longer any doubt of the final victory of the Arabian people; the question merely is whether this victory is to be obtained by the peaceful method of a successive forcing of concessions, or by a period of wild guerrilla warfare and bloody concessions'.

(Kautsky, *Are the Jews a Race?*, written 1921.)

HO CHI MINH

In an interview with Jean Lacouture, Ho Chi Minh said: 'The Zionists are a reactionary force. They are a small group of people who have been persecuted and who have become the blind tools of imperialism in subjugating the Arab masses... Zionism

successes or defeats to the games of the great powers, but to their capacity to take on the struggle according to their own courage and means...'

FIDEL CASTRO

Taken from an interview with K.S. Karol. According to Fidel the main reason for the Egyptian military defeat is found in the inadequate revolutionary spirit of the army. A really revolutionary force can at times retreat before an enemy who has superior armament, but he is always able to continue the struggle under another form and to obtain the final victory. A country such as Egypt should have been able to allow its whole territory to be occupied and to release a ruthless guerilla war if only it had been united and inspired by a revolutionary determination.

Fidel also added that he was personally very shocked by a certain kind of Arab propaganda which, on the eve of the war in the Middle East, showed a lack of revolutionary principles. 'Revolutionaries never threaten an entire country with extermination', he said. 'Such propaganda has unwittingly helped the Israel leaders to mobilise the patriotism of their people and to use it first for a preventive war and for territorial conquest carried out under the protection of yankee imperialism. Our condemnation of Israel is clear, but we do not deny its right to exist. We have broken off diplomatic relations with Israel...'. Fidel is convinced that the Israelis will not abandon their conquered territories peacefully and according to him time is not on the side of the Arabs. 'But sometimes a defeat can provide a political stimulus which was lacking in the beginning. In my opinion, the sooner the Arab countries pass on to the counter-offensive to recover their territories the better it will be for them. In any case our view of the crisis in the Middle East is clear: no one can save a country if this country is not capable of saving itself'.

(From *Quaderni del Medio Oriente*, no.3.)

TONY CLIFF

A series of human tragedies brought the Jews to Palestine — pogroms in Tsarist Russia, persecution in Eastern Europe and the holocaust of Nazism. When they reached Palestine, they found that it was inhabited by Arabs. Whatever the motivation that brought the Jews in, an increasing conflict between Zionist settlements and the Arabs was unavoidable. The Arab peasant on his very low standard of living, suffering from open or disguised unemployment, was there offering his labour and product for a very cheap price. How could a European worker or prospective worker find a job under such conditions? The only way found was to block the employment of any Arab workers by Jewish employers. In Tel-Aviv which on the eve of the founding of the state of Israel had nearly 300,000 inhabitants, there was not one — I repeat not one — Arab worker, not one Arab inhabitant...'

Israel is not a colony suppressed by imperialism, but a *colon*, a settler's citadel, a launching-point for imperialism. It is a tragedy that the sons of the very people who had been persecuted and massacred in such a bestial fashion should themselves be driven into a chauvinistic, militaristic fervour and become the blind tools of imperialism in subjugating the Arab masses... Zionism

EAST People

RESISTANCE GROUPS

1. AL-FATAH

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF PALESTINE (AL-FATAH)

AL-FATAH is the strongest and most prestigious of the fidayeen organisations. Its nucleus was formed in 1956-57 during the Israeli occupation of Gaza. After the Israeli withdrawal, its activities became limited to incursions into enemy territory from the neighbouring Arab countries. The first military communique signed by the NLMP and its military wing, Al-'Assifa was issued on January 1 1965

On its fifth anniversary, Al-Fatah published the following statistics on the outcome of its struggle over the past four years. 'Al-'Assifa has carried out military operations against 140 enemy settlements. The number of enemy killed or wounded is 3650 soldiers and 44 officers. The enemy lost 658 military vehicles and 57 military communications vehicles in the operations. During this period Al-'Assifa destroyed 40 oil installations, mined 40 ammunition dumps and 174 enemy positions, destroyed 23 power installations and 21 factories and blew up four military railways, 70 ambush parties, 3 tele-communications stations and 59 water installations. Al-'Assifa lost 296 martyrs killed in action.'

7 Point Platform of Al-Fatah's Central Committee (14 January, 1969)

1. The National Liberation Movement of Palestine (Al-Fatah) is the expression of the Palestinian people and of its determination to liberate its territory from Zionist colonisation and to re-establish its national identity.
2. Al-Fatah is not fighting against the Jews as an ethnic and religious community. It is fighting against the Zionist and colonialist state of Israel with its racist, theocratic and expansionist structure.
3. Al-Fatah rejects any solution to the Palestine problem which does not recognise the existence of the Palestinian people and its right to self-determination.
4. Al-Fatah categorically rejects the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 and the Jarring mission resulting from it. This resolution disregards the existence of the Palestinian people and its national rights. Any so-called peaceful solution which disregards this basic fact is bound to fail. In any case, the acceptance by this or that party of the 22 November resolution is not binding, in any manner whatsoever, on the people of Palestine which is determined to pursue its resolute struggle against foreign occupation and Zionist colonisation.
5. Al-Fatah solemnly declares that the final aim of its struggle is the restoration of the independent democratic Palestinian state where all citizens, whatever their creed, can enjoy equal rights.
6. Palestine forms part of the Arab Homeland. Al-Fatah will work for the active participation of the Palestinian state in building a united and progressive Arab society.
7. The struggle of the Palestinian people, like that of the Vietnamese people and all the other peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America forms part of the historical process of liberating the oppressed peoples from colonialism and imperialism.

2. P.L.F.P.

THE POPULAR FRONT FOR THE

merger between the Palestinian section of the Arab Nationalist Movement (ANM) and a group of Palestinian commandos known as the Jibril-Shruru group.

Because of its political commitments, the PFLP was soon involved in Arab politics. Three of its leaders were imprisoned by the Baathi regime in Syria, a step which when denounced by the PFLP led to the first split in its ranks: the Jibril-Shruru group seceded and placed itself under the patronage of the Syrian Baath.

In August 1968, the second conference of the PFLP was dominated by the left wing which proposed a radical platform openly adopting Marxism-Leninism; the right wing pretended to accept the resolutions and political line of the conference only to launch an all-out offensive against the left. This led to the second split of the PFLP, after which the left formed its independent commando organisation under the name of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The roots of the conflict between the petty-bourgeois right of the PFLP and its aspiring Marxist-Leninist left lay in the crisis of the Arab Nationalist Movement all over the Arab Middle East; the conflict reflects the rapid process of disintegration of petty-bourgeois nationalism represented by the Baath and Nasserism. From the ruins of this discredited petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East a new revolutionary left is emerging.

THE AUGUST PLATFORM OF THE PFLP

1. The petty-bourgeois class in the Arab world has proved its incapacity in accomplishing the tasks of national liberation. Consequently, the workers and peasants, armed with the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat, should be entrusted with the leadership of the movement for national liberation.
2. The Palestinian revolution is an organic part of the Arab revolution. Artificial attempts made by the Arab regimes and the petty-bourgeois elements in the Palestinian liberation movement to dissociate the one from the other are intended to liquidate the struggle of the Palestinian masses.
3. The PFLP is determined to purge itself of reactionary elements and centers of personal influence.
4. The organisational relationship within the Front are to be governed by the principle of democratic centralism.

3. D.P.F.L.P.

The Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine was formed in February 1969; one of its main operations has been the bomb in the cafeteria of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The following are extracts from the declaration announcing the formation of the DPFLP.

5. DPFLP will struggle to establish a wide patriotic front where all anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, and anti-reactionary political and class forces are represented, under the leadership of the revolutionary freedom-fighters, in order to achieve simultaneously a real and a revolutionary Palestinian national unity.

Our revolutionary Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine pledges itself to continue the struggle, armed with a radically patriotic outlook, placing every aspect of the Palestine problem critically and publicly before the masses — the very substance of the revolution and its inexhaustible sea.

6. The DPFLP shall fight alongside all the patriotic sections of the resistance movement in a protracted people's war for the liberation of our country and the solution of the problems of the phase of national liberation in a Popular Democratic State of Palestinerwherecultural and religious rights are respected and social and constitutional legalities guaranteed.

7. The DPFLP produced the revolutionary politico-military August [1968] Programme, which affirms that in this age of imperialism and colonialism, armed struggle is the only path for the liberation of the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America — a struggle based upon the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat. The DPFLP shall, therefore, fight daily to confront Zionism, imperialism and the forces of reaction in the context of the global wars for liberation. It will do so side by side with all the forces opposing imperialism and reaction in the world (the Socialist bloc, the movements for national liberation throughout the world and the socialist working class parties in the capitalist imperialist countries) in order to defeat imperialism and Zionism and to liberate both man and the land. Our Front shall struggle towards a worldwide anti-imperialist front (. . .) Imperialism persists in waging its exploitative war against the peoples of the Third World to destroy their patriotic aspirations and stem the tide of World Socialist Revolution. The Zionist-Imperialist aggression of June 1967 is a link in the chain of counter-revolution led by the United States of America, enemy number one of the international liberation movement and the socialist camp.

structure of Israel is dialectically and immediately linked to imperialism in general and US imperialism in particular.

*Let all guns point towards the Zionist-imperialist enemy!

*Long live the solidarity of all sections of the resistance against the external

ZIONISM & RACISM A COMMON PREMISE

Zionism is the theory and practice of the political movement which seeks to solve the Jewish Problem by concentrating world Jewry in a Jewish nation-state in Palestine. The colonization of Palestine by the Zionist movement since the beginning of this century, as well as the establishment, and expansion, of the State of Israel are conceived by the Zionists, as means towards that end; they are but stages in a process which is not yet completed.

At the turn of the century Palestine was an underdeveloped country populated by some 600,000 Arabs, mostly peasants. The local Jewish community numbered some 50,000 persons, well integrated into the local society, and indifferent, if not hostile, to Zionist claims.

The process of creating a settlers' community in Palestine generated, from the beginning, a whole complex of conflicts with the indigenous population. These conflicts are simply the specific, Palestinian, form of the general conflict between colonizers and colonized throughout the colonial world. However, the attitude of liberal, progressive, and left-wing opinion in the West to this particular conflict differed from its attitude to similar conflicts elsewhere. One important reason for this is, no doubt, its reluctance to express views which could be condemned as anti-Semitic.

The Jews in the West have suffered racial persecution for generations; the Nazi extermination of Jews during the Second World War demonstrated the horrors to which anti-Semitism can lead. As Zionism is a Jewish movement which claims to represent the 'national interests of the Jews' it is hardly surprising that so many on the left hesitate to criticize it. Zionist and pro-Israeli propaganda heavily bank on this factor; they label as anti-Semitic anyone who dares criticize Israeli policies. In most cases this technique has been effective.

Let us take a closer look.

Zionism is doubtless a response to anti-Semitism; it was created by it and claims to provide a solution to the problem posed by it. This, however, does not exhaust the relation between Zionism and anti-Semitism.

The founder of Zionism ideology, Y.L. Pinsker, wrote in his basic work *Auto-emancipation*, published in 1882.

'Now that we have grasped that Jew-baiting is a kind of hereditary demonopathy, unique to the human race, and that anti-Semitism is inherent in the hereditary aberrations of the Human spirit we must draw a conclusion which is important for us, namely — we must give up the attempt to overcome these trends of hatred, just as one must give up the attempt to overcome any other psychological, hereditary, trend.'

The founder of the Zionist political movement and organization, T.H. Herzl, stated, similarly, in his diaries, in 1893:

'In Paris, as I have said, I achieved a freer attitude toward anti-Semitism, which I now began to understand historically, and to pardon. Above all, I recognized the emptiness and futility of trying to 'combat' anti-Semitism.'

This 'free' attitude to anti-Semitism, this readiness to 'understand and pardon' it, persists in Zionist attitudes to this day. It is an essential part of the ideology. In fact, Zionism shares with anti-Semitism a common premise: that Jews cannot live a normal life as a minority amongst non-Jews because the persecution of minorities is inherent in 'Human nature'. When an anti-Semite, say in Poland, calls to a Polish Jew: 'Leave us and go to Jerusalem', the

Zionists echo: 'Leave them and come to Jerusalem'.

It is therefore not surprising that Lucien Wolf, a leader of British Jewry during the first World War, said of Zionism: 'I've spent all my life fighting against these views when they were presented to me in the guise of anti-Semitism.'

Zionism does not combat anti-Semitism, but accepts it as a permanent evil, it starts from the assumption that it is futile to fight it. If one drops this assumption, Zionism loses its justification as a 'solution to the Jewish problem'. Imagine a movement among coloured immigrants in Britain which would respond to the Powelite demand: 'send them back to where they came from', by echoing that same slogan instead of fighting it.

An interpretive illusion which seems to support the Zionist views is the fact that the Jews in Palestine were saved from extermination during the second World War. 'If only more Jews could come there they would all have been saved'. As a matter of fact not only in Palestine but in every other place that was out of reach of the Nazis were the Jews saved from extermination. It is only because the German Army was defeated in El-Alamein (a fact which has nothing to do with Zionism) that the Jews in Palestine did not share the fate of those in Eastern Europe. The lesson to be drawn is quite different from the one suggested by Zionist propaganda. Only by combating, and defeating, reactionary, racist forces can minorities be spared persecution. Anti-Semitism is not an isolated, unhistorical, phenomenon, but an integral part of a world-wide reactionary setup; the proper response to anti-Semitism is to take part in the movement which fights against the reactionary forces everywhere (including the bureaucratic regimes in Eastern Europe). And one must bear in mind that the Zionist movement and the Zionist policies of the Israeli government are part and parcel of that same, world-wide, reactionary set up.

This article was written by members of the Israeli Socialist Organization, Matzpen.





JOINT JEWISH-ARAB DEMONSTRATION OUTSIDE THE KNESSET

ISRAELI LEFT

Of the many organisations on the Jewish left in Israel and elsewhere most are supporters of Zionism in one form or another. It is for this reason that the Israeli Socialist Organisation, founded in 1962, has argued that the fundamental political distinction in Israel is not between left and right, but between pro- and anti-Zionist positions.

Mapam, which was formed in the 1940s, calls for a socialist Zionist state. It supported the 1956 Suez campaign and has actively participated in coalition governments with Mapai and with the right extremists of the terrorist Gahal group. The Communist Party split in 1965 into two groups. One faction *Maki*, led by Mikunis and Sneh, is entirely Jewish in composition and supported both the 1967 war and annexation of East Jerusalem. The other faction, *Rakah*, led by Vilner and Tuby, is predominantly Arab in composition and opposed the 1967 war; but it refuses to criticise the Moscow line on Israel or to attack Arab nationalism. The maverick Knesset member and publicist, Uri Avnery, who publishes the political-satirical magazine *Haolam Hazev* was known before 1967 for his anti-Zionist positions; but even he equivocated on the war and supported the annexation of East Jerusalem.

The *Israeli Socialist Organisation* and the *Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad* openly oppose the 1967 war, all annexations, and the Zionist structure of Israel. ISO include both Arab and Israeli socialists and in January 1969 they ran a joint Jewish-Arab demonstration outside the Israeli parliament in protest against the occupation of Arab territories. The demonstrators also sent a message of support to the women of East Jerusalem who were holding a sit-in in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Old City.

For those who claim that all Jews are Zionists or that it is impossible for citizens of Israel to support the guerrilla movements we are re-publishing the text of a declaration made by the ISO on March 22 1968. It was redistributed by ISRACA, who support it, at the demonstration in support of Palestine held in London on February 23.

'The Palestinian Arab people, the chief and direct victim of Zionist colonisation, a people whose greater part was reduced during and after 1948 to the state of pauperised refugees, and another part of it has lived for 20 years under severe conditions of discrimination and persecution in Israel - that people in its entirety has now become a conquered people. It has been robbed not only of the most elementary political rights but also of the very prospect for national and human existence. The various schemes considered by Israeli government circles concerning the fate of the Palestinians ranged from outright annexation (accompanied by pressures to make the Palestinians emigrate from the annexed territories, and by measures intended to reduce the Arab birth rate) to the setting up of a Bantustan, a Strategic Hamlet, a protectorate camouflaged as a "Federation" between Israeli master and Arab underling.

It is both the right, and the duty, of every conquered and subjugated people to resist and to struggle for its freedom. The ways, means, and methods of such a struggle must be determined by that people itself'.

The ISO have published a socialist analysis of Israel, *The Other Israel*, and ISRACA are now publishing an Information Bulletin including news translated from the Hebrew Press. Both are available from ISRACA, 219, Putney Bridge Rd., London SW15.

PALESTINE SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN



A permanent *Palestine Solidarity Campaign* (PSC) has been established to organise all solidarity activities in Britain with the struggle of the Palestinian people for national liberation against Zionism and imperialism.

The Zionist state of Israel is, historically, the product of a European problem - anti-Semitism. Zionism and anti-Semitism are, in fact, two sides of the same medal. The latter shouts 'out with the Jews', the former is only too glad to remove the Jews from Europe. But the removal of the Jews from where they are unwanted will never abolish minority persecution. Unable to solve the Jewish problem by striking at its very roots in the capitalist structure of European society, Zionism created, furthermore, a new problem of national persecution - Zionist persecution against the Palestinian Arabs. Zionism is a colonialist movement in its own right, bent on the occupation of land and the displacement of its original inhabitants - the Palestinian people. It is at the same time part of the world imperialist camp, through which the various imperialist powers (and notably the US) have waged their aggressions, by proxy, against the national liberation struggle of the Arab masses.

The present struggle of the Palestinian people is a struggle to reclaim their rights and overthrow the Zionist, racist, and expansionist state of Israel.

The PSC will struggle in support of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, under Israeli occupation and in exile, along the lines of the following political platform:

1. PSC supports the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national liberation in a de-Zionised, democratic Palestine where Jews and Arabs enjoy equal rights. A de-Zionised, democratic Palestine will put an end to: i) Palestine as the state of all Jews in the world; ii) Jewish majority rule; iii) the sequestration of Arab land and property; iv) racial discrimination against Arabs and Oriental Jews; v) subservience to imperialism.
2. PSC considers that the armed struggle waged by the vanguards of the Palestinian people is the decisive means to force recognition of this people's rights to self-determination and national liberation. It, consequently, supports the activities of the Palestinian liberation fighters and the heroic civilian resistance in the occupied territories.

3. PSC rejects the UN resolution of November 22, 1967 because it disregards the political existence of the Palestinian people and their legitimate national rights. PSC is firmly opposed to the attempts made by the four Big Powers to impose on the Palestinian people and the Arab masses their so-called 'peaceful solution'. The fate of the Arab peoples should be determined by the Arab peoples themselves.

4. PSC opposes the attempts made by any Arab government to liquidate, muzzle, control or in any way interfere with the Palestinian people and its armed vanguards - the liberation fighters - and supports all resistance to such repressive measures.

5. PSC opposes all forms of racism. It will actively struggle against Zionism and anti-Jewish racism as rigorously as it will fight against anti-Arab racism, a legacy of imperialism fostered by Zionist propaganda. PSC joins the Palestinian liberation fighters in declaring its solidarity with all Jews inside and outside Israel who are fighting against the Zionist, racist and expansionist state of Israel. It calls upon all progressive anti-Zionist Jews in Britain to organise themselves for the defeat of Zionist propaganda and the liberation of the Jews from that aberration that has transformed many of them into unabashed racists, subservient to imperialism.

6. The armed struggle of the Palestinian people forms an integral part of the Arab Revolution - the combined anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist struggles of the Arab peoples. Anti-imperialism in the Arab world is presently waged against direct colonial rule (in Zafar, Mascat and Oman), against foreign military bases and neo-imperialist exploitation. PSC supports this struggle and its ultimate aim: the control by the peoples of the Arab world over their wealth and natural resources (especially oil).

7. The struggle of the Palestinian people and the Arab masses, like that of the Vietnamese people and all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America forms part of the historical process of liberating the oppressed peoples from under the yoke of imperialism.

From Palestine to Vietnam: one enemy, one fight!

Victory to the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people!

Palestine Solidarity Campaign

DWARF COMMENT

'Why do the Arabs hate the Jews? Answer: they take us to be foreigners, invaders that took an Arab country and turned it into a Jewish state. And they are right about it. From their point of view we did it. We didn't come here to contribute or for a contribution to the Arab countries. We came here to establish our State here because we feel that this is our homeland' - Moshe Dayan to American businessmen, January 18 1969.

'We should not allow even invocations of Auschwitz to blackmail us into supporting the wrong cause. I am speaking as a Marxist of Jewish origin, whose next-of-kin perished in Auschwitz and whose relatives live in Israel. To justify or condone Israel's wars against the Arabs is to render Israel a very bad service indeed and to harm its own long term interest' - Isaac Deutscher, June 20, 1967.

'Our aim is to destroy this Zionist State - a racist settler-colonialist state, not to destroy its people. Our aim is for all Palestinians to be able to return to their homeland and live under a democratic, Palestinian state, not to push any people out who are prepared to live as Palestinians under such a state'. - Abu Ammar, *al-fatha* spokesman, to *Evergreen Review*.

legitimately feels towards Jews because of the mass murders of Nazism has led it to a disastrous conclusion: to support the establishment of a predominantly Jewish state in Palestine. Anti-semitism is a European problem - but it is the Arabs who have been made to suffer for it.

In the 1930s Britain refused to allow Jewish immigration, and the United States strictly controlled it; many Jews went to Israel. The problem of the unwanted Jews was displaced on to the Arabs. The result was the Zionist state, Israel, made possible by the expulsion in various ways of the inhabitants of Palestine during the 1947-48 war. Of the 700,000 Arabs in the area before the war, only 167,000 remained.

Zionism is therefore a form of colonialism: one that is based, not on the exploitation of the local inhabitants (South Africa), but on a more brutal form of colonialism, on the physical expulsion of the native population. The ideas and practice of Moshe Dayan accept this analysis and make no attempt to justify it: they merely state it as a 'fact' and challenge anyone to reject it.

The Palestinian people, rotting for twenty years in refugee camps, have now begun to reject Zionism. They have started to challenge the state of Israel both through military attack and through civilian resistance in the occupied territories.

It is the duty of all European revolutionaries to give their full support to this struggle by the Palestinian people. Zionism aimed to create a Jewish state at the expense of the Arabs. To be anti-Zionist is to refuse to accept this

of Zionism claim that anti-Zionism is just another kind of anti-semitism. It is true that anti-semitism can masquerade as anti-Zionism - but the two are quite separate and distinct. Anti-semitism discriminates against Jews because they are Jews. Anti-Zionism opposes the establishment of a colonialist state in Palestine. Many Jews are anti-Zionist: there are Jews fighting in *al-fatha*; inside Israel Arabs and Jews in the Israeli Socialist Organisation, which publishes the magazine *Matzpen*, actively oppose Zionism and call for the de-zionisation of Israel; many Jewish Marxists have stated their opposition to Zionism - among them Trotsky, Kautsky, Isaac Deutscher and Tony Cliff. The Zionist response to this is of course to call them 'anti-semitic Jews' - which is nonsense. They are Marxists who see that a colonialist Jewish state in the Middle East is no solution to anti-semitism in Europe. Anti-semitism and anti-Zionism, far from being identical, are based on opposite principles: the former is based on racism, the latter firmly opposes it. The similarity between the assumptions of Zionism itself and anti-semitism are demonstrated elsewhere in these pages.

The left in Europe must openly denounce all forms of anti-semitism whether on the right or in Russia and Poland. As European socialists it is essential to state that we are prepared to fight anti-semitism here and now because it is a European problem. And we refuse to accept the false solution of making the Arabs pay for the problems Europe will not solve.

The strengthening of the Israeli state offers no solution to the problem of

the rest still live in gentile society.

The resolution of the Palestine problem can only come through a de-zionised, binational state - to which the Palestinians are allowed to return and where the Jews are allowed to remain. The Big Four and the Arab governments wish to protect themselves by imposing their own solution. This is not, however, a matter of great power politics or a quarrel between the Israeli and Arab governments. The Palestinians alone can decide how the problem must be resolved, and it is they whom the Russians, the West, and Nasser are trying to muzzle.

The guerrilla movements are coming into increasing conflict with the reactionary and bureaucratic Arab governments and it is unlikely that they will be able to liberate Palestine before achieving changes in the neighbouring states. They have made clear what this liberation will mean: that the present Jewish inhabitants will be allowed to stay. To oppose anti-Jewish racism in Europe and anti-Arab racism in Israel means also to oppose anti-Jewish chauvinism which threatens to drive the Jews into the sea.

A Palestinian Solidarity Campaign has now been formed in Britain; its manifesto is contained elsewhere in this issue. *Black Dwarf* supports the PSC and its manifesto. The growth of this campaign will not be easy: the Labour Party, the unions, and the British press are predominantly pro-Zionist. Many Jewish socialists in this country support Israel out of sentimental reasons which it will take long and informed discussion to overcome. But this should not prevent us from making our unequivocal support

DWARF LETTERS

STALIN

CASE FOR THE PROSECUTION

1) We know that it was at Stalin's behest that the decision was taken to employ physical methods in influencing judicial investigations; which had as its result physical blows, deprivation of sleep for up to seven days, and other tortures, to which the author of these lines (arrested in 1937 at the age of fourteen as a member of the family of a 'public enemy') was personally a witness. These acts are punished according to the terms of Articles 113 and 17 [of the Soviet legal code] by a punishment of imprisonment for up to three years . . .

2) A large number of leading functionaries put an end to their days by suicide, certain of them because of the repugnance they felt towards participating in the crimes committed, to which the letters written before their death bear witness: S. Ordjonikidze, I. Kosior, F. Furer, . . . and numerous others. A whole series of persecuted people put an end to their days as a protest or through fear of torture: . . . M. Tomski, . . . V. Lominadze . . . and numerous others . . . All these fall under Article 107 (instigation to suicide) which carries with it the loss of liberty for up to five years.

3) Mass repressions were accompanied by insults addressed to the victims, their friends and families; insults broadcast in the press, on the radio, at meetings and conferences. Actions of this type fall under Article 130 ('calumny') - punished by up to five years - and Article 131 ('giving offence') - hard labour for up to a year . . .

4) Numerous people, victims of the repression, were shot or simply killed, or died of injuries received during the investigations. Among them were 110 members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union out of the 139 who had been elected at the seventeenth congress of the party, and hundreds of thousands of other honest men.

On Stalin's orders were arrested and killed in the majority of cases representatives of all the opposition: many of them have not yet been rehabilitated, though the accusations laid against them were complete fabrications.

Stalin did not recoil from the liquidation of foreign communists who had taken refuge in our country in escaping persecution from fascist, semi-fascist, and monarchist dictatorships: among them the Germans H. Remele, Schubert, Heinz Neumann, Werner Hirsch; the Hungarians Bela Kun, Mesan, Gidas, Gabor Farkas and others; the Bulgarians Stamonikov, Tanev, and others; the Poles Dabal, Leszczynski, Prochniak, and others; the Estonians Kh. Pegelman and others; the Iranians Sultan-Zade and others; the Yugoslavs V. Copitch, D. Serditch and others; the Swiss F. Platten (who shielded V.I. Lenin with his body when the first attempt was made on his life) and others . . .

5) Stalin was chief of state when, during and after the great patriotic war, a series of peoples of our country (the Tartars of the Crimea, the Kalmuks, the Chechins, the Ingushes, the Balkares, the Koreans, the Greeks, the Turks, the Germans and others) were victims of a forced and illegal deportation from their home lands.

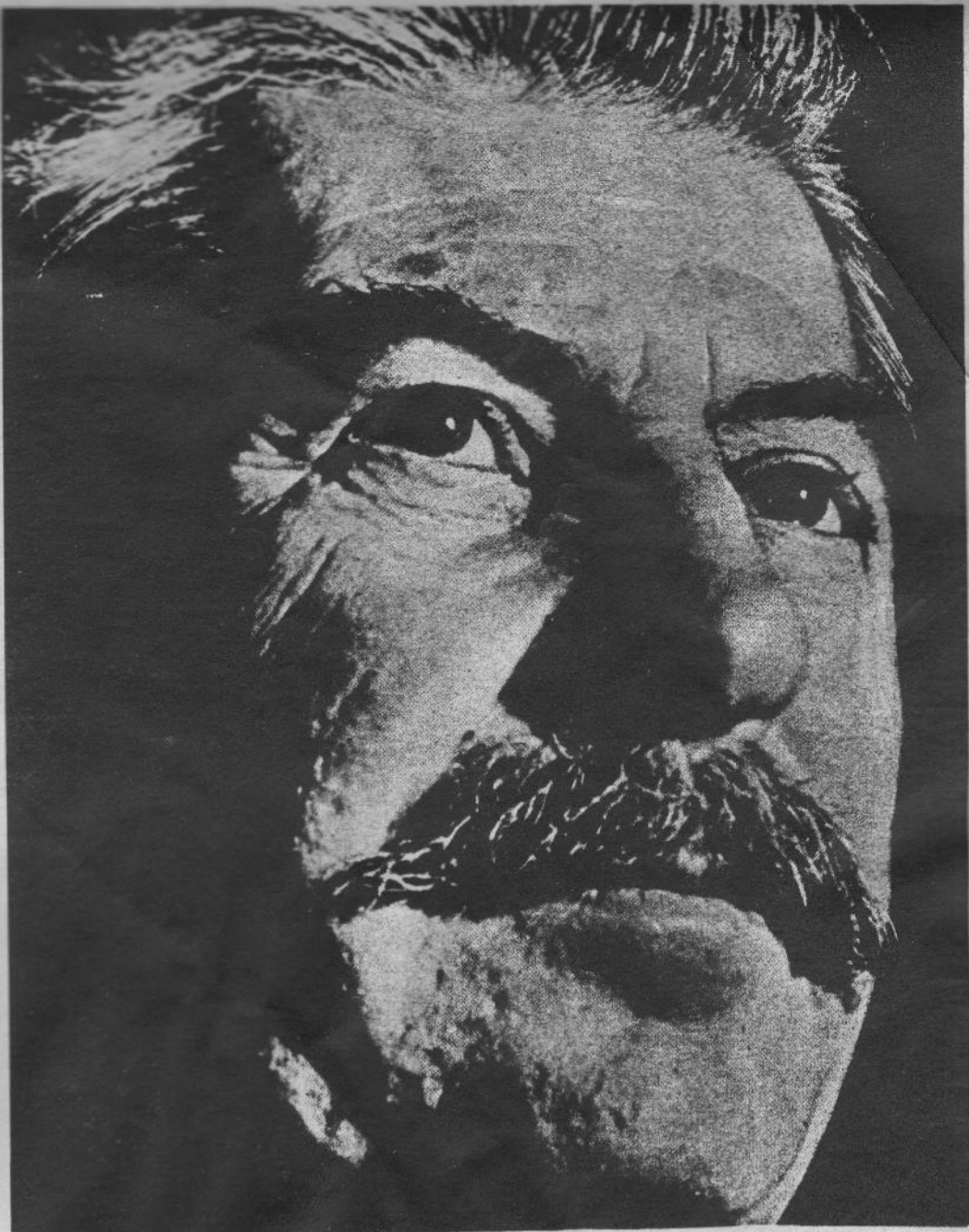
The crimes fall under Article 74 ('violation of the equality of nations and races', the punishment carrying up to five years imprisonment).

6) In connection with the mass repressions, the leading scientific and technical cadres in all branches of our economy and agriculture were, in the main exterminated or interned, and this had a considerable effect on the country's economy. Thus in 1938, for example, ten per cent less iron ore was extracted than in 1937, though the plan had called for an increase in extraction. And the rotation of qualified cadres put a brake on production: in 1940, for instance, out of 153 plant managers in the metallurgical industry, 75 had occupied this position for less than a year.

7) Several cases of the desecration of graves took place (punishable under Article 22 by imprisonment for up to three years). The urn containing the ashes of S.S. Kamenev has been removed from its sanctuary in the Kremlin, the urn containing the ashes of I.A. Gamarnik has been taken, the grave of M. Tomski has been obliterated, the monument standing on the grave of I. Yakir has been overturned, etc.

8) According to what we learn from a confidential letter of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party to the party's XXth congress, as well as from the novel recently published by Chakovski, Stalin went into hiding during part of the day on which war broke out; for several hours, none of the country's leaders could find the commander-in-chief. The incident in question is described under Article 247 ('desertion') and carries with it, in time of war, the penalty of death.

9) In 1939 there was constructed in depth a well-equipped line in the fortified regions. After the re-attachment of the Baltic republics, of western White Russia and the western Ukraine.



of the construction of new fortified regions, and despite the protests of the chief of the general staff, B. Shaposhnikov, all the former fortified positions were dismantled on Stalin's orders: which permitted the fascist invaders to cross our territory without difficulty. This appears to us criminal negligence, verging on high treason. As for the elimination of 80 per cent of the corps of superior and commanding officers, which decapitated the army, it constitutes a straightforward treason (Article 64 - penalty of death).

In the spring of 1941 were arrested and then shot without trial the military leaders who had fought in the Spanish Civil War: Smuchkevich, twice hero of the Soviet Union and to whom a monument had been erected in his own country on February 26 of that very same year; the heroes of the Soviet Union P. Rychagov, Stern, Chernykh, (etc) . . .

Partisan bases were liquidated on our territory; tank units were dismembered; certain types of automatic armaments indispensable to the army were not put into production; and there were numerous other measures.

The millions of victims who fell in the first period of the great patriotic war may together be laid to the crimes committed by Stalin . . .

10) The wives of men who were purged were arrested and frequently shot (the wives of Tukachevsky, Ubovich . . . and others were shot). Veering even to complete insanity, Stalin had the wives of his disciples, Kalinin, Molotov,

Poskrebychev, arrested. 11) In camps and prisons were arrested and held the young children of the victims of repression: those of Postychev, Kossior . . . Kamenev, . . . Tomski, Sosnovski, Popov and others.

On what bases do the authors of the articles mentioned and the editors of the journal *Kommunist* seek to rehabilitate the greatest criminal which our country has known in all of contemporary history?

I ask the authors of the articles mentioned to refute the facts which I have set out above. To refute them by the sole means admitted in the society of honest men: by publishing my declaration and then making reply. Should they not do so, it only remains for me to conclude that these authors are in agreement with the facts mentioned in my declaration, and with the conclusions which flow from these facts. Which means that, without waiting for a reply to this declaration, I consider myself in the right in inviting colleagues participating in this discussion to address themselves collectively to the public prosecutor of the USSR, in order to open a criminal investigation against Stalin (Djugashvili) J.V., accused of the crimes listed above. I am convinced that a posthumous conviction is possible and legal, just as posthumous rehabilitations are possible and legal.

P.I. Yakir

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Gregory Ordjonikidze called Sergo. Childhood friend of Stalin's, took part in the invasion of Georgia in 1922. Later directed national economy, giving complete priority to heavy industry. But was opposed to the application of the death penalty on the party leaders. Suicide 1937.

Michael Tomski. Took part in 1905 revolution. Was president of the trade unions 1917-1929. Accused of belonging to the right-wing tendency, he committed suicide without waiting to be arrested.

Lominadze. On Stalin's orders had organised the Canton insurrection of 1927. After having criticised the tendencies of the party, he was expelled from the Central Committee in 1930 and committed suicide in 1934.

Hermann Remele. Former member of the politburo of the German CP and Reichstag deputy. Represented this party on the comintern. Arrested 1937, was executed along with all his family.

Hermann Schubert. Member of the politburo of the German CP. Represented the party on the secretariat of the comintern for central Europe, then became involved in Red defence (Secours Rouge). Was arrested after criticising the 'campaign led in the west against Trotsky.

Heinz Neumann. Member of the German politburo. Went on missions to China and Spain for the comintern. Arrested April 1937. His

Germany in 1923. Member of the presidium of the communist international. Arrested and assassinated in 1937.

Vasil Tanev. Accused with Dimitrov of having provoked the burning of the Reichstag in February 1933; killed during the war.

Thomas Dabal. Former member of the peasants party, won over to communism. After having been incarcerated in Poland, he settled in Russia and founded the Red International of peasants. Executed in the Soviet Union.

Julian Leszczynski. Worked at the Commissariat of Nationalities with Stalin, was involved in Polish affairs. Later secretary of the Polish CP. Arrested, he died in 1939.

Edward Prochniak. Former pupil of the school directed by Lenin at Longjumeau in 1911. Member of the Polish politburo. Represented his party in the Comintern. Arrested together with several members of his family in 1937.

Vlada Copich. Communist deputy. Came to the USSR in 1925 and represented his party in the Comintern. Commanded an international brigade in Spain. Recalled to Russia in 1938 and then disappeared.

Sultan Zade. Was in Russia during the revolution. Member of the executive committee of the Comintern. Executed in 1938.

Michael Tukhachevsky. Former tsarist army officer who rallied to the Bolsheviks at the

In a letter addressed last month to the editor of *Kommunist* ('Theoretical and Political Journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union'), the Soviet historian Peter Yakir proposed that a penal investigation be made of the late J.V. Stalin. 'I am convinced', writes Yakir, 'that a posthumous conviction is both possible and legal, just as posthumous rehabilitations are both possible and legal'. He set out the crimes for which Stalin, he felt, should be tried.

Yakir's exposition of Stalin's criminality, though couched in terms of the law, goes beyond questions confined to Soviet jurisprudence. It takes in the question of Stalin's role in negating revolution throughout the whole of Europe, in both liquidating a generation of old Bolsheviks, the heroes of the Russian Revolution, and in destroying the most formidable foreign communists who took refuge in Moscow during periods of repression and war.

Kommunist did not publish Yakir's letter; the *Black Dwarf*, however, is doing so, as an aid to the evaluation of Stalin's historical role. An explanation, however, must preface the letter.

First, neither Yakir nor the *Black Dwarf* should be counted amongst the ranks of counter-revolutionaries (liberals, social-democrats, Labour MP's), to whom the Russian Revolution was an abomination and who use a tendentious list of Stalin's excesses to discredit socialism and revolution wherever it appears. Yakir, in particular, cannot be counted amongst the liberal scientists and writers - Ginsburg, Litvinov, and so on - whose voices, however well-intentioned, lack the revolutionary tones of the Bolsheviks of two generations ago. Yakir's father, for instance, joined the Bolsheviks in April 1917, fought throughout the Civil War, and remained thereafter in the army. A general in 1937, he was shot at Stalin's direct instigation. Condemned, he wrote to Stalin to protest his innocence (Stalin noted on his letter 'Scoundrel and debauchee'); and, before the firing squad, cried out 'Long live the party! Long live Stalin!'

Second, Yakir wrote his letter in response to an article which *Kommunist* carried at the beginning of this year ('Thrilling Pages from the Annals of the Great Fatherland War') - an article dealing partly with Stalin's military career and concluding with a judgement on Stalin's 'distinguished' military leadership. Yakir inveighed against the article as forming part of a pro-Stalin campaign; and to do so, we suggest, is not necessarily to side with those 'falsifiers of history', to which the article in *Kommunist* referred, who portray Stalin as having conducted the war on the basis of a school-room globe.

Third, and most important, the policy and methods of the late J.V. Stalin serve to define the position of different sections of the left. In the international field, Albania and China eulogise his role; and in domestic, British terms, the Communist Party is partly divided from the other groups, and these groups divided one from the other, by divergent recollections and interpretations of that role. In future issues of the *Dwarf*, contributors will examine a number of these points of view.

In his letter, Peter Yakir set out, point by point, the crimes of which Stalin stood accused and their place within the Soviet legal code; included here are the most important points in his list.

SIGNATORIES OF THE PALESTINE SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

International Socialism
General Union of Arab Students
General Union of Palestinian Students
International Marxist Group
Black Dwarf
New Left Review
Arab Revolution
Free Palestine
Friends of Palestine
Committees for Solidarity with the Palestine Revolution
Revolutionary Students Federation
Revolutionary Socialist Students' Federation
British Vietnam Solidarity Front.
Would other groups wishing to sign this Manifesto please send their names to Palestine Solidarity Campaign, c/o Free Palestine, BCM Box 3275, London, WC1.

COMMITTEES FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE PALESTINE REVOLUTION

The CSPR have been set up as groups of British and

ON THE SHOP FLOOR

steps towards workers control

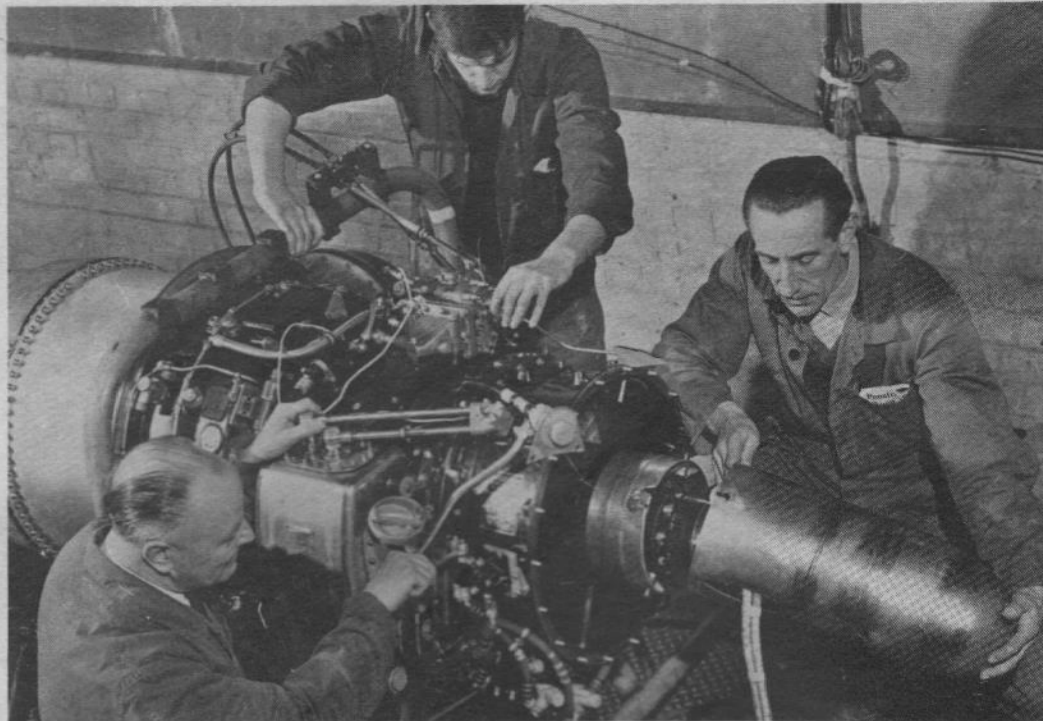
We live in a capitalist society. Does this mean that the workers have to wait until state power is taken, or do we set about eroding the system right now? The question answers itself: the day-to-day struggle forces us to make inroads on the power of the employers, and as the struggle develops, so do new methods emerge.

How do the workers at a well-organised engineering factory deal with these questions in practice? There is first the struggle for a 100% trade union factory: if a worker will not join a trade union then he does not work there, and the shop floor will not hesitate to enforce that position. Where several unions are concerned, a Joint Shop Stewards Committee is set up, in which shop stewards from all the unions act together in unity.

The next step is to establish some control over the company's right to 'hire and fire'. To this end, the unions insist that the company negotiate on the amount of labour recruited, and on questions such as the number of workers required to achieve a given amount of production.

The question of how many workers leave the factory is a more complex one. As for dismissal of workers for disciplinary reasons, it can be said that nowadays no worker is easily dismissed from a well-organised factory by the management. The question of redundancy or closure, however, is a much more difficult problem to deal with.

In the late forties and early fifties the slogan 'the right to work' was campaigned for by the shop stewards movement, after many strikes we have now achieved the position where many managements will readily agree to work-sharing rather than redundancy. It can be said that the Redundancy Payments Act is the outcome of this shop floor struggle. However, the result of this act has been to some extent to blunt the anti-redundancy struggle as many workers are now tempted to accept redundancy because of substantial cash payments. When it comes to a complete closure the problem is more acute, very few victories having been won on the issue



of keeping a factory open, here the determining factor is seen to be who owns the means of production.

Another way in which labour loading can be controlled is in the stringent control of overtime working, and the restriction of overtime by the unions not only can lead to more jobs being available but increases the pressure for more money for the forty hours worked.

Not only do the unions have to deal with how many are employed in a factory but they also have to deal with what grades of labour are employed. Here many unions tend to safeguard the interests of the craft workers; they also in my opinion tend to act in a more defensive way than on other issues. Often the fight is to retain demarcations which themselves were originally

laid down by the employers. However, when the issue is what type of labour should man new processes or machines then the unions can act in a positive, rather than a defensive, way. And with technological change this type of struggle is coming to the forefront.

The major area of conflict lies in the wages issue. Here we find the whole weight of the state, buttressed by reactionary ideas formulated in the universities, being thrown behind the employers in an effort to reduce the control being exercised by organised workers over their earnings. In *Capital*, Marx deals with the question of piecework and day work in two chapters. At the time, he pointed out that piecework was a system making for the greater exploitation of the worker; today the workers by their organisation have turned the piecework

system to their advantage. They have done this by the formation of gangs working together, thereby ending the playing off of one individual against another, and by strong organisation; and they are helped by the lower levels of unemployment which have appertained since the war. The workers have found that the day-to-day struggle on piecework prices can increase wages faster than the occasional general wage claim, by linking day workers to piecework earnings and using in their negotiations comparisons within the factory or district. A steady upward trend in earnings can thus be maintained.

Despite all this, the rate of exploitation per worker is still little different from that of the last century, approximately 70%: i.e., the worker still produces twice as much surplus value in relation to what he requires for living. Here we can see the lesson that economic struggle in itself is not enough.

In this context the developing campaign for workers' control has some importance for the worker on the shop floor: it gives him a perspective beyond the economic struggle, it can help to break down the disillusionment caused by the Labour Government, it can show him that the nationalisation we have under monopoly capitalism is nothing like socialism.

We certainly do not pretend that the workers' control movement can do other under capitalism than extend certain of the powers that workers already have taken on the shop floor, but the demand for workers' control can help to develop the struggle for socialism. It can also help to unify many of the progressive sections of the labour movement.

The workers are responding to the ideas of workers control because they can see that large scale production is a social process, without them industry could not exist. The alienation of workers under monopoly capitalism has its contradiction as well, because the organisation of industry today gives quite small sections of workers great power; with good organisation there is good morale, the worker of today is confident of his strength. The key question is how he will use that strength; but, being realists, the workers will not follow ideas not based on their own experience. The workers' control movement is something which can give a perspective based on that experience.

Phillip Higgs

The author, though writing in his personal capacity, is a convener, Joint Shop Stewards Committee, Rolls-Royce Bristol Engine Division, Coventry.

THE 1/- PAPER

The Shilling Paper was started six months ago in Cambridge by a group of students impatient with the local newspaper and with existing student papers. It has enjoyed an outstanding success. Published in a university town without a left-wing tradition, it is nonetheless selling more than 2,000 copies a week. Its example, two of its editorial staff suggest, could easily be copied; and they have set out the means by which this can be done.

We started the paper, both as a rival to the pretentious and shoddy university official paper, *Varsity*, and as a means of increasing contact between town and university. We found a considerable interest within the university in the town's industrial problems, the rents struggle, and analyses of power blocks and class interests in the town. To some extent it also worked the other way, and town people were interested to read about the university without the liberal/trendy gloss of *Varsity*.

The purpose of the paper, as distinct from that of a socialist society newsheet, is to reach and sell to several thousand people. This does not mean a string of liberal ideas — it means producing detailed factual evidence for our statements, and posing questions as well as developing the socialist answers. We have also printed two of the three right-wing articles received after our early 'we'll print anything' statements, but this was mainly to demonstrate their speciousness and illiteracy. Variety of tone and contact is vital: as are technical tricks, breaking up the text with sub-headings, cartoons, photos, changing column widths etc.

What kinds of articles have we printed?

1) Solid shit-stirring: reports on university finances, confidential dons' meetings secret reports, letters, industrial relations, city council stupidity, who controls what, etc. Sympathetic dons, Labour Party Councillors, shop stewards are of course vital.

2) Well researched surveys: on Cambridge education, poverty, housing, working conditions, university 'servants' pay etc. Very important — people just never know what goes on in Cambridge.

3) Factual articles on the national and international situation: *Dwarf*, which is the

nooses for export to Nigeria etc. We also covered the Ford strike, and our reporter was the only one in Dagenham allowed into the Union HQ — the result was that we are now able to distribute through Cambridge's factories with greater success.

4) News items: also articles on music, theatre (Cambridge has an active street theatre group), book reviews, funnies etc.

THE 1/- PAPER

CAMBRIDGE JANUARY 26 1968

A machine in Cambridge has reported that she found out in a house which also had a landing roof: the female, who has three young children, is paying five pounds a week rent.

Approximately one sixth of the 10 labour force is employed in the Army or in defence services. If there were a crisis due to Vietnam tomorrow, America would be spending £1,000 million less a year on 'defence'.

A test driver in Cambridge works 82 hours a week for a wage of £14,700/- including the 10% tip. In this case the rate is 62 years old and has no pension prospects.

Another firm for Britain: the Ministry of Technology has developed a reputation for producing a quality of work in the Army for engineering. A big headache to the US Secretary for the Army for engineering it to them. On a typical project, Mr. Wilson?

How shall we handle a bit of trouble getting out of Local Authority money? £13 per week is spent on free entry for students and their guests.

What will be the 'Yellow'? If present trends continue, one quarter of British industry will be owned by the US by 2010. What price a war of National Liberation?

Notes from the minutes of a Governing Body of a Cambridge College: a handbook with 34 pages serves for £12.00 from the pension fund and 15/- on credit. Another item: 'It was agreed that an additional portion of £175 per annum be paid to the former Master'.

Management pay in Britain has risen by an average of £200 per person over the last year.

Champion Profitless is world's largest manufacturer in its market a light-bulb with double the normal life: occasional double with a 44% share of the bulb market. 'The A's' really think it's a good idea? — 'Shudder why?'

In this year of economic crisis, British firms spent 12% more on advertising £217 million. How much extra did you spend on imported tobacco this year? Over £1,000 million was spent on advertising last year: approximately seven times the amount so spent on higher education.

Our college in Cambridge was notified that its 'British postcard service' had of the comparatively early age of 66... this corresponded to a wealth of over £1,000 to the fund... the fastest on the whole would be to give £10 a week to postmen over 50'. — David Brown, Director, Governing Body.

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Our recent college council... we do not believe about the conditions of the college voters. The Master Intergroup him to say 'we call this service, not workers, here'.

For those of you who live in Council houses, where the rent has just gone up 36, William, William, really strange expert, and just (leave), has just bought himself 44 acres of land. For £10,000 — just enough for a private golf course. Easy old Sir. Wilson.

5) The paper also carries information about the workings of the local Soc. Soc. and RSSF group — not detailed and directed only at members (this can be done by newsheets) — but of the kind that will interest sympathisers and non-active members. The paper is not tied to any socialist group, and is a forum, not a party paper. If it were, it would not sell.

Most of those running the paper have not been centrally involved in the socialist groups in Cambridge — partly because time prohibits doing both, and partly because of lack of commitment to them, although not necessarily lack of commitment to the ideas which they

the everyday progress of Cambridge politics. For this reason, it has sometimes proved hard to get articles on agitational themes.

None of this is to deny the stimulus which the paper has given to the political scene — but the unresolved question of its relationship with Soc. Soc. etc. is important, as it would be in most universities.

MECHANICS OF THE PAPER.

a) 2500 copies are produced each week. Of this about 2000 are sold to students, 300 to 500 to the town. Sales vary from 2100 to 2500, depending on the number of sellers.

b) We usually print twelve fairly small pages 14" x 10" in size. This size makes layout easy, is easy to read and to carry. Also few printers can accommodate a larger page size.

c) The printers' bill is about £100 a week. We sell about £20-£30 advertising each week at £1 per column inch. If we sell out, at 1/- a copy, sales income is £125 a week. But what with copies unsold, and money not returned by sellers, we usually take about £105 to £110. Overheads — office rent, typewriter hire (IBM £15/15 a month) letaset for headings, cowgum, paper, petrol (access to a car is essential) parking, telephone bills — come to about £20 a week. These figures are approximate but we come out roughly even each week. We started with the sum of £120 collected from dons and students — not too difficult a task. After 12 issues we have £110 in the bank.

d) Equipment needed — not much. We print by photo-offset — i.e., from a photo plate. Each page is pasted out on to a layout sheet, which is photographed and reduced by the printers. Articles are typed to a certain width, for which two reasonably competent typists are needed. Typewriter (electric) essential; letaset, etc. An office capable of holding ten or a dozen people — all working with a large desk space — is essential.

e) Skills — minimal and easy to pick up. Apart from typists, someone who knows how the printing process works, and a couple of layout men.

f) Printers — our paper is sold on Friday mornings, and goes to press from 10.30 Thursday morning until 1.30 that afternoon. Originally we had to work at much more

g) Legal problems — small. Our printers trust us, but it is not a bad thing to form a company (cost £25) though we haven't done so. This may make it easier to find a printer.

h) Selling. We sell through a few dozen street sellers, a stall in the market place, and a few shops (who take a very low commission). We don't give street-sellers a commission but rely on bullying. Hence we have to rely on good weather.

i) Time — production doesn't take long after the first few weeks. We have copy meeting on Saturday, where we decide what to cover, find out features people want to write etc. Material comes in Tuesday and Wednesday. Typing and laying out takes all Wednesday night and Thursday morning: 12 to 16 hours work by 6 or 7 people. Originally we had a small number of people working 30-60 hours a week on the paper, but now we have more people, a regular routine, and (theoretically at least) two teams doing alternate weeks' papers.

j) Admin jobs — a distribution manager must sit around all day co-ordinating selling, and rescue money from sellers. An adman must sell and collect money for advertising. Someone has to pay all the bills, buy equipment. A news co-ordinator is a good idea — we have had as many as five reports on the same boring committee.

The difficulties of starting a paper are usually greatly overestimated. Once we decided we wanted a paper, we had an issue out in two weeks, having collected money, found offices and found printers.

Editors are an irrelevancy — affectively those who sit up all Wednesday night 'edit'. It is unfortunately impossible to make it any more democratic. But one man needs to know where everything will go, check that all the ads go in, make a general plan of layout, and be responsible for negotiation with printers.

One important result of this flexibility is the ability to produce instant free newsheets. After the LSE struggle and Cambridge sit-in, we collected £95 at a mass meeting, and had 7000 4-page newspapers out within about 20 hours. We intend to do the same thing again, this time for distribution on Cambridge's estates, about the nefarious activities of the Tory Council, the rents struggle etc. This time we will be able to do 10,000. By this kind of thing, we can involve people in politics at the local level, and also stimulate interest in the paper.

Finally, a word about duplicated newsheets. Where a base is advanced, they might prove very useful. It is clear, however, that they provide no substitute for a newspaper: they will not reach into the university town nor

ITALY MANDARINS & MAOISTS

The Italian Communist Party is the largest CP in the West. At the last election it polled more than eight million votes, it has deep roots both in the working class, particularly through its trade-union arm, and among intellectuals of all kinds, school and university teachers, writers, cineastes, playwrights, and directors. Its theoretical level has been accounted among the highest in the West — Gramsci, perhaps the supreme example of the militant worker/intellectual, was one of its founders — and in any Italian city, until recently, all 'modern' and 'progressive' theatre clubs had some connection with the party. Yet it is in precisely these areas, of party and electoral politics, of the trade union world, and of the world of cultural and intellectual affairs, that the Maoists have attacked and continue to attack the Party.

It is possible that the next government will be a left-centre coalition (not, as at present, a centre-left one), with the majority held by the Communist Party (PCI). Successive centre-left governments — the present one is the third in two years — have been quite incapable of resolving the difficulties presented by continuing strikes in universities and factories, by ever larger and more militant demonstrations (the most recent and bloody being the welcome for Nixon), and by the general cynicism towards the 'fair' functioning of institutions like banks, law-courts, and hospitals. The government's only answer has been to increase the numbers of police, to equip them with a more repressive technology, and to grant them greater freedom in deciding when to open fire. On the Nixon demonstration, the public had its first view of the police's new space-age equipment: steel helmets with visors of plexiglass and leather chinstraps, long jackets weighted down with metal strips along the hems, and, a final touch by Cecil B. DeMille, long, narrow, centurion-shaped shields of transparent plexiglass, with the word POLIZIA inscribed slantwise across them in letters of gold. The most recent in a long series of murderous shootings by the police on unarmed crowds was the killing of two and injuring of three hundred at Battipaglia, a small town south of Naples, where a sit-in at a tobacco-factory was taking place. It was due to close this summer, and would have been the sixth factory to close down in the town over the last year or so. The best reply the PCI could make was to call for a mere three hour national work-stoppage next day, plus their familiar demand for disarming the police.

With regard to the Party's relations with trade-unions, it would seem, at least to us in England, that the Maoists had less justification for attack. French and Italian trade-unions, though smaller than English ones, have always been considered more highly politicised, and can be mobilised as much for a strike against the Vietnam War, as for shorter hours or better working conditions. This is true. There is also a difference, however, between a political perspective, and a *revolutionary* political perspective. The PCI has naturally never taken the anarcho-syndicalistic line that the trade-unions could be the spearhead of the revolution, but it has also recently failed to press more than economic demands through its union organizations. It has failed to advance the economic argument beyond the well-known levels of more pay, less hours and better conditions. Progressive industrialists, such as Agnelli (Fiat) and Olivetti, are more than capable of absorbing such demands, of even granting such 'revolutionary' ones as regular workers' assemblies in factories, and 'participation' in the running of them.

At a recent meeting of a group typical of many which have sprung up throughout Italy, the Student-Workers Committee of Casoria (a small town near Naples with many large factories), there was a continual insistence by the PCI member of the group on limiting the group's programme to purely economic demands, on basing all energies on trying to get the work-shifts reduced without loss of material benefit. Together with this, for the benefit of the workers present, went a continual self-denigration by the PCI speaker, a maths lecturer, of 'us intellectuals', an apparently progressive move away from the kind of intellectual sterility mentioned above. This line, however, was attacked, and rightly, by several other members of the group. They could see clearly that the perspective of the PCI member was nothing more than State Capitalist, and that this self-denigration was both a disguised form of arrogance and a deliberate attempt to simplify a complex situation in order to remain in control. The workers, present clearly

expected more than this from students who talk so much about a total revolution, but also felt just the kind of uncertainty when confronted with articulate party intellectuals which the PCI man, apparently, was trying to abolish. The opposing group, while not all Maoist, was reacting against the line of the PCI, impelled by the critical atmosphere which has arisen on the left because of the events in China.

The Chinese Cultural Revolution, indeed, is the institution which has had the greatest impact in Italy. What the bourgeoisie calls 'culture', in Italy as in any other Western country, is basically its own class-distorted interpretation and selection of History and Art, imposed on the mass of the population through the educational system, and leaving it, at the end of school, ignorant, angry, and afraid. This 'culture' seems here to be imposed with particular stupidity and rigidity. The exams are eternal and mnemonic, from primary to postgraduate level; all elements of 'pop' culture have had to serve a stiff trial period at the hands of the marketeers and official, hypocritical Morality; and the Church, the political parties, and the advertisers have combined to show a united front towards even the partial criticism of Italy's most sacred, most suffocating, and most backward institution, The Family. Signs of sporadic revolt were already evident in early 1966, with the setting up in Milan of a mixed Hippy-type Commune on the outskirts of the city, and the appearance here and there of the first, courageous boys to wear long hair. These feelings, however, could not long remain in Italy on this individualistic, apolitical level, and it is not hard to see how easy it is for a young Italian to find his own parallels to the targets Mao was trying to destroy in the tremendous upheavals of 1966/68. The Italian Maoists, then, have particularly concentrated on attacking the kind of 'intellectualism' which puts theory in one compartment, and practise in another. Their polemic has been most fierce against the PCI, not only because of the large number of Party theoreticians, but also because of the Party's wide patrimony of theatre and cinema clubs, which created only a self-satisfied cultural elite, convinced, because it saw a film on Revolution, that it was thus helping to Make Revolution. The criticism has been well-made, though at times the Maoists take an over-simplified position, calling *all* culture bourgeois, and so not making the crucial distinction between a culture's *content*, which is as variegated and many-levelled as any society's class-structure, and its *control and presentation* which, in any bourgeois society, will certainly be in the hands of and for the benefit ultimately of the bourgeoisie.

Who are the Maoists? A year ago, apart from the official Communist Party of Chinese inspiration, the PCD'I (founded 1966), one could have found the majority with Maoist sympathies in the vast, heterogeneous; nation-wide Movimento Studentesco (Students' Movement). The Movement was then as now engaged in constant contestation with the authorities and the police over questions of University and secondary-school reform. In February 1968, came the radicalizing experience of the Movement in the 'Battle of Valle' three-hour battle with the police. For the first time, students fired back with their own guns.

The chief organization so far of such militants is the Unione Dei Marxist Leninisti D'Italia. It has sections in Milan, Florence and Rome, and the Naples section is shortly to declare itself. There is constant criticism and self-criticism within all the sections, and a seriousness and secrecy which reflects the growing atmosphere in Italy of repression and fear.

Potentially, every young Italian today, male or female, worker or student, is a Maoist. All which suffocates him or her, be it Party bureaucracy, snotty-nosed academicism, the myths of masculine sexual virility and feminine passivity, priests, mothers, bosses, teachers, prostitutes he can find included but revalued in the vision of society revealed by the social theory and practise of Mao Tse-Tung. Of course, the little red book alone is not going to cause the country's mandarins any less of sleep. What they fear is its application in practise, students really building organizations from within the worker and peasant masses so that finally the organizations are simply Of The People. But the time to build in seems frighteningly short, everyone talks of the need for speed, for in the wings stands the shadow of the second Fascist Italy.

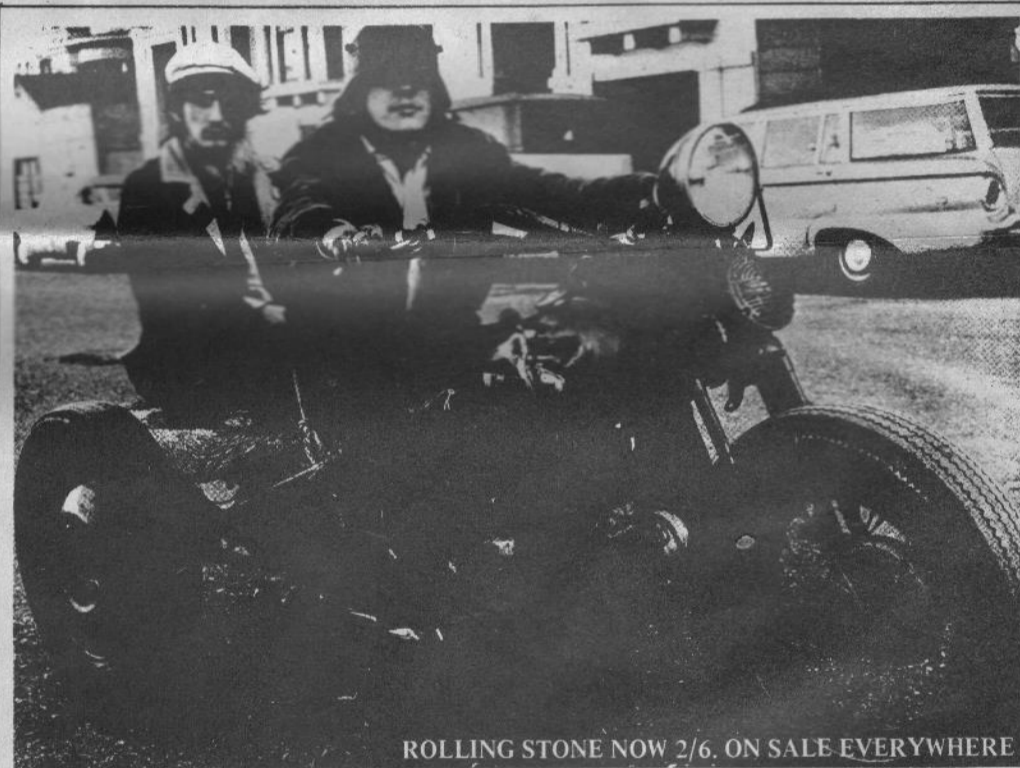
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We have failed to persuade the New Statesman to debate with us on the question of Reform or Revolution. The reason given was that they did not want to face the possibility of being shouted down by a lot of rowdies. Paul Johnson did not attend the historic Dwarf/Tribune debate (where Robin Blackburn made his expulsion speech) but the impression he had received (largely it seems from Alan Brien) was of "a shambles". We played him the tapes of the debate to prove that it was a perfectly orderly and civilised meeting and that the reports he had heard were just a whining attempt to explain away why the reformists had flopped but he was adamant.

Maybe he is right. He would have been a fool to have put his head on the block. The New Statesman is finished anyway. We thought we might do it a favour by giving it some publicity. Why doesn't Harold pack Paul Johnson off somewhere with his ambassadorship and hand the job over to a *real* Tory.

It simply takes Powell's four major speeches — Walsall, Birmingham, Eastbourne and his television appearance with Frost — and meticulously examines them proving that everything he said was just a lot of dangerous old rubbish. True, we always knew that, but here you get it laid out for you point by point. A book to beat saloon bar bigots with.

The police are up to some old tricks again putting three comrades in trouble. Maybe you can help. On the March 30th Vietnam demonstration three imperialist flags were torn down and stolen from the Royal Lancaster Hotel. No one was arrested at the time but now the police have charged three men with "being concerned with others and stealing three flags valued together at £30 the property of the Rank Organisation". Those arrested were Norman Temple, Chairman of the Dem Committee, Robin Shaw, and Rodney Jenkin. They come up for trial on Monday May 5th.

DWARF DIARY

Our candidate for journalistic miss of the year: an article 'The smell of defeat begins to blow away', concerning American successes in South Vietnam, which appeared in the *Economist* on February 22. One day later, the VC launched an offensive which made the US generals look like the greatest stumblebums ever to walk out of West Point.

Not wishing to make mistakes of this kind, *Dwarf* spoke to its informant on Southeast Asian affairs, straight off the plane from Phnom Penh. He had a great deal to say. He had interviewed in Cambodia Nguyen Vanh Hieu, leader of the NLF's diplomatic mission there.

The mission is located in an enormous house in Phnom Penh. Diplomats, emissaries, cadres stream in and out, and the telexes rattle away, putting one into swift contact with every part of the Vietnamese front. Our man spent several hours here, talking to Nguyen Vanh Hieu about every aspect and phase of the war.

'Look', he replied to one of our questions, 'how long do you imagine that a campaign of the size of the Tet offensive takes to engineer, remembering the necessary complexity of supplies, troop movements and the infiltration of Saigon? It took 8 months. In that 8 months, at a conservative estimate, at least 30% of Saigon's population was fully aware of what was happening. What do you call that?' Here we grovelled to find an epithet for that type of Western press reporting which, like the *Economist*, calls Tet 'an almost total fiasco'.

What about Tet this year, then, we asked? Why didn't the NLF come out in full strength and push the Americans into the Gulf of Tonking? Nguyen Vanh Hieu's answer was that the NLF is not so foolish as the Americans seem to expect. The front knew that US forces had been put on 'red alert' - the whole of Southeast Asia knew it. Was it likely, then, with that great American force geared up for battle, the Front would dream of a major confrontation? How much more effective to let the Americans sit scratching their asses, revving up their B52's, wondering where and when the 'inevitable' assault would be launched.

To Nguyen, Tet '68 equalled Dien Bien Phu '54: for Tet had brought about the complete collapse of US military aims. A decision had already been gained; and the NLF must now concentrate, we were told, on avoiding major battles, and enter instead on a phase of military activity designed to press the overall victory home. The strategy is based partly on propaganda, partly on rocket attacks on essential US installations. With the effect of this, the *Dwarf's* man could easily agree: he had spent a lot of time in South Vietnam and was on the spot several times when the VC put rockets in. The accuracy of these rockets is extremely high, hitting target, he says, 'nine times out of ten'. 'Sheer luck', say the American, whenever they are shown proof of the VC's military skill.

The discussion with Nguyen swung around to what the *Economist* terms the degeneration of the war 'into a grisly struggle of underground skulduggery, with no holds barred'. For once, the *Economist* has puts its finger right on the spot - a very black spot. Four years ago the CIA embarked on a terror campaign, 'Phoenix', whose details need spelling out.

In 1965, from the base in Vunh Tau, the CIA began work with 'Revolutionary Development Councils', teams of 59 men who were to go into the villages and spread the gospel, wear black pyjamas, build latrines and hand out the inevitable gum. Attached to each team were three men, called collectively, 'Armed Propaganda'. These men were killers. Just that. Their job was to smell the breeze, find VC sympathisers in the villages, and kill them. After Tet '68 the CIA got a bit depressed about the 'hearts and minds' Pacification Programme and decided that sterner action was needed. So 'Armed Propaganda' got the better of 'Revolutionary Development' and groups

helping the VC. The people thus pointed out are summarily shot.

Nguyen readily admits that the CIA has killed some very important people through the use of this desperate technique. Most of those slaughtered are, however, not in contact with the NLF and are ordinary peasants. They've had the finger laid on them merely because the 'Informer' has to show some results in exchange for those dollars.



Vietnamese Bernadette Devlin seen here winning the war

The professor was notably cagey about replying to the American charge that the NLF is itself killing large numbers of civilians by directing rockets into heavily populated areas. Our man was not satisfied with Nguyen's reluctant explanation that essential military and propaganda exercises required this devastation, but Nguyen's obvious diffidence deterred him from pressing the subject.

He was more forthright on the subject of the mass graves in which the NLF has been widely publicised as having buried thousands of 'their' victims; notably in Hue at Tet. He reminded our reporter that Hue was subject to massive shelling attacks from American 175mm guns which caused enormous loss of civilian life. Again it needed to be said that the NLF in Hue was fighting for its life and that to bury the corpses at all was a mark of care and civilisation which the Americans have consistently neglected by leaving the human debris of their destructive activity scattered all over Vietnam.

Lastly, and with obvious relish, Nguyen talked about the Americans' claim that recent months have seen a dramatic increase in the numbers of 'ralliers' (Vietcong who have gone over to the American side). Our reporter points out that to ask American Intelligence for the whereabouts of these 'ralliers' is to be met with a reply which goes something like, 'Well, I don't know, Joe, they could be anywhere now. After all, they're free men in a free country. Maybe they're farmers or something.' The fact is, that having 'rallied', large numbers of 'ralliers' thereupon vanish. The NLF emissary knows where these men are: they're back fighting with the NLF having deposited a large amount of useless and highly misleading copy in the files of American Intelligence.

The most striking impression with which our reporter left the NLF mission in Phnom Penh was of a highly organised and efficient body (but we knew that already) whose primary aim was to get the message through to the people of the US that their armies had lost the war in Vietnam. It is the main concern of the NLF now to

CLASSIFIED

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STUDENT INTERNATIONAL. Bulletin of Student Power. Available from Murray Smith, 61 Fergus Drive, Glasgow NW. Price 1/3 (post inclusive). Bulk terms available.

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

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EVENTS

SUNDAY MAY 4: NO ARMS FOR NIGERIA: END BRITISH MILITARY IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA. Arms are being shipped from Tilbury docks, among other places. Back the dockers who are opposed to Wilson's blatant support of the Nigerian government. **COME TO TILBURY ON MAY 4.** All details from the ad hoc 4 May Biafra Action Committee. 13 Goodwin St. London N4. tel: 272 5524

SAT MAY 10, 11am - 4pm: HASLEMERE CONVENTION FOLLOW-UP. Holborn Assembly Rooms, Johns Mews, off Theobalds Road, Holborn.

MAY 18: Mass rally Trafalgar Square at 1pm: EQUAL PAY NOW FOR WOMEN CAMPAIGN, Organised by National Joint Action Campaign for Women's Equal Rights, 76 Rainham Road, Rainham, Essex, RM14 7RL. Also, attend meeting at House of Commons in Room 14 on May 1 at 7.30pm and ask your MPs what they are prepared to do in 1969 on the question of equal pay for work of equal value.

SAT MAY 31: ACCORD (Action Campaign to outlaw Racial Discrimination) International Ball. Roundhouse, 7-12pm. Tickets 25/- from Roundhouse Box office or from CCCR, 25 Euston Road, NW1. Artists: John Dankworth, Cleo Laine, Paco Pena, Soft Machine.

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