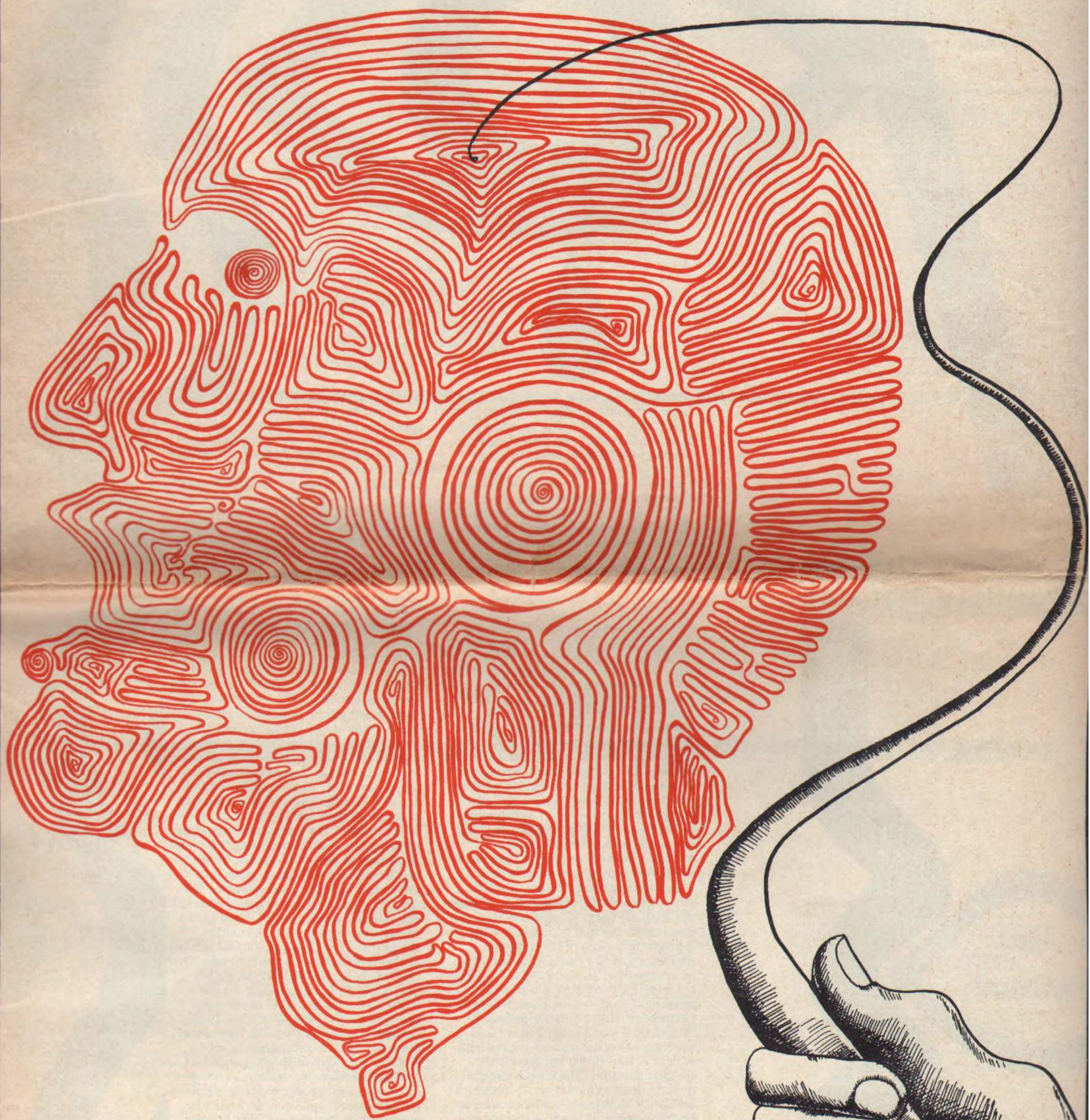


The Red Mole



**COMBAT
THE REPRESSION**

THE REPRESSION

Defend British political prisoners!



The sentences meted out to the Cambridge students for demonstrating against Greek fascism and to the two American students for protesting actively against racism, have brought home to many militants the problems which confront the revolutionary movement in relation to combating bourgeois repression.

The vicious sentences imposed by old Judge Truncheons *nee* Melford Stevenson and his crony in London should not be considered a mere accident. They are conscious efforts on the part of the bourgeois state to try and demoralise and defeat the student movement. It is no coincidence that the trials have lasted for a long time and that the sentences are imposed during the vacation when there can be no massive display of solidarity. Apart from the small but militant demonstration organised by the Spartacus League outside Maudling's house some weeks ago, there has been no active reaction from the revolutionary left. Apart from anything else the increasing repression does rather strongly point out the need for discipline and organisation because all actions in solidarity with the prisoners must be extremely well-planned and carefully executed so as to prevent the increase of political prisoners. The action of the Spartacus League is an excellent example of this and should be multiplied throughout the country.

But the student prisoners are not alone. There is also the question of Black and Irish prisoners to be considered. The response of the Left to the jailing of Bernadette Devlin, the best known spokesman of the Irish oppressed, has been somewhat pathetic and it is precisely this lack of response which gives the green light to the ruling class: if there is virtually no response to the jailing of Devlin, how much easier will it be to imprison other not-so-well-known Irish militants. And this is not merely an abstract question. The harassment suffered by Irish militants active in the Irish Solidarity Movement in this country is on the increase. It is not necessary to repeat what is contained elsewhere in this issue on the oppression of the Black people. The interview on the centre-spread and the report from the Red Circle in Leicester will provide comrades with some indication as to the situation which Black people in this country face regardless of which party happens to be in power.

It is not intended in this brief editorial note to deal in detail with the root causes of this repression, why it is happening now, etc. etc. There will be plenty of time to do that in the coming months. The immediate need is one of discussing how

we are to combat this repression.

In the first place it is worth repeating again that the absence of a revolutionary youth organisation or even a structure like the German or American SDS despite their weaknesses, makes this task a hundred times more difficult. The newly formed Spartacus League is an extremely welcome step, but it is at the moment not able to fill the vacuum which exists in the youth milieu. We would ask those comrades who are seriously interested in revolutionary politics to think in terms of building the Spartacus League as a viable mass revolutionary youth organisation. The time for dilettantism or revolutionary voyeurism is long past. And a relapse into Mao-spontaneism is not exactly what the student movement needs at the moment. The need is for disciplined organisation and until this fact is realised by the more advanced sectors of the student movement it will not be possible to effectively combat this or any future repression.

A united front of militants inside and outside the labour movement is therefore extremely urgent. A Red Defence Committee is needed to coordinate solidarity activity with the political prisoners, but much more than this has to be done. One of the tasks of the Committee would be to get in touch with sympathetic lawyers, to arrange to defend militants, to keep in regular contact with those already in prison and to impress on comrades the need to be security-conscious. Loose talk and bravado is bad enough when a mass movement already exists, but in the absence of one it is sheer stupidity. None of this implies that we are in danger of fascism, Bonapartism, etc. All we are saying is that the suggestions we have made above are basic and elementary principles which should be clear to all socialists. And every political group and tendency should collaborate to set up Red Defence Committees regardless of the fact whether or not they are in agreement with the specific political beliefs of the prisoners in question. In particular, organisations like the Socialist Labour League and the Communist Party should understand the need for a broad-based committee of this sort not only because of the principle involved but also because some of their *militants* might also discover that they are not totally immune to oppression by the bourgeois state.

The Red Mole declares its complete and unconditional solidarity with all British political prisoners and assures them that regardless of whether or not it is possible to set up a Red Defence, in our own small way we will do all that we can to organise a meaningful solidarity.

Red
Defence!

LEICESTER

How the Police Protect Paisley

On Thursday 25th June, Paisley visited Leicester to "preach" at the Melbourne Hall. This visit had nothing to do with politics, he informed the "Leicester Mercury" and neither did he anticipate any trouble. His host, a Dr Gurr was obviously less sure as he made sure that Paisley was safely inside the hall in time for tea, long before likely demonstrators would be home from work. Police were on duty outside.

At about 7.30p.m. when people were beginning to assemble outside the doors, the police guard had strengthened and had been reinforced by a number of stewards wearing National Front badges. Dr Gurr later expressed 'surprise' and maintained that it wasn't officially organised. In any case, we were told, the hall was full. Despite this people known to the stewards were still being allowed in.

By the time the service began several hundred people had gathered outside the hall: Catholics, mostly Irish, students, some members of the Black People's Liberation Party and of course the inevitable and ubiquitous red moles! Gradually our ranks swelled as curious local residents came out, disgusted listeners left the service or were thrown out in evangelical indignation.

Police Attack BLACK Demonstrators

Paisley spoke for a long time. The crowd outside waited in groups on the pavement, the road or the church forecourt, while children played football and the police and their agents wandered about, apparently having no objection to such large numbers of people causing an obstruction.

At last the service finished. The congregation left, seemingly indifferent to us, and were not molested. The police were playing it cool for the moment. The car intended for Paisley's get-away had been waiting at the back of the hall and once the congregation had left, attention was centred there. Police reinforcements

arrived with a black maria. It was obvious that the crowd was capable of preventing Paisley from leaving unnoticed in spite of the fact that the hall has five outside entrances.

A real diversion was called for. The service had been finished nearly an hour. The police now decided that the people masses outside for the last three hours had now become an obstruction. They chose a very young West Indian boy, who was standing with his back against the wall of the church as their first victim. Intervention from friends standing near him prevented this, but within minutes four arrests had been made. Three of those arrested were black people, all of them in a quite arbitrary and brutal fashion. Those arrested were beaten in the van and then later at the station, one so seriously that his screams could be heard in the charge room and other cells. Lennox Miller gave the following account of his experiences:

"I was standing on the low wall at the back of the church with some other people. About three or four policemen were inside the church yard. One of them told me that I was blocking the pathway. I questioned his judgement by pointing out exactly where I was, i.e. on the wall. He then requested that I remove myself from the wall. I did so by descending on to the pavement where other people were standing. I noticed one of the police nod to his colleagues. Then they descended from the churchyard onto the pavement. I was told to 'move on' and was more or less shepherded in a direction up Earl Howe street. I complied by walking a couple of yards in this direction, which the police were facing, since a move in the other direction towards them might have been misconstrued as a direct physical confrontation. Having walked several yards in the original direction, I started to walk back to where some friends of mine were. This was also the general direction of my home. The police made a rush towards a friend and myself. The next thing I knew, I was being frog marched, arms violently twisted behind my back, head almost held to the point of strangulation, towards a waiting black maria parked some yards down Melbourne Road by at least four policemen.

On the way to the police van my spectacles were removed and smashed, inadvertently or otherwise. The doors of the van were open and I was slung, head first into the van, onto the floor. I was then subjected to the atrocities and humiliation of being punched and kicked several times during the journey to Charles Street Police Station, despite the fact that I was not struggling, this being precluded by the manner in which my arms were pinned and both legs twisted violently in a plait.

On reaching the station, I was half carried to the entrance. My arms were so violently twisted behind my back that I remarked that I was not struggling so why the unnecessary show of brutal force. At this point my arms were even more violently twisted. On entering the station, I was immediately set upon by at least two policemen, not directly concerned with the arrest, but presumably on station duty. (I was still restrained while this was going on). I was boxed and punched in the eye. Without any relaxation of the physical pressure I was carried towards the cells. On reaching the door with the iron grill, the policemen with the keys to this door lagged some way behind. One of the policemen said, 'Let's push him through', i.e. through the grill. At this point I was made into a human battering ram and projected head first at the grill. I managed to cushion the impact with my shoulder, at which point one of the policemen got hold of my hair and proceeded to bang my head against the grill. The door was then unlocked and I was taken towards a cell which was unlocked, the mattress immediately removed and I was thrown onto the wooden bunk. I was then subjected to further violence in the form of the policeman getting hold of both my arms and violently striking my forearm across their knees, as if the intention was to effect a fracture. The acute painful physical violence ceased. I was so shaken that I was trembling like a leaf in a force ten gale.

I simply couldn't believe what had just taken place. It all seemed a horrible nightmare so far removed from reality and made me wonder how much more vindictive the police could actually be. I was searched, my belt, jacket and shoes removed, and I was left in the cell. I enquired of one of the policemen leaving the cell on the possibility of making a phone call. THIS WAS DENIED ME.

Later on a policeman came and took details of my name, etc. At about 12.30 a.m. a policeman came, unlocked the cell door, told me to put my shoes and jacket on and then proceeded to a desk where I was formally charged with obstructing the pavement, my belongings returned and I was released on £10 self-bail to appear in court on the same morning. I pointed out to the police that my glasses had been smashed but they denied responsibility."

It is necessary to note that of those arrested only the black people were brutalised by the police. When it comes to any confrontation between the workers, minorities or under-privileged groups and even a publicly acknowledged, reactionary hate-monger such as Paisley, the police always know which side they're on and it isn't ours.

Leicester Red Circle

STATEMENT FROM THE BLACK PEOPLES' LIBERATION PARTY, LEICESTER

Once again the British racist police were seen in action in Leicester, this time defending Ian Paisley, by attacking black people who were in a minority of a crowd of anti-Paisleyites. The police found it impossible to get Paisley out of Melbourne Hall without creating some kind of diversion. This took the form of a sudden attack on black people.

Six people were arrested, three of whom were black. All the black people were beaten up quite viciously.

The Black Peoples' Liberation Party pledges itself to fight relentlessly for justice and equality and to defend all black people in Leicester from racist attacks by the police or from any other quarter. We deplore this blatant police brutality and shga shall use all means available to us to expose the police to black people as protectors of capitalism, imperialism and fascism.

LEFT UNITY

(Some weeks ago the national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, Gerry Healy, had some discussions with leading members of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Since then the SLL organ, WORKERS PRESS, has published a report on the subject. For the benefit of comrades we publish below a statement on the subject issued by the United Secretariat.

We would also draw to the attention of readers a new pamphlet which the British section of the Fourth International, IMG, has recently brought out. This explains in some detail the political and methodological differences between the two organisations. The pamphlet, THE CREDIBILITY GAP—The Politics of the SLL, is available for 5/- from RED BOOKS, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1)

Healy's Request to Discuss Unification Possibilities

At the end of April, Gerry Healy, the national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, asked to talk with Pierre Frank, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

In the following weeks, two conversations were held which included other members of the two organisations.

Comrade Healy raised the question of organising a mutual discussion that might open the way to the Socialist Labour League and its French sister organisation, the Organisation Trotskyiste, unifying with the Fourth International.

It should be noted that this move by Com-

rade Healy stands in strong contrast with the slanderous attacks that have constantly appeared in the press of the SLL and the O.T. against outstanding figures of the Fourth International, with the systematic refusal to engage in common actions in Britain and France, even in defending victims of repression by imperialism or Stalinism, and with the claim to be "reorganising" the Fourth International.

In addition to this, it should be noted that on a whole series of political issues the SLL and O.T. have not modified the very sharp differences they have expressed for years in opposition to the Fourth International.

Under these circumstances, unification is not a realistic perspective.

The Fourth International is, of course, in favour of unifying revolutionary forces wherever possible on a principled basis. We are therefore prepared to re-examine the question of the SLL and O.T. unifying with the Fourth International if objective evidence should show that this is feasible.

The SLL and O.T. might well begin this process by beginning to discuss their political and theoretical differences with us in a frank and comradely way, without the use of slander or falsifying the positions we hold, and by beginning to engage in common actions on such elementary questions as the defence of victims of the class struggle.

SAU

SCHOOLS ACTION UNION—LEAFLET RAID ON ST. DUNSTAN'S COLLEGE, CATFORD

On the morning of July 11, 1970, twenty members of London SAU ran madly about trying to make themselves look "respectable" enough to blend with the invited guests for Speech "Open" Day. One of our girls actually went so far as to buy an elegant summer straw hat, priced 15/- from C & A, which she said she'd re-sell to her bourgeois friends. No one wore the detested school uniform except our boys inside St. Dunstan's who were not to be involved in the action, although they had proposed it. We were eleven in number from five schools, including five girls, plus eight inside St. Dunstan's.

We had nine genuine invitations, and two faked ones. About six of us got into the Great Hall, the rest into the small hall for the overflow boys and guests.

The pompous proceedings began with all standing for the Governors and Headmaster who filed down the centre aisle on which was a deep red carpet which was very worn. Heavenly music was played over an organ for atmosphere. Two closed-circuit TV cameras were in operation for those inside the smaller hall. The Headmaster opened with the usual tripe about the school's academic and sports achievement which really amounted to nothing and he then launched into an attack against the previous government's attempt to compel the local authorities to go comprehensive which he described as "dictatorial" and "monolithic". He had high praise for Mrs. Thatcher and Tory policy on education and said it was sad that ILEA was withdrawing scholarships for twenty-five places which would make the school go private unless Mrs. Thatcher came to the rescue. It was when he made the remark that private schools offer a better quality education

that our action started.

One of our group jumped to his feet and shouted: "Rubbish! Comprehensives provide a much better education." (He ought to know—he goes to a public school!) This was the signal for the rest of our members inside and outside the Great Hall to start leafletting and making speeches. "Ah!" said the Headmaster, "The Schools Action Union, I believe," keeping his cool. Some applause from boys. I took three quick photos in a very bad light while stewards including two women bouncers dragged our members out. Two men grabbed me and started to pull me towards the door. I succeeded in freeing my hands and pulled out a pad and pencil, protesting: "I'm from the Press" (Co-op photo agency, actually) "I shall make a complaint to the Press Council. (1) What's your name?" to one of the men. The poor fool responded: "Robertson... Robertson." I found out later that he was head

of the school's military corps.

We heard from our comrades inside that a black maria arrived just after we had left. The Speech Day proceedings, boring as usual, went on as planned, but we had made an impact because everyone present was talking about us afterwards. We are hoping for new members for St. Dunstan's. Our march the next day was not well-attended, possibly partly due to the Irish civil rights march demanding the release of Bernadette Devlin (SAU have written a letter of support to her agent) and also to the fact that it was a hot summer's day. I feel that the action we pulled off at St. Dunstan Dunstan's is far more important than a march and expect that the idea will be taken up by SAU in other parts of London and throughout Britain.

From: Press Officer, SAU, London Region, 13 Wood Ride, Orpington, Kent, BR5 1PZ.

Comrades will have realised that we are only producing monthly 12-page Moles during July and August. We will resume our fortnightly schedule from September 15th.

As you know we have not let this fact hamper our coverage of important struggles. We have produced 4-page Broadsheets to deal with the General Election, Greece, Ireland and the Dock

Strike. The broadsheet on Ireland has been completely sold out and we have had to reprint the Docks broadsheet. These broadsheets have enabled activist comrades to intervene fairly successfully in the struggles concerned and even after we resume our fortnightly schedule we will continue to produce them whenever the need arises. We apologise to those of our subscribers who did not receive the

earlier broadsheets and assure them that there will not be a repetition of this. The number of Red Circles, too, is on the increase and some militants actively engaged in the Irish struggle are in the process of setting up an Irish Red Circle. Those interested should write for more details.

In the coming autumn we will be starting a series of educational classes at the centre (182, Pentonville Road, N.1) on

basic and not-so-basic Marxist theory. These classes will be open to all members of Red Circles and the members of the Spartacus League: for other comrades there will be a small charge so as to enable us to meet the costs incurred in setting this up. A detailed list of discussions is in the process of being prepared and will be published in the next issue of The Red Mole.

LETTERS

From Irish comrades in a British prison

[This letter has been received from two Irish comrades who are political prisoners of British Imperialism. In printing it we stress once again our solidarity with them and refer comrades to editorial in current issue.]

Dear friends:

As we are political prisoners in an English jail it gives us great encouragement to see our circumstances defined and uniformly exposed in all revolutionary publications and particularly *The Red Mole*. This, we are eternally grateful for, as it is a tremendous source of inspiration to know that we are by no means forgotten.

There are times, however, that we are embarrassed and disappointed at seeing us referred to as the "Irish movement" in such a way as if our struggle was different from other liberation struggles throughout the world. Although we do admit that national liberation is usually an initial objective, we have never taken our ultimate goal as divorced from an international perspective, as we see a blow struck against capitalism and Imperialism anywhere in the world as a step nearer liberation for the working class.

We are happy to see that Tony Soares is free once more, thus enabling him to carry on his revolutionary work. We note with appreciation the tremendous work carried out by the various release committees, but would like to see them co-ordinated under one directorate as the need for more effective action in this line is becoming more apparent.

There can be little doubt that the "law and order" regime have fired their first shots in Cambridge last week. Not only are revolutionaries threatened with imprisonment, but the basic freedoms that workers have fought so hard to preserve, are also in danger. Workers must awaken to the fact that they have no allies in Parliament; that their phoney representatives will be only muttering piously from the opposition benches as shackles are being prepared to further enslave them.

We draw to a close by saying that no section of the working class can call itself free while their brothers elsewhere are being held in bondage. We send fraternal greetings to all our comrades outwith these walls and we reaffirm our position by saying to our Scottish, Welsh, English, Greek, Brazilian, African, etc., fellow internees that our struggle can not be divorced from yours.

UNITE TO FIGHT OUR COMMON ENEMY.

fraternally yours,

Conor Lynch, Co. Cork (7 year sentence)
Gerry Doherty Co. Monaghan (4 yr sentence)

A complaint

Dear Red Mole,

It is a minor irritation to have one's book, predominantly about the overall relationships of science and society, particularly in Britain, reviewed under a general heading of "The Politics of American Science". It is rather more disturbing though for the development of an autonomous socialist culture in this country to find an increasing tendency among reviewers on the left to write anonymously or pseudonymously. This would be legitimate tactics if the reviewer or the paper in which we were writing were underground, or he was in danger of arrest, deportation or even the sack. As in this case the reviewer is a tenured professor of mathematics at one of the country's more sedate institutions, it seems sheer affectation.

But to the substance. Your reviewer (whoops, we nearly mentioned his name) implies that we maintain that the contradictions of science under capitalism could be solved if only scientists were men of goodwill working on good things. In fact we argue precisely the reverse: "No structure can survive which relies upon the unsupported ethical integrity of the individual professional." We make clear that if we are to achieve a man-centred science it is social structures and goals which need changing. But this brings us to the crux of the argument.

It is easy for armchair revolutionaries, safe in their university tenure to sit back and quote Engels, as does your reviewer, on "the need for a complete revolution in our existing mode of production." But he appears to feel that quotation is absolute and he no longer has to concern himself with how far present day scientific and technological innovations are transforming the economic base of capitalist society. Thus absolved he can maintain a distinction "between pure science, applied science and technology." The advantage of this mystification of pure science, a most un-Marxist attempt to erect a superstructure free of a base at all, is that what pure science is done becomes irrelevant, of no concern to socialists at all. It is certainly comforting to your reviewer to maintain this position as it has enabled him to justify at a CBW teach-in his department's

are all pure science, ofcourse, and he may publish his results, so who worries?

Come, come anonymous professor. Don't be so naive. The relationship between science, technology and society is neither simple nor direct. There is a measure to which science forms both "base" and "superstructure". It is a dynamic of societal change as well as being driven by it. These relationships we discuss in our book as the "inner" and "outer" logics of science. It is a pity that many Marxist scientists have in fact given up debate on the neutrality of science, surrendered to the myth of its ideology-free content. This is particularly true within the Soviet Union where the reaction to the failure of attempts of the 1930's to create a "socialist biology" etc. and the bitter and brutal aftermath was particularly sharp. We need to examine this view of science as ideologically free view of science as ideology-free, and the task is certainly not intellectually trivial.

There is a grave danger that this task will be shirked. It is easier to sloganise about revolution and its cleansing qualities, or to mistake an attack upon the bourgeois values with which science is taught for an attack on the bourgeois values of science itself, than to engage in this particular debate. It is in order to try to open this debate amongst socialist tendencies that we feel it worth commenting within a socialist journal on even so trivial a review as that our professorial comrade achieved.

Steven Rose
Hilary Rose

Once again, the Labour Party!

Dear Editor,

I must write to dispute the political analysis contained in your editorial of July 1970.

You state: "For the workers the recent electoral victory of the Conservative Party represents a marginal set-back." On the contrary there is no setback and for the following reasons:

First what has been proved by two terms of Labour in office does not require a third term; and anything which has not been proved by five and a half years of Labour government is not likely to be proved by ten years of Labour gov.

Secondly, had the Tories not been elected the real nature of the two-party system would have become obscured. We shall now see whether the Tories can hang on to East of Suez, reduce taxes, curb inflation, put value back on the pound, expand production at a greater rate, etc. None of these things is likely to come to pass because British Imperialism is in sharp decline and this government, like the last, will be forced to continue with policies which were adopted as a consequence of that decline.

Thirdly, there are some people whose political activity is inhibited when Labour is in office, although the number of such people grew steadily less during the period of the Labour government. Now that the Tories are back these people can resume their full political struggle.

You say that "...a Labour Party in opposition will once again be able to sustain the illusion that it is the only alternative to Toryism and in the absence of a real alternative it will not be easy to combat this illusion." But it is no illusion. It is a FACT that the Labour Party is the only alternative to Toryism in Parliament and hence in government. Indeed, it is likely that these two parties will go on alternating until the end of British capitalism. A revolutionary party, the 'real alternative' you mention, is, by definition, non-parliamentary. Its purpose would be to overthrow the British state and establish socialism.

Your first paragraph ends with "a Labour victory would have been preferable." In that case your next logical step would be to campaign for a Labour victory. The whole of your editorial shows your disappointment that the Labour Party did not win.

You complain that "we seem to have the worst of both worlds". A massive Tory victory could have the effect of provoking some sort of struggle inside the ranks of the Labour Party against the right-wing policies of the leadership." But in 1931, 1935, 1951, 1955 and 1959 the Labour Party suffered considerable defeats. And what happened? The only significant result was the emergence, in the 1950's of the trend known as Bevanism. And look how they finished up! Bevan himself ended his career by meekly joining the right-wing leadership.

It is a pity that you place such hopes upon the Labour Party because history shows that British working people have nothing durable to gain either from the Labour Party or from Labour governments. If our future is to rest with the Labour Party then these islands will become a miserable, poverty-stricken, backwater stagnating at Europe's back door. If, on the other hand, left-wing revolutionaries can realise the opportunities that will soon be open to them, Britain may, one day, be able to show the world an example of an enlightened socialist society.

The Editor.

Dear Sir,

Information has reached us from Kenya that three of the political detainees are very seriously ill. They are: Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, R. Achieng Onoko, and Ondiek Chillo.

We also learn that another detainee, O. Ma' Kanyengo, has been on a hunger strike against his continuing detention. Mr. Ma'Kanyengo was the General Secretary of the Petroleum Workers' Union and the Assistant Secretary of the Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU), the Kenyan equivalent of the British TUC.

None of the detainees in Kenya have committed any crime or been charged with any offence against the law. They have been detained since October last year because they were leaders of the Kenya People's Union, which is now proscribed, and advocated socialist policies similar to those being carried out by other governments in East Africa; but dissimilar to the policies of the Kenya government.

At the time of their detention they had a constitutional and legal right to organise the Kenya People's Union. Among those arrested were all of the KPU elected members of Parliament and the Party's Principal officers.


The conditions in which the detainees are held are no different from those which are suffered by convicted criminals. In some respects they are worse. They are given a diet of two meals daily, mainly of boiled beans; they spend 17½ hours out of 24 confined to their cells; they have inadequate exercise; and they are denied newspapers, radio or any other means of knowing what is going on in the outside world. For educated men previously accustomed to living an active public life such conditions are extremely injurious to the health, both physically and mentally.

The Government of Kenya would like to take the view that its political detention and its general suppression of democratic and human rights is a domestic matter in which non-Kenyans should not interfere. But Kenya is a member of the United Nations and a subscriber to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of the Organisation of African Unity, of the Commonwealth, of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and of other international bodies, and as such cannot isolate itself from world public opinion. The people of Kenya are restricted in what they are able to do in this matter and a special responsibility therefore rests on people outside who enjoy democratic freedoms to do everything possible on behalf of the victims of political repression.

We appeal to your readers to use every possible means of protesting to President Kenyatta and the Government of Kenya and to demand the immediate release of these men whose very lives are now in danger.

Yours sincerely,
Akelo Ouma, Secretary, ODINGA SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE, 51 Patshull Road, London NW5.

We have received an extremely interesting letter on Marxists and the Nationalist Question from a Male reader in Scotland. We will be



Leviathan

Revolutionary Politics and Culture

COMING:
• Special issue on Women • The League of Revolutionary Black Workers
• The U.S. Economy in Crisis • Laos, Cambodia, Thailand/Pacific Imperialism

SUBSCRIBE! Trial sub to Leviathan, \$1.00 for 3 issues. \$5.00 per year (\$5.50 in Canada). Single issues 50 cents. Send for FREE SAMPLE copy. Make checks payable to: LEVIATHAN 968 Valencia St. San Francisco, Calif. 94110

TARGET—The Busman's Newsletter. A monthly magazine produced by a group of rank-and-file busmen to help organise the struggle for better pay and conditions and against any productivity deals, to fight the deterioration in public transport as a service, and struggle for workers' control.

If you are interested—or want a sample copy—write to A. D. Roberts, 16 Prentis Road, London S.W.16.

Middle East for Revolutionary Socialism. Latest issue (No. 3) obtainable from Peter Gowan, c/o 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1., 1/5 p.p. Subscription £1 per year from M.E.R.S., 3 Beachwood Ave., London N.3.

SPARTACUS, journal of the Spartacus League (formerly MARXIST YOUTH JOURNAL). Copies obtainable from Alan Lenton, 22 Berners Street, Leicester, 1/6 each. Subs. 15/- for 12 issues, 8/- for 6, post free. (Cheques payable to A.J. Lenton). Last issue of Marxist Youth Journal (No. 4) still available from same address.

Cinematics. A radical forum of theoretical writing on the cinema. Third issue—discussions between Godard, Solanas, Straub, Rocha, Jancso and Clementi in an all-out attack on the industry. 117 Hartfield Road, London S.W.19. 2/6 in stamps.

Student Christian Movement announces the appointment of a COMMUNICATIONS SECRETARY and an ENGLISH (PROJECTS) SECRETARY to work as a team outside London (probably Manchester)—the first responsible for visiting active groups, publications and popularising issues; the second for stimulating projects (especially community action) encouraging theological thinking arising from issues, and keeping groups and individuals in contact. In each case salary £675 (single person) £775 (married man) plus expenses, free accommodation and services of shared secretary. Closing date for applications 30th July 1970. Write for application form to Administrative Secretary, Student Christian Movement, Annandale, North End Road, London N.W.11.

Manual of the Urban Guerrilla—detailed description of urban guerrilla tactics by Carlos Marighella, one of the greatest urban guerrillas. 4/- inc. postage from The Red Mole, Box 8/1.

RED BOOKS

Open Monday—Friday at 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. (Tel: 01-837 9987). Wide stock of general Marxist literature. Visit the bookshop, or send s.a.e. for a catalogue.

Now Available for the First Time in Decades!

KARL MARX on THE EASTERN QUESTION—Reprint of Letters Written 1853-1856 Dealing with the Events of the Crimean War. Edited by Eleanor Marx Aveling & Edward Aveling. £9 9s.

Obtainable from RED BOOKS, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. (01-837 9987).

THE CREDIBILITY GAP—The Politics of the S.L.L. by Tony Whelan. A new pamphlet analysing the methodology of the Socialist Labour League.

An I.M.G. Publication, price 5/-. Available from Red Books, 182 Pentonville Road, Lon-

18 MONTHS IN PRISON



Interview with Tony Soares, prominent black militant, one of the founder-members of UCPA, (Universal Coloured Peoples' Association) who has just spent 18 months in prison on a 2 year sentence.

Can you tell us first about the circumstances in which you were arrested?

The circumstances arose from a leaflet distributed prior to the October 27th demonstration of 1968 organised by the VSC. Apparently there was a leaflet going around parts of which detailed something about street tactics to be used at the demonstration. My charge related to alleged distribution of this leaflet, and another published by the UCPA which merely called on all black people to join in a militant riotously; that was count number one. Count number two was inciting persons unknown to carry offensive weapon; count three was issuing threatening writing, or something like that, which was dropped. **What were the actual circumstances in which you were arrested?**

I was arrested a month after the alleged offence and after the demonstration itself. Three pigs from the special branch were waiting for me as I came out of work and they said they'd got a warrant for my arrest on a charge of incitement. They came and searched my room without a search warrant, and took a lot of stuff, including leaflets, papers, some ball-bearings, some paint, some pieces of wood and some powder; apparently they were looking for explosive, which I didn't have.

And do you think they planted them?

They planted the leaflets.

Had you written the leaflets?

No. I had only written a note on the leaflets; I picked up the leaflets at a meeting at the Regent Street Polytechnic and I made a little note on it and soon after the meeting I gave them to a bloke, who must have either given them to the Guardian or to the police, I don't know.

What did the leaflets say?

Well the major part of the leaflet was really a question of whether to march to the Grosvenor Square Embassy or not; the offending section, which was entitled tactics, was about linking arms, throwing stones at the police, Molotov cocktails, that was all. It wasn't really significant, not really I think of great importance. There were several other leaflets going round of that nature.

What about the trial?

The main issue at the trial was not the actual facts of the case but my political beliefs. Initially there was only one charge at the magistrate's court; I was supposed to have incited persons unknown to carry offensive weapons. At the beginning the police were prepared to have it dealt with at the magistrate's, but for some reason or other, the magistrate wouldn't have it, and he sent it up to the Old Bailey.

He presumably wanted a longer sentence.

Yes. He also said he had never come across a charge like that before, and he was not competent to handle it. But at the trial the police brought one police witness, a policewoman who said that she saw me give out the leaflet about tactics and another which just called on all black people to demonstrate—attend the demonstration. She said I gave it out at a meeting at which there were only three black people. There were eye-witnesses who had testified there were no leaflets handed out at all at that particular meeting in fact there were some people from the BBC present who were willing to testify. But the issue in the court was that the judge started questioning me about the leaflet, and also made an issue of having found some ball-bearings in my house which had nothing to do with the demonstration at all; nothing to do with the charge either because the charge was not carrying offensive weapons; the charge was inciting others to carry offensive weapons. It was really a farce, at the trial, I think it was a foregone conclusion that I would be sent down. I was refused bail during the trial even though I had had bail for the past five months.

Did you have lawyers?

Yes, there was a lawyer, but he wasn't good. He was one of the arselickers you know who tried to convince me to plead guilty for something I hadn't done, which I refused, and he wasn't happy about it.

Why didn't you try to get somebody better if he tried to convince you to plead guilty.

case. At that time I was extremely busy organising the January demonstration for the Commonwealth prime ministers' conference, so I didn't have time to sort this legal matter out, but of course my impression was the charge was so simple and so ridiculous, something I hadn't done, I would probably pay a fine and get finished with it. As it turned out they seized on the opportunity to put me inside.

Was there a jury?

Oh yes there was a jury but it was an all white jury; and the way the judge summed it up, he more or less directed them to find me guilty and they took only a short time to do so, a very short time. In fact the directing was totally against me and when I appealed, the appeal judge noticed that the judge appeared to be adverse to the applicant. But he said the matter was left to the jury, so there was no error in law, therefore he could not do anything.

The jury was told in effect to convict you because you were the kind of person who might have handed out these leaflets?

Yes, in fact the judge said this man's political convictions are such that he cannot be telling the truth.

And why do you think that they decided to arrest you and finally to send you down for two years on an unproven technical charge?

I think, first of all, the fact that the special branch actually arrested me and conducted this case and the local police were not involved, shows that it was part of a plan from probably high up; and it fitted into a pattern in which UCPA members were being picked up on various charges. At that time Obi Egbuna's trial had just finished. It was part of a systematic campaign to intimidate and harrass the leadership of the UCPA, as it existed then.

Do you think they had a realistic estimation of the dangers of UCPA?

I suppose the fact that they treated you in that way is a tribute to the strength and organisation of the UCPA. **Do you think they had a realistic estimation of the dangers of UCPA? I suppose the fact that they treated you in that way is a tribute to the strength and organisation of the UCPA.**

There was a lot of following for the UCPA; it was very popular among the black masses, and they turned out for the UCPA in a way they never did for any other left wing movement or organisation at that time. It had enormous potential; it was capable of arousing the masses, and this is something that they realised very quickly, as they realised after the first incident that happened in 1967, when 200 black people surrounded a police station in Hyde Park. Soon afterwards four brothers were picked up on charges of inciting to racial hatred under Section 6 of the Race Relations Act, and they were fined for talking in Hyde Park about this. After that there were other people arrested on charges like assault and then of course there was Obi Egbuna's case and I was arrested; and recently there have been quite a lot of people arrested.

Do you think the policy of intimidating the leaders of UCPA was effective from the authorities' point of view?

Well I don't know what they set out to achieve but it certainly wasn't effective from our point of view. None of us have been intimidated, maybe a few have dropped out, but on the whole the black power organisations are continuing fairly strong, gaining more members all the time. In fact it won't be long before we have a very strong national movement, unique in the history of black people in Britain.

Will this be UCPA? Or the Panthers? or another organisation?

I wouldn't like to comment on that, you see, because the policies have changed since I have been in prison; I have been out of touch. I would say that a movement should be judged by its response from the people. If the UCPA is getting a response from the black people, then UCPA could be the movement of the future; but if it's the Panthers who are getting not only a response from the people but also special attention from the pigs, then it must be that the Panthers are taking the right line and the masses are responding to them and the establishment is also responding to the situation.

Do you think the Panthers are getting a

rather than on Marxist slogans?

Well, the main contradiction to black people here is certainly racism. To them the oppressor is white. The class oppressor and the race oppressor coincide here, because the great majority of the black people here are workers. There is no such thing as a black bourgeoisie, only a few individuals; there are people who are imperialist-minded, they would like to be imperialists, they would like to be the bourgeoisie; but they are not the bourgeoisie, they do not have the means to be this: they are not given opportunities because the bourgeoisie and the whole imperialist set-up is a very exclusive club, and the black man who is bourgeois-minded is forced to realise this. You see the great majority of the people here are working class, so to them the bourgeoisie is white the oppression is white, and they not only suffer from class oppression but also from racial oppression from the white working class, from their own workmates. You can expect them to unite with the white worker when the white worker turns round all the time and tells them to get back where they come from.

So far the black organisations have mobilised people in communities and not so much in industry, they haven't attempted to use the industrial power of the black people?

The Asian comrades, Indians and Pakistanis, have organised industrially quite a lot. The Indian Workers Association is doing some very good work among foundry workers in the Midlands and the Pakistani comrades from the Black Peoples Alliance are also doing a lot of excellent work among the workers in Bradford and other places. It won't be long I think before we reach a stage where we'll be able to organise the West Indians workers. But one thing you must understand, our main contradiction here is white racism. Also we have contradictions among our own society; there are black landlords, this kind of thing; but compared to what we are suffering from the racist set up in this country these are minor I think.

And what about prison? Can you tell us something about the conditions in prison?

Well, I was first in Wormwood Scrubs; it's a real shit hole, you know, a dungeon. There is no other word to describe it. You have three in a cell, it's overcrowded, the food is totally inedible, and the screws are beasts. The first week I was there, there was a minor riot; just somebody setting fire to their cell and turning their water taps on, you know, things like that. We were kept four days "banged up" as they call it, locked up; no exercise, no work, nothing. We were in the cells for 23½ hours a day. The whole atmosphere was very bad in Wormwood Scrubs; there was a lot of trouble and the screws were very vicious.

Were they particularly vicious against you?

No not against me; against black people, yes. I wasn't singled out or anything.

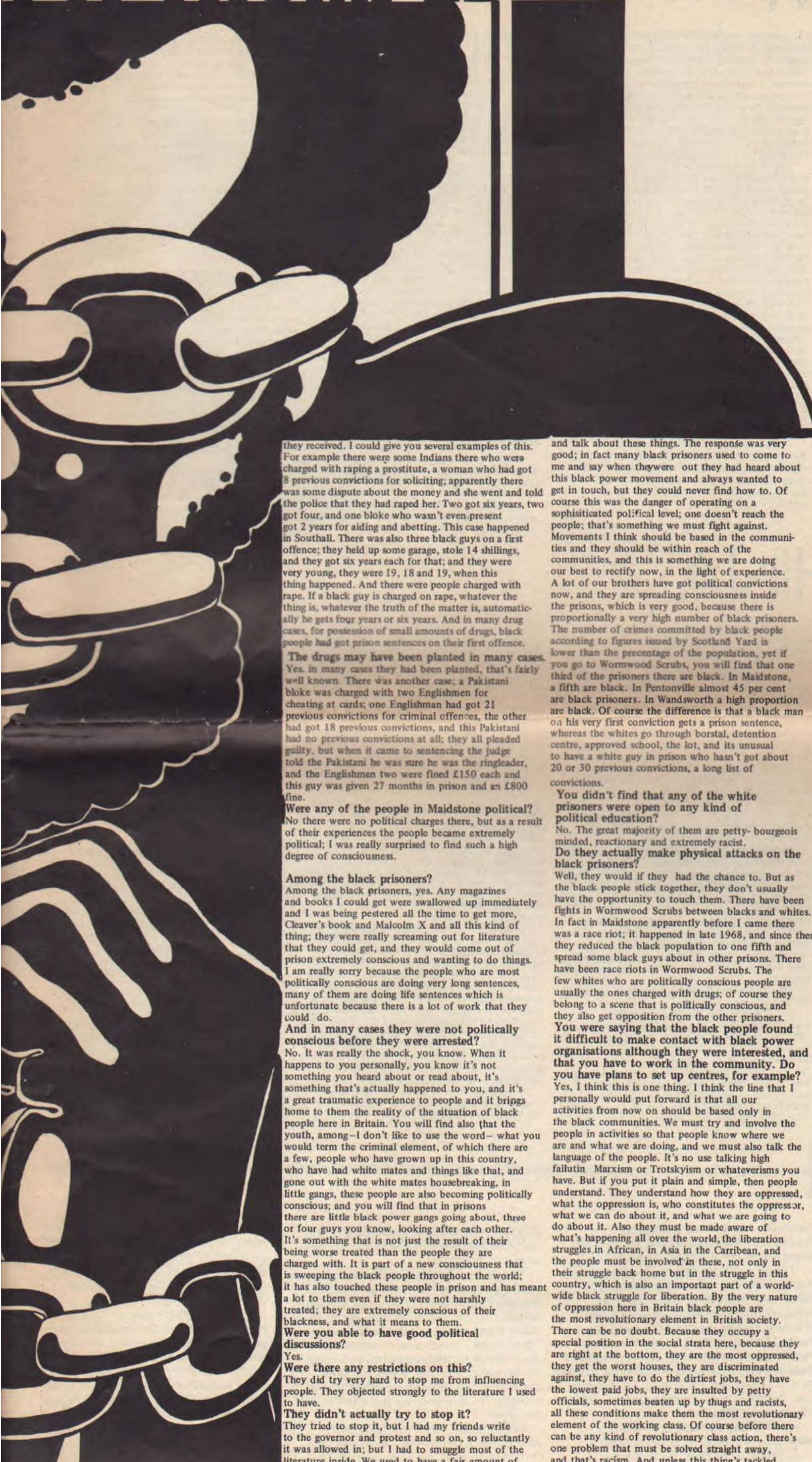
Then you were transferred to Maidstone?

Yes. Maidstone was better. The screws were local people. The deputy governor and the governor were pigs, particularly prejudiced against black people, so that if you went in for any minor offence they took remission off you. And when a white bloke who was under treatment for aggressive tendencies went to fight with a black chap who did his best to avoid a fight the black guy lost a month's remission over that. Black guys find they have little chance of parole or hostel; if you are doing really long sentences, you are normally entitled to hostel the last few months, but very few black guys actually got this and very few black guys got parole. In Maidstone in particular the system, discriminates against black people; there just can be no doubt if you know it's perfectly obvious.

Were the screws racist in this way?

No, just one or two maybe; but, well, the whole population is racist anyway so to that extent they were. They were all pleased when the conservatives won. And the white convicts too: they were an extremely reactionary lot; they are petty-bourgeois minded; there was one guy who came and said to me he was so pleased the conservatives had won, it was going to "get rid of you lot". I said they are also strong on the law and order issue, so Enoch Powell's going to give you 20 years when they catch you next time. The guy turns round and says "I don't care as long as he gets rid of your lot". The black inmates didn't mix much with the whites; we ate separately. But the thing that concerns me most is that most black people are in there

...A TRUMPED - UP CHARGE



they received. I could give you several examples of this. For example there were some Indians there who were charged with raping a prostitute, a woman who had got 8 previous convictions for soliciting; apparently there was some dispute about the money and she went and told the police that they had raped her. Two got six years, two got four, and one bloke who wasn't even present got 2 years for aiding and abetting. This case happened in Southall. There was also three black guys on a first offence; they held up some garage, stole 14 shillings, and they got six years each for that; and they were very young, they were 19, 18 and 19, when this thing happened. And there were people charged with rape. If a black guy is charged on rape, whatever the thing is, whatever the truth of the matter is, automatically he gets four years or six years. And in many drug cases, for possession of small amounts of drugs, black people had got prison sentences on their first offence.

The drugs may have been planted in many cases. Yes, in many cases they had been planted, that's fairly well known. There was another case; a Pakistani bloke was charged with two Englishmen for cheating at cards; one Englishman had got 21 previous convictions for criminal offences, the other had got 18 previous convictions, and this Pakistani had no previous convictions at all; they all pleaded guilty, but when it came to sentencing the judge told the Pakistani he was sure he was the ringleader, and the Englishmen two were fined £150 each and this guy was given 27 months in prison and an £800 fine.

Were any of the people in Maidstone political? No there were no political charges there, but as a result of their experiences the people became extremely political; I was really surprised to find such a high degree of consciousness.

Among the black prisoners?

Among the black prisoners, yes. Any magazines and books I could get were swallowed up immediately and I was being pestered all the time to get more, Cleaver's book and Malcolm X and all this kind of thing; they were really screaming out for literature that they could get, and they would come out of prison extremely conscious and wanting to do things. I am really sorry because the people who are most politically conscious are doing very long sentences, many of them are doing life sentences which is unfortunate because there is a lot of work that they could do.

And in many cases they were not politically conscious before they were arrested?

No. It was really the shock, you know. When it happens to you personally, you know it's not something you heard about or read about, it's something that's actually happened to you, and it's a great traumatic experience to people and it brings home to them the reality of the situation of black people here in Britain. You will find also that the youth, among—I don't like to use the word—what you would term the criminal element, of which there are a few, people who have grown up in this country, who have had white mates and things like that, and gone out with the white mates housebreaking, in little gangs, these people are also becoming politically conscious; and you will find that in prisons there are little black power gangs going about, three or four guys you know, looking after each other. It's something that is not just the result of their being worse treated than the people they are charged with. It is part of a new consciousness that is sweeping the black people throughout the world; it has also touched these people in prison and has meant a lot to them even if they were not harshly treated; they are extremely conscious of their blackness, and what it means to them.

Were you able to have good political discussions?

Yes.

Were there any restrictions on this?

They did try very hard to stop me from influencing people. They objected strongly to the literature I used to have.

They didn't actually try to stop it?

They tried to stop it, but I had my friends write to the governor and protest and so on, so reluctantly it was allowed in; but I had to smuggle most of the literature inside. We used to have a fair amount of

and talk about these things. The response was very good; in fact many black prisoners used to come to me and say when they were out they had heard about this black power movement and always wanted to get in touch, but they could never find how to. Of course this was the danger of operating on a sophisticated political level; one doesn't reach the people; that's something we must fight against. Movements I think should be based in the communities and they should be within reach of the communities, and this is something we are doing our best to rectify now, in the light of experience. A lot of our brothers have got political convictions now, and they are spreading consciousness inside the prisons, which is very good, because there is proportionally a very high number of black prisoners. The number of crimes committed by black people according to figures issued by Scotland Yard is lower than the percentage of the population, yet if you go to Wormwood Scrubs, you will find that one third of the prisoners there are black. In Maidstone, a fifth are black. In Pentonville almost 45 per cent are black prisoners. In Wandsworth a high proportion are black. Of course the difference is that a black man on his very first conviction gets a prison sentence, whereas the whites go through borstal, detention centre, approved school, the lot, and it's unusual to have a white guy in prison who hasn't got about 20 or 30 previous convictions, a long list of convictions.

You didn't find that any of the white prisoners were open to any kind of political education?

No. The great majority of them are petty-bourgeois minded, reactionary and extremely racist.

Do they actually make physical attacks on the black prisoners?

Well, they would if they had the chance to. But as the black people stick together, they don't usually have the opportunity to touch them. There have been fights in Wormwood Scrubs between blacks and whites. In fact in Maidstone apparently before I came there was a race riot; it happened in late 1968, and since then they reduced the black population to one fifth and spread some black guys about in other prisons. There have been race riots in Wormwood Scrubs. The few whites who are politically conscious people are usually the ones charged with drugs; of course they belong to a scene that is politically conscious, and they also get opposition from the other prisoners.

You were saying that the black people found it difficult to make contact with black power organisations although they were interested, and that you have to work in the community. Do you have plans to set up centres, for example?

Yes, I think this is one thing. I think the line that I personally would put forward is that all our activities from now on should be based only in the black communities. We must try and involve the people in activities so that people know where we are and what we are doing, and we must also talk the language of the people. It's no use talking high falutin' Marxism or Trotskyism or whateverisms you have. But if you put it plain and simple, then people understand. They understand how they are oppressed, what the oppression is, who constitutes the oppressor, what we can do about it, and what we are going to do about it. Also they must be made aware of what's happening all over the world, the liberation struggles in African, in Asia in the Caribbean, and the people must be involved in these, not only in their struggle back home but in the struggle in this country, which is also an important part of a worldwide black struggle for liberation. By the very nature of oppression here in Britain black people are the most revolutionary element in British society. There can be no doubt. Because they occupy a special position in the social strata here, because they are right at the bottom, they are the most oppressed, they get the worst houses, they are discriminated against, they have to do the dirtiest jobs, they have the lowest paid jobs, they are insulted by petty officials, sometimes beaten up by thugs and racists, all these conditions make them the most revolutionary element of the working class. Of course before there can be any kind of revolutionary class action, there's one problem that must be solved straight away, and that's racism. And unless this thing's tackled,

people must fight oppression wherever it comes from, whether it comes from the priests or police or skinheads or the workers; if it comes from the workers, they must fight the workers.

Yes, I agree. What are your plans for the future, more specifically?

Our main task now is to develop an organisation that will effectively represent the black workers in this country, and also to strengthen the Black Peoples Alliance, which is the organisation that at the moment represents all the black peoples' organisations in this country. Now that the Conservatives have won the election, Powell is going to play a crucial role, and black people will be faced with a lot of trouble, for which we must be prepared.

How much difference do you think this is going to make? After all Wilson's government was the first government to introduce racist legislation.

Yes certainly Wilson has introduced racist legislation, and the Conservative government is going to introduce racist legislation too. But there is one thing in which Enoch Powell excels; he knows how to reach the ordinary white working man; when he talks of hidden enemies he's appealing to some kind of psychological element present in their racist minds, and he can arouse and inflame this, to create some very serious problems for the black minorities here. I believe that this is going to happen, especially if there is an economic depression, as there must be soon.

This kind of anti-black hysteria is going to catch on. Situations like Notting Hill in 1957 will not be unusual; they're not unusual now, such things have already started happening in Wolverhampton and Birmingham, but they are of course hushed up by the press. We must have our organisations strong enough to play an effective role in such circumstances. **In organising defense in the communities?**

In organising defense, yes, organising all the the community against this. Of course many people try to point out to us that it's not the white population that's our main enemy, it's the police and the establishment and so on. But for the man who's at the receiving end it doesn't matter who's the main enemy or who's the secondary enemy; it is what he suffers and what he's got to defend himself against that matters; analyses are up to somebody else. We also foresee that the people who are made conscious by the struggle over here are going to spread the ideology when they go back home to their respective countries, and it's going to have significant results. It has already had an effort in Trinidad; many people who are former members of UCPA are there. Jamaica is going to be the next place. The Black Power ideology will also play a major role in the liberation struggles in Africa; it must; in fact it could be the main element in arousing and mobilising. The whole of the black world against the fascist dogs in Southern Africa.

Do you think it's more important for black people to struggle here, to work politically here, or in other parts of the world?

Black people must fight all over the world wherever they are. It's no use saying because I'm going to fight in Africa, I'm not going to do anything here. Of course there are certain limitations in this country; for example the seizing of political power by the black community in this country is out of the question, because we are a small minority. But black people can seize power in their own countries. And in this country the black community can be organised to look after its own interests, and to fight oppression wherever it comes from. **Possibly also to actually provide an example to some sections of the white community, to raise the level of political consciousness and the level of struggle of the white population?** Of course a situation could arise in Britain, whereby a section of the white community is radicalised by the example of the black struggle. This has happened in the States. But I see no indication of this happening in the future.

GERMANY

Editorial Note:

The West German Government recently banned the Heidelberg SDS on June 25. It is no coincidence that the Heidelberg SDS was the best organised SDS group in the country and considered itself as a Leninist grouping. The ban imposed on it by the "liberal" social-democratic government is symptomatic of things to come. It is interesting to note that while Brandt tries to improve relations with the Stalinists both internally and externally, the real revolutionaries are being victimised.

The article we publish below has been translated from the liberal newspaper, Frankfurter Rundschau, by a German Mole in London. It consists of both the Editorial comment and the report.

Editorial

The events which took place last Friday, June 19th, on occasion of the international conference for development aid (attended by 21 politicians and delegates of organisations for development aid) had the appearance of a stage play in which all people engaged were unable to quit their roles.

On a permitted demonstration, peaceful at the start, about 1300 adolescents and students voiced their protest against the conference's policy of development aid, which the demonstrators thought of as organised exploitation under a new guise. They condemned the participation of Mr. McNamara, the president of the world bank, in the conference as a provocation, and they condemned the project of the Portuguese dam 'Cabora Bassa' in Mozambique.

The demonstration route was supposed to bypass the conference hall at a distance of about a hundred yards. To prevent by all means that

the conference might be disturbed by the demonstration the executive of the state of Baden-Wurttemberg had summoned: 625 policemen from all over the state, 4 water canons, 2 tanks with launching tubes for teargas grenades and a helicopter. Although escorted by police, the demonstration split up in order to come closer to its 'object, (the conference hall) where the demonstrators hoped to be able to catch the attention of the delegates, by pincer-movement.

The demonstrators wore neither helmets nor rain-coats. When the vanguard of the group which had left the official route came up to the first police-cordon, colour eggs were thrown severally which was answered by a massive retaliation by the water canons, teargas grenades and a very brutal truncheon beat up. By loudspeakers the police proclaimed the demonstration 'to be violent and therefore dissolved'. Then the demonstrators gathered at several points and involved the police in heavy street battles with stones—which often were thrown back into the crowd—, wooden laths and bottles. These battles lasted till late afternoon, but at no time—as has been reported severally "was the police bombarded with roof-tiles, stones, furniture etc. from down the roofs and out of the windows of university buildings". During these severe clashes not 75 (as has been reported) but 25 policemen were injured twelve of whom had ambulance treatment. Police statements that the students had used acids could not be confirmed: blisters seem to result from teargas.

As the ASTA (the executive student body) said, 35 students were severely injured, eight of them are still in hospital, some with concussion of the brain, one with larynx haemorrhage due to being choked on arrest. . . .

Report

The State government of Baden-Wurttemberg yesterday proclaimed the SDS-fraction of the university of Heidelberg illegal and had the group dissolved. Concomitant to the proclamation the police in Heidelberg put the illegalizing and dissolving order into effect in a big police-action.

Since the SDS conference of March this year dissolved the SDS as a nationwide organisation, the Heidelberg SDS group existed as an independent body without organisational links to other socialist groups. The ministry of the interior in Stuttgart describes the SDS as an organisation "whose aims and actions are contrary to the criminal law and are directed against the constitutional order".

At the same time the government in Stuttgart prohibited the founding of an organisation substituting the Heidelberg SDS. The SDS funds were seized and confiscated on behalf of the state of Baden Wurttemberg. The government justifies the prohibition of the SDS with last weeks 'violent demonstration which was organised by the SDS and which led to criminal offences such as disturbance of peace, attempted manslaughter insult and coercion of civil servants, dangerous injuries, use of offensive weapons and others. The participation of SDS members in that demonstration is not incidental, but is part and parcel of the general policy of the former SDS aiming at a violent overthrow of the existing constitutional order.....By unlawful means the SDS of Heidelberg attempts a revolutionary change of the political structure of the Federal Republic of Germany."

In the interest of the public the ministry had declined an impeachment of the SDS against the order of prohibition, which—granted—would have effected an delay.

The order of prohibition was delivered at the private addresses of several SDS members at 10a.m.

At the same time the AStA building (this executive student body being dominated by SDS members) was occupied by about 75 plain clothes policemen and 100 constables. Leaflets and red flags were seized, the desk of the president of the students' parliament was forced open and files were confiscated. The search permit was handed in only after the raid was completed. The chancellor of the university, as proprietor, was given notice after the event and not before as was claimed by the police. The AStA president was only allowed into his office after Vice-chancellor Professor Noack's protest.

Immediately the AStA called for a general students assembly to discuss what actions to take about the police raid and the SDS prohibition. About 4000 students attended the meeting, and telegrams of solidarity poured in from all over the Federal Republic, while police outside the building was reinforced by 500, by water canons and armoured cars. Police headquarters even considered to call for reinforcement from the para-military border guards.

Speaking at the assembly, Professor Rendtorff, the chancellor, criticised the police action and confirmed that he, too, had been taken by surprise by the raid. The federal conference of assistant professors sent a telegram condemning the prohibition order as a blow to university reform in general.

The meeting demanded the immediate withdrawal of the order, demanded the resignation of Baden Wurttemberg's Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior (both SPD = Social Democrats) and called on all universities in the Federal Republic to hold solidarity strikes.

Frankfurter Rundschau, June 27th:

In the annual election to the students parliament in the university of Heidelberg, all delegates which had been member of the now forbidden SDS held or won their seats by overwhelming majority.

INDO CHINA

U.S. WITHDRAWS FROM CAMBODIA BUT NOT FROM WAR

Paris

America's two-month invasion of Cambodia was a disastrous failure.

Historians may describe it as the beginning of Washington's Dien Bien Phu—the famous battle of 1954 which symbolised French defeat in Indochina.

President Nixon has called the U.S.—Saigon invasion a success. He said it "saved American lives and shortened the war." He insisted it put pressure on the peace-talk delegations of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam to accept U.S. negotiating terms.

Each of these claims is an incredible distortion of reality.

"Success? If destroying a few million bowls of rice and wiping out hundreds of villages is a military triumph, the operation was indeed a success. If the military and political situation in Cambodia as the last U.S. troops pulled back to Vietnam is the criterion however, the invasion was a costly and foolhardy adventure. Troops of the National United Front of Cambodia are circling Phnom Penh. They roam at will over much of the countryside. Supply lines have been reconstituted. Most important, if the Cambodian masses didn't realize it before the invasion they now realize their salvation lies with the NUF and not with the fraudulent Lon Nol regime, which is presiding over the destruction of its own country and people.

FABRICATION AND DISASTER

"Saved American lives and shortened the war? This is the biggest fabrication of all. By engineering the coup against Cambodian head of state Norodom Sihanouk, followed by the invasion, the U.S. welded the liberation forces of Vietnam, Cambodia, and the DRV into one military bloc with China as its back yard. If the U.S. could not win a decade-long war against the liberation forces of South Vietnam, how

does it expect to win against the NUF in Cambodia and the Laotian Patriotic Front in Laos at the same time? How could this possibly save lives and shorten the war for the U.S.?

"Increased pressure at the peace talks?" The talks hardly exist any longer due to the invasion since both the DRV and PRG regarded the Cambodian adventure as the manifestation par excellence of Washington's contempt for negotiations.

The sum effect of the invasion is that Nixon dramatically expanded the war, presumably on some extraordinarily bad advice from the Pentagon, which probably assured him the Cambodian liberation forces would crumble, Lon Nol's tottering regime would be saved, that the PRG would evaporate once its "sanctuaries" were uprooted and that it would enhance a military axis of Saigon, Phnom Penh, Vientiane and Bangkok in line with Nixon's policy of substituting Asian dead for U.S. dead in Indochina.

Domestic pressure at home forced Nixon to observe a two-month deadline for removal of U.S. troops. But the invasion has apparently earned the U.S. government the "right" to subsidize Saigon's continuing invasion, to continue strategic and tactical bombing of Cambodia by U.S. planes and to invest huge sums in money and arms in the Phnom Penh regime.

Nixon may succeed in having Asians fight Asians but it is hardly likely "Washington's Asians" will be able to hold out for long without increased funding, arms, air support and, ultimately, ground troops from the U.S.

The war has been lengthened, not shortened. More, not less, U.S. lives will be lost.

As for the effect on the Paris talks, DRV delegation chief Xuan Thuy has left Paris and returned to Hanoi. The head of the PRG-NLF delegation, Nguyen Thi Binh, has left Paris for her jungle headquarters in South Vietnam where she will exercise her functions as Foreign Minister. Key personnel from both delegations have also left Paris. It will be difficult to get them back in a hurry, especially those from the PRG-NLF. Why have the leaders of the PRG and DRV delegations turned their

backs on the Paris talks? Because for them the Cambodian invasion was the absolute final proof of Nixon's disinterest in a negotiated settlement. It was the confirmation of what they had officially suspected since Nixon took office—to achieve a military victory or at least a situation from which the U.S. delegation could negotiate from a position of strength.

In fact, the American negotiating position in Paris has never been weaker than at this moment. Even if the Cambodian operation had really been the military success Nixon and his apologists claim, it could only have had a negative effect on the negotiations.

Nixon thinks in terms of improving his position at the mid-term elections and at furthest in terms of the 1972 presidential elections. The Vietnamese are thinking in terms of the life of their nation, not of a temporary election victory. They will never give up fighting or negotiating—or just fighting—as long as there is a single foreign soldier on their soil with hostile intent. They are used to setbacks, to zigs and zags inevitable in the struggle between a small, technically backward nation and the world's mightiest imperialist power. They have had similar problems throughout their history. And history justifies them in being confident of the outcome.

Thousands of peasants have been murdered by U.S.—Saigon firepower. Untold individuals have been brutalized and tortured. Hundreds of thousands have been made homeless or will be in a short while. "Sanctuaries"—often Cambodian villages—have been wiped out in frontier areas and poisonous substances have been scattered about to insure they will not be reoccupied. Farms and crops are routinely destroyed. Over 100,000 Vietnamese residents of Cambodia have been rounded up and locked in unsanitary, crowded concentration camps. The politically suspect have been murdered. The country is under absolute dictatorial command. And every day giant B-52 bombers take to the air to further the destruction.

In exchange for that, there is this description of the situation in Cambodia reported in Le Monde of June 30: "Sihanouk's men [NUF] totally control the

provinces of Ratanakiri, Monduliri, Stung Treng and Kratie [bordering Laos and most of the frontier with South Vietnam and the Mekong valley. They occupy the greater part of the provinces of Siem Reap, Kompong Thom, Kompot and the coast from the Gulf of Siam to Kompong Som, the former Sihanoukville...."

And as for the situation in Phnom Penh itself, Le Monde continued: "Phnom Penh is encircled. There are patrols of 'Khmer Serei' mercenaries trained in Thailand and South Vietnam who will obey no one, not even Lon Nol, the brother of the general [dicator Lon Nol] reputed though he is for his brutality. . . ."

The Cambodian countryside is becoming a vast ruin.

French and Cambodian rubber plantations and their processing installations have been napalmed out of existence by B-52's—reputedly to enhance U.S., Saigon and Malaysian rubber interests. Major provincial capitals have been reduced to rubble and ashes. All communications with Phnom Penh are cut. A vigorous Cambodian resistance movement is gathering strength from day to day, having jumped the classic stages of people's war to reach that of the encirclement of towns, due to the support, experience, arms, cadres and solid bases from their Vietnamese and Laotian allies.

These are some of the real results of Nixon's Cambodian adventure. Not to mention the unstemmed advance of the Pathet Lao forces in Laos, especially in the areas bordering on the old liberated areas in South Vietnam and the newly liberated areas in Cambodia.

Vietnam is no longer alone on the battlefield. The withdrawal of U.S. ground troops from Cambodia does not affect the fact that the overall military strength of the U.S. and its satellites and puppets in Indochina is now dispersed and diluted. Even intensified air activity cannot influence the military situation. U.S. and its allies cannot occupy and hold territory. Neither in Laos, Cambodia nor Vietnam.

Wilfred Burchett

JORDAN

INVASION OF JORDAN?

Mainz, Germany

American Army and Air Force units—as well as military units within the U.S.—worked feverishly in preparation for possible intervention in Jordan during the conflict between Palestine commandoes and the royal government.

On July 11, United States military forces were placed on "Red Alert"—a code to indicate the highest degree of combat preparedness short of war itself. Within hours, thousands of soldiers began loading Howitzer ammunition; airborne units undergoing summer training exercises were recalled from a

field; Air Force cargo transports were fueled for immediate action and soldiers were processed for rapid deployment.

The situation in Germany unfolded so rapidly few GIs were initially aware of what was happening. Monitoring of international shortwave broadcast and military communications revealed the facts. Ostensibly the U.S. government was concerned about the 36 Americans held hostage by commandoes in an Amman hotel. The superficial excuse for the alert was that U.S. troops might have to rescue the stranded Americans.

Considering the extent of the preparations, however, it is clear massive U.S. forces were being alerted for a

possible invasion if it seemed likely the commandoes were in a position to take power in Jordan.

The crisis dissipated in the accord reached between the royal government and the Palestine forces and the alert was called off. U.S. troops remain ready to move if the situation again merits a "Red Alert." Stockpiles of ammunition and tons of equipment have been loaded on air transports and rigged for parachuting. Units of airborne infantry and artillery remain ready in the event orders are given.

Contingency plans call for a quick air-drop into Jordan with Americans infantry units isolating and suppressing

guerrilla bases in a coordinated movement. American artillery units would provide fire-power and would position themselves along Jordan's borders in the event that other Arab nations attempted to intervene.

From a military and political perspective, these contingency plans provide a special appeal to the Nixon administration. Intervention in Jordan would enable the United States to prop up a "moderate" government and the elimination of guerrillas would relieve pressure against both Jordan and the exposed Israeli border.

SOUTH AFRICA

society and literature

A vivid portrayal of social relations in a novel, play or short story can throw light on the nature of the society in which the characters live and move, struggle and die. What we ask of a writer is that his picture of life should be true. But what is true? One man's truth is to another man a lie. Much of South African literature holds up a distorting mirror to society. Truth and falsehood are so mixed that we are in danger of drawing false conclusions from what we read. Then it is necessary for us to confront the superficial or false picture with the social reality.

The Racist Lie

Racialism, the racist lie of white superiority and black inferiority, falls like a blight on the whole of South African society, affecting every sphere, political, social or economic, and dictating all the perversions and violences of racial segregation, or apartheid, to give it the new name that echoes round the world with resounding notoriety for the reigning Nationalist Government. What we have to remember is that this social sickness was not initiated by the present Afrikaner Nationalists. It has always been the handmaid of colonial and imperialist conquest throughout the world. Since the Lie permeates the whole of South African society, it must of necessity be reflected in its literature and has done so in different forms throughout the twentieth century, as the thin stream of writing, confined at first understandably to the privileged whites, has swelled from the mid-century mark to quite a tide. The writer is not an isolated entity spinning his art in the cocoon of his individual soul. We must ask: what exactly is this individual soul? Like any other individual, he is moulded from birth by the social mores of his society, by its dominating ideas, by education in many forms. He can be enriched by the sum total of its influences, or warped and starved by them. Where the racist lie is accepted by the majority of white South Africans, art itself is often rooted in intellectual dishonesty, or at least evasions. That is why the writer, far from holding the mirror up to nature, frequently peers through a distorting mirror. This may happen even when, paradoxically, he is protesting against the social injustice that is part of the lie.

Appeal to Conscience

Alan Paton's *Cry The Beloved Country* set the literary vogue for what might be called conscience-writing. But pity is a tattered garment fit only for the rag-heap. Even when it was first published (1948) it was not true to the spirit of its time. The writer attempts to convey sweetness and light in the novel's picture of the humble Zulu parson going in search of his son in Johannesburg, where his people live in sin and suffering, and, when his son is hanged for murdering a welfare worker, son of a white farmer, the latter, as it were, turns the other cheek and is full of loving kindness to the black parson. But such a picture, while true in its instances of violence, is false at the very time when the oppressed Blacks, after the Second World War, felt the surge of a new historical epoch and were demanding equality with a militancy that was spreading throughout Asia and Africa. To preach at such a time that "love is greater than force" is to clothe an old familiar treachery in the trappings of a defunct Uncle Tom figure. The false simplicity of the style of the novel—perhaps conceived as an approximation to the dignified language of an African speaking in his native tongue—serves only to underline an artistic failure where no single character comes to life. And compassion cannot effect real communication across the colour-line. It seems to be prompted by the uneasy awareness of an advancing black tide. Hence the appeal to conscience.

The White Problem

What is called the Colour problem is not simply a fact of South African life. It is an obsession,

a national neurosis. But the term Colour problem is itself inaccurate. It is not the black man who is the problem. To the black man himself it is the white man who is the problem, with his racial myths and obsessions, the sheer barbarity of his master-race mentality. In South African literature the relationship between white and black inevitably looms large. It is more correct to speak of alienation, of a paralysis of communication and a dehumanisation of the whites more than the blacks. Their very unawareness of the blacks as human beings is an aspect of racial fear. In Dan Jacobson's collection of short stories, *A Long Way from London*, he demonstrates in one of them with relentlessly accuracy how this dehumanisation operates. The story has the ironic title of "A Day In The Country". A Jewish family driving along a country road come across a group of whites—Afrikaners—roaring with laughter as they place a terror-stricken African child in and out of the bonnet of their car. It was just a game. The Jews stopped to look, were filled with disgust—but drove away without having the courage to voice it. Only when they were pursued and insulted by the young Afrikaners did a near fight take place. But the point of the story is not the racial tensions between Jew and Afrikaner; it is a more subtle one of the sense of a common guilt and fear more than hate.

Master-Racists....

Confining ourselves here to the English-speaking section, we can say that present-day writers have developed beyond the crude handling of the Colour theme characteristic of Sarah Gertrude Millin's novels in the twenties, in *God's Stepchildren*, for instance, where the very title bespeaks the master-race mentality. The curious thing is that she saw herself as a realist eminently equipped to depict the depravity and squalor of existence on the Kimberley diamond diggings where she lived. "I want to write about life as I see it," she said. And with quick, spare brush-strokes she paints the noisome scenes where white men scuffle for wealth and their black slaves toil frenziedly, "dressed in the offal of European clothing, detribalised, bastardised, degenerate..." She carries the reader to the segregated junk-heaps of paraffin tins and sacking where the Africans are "housed". "On the fringe of the diggings, their shameful hovels breaking out on the face of the hills like the disease from which most of them suffer, live the kaffirs. They are the most degraded of Africans. They are the corruption of civilisation." That master of the naturalist style, Emile Zola, might almost have been pleased with such a passage. But when we turn to her study of a Coloured family through several generations, namely in *God's Stepchildren*, we find the picture of their tribulations is false at the core. There is a spiritual blockage, a failure of vision because it is tainted with racialism. She reflects the white man's obsession with what is called race-purity. She does not, as in Alan Paton's novel, *Too Late The Phalarope*, make the teller of the tale the aunt of the policeman-hero, hag-ridden by the shame to the whole Afrikaner family when her perfect nephew is impaled on the Immorality Act, discovered as guilty of breaking "the holiest law" by having intercourse with a Coloured woman.

When Sarah Gertrude Millin holds the mirror up to society she seems to see in the Coloured man a kind of monkey. The artistic flaw in *God's Stepchildren* is rooted in a moral flaw. She describes Barry, a good, respectable man, with every appearance of being a white man, as revealing cowardice under stress because of the taint of colour in his blood. You see, he was descended several generations back from "a mad white missionary and a degraded Hottentot woman, a thing like a beast." She resorts to false heroics when she makes him expiate his "sin"—that is, of living as a white man—by "sacrificing" himself and going to serve his own people. She offends good art because she offends even common sense. What she puts into

fiction is confirmed by a passage in her book, *The South Africans*, where she bluntly states:

"The will to succeed is not in him—the Coloured man... Although he vociferates that his heart is as white as the white man's, that he does not consider himself anyone's inferior, his attitude is a mere pathetic bluff. It is this very heart he speaks of, the spirit within him, which is not white. It is as if the darkness of his skin descends also on his soul... And how could it be otherwise? Consider his ancestry. In his veins runs, on the one side, the blood of slaves; on the other side, the blood of the careless, the selfish, the stupid, the vicious."

The master-race mentality is in truth a moral sickness.

...and Liberals

Now let us turn for a moment to what Alan Paton does with the Colour theme about thirty years later in *Too Late The Phalarope*. As in *Cry the Beloved Country*, he saturates his study of a white man's spiritual torment with pity, and again, pity is not enough for the creation of living, convincing characters. Every one is a shadow, most of all, of course, the Coloured woman, Stephanie, who is the object of the tragic hero's temptation and the cause of his destruction, together with that of his whole family. Pieter van Vlaanderen is endowed—as every tragic hero must be—with all the virtues; he is handsome, a fine policeman, a magnificent rugby player. Even to the black people in the location (ghetto) he was "like a god". He inspires in everybody admiration and respect so that his fall must be that of a tragic hero, from a great height to the lowest depths. But there's the rub. What is the height and what is the depth? One has the impression that Paton flogs his theme of a white man's sin and suffering. "I was tempted by what I hated to seize something that could bring no joy," confesses Pieter, and flagellates himself as a creature of foul desires and iniquities, but at the same time most unheroically praying to his god not to be discovered in his sin. All will be well if only the sergeant who envies him does not prove to be a peeping Tom. He is the villain. No, Mr. Paton, all your efforts cannot turn this into a tragic theme. Though you seem to try very hard, your tragic hero falls blindfold from the height of a stage-cliff no further than to the dusty stage-floor. What is meant to be tragic becomes grotesque.

The author ascribes the following thoughts to the doomed white policeman: "Then she (the Coloured temptress) smiled at me and the mad sickness that I hate and fear came over me, and she knew it, being one of the things she understands... I should have said to her: this is not my work (to help her to keep her child). I should have said to her: let them take your child and send you to prison, let them throw you into the street, let them hang you by the neck until you are dead, but do not come to my home, nor smile at me, nor think there can be anything between you and me. For this law is the greatest and holiest of all the laws, and if you break it and are discovered, for you it is nothing but another breaking of the law. But if I break it and am discovered, the whole world will be broken."

The real meaning of the story thus becomes, not the pitiful conflict in a white man, but the alienation, the spiritual destruction brought about by a racist society. One regrets that the author did not have the artistic skill to devise a means to broaden the perspective of the tragedy so that he is seen to be aware also of the inhuman indifference of the white man and woman to the existence of the black. Perhaps an Afrikaner himself would reject this study of self-torment as the offensive pity of an English liberal.

Outraged Reason—A New Militancy

Nadine Gordimer, the subtlest and most artistically mature of our South African writers, explores in her novels and some of her short stories, with a keen intelligence and all her alert senses, the fundamental sickness in South African society. She becomes aware of it as

alienation, the paralysis of communication between individuals of different races, the sense of estrangement commonly felt in modern capitalist society everywhere but intensified a hundredfold in the conditions of racism. She does not write from a deliberate moral purpose; she is entirely free from sentimentality and she abhors the futility of pity. It is her reason that is outraged, not her conscience. She wanted first and foremost to live a private life as a fully cultured individual, which implies also the satisfaction of human relationship, and above all the sense of integrity in relationship. She is not haunted by any racial myth nor is she tempted to be (as one of her characters

expresses it) "a voyeur of social ills and social perversions". She is also too artistically honest to delve into the imagined feelings of the blacks because she "knows" them. She doesn't. And if her non-white characters are not etched with that brilliance of concrete imagery that is one of her chief artistic gifts, it is because she is acutely aware that she is up against this basic fact of alienation in such a society. Even the violent death of a man (she makes one of her characters say) comes at her, as it were, only through glass.

Her sensitive writing demands exploring in depth. Here we would mention only one of her later novels: *Occasion for Loving*. The choice of the situation itself is a challenge to race hysteria, the pre-occupation with race purity, the self-torments of sin or the dread of legal taboos. Nevertheless the problem of colour invades what to the onlooker in the story should be seen as a normal, private love-affair between a young woman, the idle wife of a pre-occupied musicologist, and a cultured African. Indeed the two young characters are lightly etched in. The core of the theme is the way their love-affair opens a vein of experience in the sensitive, cultured woman through whom the story is told. She is disturbed because she realises that this essentially gay and thoughtless loving, this bud of relationship can only wither in the climate of racism. She fears especially that the surrounding conditions and prevailing attitudes must corrupt the integrity of any such private relationship. Conflict there must be between three such people: the husband, the wife and the lover, but even this pattern of human conflict takes a jagged course in a racial setting. There is no escape on the part of the writer into the obviously melodramatic, no violence, no salacious scandal, no police terror, no public trial, which are the common ingredients to be found both in fact and fiction. Nevertheless the assault on privacy, the sense of the corruption of human feeling, the alienation between individuals permeates the whole texture of the writing.

Nadine Gordimer is not at liberty to roam the turbulent ocean of South African society where its white, black, Coloured and Indian denizens are locked in a racial conflict in the name of the unholy creed of *apartheid*. She belongs to a small intellectual stratum of a white protected minority. Nevertheless the ever-restless antennae of her perceptions and her searching intelligence enable her to probe the moral sickness pervading South African society and convey it in many subtle ways. At

the same time, her inviolable artistic integrity ensures the accuracy of the image she presents to us. The mirror may be small but it does not make the mistake of distorting the truth.

The volume of South African writing grows steadily. At first white writers, especially English-speaking, dominated the literary scene. We have touched on only a few. Legalised cultural starvation ensured that there were few Black writers, but with the growth of a new militancy, they, too, have been making their voices heard. And it is not a humble voice, nor does it ask for pity.

Dora Taylor

SWAPO VICE-PRESIDENT AND NINE OTHERS ON TRIAL

SWAPO has just unearthed a secret trial which is under way in Pretoria in South Africa. The ten men on trial are all members of SWAPO, charged under the Terrorism Act. Five of them are charged for activities allegedly performed in 1964-66, several years before the Terrorism Act had been enacted. This has been made possible because the Terrorism Act of 1967 was made retrospective to 1962. Three of the accused are charged for activities in 1968 while for two men the charges are not yet known.

The ten men are, in the order in which they appear on the list we have got: Alexander Simon, Just Mbala Siloka, Manowa Mulibe Mahunga Mzilikazi, Masia Ingenda, Isiah Muhapulo Sitimela, Wilkenson Muluti Lukongo, Alfred Seloiso, Bernard Matmola Malapo, Charlie Simpatie and Brendan Kangongola Simbwaye. All whose charges are mentioned

with "participation in terroristic activities" in Caprivi; Alexander Simon has been charged for activities in Okavango in November-December 1968.

Brendan Kangongola Simbwaye is the Vice-President of SWAPO. He was originally served with a detention order on 24th September 1964 by Michael Daniel Christian de Wet Nel, then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development of South Africa. Mr. Simbwaye was moved from East Caprivi Zipfel to Ohopoho in Kaokoveld where he stayed for some time. Later he was moved to Warmbad in the southern part of Namibia. Here his health was weakened, according to information received by his wife. Since last year nothing has been heard about him until now when he is being held in Pretoria with the other SWAPO men held for trial.

This trial is the third in a row of trials of Namibian freedom fighters. The first took place

and the verdict given on 22nd August. The difference between this trial and the previous ones is that this is held in total secrecy. It is obvious that the South African Government wants to avoid the world-wide publicity and condemnation of the two previous ones at a time when it is trying to contain its open and strong internal conflicts. (In this connection it is worth mentioning that the documents seized from the main South African Sunday newspapers by the police on 21st February contained detailed information about the recent SWAPO guerrilla activities in the northern part of Namibia.)

SWAPO strongly condemns this trial and appeals to Governments, organisations and all men of good will to help making this trial known, and to condemn it as yet another illegal act by South Africa—an atrocity against the people of Namibia and an open and defiant violation of the rulings of the United Nations

INTERNATIONAL—JUST OUT!

International is the bi-monthly theoretical journal of the International Marxist Group, the British Section of the Fourth International. It now appears in a new format and the first issue includes an excellent article on the need for an International and the role being played by the Fourth International.

There are also extracts from James Connolly on Ireland and the IMG's views on the political situation in Britain after the Labour defeat, youth radicalisation, Ireland, etc.

3/- per issue. Write to C. Harris, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

PAKISTAN: New Vultures for old!

The bourgeois and pre-bourgeois parties in Pakistan are at the moment completely and wholly absorbed in the pre-election campaign. In other words, manoeuvres, secret alliances between landlords, lies, counter-lies, intrigues, press conferences and public meetings dominate the political scene in Pakistan today. As the press is under the control of a semi-fascist, ex-Justice of the Supreme Court, few reports of the left or its activity get into the newspapers.

The demagoguery and rhetoric used by all, except the extreme right-wing parties, is virtually the same: we are all in favour of nationalising all the major industries, drastic land reform, an anti-imperialist foreign policy and of course regional autonomy. We also are all anti-Indian, though some of us are more anti-Indian than others. And the anti-Indianism used by 99% of the political parties in Pakistan is blind and indiscriminating. It does not differentiate between the Indian ruling class and the Indian masses—the workers and poor peasants who will overthrow the Indian bourgeoisie and make the socialist revolution in India.

The freedom which the military regime of General Yahya Khan has extended to the bourgeois political parties and to ALL well-known political figures, does not by any means extend to the rank and file militants in the student movement or to militant workers. There are over 400 political prisoners in West Pakistan today. Most of them are completely unknown. The current regime has learnt some lessons from its predecessor and is not interested in creating martyrs.

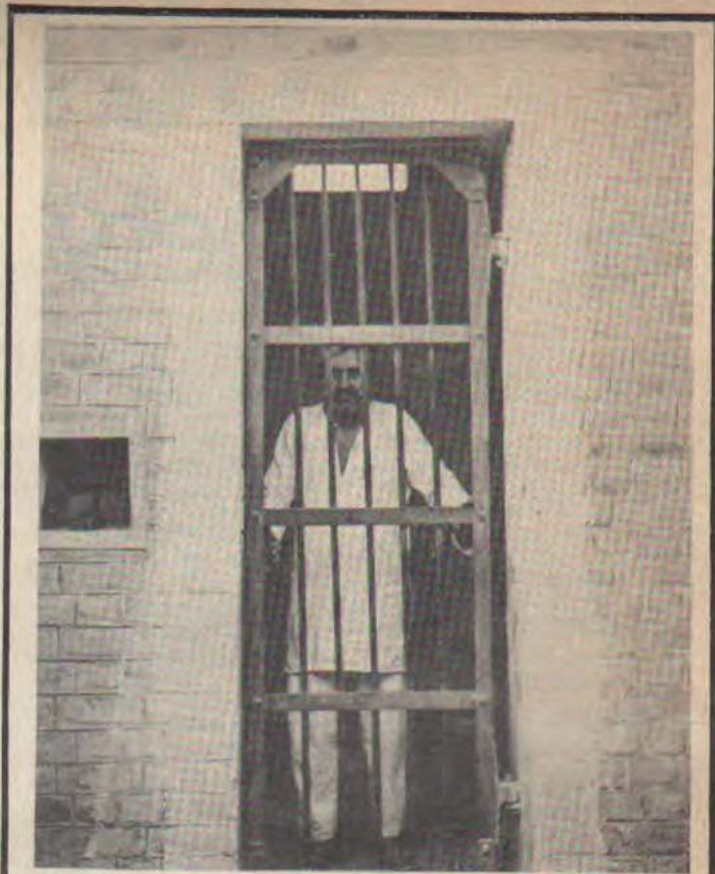
The general election promised for October 5, 1970 serves a dual purpose. In one sense it is clearly a genuine concession as it is the country's first ever general election on the basis of adult franchise. On the other hand it is undoubtedly a diversion meant to steer the masses clear from the path of direct action and autonomous struggles. It is an exercise in forced amnesia: the sooner the masses can be made to forget the five-months struggle which they launched in November 1968 and which resulted in the overthrow of the dictator Ayub Khan. Despite the imposition of Martial Law in March '69, the new regime has not been able to inflict a decisive defeat on the masses. The combativity of the workers has remained at a very high level in both East and West Pakistan. In particular the 1969-70 strike wave in West Pakistan marks a qualitative change in Pakistani politics. It reflects the growing maturity and class-consciousness of the urban proletariat. Despite the virtual non-existence of independent trade-unions, the spontaneity of the workers and the amazing display of solidarity which they have shown has startled the owners of capital in West Pakistan. The regime has moved in to protect the capitalists and many militant

labour leaders have received jail sentences and the requisite number of lashes (yes, workers are being whipped for going on unofficial strike).

Also despite the well-disciplined attacks by the semi-fascist Jamaat-i-Islami (which is financed by the CIA) and its allies neither the workers nor the peasants have been intimidated. The peasants rally at Toba Tek Singh earlier this year where over 40,000 peasants from all parts of West Pakistan assembled is one sure sign of this. Despite the fact that the leadership of the rally (the 'pro-Peking' National Awami Party) mismanaged the conference and could offer no real perspectives for the anti-feudal struggle (instead they bored the *dhotis* off the peasants with their stale, cliché-ridden speeches) the Toba Tek Singh conference remains an extremely significant development. This was followed up by a massive display of social-democratic and general left unity. A call made initially by Bhutto's People's Party to observe May Day was transformed into a massive display of force by the urban proletariat throughout West Pakistan. This was the first time that May Day has been celebrated in Pakistan by the workers and despite the propaganda unleashed by the right-wing parties against the occasion it turned out to be a tremendous success. In Lahore over 100,000 workers marched with red flags chanting anti-feudal and anti-capitalist slogans of which the two most popular ones were: *Only He Who Tills Shall Eat, Capitalists Stand Back: Pakistan belongs to us*. In Rawalpindi a smaller demonstration of about 10,000 in which this correspondent participated shouted slogans in favour of Lenin, Mao and Che Guevara in addition to the ones mentioned above. Raja Anwar, the Trotskyist student leader of Rawalpindi told the meeting that the dictatorship could not prevent the people of Pakistan from wending capitalism and feudalism in Pakistan.

The State Of The Vanguard

The number of Marxists in Pakistan is without doubt on the increase: so much so that this correspondent could have a semi-public polemic with a leading Stalinist theoretician, Sardar Shaukat Ali Kasuri on the question of Stalin and the role of Trotsky. This was at a meeting sponsored by the Peoples Thinkers Forum... a new group which has emerged and which invites representatives of ALL left tendencies to come and speak before its members. It is obvious that there has been a tremendous leap in consciousness which has resulted in a growing radicalisation. It would now be accurate to say that the Pakistanis in Britain are less vulnerable to revolutionary propaganda than Pakistanis in Pakistan. The reason for this is the fact that they experienced a victory in the overthrow of Ayub and they are



Mir Afzal, a militant working-class leader, who is serving a sentence of 1 year rigorous imprisonment (& 5 lashes) for leading workers strike. He was photographed secretly in Kot Lakhpat Jail by a red mole.

aware of their own strength. It is of course a very real possibility that when no clear change is visible after the General Election, the masses for want of a proper alternative might become cynical and apathetic. However if they continue the struggle and make it impossible for the old regime to continue we could well see a Nasserite type military coup to preserve the essence of the social structure and also to make some concessions, which would have the effect of containing the mass movement for a certain period.

For Marxists, therefore, the central task which should guide and determine their strategy in the coming period should be the creation of a revolutionary Marxist cadre. A development which could speed up the formation of a revolutionary Marxist party which would be able to seize the initiative and provide leadership by intervening in the struggles of millions of poor peasants and workers. Particularly when the latter see after the General Election that while the new vulture might have a smile on its face, it nevertheless remains a vulture.

The Pakistani bourgeoisie are today facing a very serious crisis and they are unable to solve it. They also realise that the army which has backed them so often in the past and has pulled their chestnuts out of the fire of the masses is its beginning to change its class character. The influx of petty bourgeois elements from the cities into the army to replace the progeny of small landlords is bound to have an effect inside the army in a Nasserite direction. In addition the bourgeoisie is faced with the unsolved 'national question' as regards Bengal and

also 'Azad' Kashmir.

The leading representative of the Bengali petty bourgeoisie is (Chiang Kai) Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and despite his radical rhetoric at mass meetings and despite the mass support he undoubtedly enjoys in East Bengal, it is clear that he will not be able to solve the national question. This could lead to serious social explosions in the province and an army intervention could have serious consequences.

Also the Pakistani-controlled section of Kashmir is ruled tyrannically by West Pakistani bureaucrats and unrest is on the increase. The elements who favour an independent and united Kashmir are growing in number and refuse to accept the choice between two oppressors.

All these facts coupled with the deteriorating economic position are an indication of what confronts the government after the General Election. As far as revolutionists are concerned, they should use the pre-election period to make revolutionary propaganda where they can and prepare to work hard during the immediate post-election period. Those who have buried themselves deep inside the social-democratic parties will have to come out and assume a public face. If the task of chalking out a programme for a Socialist Pakistan is ignored in the coming period it could result in a severe and serious setback to the revolutionary socialist movement from which we might not be in a position to recover for the next two decades.

Tariq Ali

soviet union

Three oppositionist youth groups considering themselves Marxist have appeared in three separate Soviet cities recently. Information about these groups comes from the most recent issue of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, the irrepressible samizdat publication that has defied the KGB for two full years. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

The appearance of Marxist-minded youth groups in the Soviet heartland is a sign of great importance. It indicates an advanced trend within the broad and rather diverse Soviet opposition movement. And it re-emphasises the general truth that the Soviet state cannot remain immune from the world-wide youth radicalisation, however well-developed a police apparatus the bureaucracy has for "immunisation" purposes.

What the *Chronicle* means in vaguely describing the Saratov group's programme as "liberal-democratic" needs to be clarified. Obviously—since its authors describe themselves as "true Communists"—it does not mean pro-capitalist, as the term would be taken in the West. It should be understood to mean "liberal" as opposed to "bureaucratic and dogmatic" "Democratic" would presumably refer to socialist democracy, that is, freedom for differing views within the framework of support to and defence of the workers state.

What this most recent report on the Gorky does not repeat is that its members were apparently the authors of a Marxist document entitled *The State and Socialism*. If this document is an attempt to analyse the Soviet state in Leninist terms, as the parallel with the title of Lenin's work *State and Revolution* suggests, and if such terms were correctly applied, the document could be quite close to revolutionary socialism. At any rate, the group is plainly interested in getting back to the buried traditions of Bolshevism. Leaflets circulated by the Gorky group demanding that the truth be told about the trials of the thirties are the surest sign of that.

agitation—articles 70* and 72 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

The head of the organisation was named Senin (a student at the juridical institute). The others were as follows: Romanov (fourth year in the history division at Saratov State University); Kulikov (a graduate of the physical education division of Saratov State University, and, at the time of his arrest, a gymnastics coach there); Kirikin (a student at the juridical institute); Bobrov (the same); and Fokeev (a night student at Saratov State University).

Kulikov—the oldest of those being tried—was 28. All the accused acknowledged themselves guilty and expressed repentance.

During the trial some fifty witnesses appeared, most of them students. According to unverified information, the organisation called itself "The Party of True Communists", had a programme of liberal-democratic persuasion, and set itself the goal of creatively studying Marxist literature in the original sources as well as other works by Soviet and foreign authors, both forbidden and published ones.

At the trial the accused stressed in particular that they were carrying on propaganda ("many ideas for a few") rather than agitation ("a few ideas for many") and that new members were taken into the organisation only after their familiarisation with this propagandistic literature and only in the event of agreement of views.

The trial was organised on the model of analogous trials in Moscow (a specially invited audience, a few relatives). Outside the courtroom there was a crowd of 100-150 people, mostly young.

In the second half of 1968, in the city of Ryazan, six students of the city's radiotechnological institute formed an illegal group, "The Marxist Party of a New Type". They were Yuri Vudka, Valeri Vudka, Shimonas Grilius, Frolov, Martimonov, and Zaslavsky.** Yuri Vudka (a correspondence course student and

grammatical document of the group.

In August 1969 the group was arrested by the KGB. The arrests were precipitated when two members of the organisation, Martimonov and Zaslavsky, turned themselves in to the authorities with confessions and denunciations of their fellows. The charges were under articles 70 and 72. The case was tried in February 1970 in the Ryazan Region People's Court Building. There were witnesses from the Moscow area, Leningrad, Kiev, Saratov, and other cities.

(Apparently, the Ryazan group had connections with various cities. The group headed by Senin, tried a month earlier, had the same "Downfall of Capital" as a programmatic document.)

Yu. Vudka was sentenced to seven years; Sh. Grilius and Frolov to five each; and V. Vudka to three (all under a strict regime). Zaslavsky and Martimonov (who had been freed under surveillance) were given suspended sentences.

In Gorky the case of Mikhail Kapranov, Sergei Ponomarev, and Vladimir Zhiltsov and the related case of Vladlen Pavlenkov have continued.

M. Kapranov was formerly a student at the Gorky State University. (He was twice expelled from the university for statements he made about the politics and economy of the USSR—once at a Komsomol meeting and once in a personal letter.) He is the father of two boys.

S. Ponomarev is a philosophy student, a staff member on the newsletter of a local plant, and father of a four-year-old girl.

V. Zhiltsov is a fifth-year student in the history division at Gorky State University, an exceptional student during his entire time there. At the time of his arrest his leg was broken. He was arrested just before he was to defend his dissertation.

All three were arrested in the summer of 1969, and the charges against all three were changed in January 1970 from article 190.1 of the Russian Federation

(In spring 1968 at the time of Gorky University's 100th anniversary celebration, leaflets were distributed and pasted up on the city streets, especially opposite the KGB building and at the university building. They contained an appeal with the following points:

- A demand for the full rehabilitation of those convicted in the political trials of the thirties and full public disclosure of the true character of those trials.
- A demand that the conditions under which political prisoners are currently being held be improved.
- A demand for democratic liberties.)

They are also charged with an attempt to form an anti-Soviet organisation. (Possibly there was the intent to found a group for combating violations of legality—nothing more.)

In October 1969 Vladlen Pavlenkov was arrested. He was a history instructor at the university, born in 1929. It is not known to the *Chronicle* what Pavlenkov is charged with or whether his case is tied with the case of the other three, or whether it is simply one and the same case.

The investigators turned V. Pavlenkov over for psychiatric examination.

His wife Svetlana (an earlier issue of the *Chronicle* had reported her also arrested, but issue No. 11 corrected the earlier report) wrote to the KGB senior investigator A. M. Khokhlov that she would answer any finding that her husband was mentally incompetent with her own self-immolation. She sent the same declaration to the USSR Prosecutor General Rudenko and to the KGB Chairman Andropov.

V. Pavlenko was declared sane.

* Article 70 forbids "anti-Soviet" propaganda and agitation.

** The *Chronicle* gives no first name for three of the students.

mergers under monopoly capitalism

The concentration and centralisation of capital do not proceed in an "orderly way", at even and continuous rates, but, on the contrary, due to the uneven and combined development of the formation and evolution of capitalist enterprises, they occur in discontinuous waves, reaching heights in certain periods, receding even in others.

Because the two forces operate simultaneously and are mutually reinforcing, it is difficult to determine the relative importance of the effects of the concentration and centralisation of capital (i.e. firms tending to get progressively bigger and bigger, and fewer and fewer, respectively). It is clear, however, that over the last period, of say four or five years, the advanced capitalist countries have experienced a rapid and extensive capital centralisation, of historically vast dimensions. Indeed, with respect to the U.S. "merger movement", Sweezy and Magdoff quote *Fortune* magazine (February 1969, p.80) which states: "There have been merger movements in the U.S. before. One began in the 1890's and another in the 1920's; each lasted about a decade. But the current merger movement is lasting longer and is immensely bigger." For example, only five companies with assets of more than \$250m. were taken over in the U.S. in the years 1948-66; yet in 1968 alone 12 such companies were merged.

In Britain also, the 1960's witnessed a marked intensification of merger activity, and this has resulted in a corresponding rise in capital centralisation. January 1968's total value of bids of over £1m., of about £750m., was alone more than six times the £121m. total for the whole of 1958, almost two and a half times the £307m. of 1963, and about 70% more than the £447m. of 1966. In 1968, the 28 largest manufacturing companies had 50% of total net assets, 11% more than only seven years before. In the years 1967-68, no less than £6,100m. was offered in takeovers and mergers, 25% of companies worth more than £10m. were taken over, and the number of companies with a valuation greater than £100m. rose from 39 to 65.

It would be wrong, however, as Sweezy and

Magdoff point out for the U.S. experience, to attribute this increase in the relative importance of the giant corporations entirely to the merger movement. Capital concentration, or the internal accumulation of capital within firms, is also involved (though the big rise in share prices is itself a factor here). But in the present period, merger activity would seem, on balance, to be of decisive importance.

This re-emergence of merger activity as a major phenomenon of economic life has led to something of a revival of interest in questions relating to mergers and takeovers, especially the nature of monopoly capitalism and the giant corporations which operate within its sphere. (Notable among these recent works, despite its brevity, is Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff's *The Merger Movement, A Study in Power*, referred to above, which first appeared in the June 1969 issue of *Monthly Review*). Not all of these present-period works are Marxist, however, and nor are they the only important ones. A recent study of Britain's experience of the merger boom of the late 1960's, by a bourgeois economist, Gerald Newbould*, is a striking vindication of the Marxist theory of monopoly capitalism, that is, as a qualitatively different market structure from that of nineteenth-century "competitive capitalism", resting not upon competition, but upon its absence.

According to the mythology perpetrated by those who have vested interests in the extension and survival of Big Business: the purpose of a merger is to secure cost-saving "economies of scale" and re-deploy "scarce resources" into more efficient (i.e. more profitable) uses. Thus, for instance, the White Paper proposing the establishment of the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation emphasised the "need for more concentration and rationalisation to promote the greater efficiency and international competitiveness of British industry." But the reality of the situation does not recognisably correspond to the rhetoric which surrounds it. Newbould's study, though this certainly was not his intention, has convincingly shown the Marxist proposition, that the monopoly capitalist firm achieves its profits by eliminating competition rather than through competition, to be indispu-

tably true.

Newbould's study is based on a statistical analysis of "successful" mergers and takeovers in the 1967-68 period (like the GEC acquisition of AEI, which has led to so much "greater efficiency" that thousands of workers have been thrown out of their jobs) and a penetrating questionnaire to the "triumphant executives" of what motivated them to make the bid. The *Sunday Times* Business News reviewer (12.7.70) was compelled to admit that: "Together they amount to a slashing attack on management motives and performances out of their own mouths." The study found the most frequent motive for takeover bids (some 27% of the cases investigated) to be, according to the management of the successful bidder firms, market dominance, either by enlarging their own share of the market or by lessening the "problems" of the competitive environment, but either way by eliminating the competition.

In his study, Newbould has also produced some useful results which relate to the question of the divorce of ownership from control in joint-stock companies. That there is this separation has been known and proven for many years: as long ago as the 1930's, for 176 of the 200 largest non-financial U.S. corporations, the median holding of stock by the managers was only about 2.1% of voting shares, and in only 36 cases did they hold more than 10%. More recently, Professor Sargent Florence has found that, on average, in 268 large British industrial and commercial companies in 1951, only 2.3% of voting shares were owned by the directors, and very few directors appeared among the largest twenty shareholders. The recent trend has been toward further divorce of control and ownership.

While it has long been known then, that management and shareholders are separate entities in companies, what Newbould has done is to show that these two entities also have separate interests and priorities, and just how much these diverge, as revealed in merger practice. (Incidentally, he also shows how sharply the managers' interests differ from those of

customers, workers, and the "national interest"). The shareholders are very frequently ill-served by their directors, at least when it comes to the question of a merger. For of the 223 quoted company takeovers of over £1m., 161 went publicly unopposed, yet where bids were opposed (either by the directors or by rival bidders), the final price paid averaged 75% above pre-bid prices. It would seem that the reason for this absence of public opposition to takeover bids on the part of directors, even when opposition would earn a better price, is often merely the protection of their own jobs!

But to return to the question of the merger boom, and Newbould's policy proposals. After briefly surveying the possible alternatives (according to his own ideologically limited conception of the possibilities), ranging from *laissez-faire* to a complete ban on mergers, Newbould declares himself in favour of setting up an "Efficiency Commission" (by which he means, of course, a "profitability commission") with power to freely investigate managements and to "publicly expose" (?) any deficiencies discovered. For workers and socialists, however, this is not highly relevant. It is not up to us to either prevent or propose the centralisation of capital. The role of the working class, as Mandel puts it in a slightly different context (*Europe versus America?* New Left Books, p.112), "is to place its own socialist aims on the agenda". What we must do, in answer to the increasing monopolisation of industry and the growing domination over the economy of a very few giant firms, and the unemployment which is the usual consequence of "rationalisation" (for it is invariably the workers who are "rationalised"), is not to advocate this or that policy as being more favourable, but to counterpose always the question of power, of working-class power, by demanding the nationalisation of industry, without compensation, under workers' control. To quote Mandel again (*ibid.*, p.134), "socialism offers us the only clear way out".

Nigel Brown

*Gerald D. Newbould, *Management and Merger Activity*, published by Gustead, 1970.

the cinema liberation front

The American Dream

Our cultural heritage is one of the mediation of experience and activity—we were born victims of a screen, a page, a canvas, reflecting not the image of ourselves but of aliens living our existence for us. An urban generation was fed Hollywood in bottles, then weaned on Godard, and is now seeking to define itself in terms that bear as much relation to reality as Nixon rhetoric to politics. Our minds are colonised by the American Dream, and the only horizon is one of a struggle for liberation, for the surfacing of human characteristics in a consumer culture that denies our every creative potential.

A destructive starting point: the commercial feature film is a ninety minute slogan of domination. We queue up outside a black hole, and pay for the privilege of watching a masquerade that exploits our emotions, our commitment, our insecurity. Look around at what's going down in the art-houses today—look at the Movement subverted by such gems as *Zabriskie Point* and *The Strawberry Statement*, the drop-out by *Midnight Cowboy* and *Easy Rider*, Chicago by *Medium Cool* and *Prologue*, the impotence of revolutionaries travestied by *Leo the Last* and *Praise Marx...* The sickening catalogue could go on and on—love, revolution, joy—all words made obsolete and meaningless by an industry dedicated only to its self-perpetuation and the cultivation of needs which only itself can satisfy.

A constructive sequel: advances on different fronts within the context of the screen-viewer relationship. Godard's *Le Gai Savoir* and the early Tatooist films: a declaration of war on our conditioning, on the screen as death. David Larcher's *Mare's Tail*: a cinema of self-expression taken to the point where the screen becomes a flickering mosaic of thought patterns, a complement to life. All these films have been shown recently at The Place, and will no doubt make sporadic reappearances.

What Is An Image?

What is an image? Think of a pine forest and a mountain lake. The trees are reflected in the lake, forming an image. Take away the trees, but keep the image, and the lake becomes a screen. Now imagine an audience in front of the lake. What they see is their reflection. Replace this reflection by the screen and its pine trees, and you have the standard cinema situation. In *Le Gai Savoir* Godard breaks with this convention, and makes a film about people watching each other. The boy and girl staring out from the screen are, in Godard's terms, the reflection of the audience. And the fragments of the rhetoric of mass-communication he

selves and our reflections. Between "our" and "selves". Godard's anger is sophisticated and and largely ineffectual—he brutalises film stock as an expression of the brutalisation he has suffered by the "spectacle" society.

The Tatooists

Closer to the pragmatic English mind is the contained rage of the Tatooist films. Printed letters across the screen—You came here expecting enlightenment, atmosphere, art, but you didn't bring any with you, DID YOU? Or a close-up of a microphone, and the caption—Now it's your turn to speak. And after a couple of minutes of silence—There, you didn't have much to say after all. Of course, such terrorism is outrageous—if someone did stand up and talk, he'd probably be cat-called by the audience for "spoiling the film". The Tatooist critique is very much in terms of ideas—shifting the ratio of information transfer to feedback between the screen and the audience. It is an attempt to develop the characterisation potential of the audience, to smash the limits of a situation rather than define it. As such the film is not an entity in itself—it is just the constant factor in a variable situation. And some of these have been very funny (see *Cinemantics 2*). The Tatooists are perfectly at home with a technological means of communication—their political communication is: don't be drugged by the media—use it.

Mare's Tail

On a radically different front is David Larcher and his two-and-a-half-hour film *Mare's Tail*. He has come as close as anyone to equating his own life with a personal cinema—a long, unedited film poem, dedicated to those who "have nothing to do and nowhere to go." There is nothing a critic can say about the content of the film—that is Larcher's sacred territory. All that can be done is to defend his project and his means of accomplishing it.

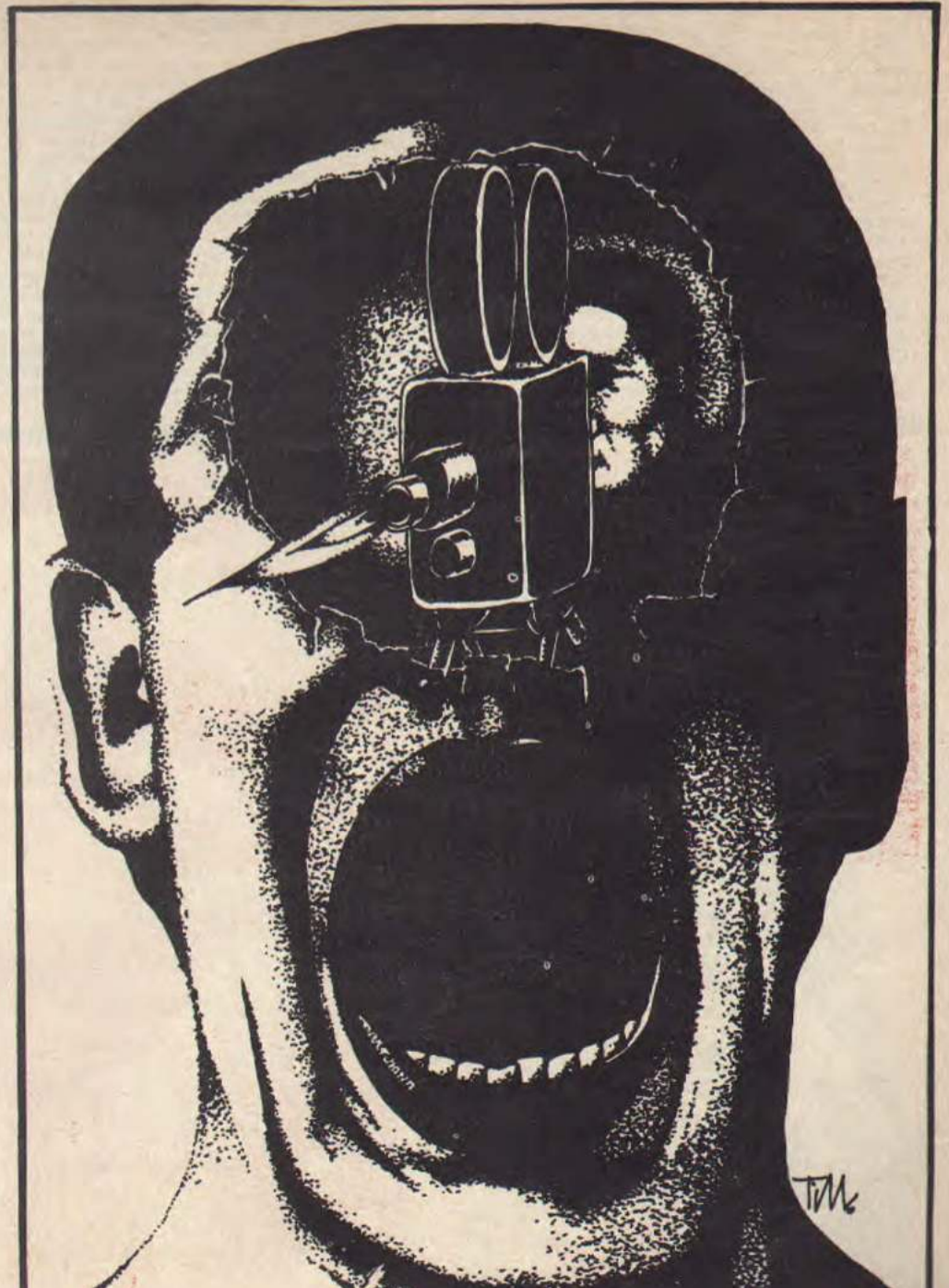
What Larcher has rejected is the bourgeois aesthetic which demands the organisation of material on a formal level and the rigid censorship of free association on a content level. He has not only refused to negotiate with the conventional fictional psycho-drama (condemned by Vertov as far back as 1922)—he has created a viable alternative. Editing is one of the fundamental illusionist devices of the commercial cinema—it denies the act of filming as the moment of truth, and substitutes for it a passive manipulation of processed images. This imposes order where there was only anarchy—every cut is an implicit moral judgement. Or as Godard put it years ago—filming is life and editing death. Larcher as dreamer and

are in themselves expressions of freedom.

The unsympathetic observer will find only boredom in *Mare's Tail*. The politically blink blinkered will find only bourgeois individualism. But Larcher is preparing our minds for the struggles of the future.

John Mathews

*From the informative programme to the Festival of British Independents published by The Other Cinema.



THE DOCKS

STRIKE SOLD OUT

As we go to press, the dock strike has just been sold out. By a 51-31 vote, today's Lay Delegates Conference voted to accept the Pearson Inquiry's non-offer. It isn't clear whether the dockers in the more militant ports—Royal Group, Liverpool—will give up the struggle or will carry on unofficially. It isn't yet clear what will happen at the mass meetings over the next two days (except in Southampton where the dockers almost unanimously rejected talk of an unofficial strike) to which the delegates must report back. But it is clear, all too clear, that the dockers have been out for two weeks, have lost three weeks' pay, for nothing.

Dockers from ports all over the country massed today outside the T&G's offices in Transport House to try to do something to make the delegates (selected, not elected, as dockers explain) respond to the feelings of the mass of dockers in the main ports. The men in Smith Square mostly knew, or had a strong suspicion, which way the delegates would vote: perhaps the actual figures were worse than most expected. With Liverpool and Southampton's votes, 14 and 29 respectively, against the Report's offer, with Tyneside delegates mandated to vote against too, angry militants were totting up the figures, wondering how such a heavy blow had been dealt. They were sickened and disgusted, talking of leaving the Whites and joining the Blues, shouting "You've sold us out," and "We want Jones."* Jones was wise enough to be unavailable, apparently at a press conference (who does that man really represent?), and most of the delegates cleft out of the side door, the back door, the tradesmen's entrance, perhaps even the lavatory windows, rather than face the men they were supposed to represent—but in fact sold out—in the street.

The only real explanation for the delegates voting the way they did was that they, and especially the T&G leadership, never wanted the strike in the first place. Rank and file dockers forced it on them. At the first straw offered to them by the government and employers' official report, they wavered and collapsed. It was a miserable straw, too: £20 fall back and holiday pay, as offered by Tonge, and a slight improvement in overtime rates, while dockers can still get overtime. This is only temporary, pending the introduction of Devlin Phase Two. **AND NOTHING AT ALL ON THE BASIC**

The unfree press had performed its usual role in the service of capitalism by putting forward the rumour that Pearson was going to recommend something on the basic, lulling some dockers almost into complacency and putting them in a state of mind in which acceptance of Pearson seemed almost inevitable. "Nasty rumours" were circulating among dockers that they were "only going to get £2 on the basic"—which would have put it up to a derisory £13.18. And finally nothing. But by then the will of the T&G leadership to fight had been lost beyond recovery.

The T&G leaders support for the strike was in any case highly equivocal. They had already accepted Devlin Phase Two, propoganded for it among their members, and threatened a strike if it was not brought in. The demand for the £20 basic, however much some shop-stewards and delegates might argue that it was a justified demand which had nothing to do with Phase Two except as a kind of insurance against the employers reneging, certainly brought the whole of Phase Two into question. At least the employers would have had to do better on the rates offered in their package

deal; otherwise dockers would have taken their new basic wage and told the employers to stuff the rest: redundancies, shift work, "labour mobility", "labour flexibility", reduced manning scales and all. But the employers were determined to get their "modernisation" and the union leadership lulled by committee room talk of the "national interest", tea and sympathy with the bosses and, for some of them, a regular £100 a week basic, was not prepared to take them on.

When the strike was official the dockers were in fact in a strong position. The strike was solid in all the ports. Continental ports were blocking cargoes diverted to them from Britain. The troops were actually a paper tiger: apart from "left" Labour M.P.s anxious about "industrial unrest", and a few people who didn't like the idea of the number of soldiers likely to be killed and injured (7 soldiers were killed in accidents the last time the army was sent into the docks), nobody was particularly bothered at the prospect of troops in the docks. London market porters had already undertaken to black any goods unloaded by the troops; lorry drivers were to be called out by the T&G. The dockers could have fought the Tories and won a great victory for the working class.

So a position of strength has been lost. But the fight should not be given up. The argument is being used: "We are in a difficult position. Only some ports might come out unofficially, and we don't want a repeat of the 1967 disaster" (when uncoordinated strikes in Liverpool and London against Devlin Phase One were defeated completely in London and partially in Liverpool). But this is quite wrong. The key problem confronting dockers is Devlin Phase Two, and on the clear evidence of the present strike, it will not be successfully fought by the T&G.

So it is necessary to try and build an effective rank-and-file movement, taking in also those militant dockers who belong to the NAS&D

or who are excluded by the trade-union bureaucracy from being in any union. And to build such an effective, unofficial or shop-stewards movement will involve a struggle against the official T&G machine.

But the next few months will show what the government and the employers can get away with complacently and blatantly ignoring the dockers' demands; whether the union officials can get away with, yet again, reneging on their support for their members, or whether they have, the lot of them, misjudged the mood of the dockers. The big struggles are yet to come.

Teresa Hayter
Tony Whelan

* One docker said that all he could think of doing was going home and committing

The RED MOLE produced a special broadsheet on the dock strike which came out the day after the official strike began and which we have been selling large numbers on the docks and elsewhere. It has articles on the background and political implications of the strike written by people who have been involved in militant struggles in the docks, and a interview with Ernie Rice, one of the delegates for the Royal Group of Dockers. It is still available in limited numbers. Write to the centre for copies.

IRELAND

IF YOU HATE THE BRITISH ARMY, CLAP YOUR HANDS

(Bob Purdie has just returned from his visit to Ireland on behalf of The Red Mole. He has interviewed many Irish militants which we will publish in later issues. Here he reports on the situation in the Falls in Belfast.)

Once again the Irish people are seeing the real face of British imperialism. Having crushed the protests about the imprisonment of Bernadette Devlin, the British Army proceeded to attack the Falls Road area of Belfast, ostensibly to look for arms. The real situation is this: the Falls is under military occupation.

Three weeks after the attack Falls is still seething with anger; many of the houses are only now being straightened up after the delicate attentions of the British troops. The Civil Rights Association has produced an impressive series of photographs showing the damage which was done, sinks were ripped from the walls, upholstery torn open, toilets smashed up, religious pictures and statuettes smashed. Quite apart from damage which could have been "legitimately" caused in the process of searching for arms, money was stolen, gas meters broken into, and valuables taken. A thousand copies of the *United Irishman* and hundreds of copies of the Republican movement's manifesto were arbitrarily burned.

The whole operation shows how interested the

British Government is in "civil rights". The presence of the British Army in Northern Ireland is quite illegal; no state of emergency has been declared, and there is no constitutional provision for the kind of activities they are engaged in. Indeed, they are very sensitive on this point; the "curfew" which they imposed was later denied, and people who were arrested for breaking it have since been charged with obstructing the police (no policemen have been in the Falls, except for token gestures, since last August!)

When challenged on the legality of their actions, they immediately go into a panic. In the early hours of Thursday 23rd July, the owner of a car in Ton Street (the heart of rebel Falls) was told that his car was being searched. In a loud voice he asked under what legislation the search was being carried out. The soldiers refused to answer and ordered him out of the car. He insisted that he be told, asking if the search was being done under the Special Powers Act. At this point a considerable crowd of neighbours had gathered; the Army barricaded off both ends of the street, and declared them to be an illegal assembly (which did not impress them too much); they insisted on being told the legal position. An Army Captain was called; he denied that the search was being done under the Special Powers Act; the car owner refused to allow the car to be searched; a Major was called; he too denied that the Act was being used, and retired with the Captain and the Sergeant for consultations; the Cap-

tain returned and admitted that the Act was being invoked. The owner allowed his car to be searched. Shortly afterwards the Major returned and denied that the Special Powers Act had been used!

The people of the Falls are very clear about what the Army is there for. It is there to prevent, not religious conflict, but any danger of a repetition of "Free Belfast". There are sandbagged posts at the street corners, armoured cars, and jeeps full of armed soldiers patrolling constantly; foot patrols of six to ten soldiers with rifles and billy-clubs at the ready walk up and down the streets. A new form of intimidation is the constant photographing of people, particularly if they are known Republicans, or are seen in the company of, or near the houses of, Republicans.

The Irish are used to occupation forces, and have their own ways of dealing with them. One unfortunate soldier got lost in the dark one night, following a voice which sounded just like his mate's! The children of Falls are delighted with their new game; they run behind the patrols singing, "If you hate the British Army, clap your hands."

The role of the Army in Falls is completely political. Last summer behind the barricades the people showed that they were capable of running their own community without Stormont, Westminster, British troops or the RUC. The danger that they might decide to do without them again sends cold shivers down the spine of British Imperialism, and its

Northern Irish partners. In addition the Falls is the stronghold of the "Red" Republicans, that section of the Republican Movement which has declared a Workers' Republic. They have won the confidence of the people by assisting them against racketeer landlords, moving them into empty houses and protecting them from eviction. In co-operation with other organisations, they run an advice centre, where free legal advice can be obtained in addition to help in dealing with the state bureaucracy and physical protection where necessary.

Last year confusion about the real role of the Troops was rife on the British left. The situation today confirms the position of those who said that they had gone in to get the barricades down and to smash dual power in Derry and Belfast and that any temporary help/protection they gave to the Catholics against an Orange pogrom was with this in mind. Today there can be no confusion about their role, but the crime of the British left inaction. The crisis in Northern Ireland deepens every day, and every day brings closer the inevitable confrontation between British Imperialism, and the forces of National Liberation in Ireland. What is needed now is to build a mass solidarity movement to aid that struggle.

Bob Purdie

