

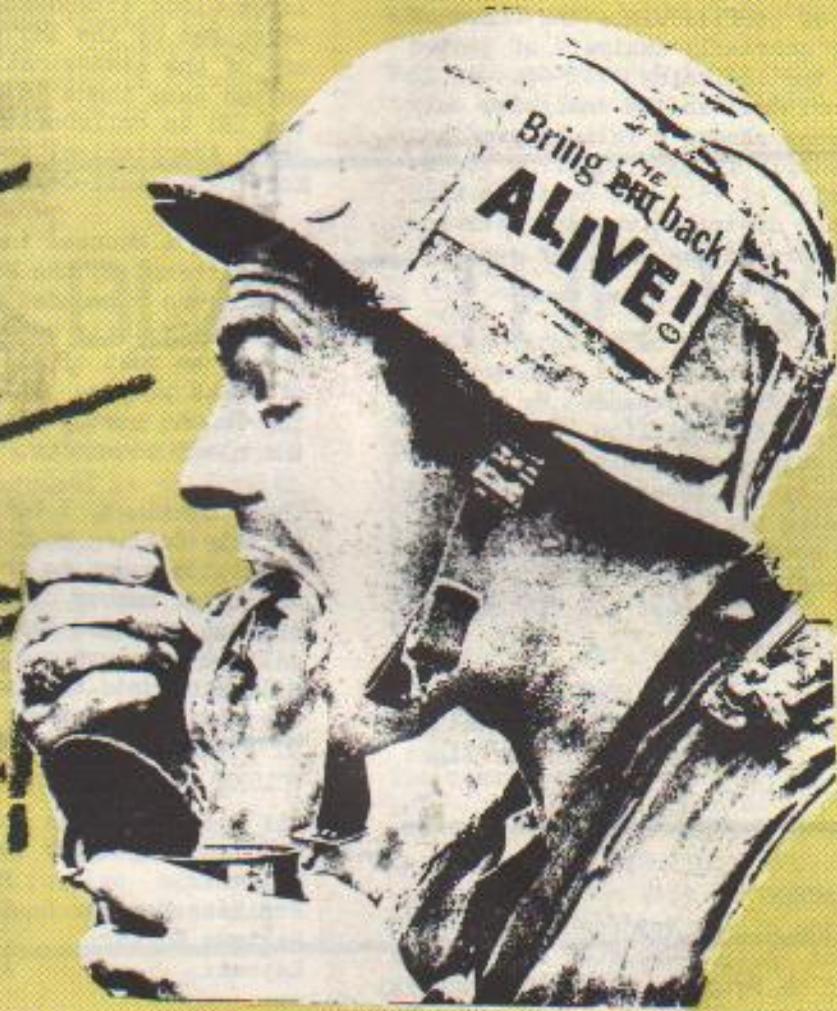
90

International

A SURVEY OF BRITISH AND
WORLD AFFAIRS

Workers' Control in perspective

G.I.'s
fight
against
the war!



LSE &
RSSF

ULSTER &
MARXISTS

1/6

letters

FROM DAVE WINDSOR

Scarcely a day goes by without some fresh attempt by the Government, in one form or another, to keep down wages. The same day as we heard on the radio that the FIB was vetoing the bankworkers award, the BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL gave figures for company profits in the final quarter of 1968.

They scored a record rise: gross trading profits of 257 companies which reported amounted to £369 million, an increase over the previous year of almost 25 per cent.

This represents, according to the journal, the most rapid growth of profits since the Board of Trade initiated the quarterly analysis of quoted company accounts at the beginning of 1963. Of 22 industry groups included in the analysis, only clothing and footwear showed a fall in profits. Profits rose more sharply in manufacturing industry, with an expansion of 25.3 per cent. to £248 million, than in the distributive and service trades, where the increase was 23.5 per cent. to £121 million.

Gross dividends were 12 per cent higher at £93 million, depreciation and retentions (a notorious method of avoiding taxes) expanded by no less than 31.4 per cent. to £155 million. Turnover of 177 companies for which comparable figures were available advanced by 12.4 per cent to £5,093 million, but as trading profits for these companies rose twice as much, the ratio of profits to turnover increased from 9 per cent. to 10.1 per cent. This latter point shows how "patriotic" the business community is.

These figures show very clearly that the Government's policies are entirely in the interest of big business. They should be used in our fight against the incomes policy.

FROM NOTTINGHAM NJACWNER

The working committee of the Nottingham branch of the National Joint Action Campaign for Women's Equal Rights stated on February 24th: "We support unequivocally the right of the Ford women to refuse to do night shift work as a condition of gaining equal pay.

"Equal pay is a principle that stands by itself and is not dependent on any extra responsibilities or changes in working conditions. We reject the statements from the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the Royal College of Nursing and Mrs. Marie Patterson of TGWU. The Labour movement has never denied the manning of vital work in the public services which must be carried out regardless of time of day, but the social desirability of shift working is questionable, and in the last analysis the decision belongs to the workers involved.

"Trade unions and other working class organisations should be fighting for BETTER working conditions

- not agitating to spread some of the WORST features of present-day industry. If some people are concerned with parity in working conditions there is a vast expanse of existing grievances to concentrate upon."

"Let us not forget that society in general OWES an enormous debt to women who have worked (and still do) at reduced rates for years. Let the complainers be thankful that women workers do not claim "Equal Pay" back-dated 80 years - when the TUC passed its first resolution demanding equal pay."

Mrs. Antonia Gorton
(Nottingham corresponding secretary for NJACWNER)

FROM PAT JORDAN

I have recently attended three meetings with a large black attendance. The first in London was organised by the IMG to commemorate the anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X; the next on the same theme in Birmingham, also organised by the IMG in collaboration with the West Indian Students Association; and the last organised by the Nottingham Anti-Colour Bar Association.

Each was a success in terms of numbers and spirit (the attempt by the National Front to disrupt the London one rebounded upon them - they went away with their tails between their legs). But what struck me most of all was a common theme: unity of Black people. This must reflect a deep feeling in the most politically active sections of the black community.

These meetings, I believe, by giving a platform to this feeling must have helped in this respect; could I suggest to readers in areas where there are large number of black people that they see if they can organise similar meetings? There are excellent speakers available and really good Malcolm X records too (which are guaranteed to make a successful meeting.)

VOLUME TWO, NUMBER THREE

MARCH 1969

All communications to: U Tynbee St., London E.1

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CONTENTS

	Page	
Letters	2	
Ulster Election Farce	3	
Fords Blaze the trail	3	
Bourgeois Ideology and Education	3	
Marxists and Northern Ireland	5	
New Polytechnics	6	
National Convention of the Left	7	
U.S. Steps up war	8	
GIs oppose War	9	
Workers Control in Perspective	10	
Malcolm X and White Revolutionaries	11	
Hilda Gades in London	12	
The Spanish State of Emergency	13	
LSE: What Happened	14	

Signed articles do not necessarily represent editorial opinion.

Ulster: Election Farce Solves Nothing

O'Neill called the general election in Northern Ireland to give him a mandate - he came near to losing his seat to the arch-bigot Paisley. That one result typified the whole farce; nothing was changed and nothing was solved. The basic problems of Northern Ireland - as explained elsewhere in this issue - are incapable of solution without a basic social overturn in the six counties.

The one feature which surprised most people - including most of the left - was the relatively large vote gained by the candidates of People's Democracy and other militant Civil Rights candidates. This, too, underlines the complete lack of any perspective of a solution through parliamentary means. Owing to the efforts of British imperialism to create a social base through bigotry in the six counties, there is no prospect of any parliamentary combination appearing in Stormont which will take decisive measures against discrimi-

ination. The fact that a significant section of Catholic workers have transferred their allegiance to candidates associated with militant action on the streets is the most hopeful thing to come out of the election.

This election underlines our general assessment of the situation in Northern Ireland: there is a permanent crisis, one which will be fought out by militant means on the streets (by both sides) and one which has no solution without revolutionary struggle. That being the case, the left in Britain has to consider very carefully how it can assist the defeat of the Stormont bigots and their Whitehall backers. The working out of correct slogans is thus of extreme importance.

We welcome contributions to a discussion on this topic which has been initiated in our columns.

FORDS BLAZE THE WAY

As if to underline everything the left has been saying about the Government's vicious anti-trade union legislation, Fords have used it to justify taking our two biggest unions to court. Just now this matter is still in the courts and the Government is using this to avoid answering certain criticisms "because the matter is sub-judice". However, it is clear for all to see that the Government's policies will inspire all big business to take a much harder line with the unions. Thus the last shred of argument that the legislation is designed to help the workers is torn away.

This incident also stresses the urgency of the need to mount a counter-offensive against the Government's policies. The lead will clearly not

come from the TUC - its "opposition" consists of telling the Government: "Let us do the job for you - if you are not careful you will be faced with a revolt which we cannot control." This line won a substantial majority at the recent meeting of union executives on February 27th - it was bad that the TGWU switched its vote. But even the opposition to the TUC's line was not based on an offensive strategy. The best that came out of that conference was really a call to go back to the "good old days" of free collective bargaining.

The coming conference for workers control is thus most timely. As pointed out by our editor in this issue, this conference has the opportunity and the duty to initiate a fighting strategy. This is the best answer we can give to Ford's.

POLITICS, IDEOLOGY & EDUCATION

JULIAN ATKINSON

A cartoon appeared recently in the national press that showed a lecturer gazing disdainfully at his students. "Some of you students have urged me to teach that bourgeois society is corrupt. Bourgeois society is corrupt. Returning now to the question of congruent triangles..." In other words, education is education is education, and is nothing to do with politics or class ideology. "How do you spell 'cat' under socialism?" Earl-

ier writings on education were less reserved in their political judgments. Any attempt to trace the evolution of our present educational system will bring us up continually against the hard realities of class politics and class ideology.

When the possibility of educating the 'lower orders' was first being seriously discussed, the ruling class had strong ideas as to how the work-

ers should spell 'cat'. They should not be allowed to spell it at all, and a prohibition was cast against the teaching of reading and writing. These skills would lead to political education. The GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE of 1797 expressed this argument with vigour:

"Industry is the duty to impress on the lower classes. A little learning makes a man ambitious to rise, if he cannot by fair means then he uses foul. His ignorance is a balm that soothes his mind into stupidity and repose, and excludes every notion of discontent, pride and ambition. A man of no literature will seldom attempt to form insurrections, or form idle schemes for the reformation of the state."

It was this line of thought that was dominant in the ruling class well into the nineteenth century. Education was identified with subversion. However, this purely reactionary stance steadily became less viable. The master engineer, Alexander Galloway gave evidence to the 1824 Report on Artisans and Machinery. "I have found from the mode of managing my business, by drawings and written descriptions, a man is not of much use to me unless he can read and write". As capitalism developed it needed a skilled work-force. It demanded the education of the working class. It was therefore the rising bourgeois who championed the rights of workers to literacy against the opposition of the landowners. Not that the bourgeois ignored the warnings of the landowners. They were very aware of the political problems. Education would be given, but it had to be ideologically correct. The minds of the workers had to be moulded "like wet clay in a plastic hand". These ideas emerged with the Utilitarians, but soon spread until they had even reached the Tories. Kay-Shuttleworth, an early educational administrator, addressed the party in the 1840s:

"It is astonishing for us, that the party calling themselves Conservative should not lead the van in promoting the diffusion of that knowledge among the working classes which tends beyond anything else to promote the security of property and the maintenance of public order. To restore the working classes to their former state of incurious and contented apathy is impossible... If they are to have knowledge, surely it is the part of a wise and virtuous government to do all in its power to secure them useful knowledge, and guard them against pernicious opinions."

The frankness of the ruling class is in no little part due to their arrogant assumptions that the workers, like well-trained domestics, would go deaf while their betters were discussing. In fact, the workers did hear and took note that their rulers were using education as a "social policeman". Working-class education, whenever the workers controlled it, became independent working class education. They formed schools around their Hampden Clubs or Chartist branches which taught reading and writing, politics and economics, using their texts and newspapers. Thomas Hodgskin, a pioneer of the labour theory of value, wrote:

"A man had better be without education... than be educated by (his) rulers; for then education is

but the mere breaking-in of the steer to the yoke; the mere discipline of a hunting dog, which, by dint of severity, is made to forego the strongest impulse of his nature, and instead of devouring his prey, to hasten with it to the feet of his master."

It is not surprising that the working class evolved a strategy of independent education. It had proved very successful for the bourgeoisie. They had set up their dissenting academies, and their proprietary schools (the latter were formed by, possibly, the first major use of the new capitalist tool of joint stock companies), and even started their own university - University College, London. When the capitalist class became strong enough to control the machinery of the state, they changed their strategy and instituted a series of Royal Commissions to mould the educational system to their use. The moribund public and grammar schools were pumelled until they could provide a useful education for the middle class. Via legal swindles, they changed the charters of "their" schools to eject the working class scholarship holders. The Newcastle Commission came forward with proposals that enabled the capitalist class to cut the money spent on working-class education by 25% in three years. The class society built a class system in its own image.

In the twentieth century, the educational opportunities for the working class were systematically attacked. When the locally-elected school boards started giving a more than elementary education in their Higher Grade schools, the state acted. These schools were seen as competitors to the grammar schools and a threat to the "real pre-eminence on knowledge" of the middle class. The Higher Grade schools were closed and the school boards dissolved.

Just as the workers had to be taught to read and write to service capitalist industry in the nineteenth century, now the needs of the scientific revolution demand that the potential work force has to be highly trained. The contradiction at the heart of education in a class society is intensified. Education can still act as an initiator of 'subversion' and a radical questioning of class divisions. It is also, more than ever, crucial to the progress of the economy. Whereas return capital increased between 1900 and 1956 by a factor of $4\frac{1}{2}$ times on real values, the human capital on money invested in the education of the labour force increased $9\frac{1}{2}$ times. The relationship between economic growth, political power and investment in education is shown by the crash educational schemes initiated in the U.S.A. in 1957 - the year of the sputnik. In the eighteenth century, Mandeville wrote of working class education:

"I would not care to ride a horse that knows as much as I". Neither would the capitalist class today.

To the extent that they are forced to invest in more education, to that extent it becomes imperative that they control the universities, colleges and schools. And that is why the Confederation of British Industries, Ted Short and Walter Adams are so upset about the events at the L.S.E.

MARXISTS *and* NORTHERN IRELAND

MURRY SMITH

When approaching the question of Ireland, British marxists must be careful to differentiate between the correct demands for socialists to make in Ireland, and those demands it is appropriate to raise in Britain, in solidarity with struggles in Ireland. Obviously what we want to see is a socialist Ireland, but we must be quite clear that the achievement of this is the task of the Irish working class, and its allies among other sectors of the Irish people, such as the small farmers, the students., etc.

Having stated this, let us proceed first of all to analyse briefly the situation in Ireland today - both North and South. The situation in Northern Ireland has changed dramatically over the last six months. Up till then, Northern Ireland had remained depressingly the same for nearly half a century. Since its creation as an entity in 1921, the province has been ruled by one party, the Unionists - a bourgeois party representing the interests of the British and Anglo-Irish capitalists and landlords, and basing itself on the Protestant two-thirds of the population. It has retained the support of these people, overwhelmingly workers and small farmers, on the basis of maintaining the Union with England (i.e., separation from Catholic Ireland) and the privileged position of Protestants.

The religious bigotry which makes this state of affairs possible goes back to the Seventeenth Century, when Ulster was colonised by British Protestant settlers who drove out the native Irish. Since then the Ulster Protestants have always clung to the link with Britain for "protection". The poor Protestants have been and are used by the ruling class like the "pied noirs" in Algeria and the "poor whites" in America's deep south. They collaborate in discrimination (religious, cultural, economic, political) against the Catholics. The ruling class are thus able to have the Northern working class divided and unable to fight as an effective force. Northern Ireland has remained politically divided primarily along religious, not class lines. Economically wages have remained the lowest in the United Kingdom, housing conditions among the worst in Europe, and unemployment very high (over 7%, equivalent to 1½ million unemployed in Britain). All these problems have been more acute

for Catholic workers, who get the less skilled jobs, the worst housing, and suffer most from unemployment. (In Catholic Derry the rate is 17½%, in Strabane 25%, in Protestant Belfast, around 9%).

The central problem for socialists in the North has always been how to unite Catholic and Protestant workers. This has seldom been done. (It was being done prior to partition, in the strikes of 1906 and 1913, for example. Since then, only to a certain extent in the thirties). The Labour Party in Northern Ireland has always been bedevilled by the problem of the border.

To accept it means driving the Catholic workers into the arms of the middle class nationalists. It has been afraid to attack the border for fear of alienating Protestant workers. For the last 20 years it has chosen to accept it. The Northern Ireland Labour Party is today a reformist mirror of its British counterpart, and a defender of the Union - but it has the affiliation of the trade unions. The smaller Irish Labour Party and Republican Labour Party are anti-partition, and have largely Catholic support. In this situation the Unionists have retained the support of the mass of Protestant workers, the Nationalists that of the Catholics.

The situation altered sharply last autumn, with the development of the Civil Rights movement. This sprang from two sources:

- (1) the Derry Housing Action Committee; and
- (2) the People's Democracy at Queens University.

The Derry HAC, a mainly working class organisation, began to campaign last year against the atrocious housing conditions in that city (500 houses built since 1919!). This became expanded into the Derry Citizens' Action Committee (a predominantly middle class body) - fighting not just the housing issue, but also on electoral gerrymandering and the denial of the local government vote to many of the (Catholic) workers of Derry and elsewhere, and the multiple vote for property owners. People's Democracy was set up in October to campaign along the same lines, but has done so in a much more aggressive and militant way, obviously inspired by the escalating struggles of students internationally. The split between People's Democracy and the middle class leadership of Hume and Cooper of Derry CAC, and Currie and co. of the Nationalist Party, has been obvious since the beginning of this year (the Belfast-Derry march, etc.). The militant leadership from People's Democracy has elicited a response among the Catholic workers of Derry and elsewhere, who are much more militant than their leadership - viz., the effective occupation of Bogside by a workers' militia for a week.

In this situation, what should we advise socialists in the six counties to do? The aim must be to break the workers from both Unionist and Nationalist parties, and win them to a socialist position. This can be done through fighting for a socialist line in the Civil Rights movement, and to extend it to the Protestant workers, still largely unaffected by it. The radicalised students can play a big role in such a struggle. Concurrently, a struggle must be waged for a more

militant socialist policy in the Northern Ireland Labour Party, to support workers' struggles, and to campaign for the removal of the border in order to assist the whole Irish working class to wage a united fight for a socialist Ireland.

In the South, there has also been an upsurge of political activity by workers and students recently. Industry in Eire (much of it American) has developed considerably during the phase of capitalist development since the Second World War. There has over the last year been an escalating wave of strikes in the Republic, affecting many sections of workers. There has been the development of the Dublin Housing Action Committee. There has been considerable radicalising of students. In January a demonstration of 2,000 workers and students against the eviction of a squatter was broken up by police in Dublin. This growing militancy has been reflected on the political plane. The Irish Labour Party recently adopted a radically left-wing programme, including the call for Connolly's "republic of workers and small farmers". It is widely tipped to make big gains at the next election, the more so since Lynch failed to win the referendum held last year to change to the British (two party biased) voting system. For the first time in many years there is a chance for Irish workers to break from the two nationalist parties.

The task of socialists in the Republic should be to fight in the Labour Party for an even firmer socialist programme, for support of the workers' strike struggles and the Housing Action Committees. In addition, the demand should be raised to reunify the Irish Labour Party and the Northern Ireland Labour Party (the unions in both North and South are already linked by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions) and to fight for a united Ireland. Fianna Fail and Fine Gael must not be allowed to regain the allegiance of Southern workers by posing as the champions of unity and the inheritors of the tradition of 1916, as they have done for half a century.

By fighting along such a programme in North and South, revolutionaries can lay the basis for the revolutionary socialist party which will be built from the left wing in the Labour Party and trade unions, the Civil Rights movement and the radical students. It is neither possible nor desirable that we in Britain should work out a detailed strategy for the building of a revolutionary party in Ireland. That is the task of Irish marxists. We can simply sketch out a general line of such a strategy, and offer our help in every way, political and practical.

It is claimed in some quarters on the British left that the demand for a united Ireland (that is, for self-determination of the Irish people as a whole) is not revolutionary, that it is acceptable to Wilson and Lynch. We should, according to these people, demand a united socialist Ireland. This is incorrect. Firstly, the demand for a united Ireland is revolutionary. Wilson and Lynch might want a united Ireland. It would be more economically convenient, less politically embarrassing. The point is that to secure it would mean smashing the basis of right-wing Protestantism in the North, of unleashing civil war

in fact. This the British imperialist Government will never do. Only the Irish working class could do it. Britain will rather send in troops to back O'Neill against the workers and students.

Secondly, if unity was achieved, it would enable the Irish workers to begin to fight as a class for a socialist Ireland. Thirdly, we have absolutely no right to question the right of the Irish people to self-determination - whether this leads to a socialist Ireland or not.

This leads us on to the question of what revolutionary socialists can do in Britain. Obviously we can and must, as already stated, give all possible help to revolutionary socialists in Ireland. It also goes without saying that we show our solidarity with workers in Ireland (or students) who are engaged in a fight with the capitalist state, either North or South - as we should do in relation to France, Mexico, or anywhere else. But we also have wider responsibilities to the Irish people. As revolutionary socialists in an imperialist country which is occupying part of Ireland, we have a special responsibility to campaign for the withdrawal of those troops. We do not set any conditions to our support for the struggle of Irish people against British imperialism and its servants at Stormont. This means that we:

- (1) support all demands of the people of the six counties for political rights, jobs and housing;
- (2) demand the withdrawal of all British troops;
- and (3) demand the ending of all support, political and economic, for the Stormont Government.

It is along these lines that we must campaign in this country. We do so in order to enable the Irish people to settle accounts with the Unionist oligarchy and the Paisleyite thugs, stripped of their support from British imperialism.

NEW POLYTECHNICS

There is very little known generally about technical colleges and the whole range of further education. The debate on education usually encompasses comprehensive/grammar/public school and university. And yet the majority of 15-18 year-olds who are in formal education are in colleges. Neither do universities provide the major educational provision for the over-18s. Again, the majority are taught in the various further education colleges. This, at least, makes Eric Robinson's book* important.

This ignorance pervades much of the thinking of the Labour Government and the left as a whole. The NEW STATESMAN, for example, gave the 1956 White Paper on Technical Colleges a mild welcome as a new deal for technical schools. Either this was a thrust of rare wit or an uncommon admission of abysmal ignorance. At a more serious level, Anthony Crosland was responsible for a Labour Party study group which reported in 1963 that most students in technical colleges were under 18 and the work of these colleges was irrelevant to a policy statement on higher education!

It is not surprising that Eric Robinson states

that: "The story of the development of higher education in the technical colleges during the last decade is a story of development in spite of government action as much as it is a story of the effect of government policies". It is certainly true that it is further education that is the most vulnerable object of the government's present onslaught on education. This, of course, does not square with many of the Labour Party's policy statements, least of all the breathtakingly hypocritical document on further education prepared for one of the Young Socialist conferences. But at least Labour has been consistent on rattling on its policies over the entire political horizon.

This is all very worrying to Mr. Robinson as he sees a very particular role for technical colleges. He bases his argument initially on an attack on the Robbins report, which assumes that higher education is only for an elite minority and will be carried on in the universities.

Robinson counters with the slogan "Higher Education for All". The university is associated with elite education and, therefore, cannot serve as a

model for mass education. Coupled with this point, he challenges the concept of liberal education. Vocational education for the working class is only degrading if the work that is being trained for is degrading. Robinson wants opportunity for all men to live through their work rather than in spite of it, as at present.

The cornerstone of his concern for the technical colleges is in relation to the comprehensive reform beyond school. In the reform of secondary education, the grammar school was the victim. Mr. Robinson promises us a bloodier battle before the commanding height of British education - the university - is stormed. Much of Mr. Robinson's thesis is politically facile and shows typical reformist illusions about capitalism, the alienated nature of work under capitalism, and the ideological function of the education system within the state, but, nevertheless, hiding in the interstices of his arguments are points that need to be incorporated into a socialist critique of higher education.

JOHN ATKINS

*THE NEW POLYTECHNICS by Eric Robinson. Penguin, price 6/-.

National Convention of the Left

LETTER

A National Convention of the Left is to be held on April 25-26-27th, 1969, and a Preparatory Commission has been formed to be responsible for it. The Convention, open to all organisations, groupings and individuals who share its broad aims, has the purpose of furthering unity on the left, in ideas, programmes and action. Each separate radical campaign, and socialists within the labour movement, confront the same unified system of power and priorities; a political consensus is managed in the two-party system to exclude alternative definitions. In the face of this coherent centre of power, the left's fragmentation is a continuing weakness. It has been overcome only temporarily and partially in particular campaigns and demonstrations, over Vietnam and the Bomb. But solidarity in demonstrations does not suffice, and the purpose of a Convention is to attempt a more lasting form of interconnection and communication.

It is intended that the Convention will establish some basis of agreement among its participants, and that in any case it will enable important differences to be clarified. To define, as socialists and radicals, the central issues of contemporary politics, against the official consensus and before the electoral cycle builds up to its next misleading climax, would itself be a positive step, and it is intended that this shall be done in a visible and convincing way.

The Convention will, as its second major task, discuss forms of action in relation to these issues. There will clearly be important differences of approach here, not least in regard to the parliamentary system, but it is hoped within the framework of some agreed definitions of

issues and objectives. It is intended that the Convention's discussion of forms of action will generate new and connected campaigns.

The Convention will be organised by a Preparatory Commission which is open to all groups who wish to be represented. This general statement of aims is the decision of its first full meeting, and preparations therefore remain at an early stage.

To define the areas of discussion, Commissions on each of the major issues will meet both prior to and during the Convention. These Commissions, which are again open, will prepare draft documents to be submitted to the main Convention. Much of the Convention's work, in clarifying issues, programmes and forms of action, will be done by these Commissions. While the final documents to be presented to the Convention by each Commission must necessarily be brief, it is intended that a great deal of preliminary work should have gone into each of them.

Concurrently, an organising committee will be meeting, but both the Commissions and this committee will be responsible, and will regularly report back, to the full Preparatory Commission on which all groups can be equally represented.

The Convention will be held over a weekend from Friday evening April 25th. The first session, Friday evening, will be given over to the Commissions; the sessions on Saturday to a full Convention discussion of issues and programmes; the Sunday sessions will all be devoted to a discussion of forms of action.

The form of representation to the Convention has not yet been decided, but delegates are invited from any groups that wish to participate.



U.S. STEPS UP WAR

DICK
ROBERTS

New confirmation that Washington is using the Paris negotiations as a cover for stepping up combat activity in South Vietnam comes from Washington journalist I.P. Stone in his informative NEWSLETTER. Stone estimates that more than 2,000 GI's have lost their lives in escalated U.S. activity in South Vietnam since the halt to the bombing of the North.

In an analysis of ground combat operations in South Vietnam, Stone concludes that the "tempo of offensive operations from our side has gone up about 25 per cent in December over November. "Both U.S. and Saigon battalion-sized operations increased during that period."

Stone believes that the "escalation" of U.S. combat activity in South Vietnam was pegged to "military limitations" imposed with the cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam. This, Stone says, allowed Washington to move considerable forces from the Northern part of South Vietnam where they had been on guard against a possible invasion from the De-Militarised Zone. These forces have been moved south for 'pacification' operations in the Mekong Delta.

"The bombing of the North ended on November 1st. The escalation from our side began at the same time. In the three months since, more than 2,000 Americans have lost their lives."

Stone cites that weekly AP casualty dispatch from January 21st to describe the nature of U.S. combat operations: "There has been no sustained large-scale fighting since last fall...thousands of U.S. and government troops carry out daily operations in search of an elusive enemy...pushes are also being made into areas long held by the Vietcong, and in these, even when no opposition is encountered, there are casualties from mines and booby traps."

He concludes, "Neither the U.S. military nor the Saigon regime ever wanted to negotiate. The Paris talks for them only make it easier to continue the war."

Stone also warns his readers not to take refuge in the idea that the change-over of administrations will make any difference. He calls attention to the statement President Nixon made in his first press conference that "it is not helpful in discussing Vietnam to use such terms as 'cease-fire'."

"Until the bombing pause," Stone declares, "the U.S. official line was to call for a cease-fire as the price of a bombing halt. The line has changed because we hope to exploit the present situation by 'clean-up' operations against guerillas in the South."

GI's AGAINST T

Black GI's in Revolt

A war within a war is taking place in South Vietnam and its implications for the future of American politics can hardly be overestimated. This is the struggle of Afro-American GI's against racism in the Army.

"The Other War: Whites Against Blacks in Vietnam" by Zalin B. Grant in the Jan. 18 issue of THE NEW REPUBLIC, gives recent details.

Grant focuses attention on Camp Tien Sha, a naval supply base near Da Nang, which is "a comfortable piece down the road" from the fighting war.

"It is so much like the 'world' - GI slang for the U.S.," Grant reports, "that the camp's biggest threat is race riots, not Vietcong."

"Increasingly, blacks in Vietnam salute each other with the upraised clenched fists of Black Power," Grant continues. "Bitter disputes have flared in some units over whether service regulations permit Negroes to affect Afro-style haircuts."

"Fights between black and white servicemen, the behind-the-barracks variety never officially reported, are on the rise."

Grant runs over typical examples of racism reported by black soldiers. One told him, "in the service you're supposed to give your buddy a ride if he's walking. But many Caucasians won't pick blacks up. Instead they may yell, 'hey nigger!' as they drive by."

Blacks at Tien Sha have staged demonstrations and formed committees to combat racism. One member - who planned to join the Panthers upon returning to the U.S. - told Grant: "As our session ended two white guys stopped and asked what we were doing. We told them to leave but they yelled 'black mother-fuckers' and threw rocks. So 12 blacks caught them and did a job."

This led to a fracas which eventually forced some concessions from the white commander, Grant



THE VIETNAM WAR

reports. But several months later a GI told him: "Nothing has really changed."

A variety of statistics have been printed on the number of black GIs in the services, in Vietnam, on combat duty, and the casualties. They all point to the inescapable conclusion that the majority of Afro-Americans are thrown onto the front lines.

Grant holds that the blacks "make up an estimated 20 per cent. of combat troops and 25 per cent. of elite units, while representing only 12 per cent. of the total U.S. forces in Vietnam."

It is when GIs are off the battlefield, according to Grant, that Afro-American militancy emerges: "Negroes in units larger than battalions - which are the basic field unit - stick together like Harlem brothers."

"Black groups segregate themselves in clubs and dining halls. All major U.S. enclaves have Negro-only clubs on their fringes..."

"Self-imposed segregation is one of the few acts of belligerence possible for militants under the sturdy discipline of military service. They say their rebellion is not against the armed forces... but against U.S. society."

Anti-war nurse convicted

Oakland, Calif. - Navy nurse Susan Schnall, active in organising the San Francisco GI march last October 12, pleaded not guilty to two charges brought against her by the Navy - impairing the morale of the troops by dropping leaflets publicising the GI march from a helicopter, and disobeying a direct order not to wear her uniform in the march. After a trial lasting a day and a half, she was found guilty of felony under general court-martial proceedings and sentenced to a dismissal, forfeiture of six months' pay, and confinement for six months at hard labour.

The only evidence introduced by the Navy was films of the helicopter flight and of the march.



Although the prosecuting attorney tried to paint a picture of Lt. J.G. Schnall's "horrifying activities", one film simply showed her emerging from a tiny plane and openly discussing the reasons for the leafletting. The other films showed her speaking to a crowd of thousands in San Francisco on October 12.

The defence introduced arguments reviewing the political nature of the charges, pointing out that they were in violation of Lt. Schnall's constitutional rights. She herself testified that she acted not to damage the morale of other military personnel but in line with legitimately using her right to free speech. The argument was ruled out of order.

The Navy was under government pressure to convict Lt. Schnall on the one hand, and under the pressure of strong public sentiment mobilised in favour of Lt. Schnall on the other hand. She was convicted and sentenced, but the Navy refrained from giving her the maximum sentence of five years at hard labour.

In actuality, women officers who receive less than a year's confinement are simply retained at their jobs for the equivalent period of time, and then dismissed. She has been reassigned to the pediatric ward at Oak Knoll Naval Hospital. At this point her case is under review.

Lt. Schnall's own father was killed during World War II when she was little more than a year old. After being sentenced she reaffirmed her opposition to the Vietnam war as well as her determination to participate in the Spring GI action against the war scheduled for April 6.

Workers control in perspective

MIKE MARTIN

The Seventh National Conference on Workers' Control to be held in Sheffield on March 30/31 marks a new stage in the development of this movement. From very modest beginnings it has now grown to the point where attendance at the Conference is likely to be in the region of 1,000, and probably represents the largest grouping of active trade unionists outside the traditional movement.

That such a grouping should emerge around the concept of workers control is particularly encouraging when it is recognised that these concepts have long been central to marxist thinking.

A correct appreciation of the role of demands for workers control is a pre-requisite for consistent revolutionary work in the labour movement. The call for workers control, in this framework, cannot be abstracted out of actual day-to-day struggles, nor can it be separated from the fight to create a revolutionary organisation capable of taking and holding state power. Workers control demands then, are essentially about power, and pose the question of power in a form which is tangible and meaningful to whole masses of people drawn into struggle.

The workers control campaign in Britain, does not concern itself with building a revolutionary organisation, and as yet has not applied its ideas in practice. These two weaknesses need to be overcome, but in fact flow what from has been in the past the strength of the campaign: this has been its capacity to draw together a cross-section of the radical currents on the left in Britain, and provide them with a bridge to a growing body of trade unionists now becoming disillusioned by the behaviour of the Labour Government. Such a pooling of ideas and of experience can only be of value, but some of the tendencies are reformist. Again, as I have suggested its all-inclusive nature is a major strength, but we have a responsibility to ensure that any lingering illusions about the possible benefits of "participation" are fiercely combatted at all levels in the campaign, and particularly at the forthcoming conference.

The conference will be the focus of the work of campaign over the last year, which has mainly been carried on through a whole series of industrial study groups. The documentation is likely to be formidable, and will contribute a good deal to our knowledge of the many problems of workers in different industries, who face the now familiar prospect of rationalisation in a situation where as yet there has been no unified response to the anti union attacks of the Wilson Government.

the workers control movement, we have to consider what attitude ought to be adopted to ensure that the valuable work which has been done is continued, and developed in the most fruitful way.

There is a real need for greater democracy within the campaign itself, so that new forces drawn to the movement can gain full expression: a concomitant of this is the need to free the campaign of the sticky clutches of the respectable left academics and Tribunites (and worse) politicians. This is certainly not an appeal for exclusion, but rather for a more realistic and meaningful balance. A council should be elected, and should be composed as far as possible of activists.

In the work of the campaign greater emphasis could be placed on the problem of evolving an offensive strategy against the wage freeze and anti-union legislation, as distinct from hypothetical discussions on a rather abstract level about the possible management structure of a given industry after some progress has been made towards workers control or participation (often the distinction is not made clear). Discussions around "blueprints" are of some value as a focus for discussing particular industries in detail. However, discussion in the campaign needs to pass beyond the level of educational propaganda to the level of involvement in action. This would not be the easiest turn to make, but the work of developing demands to counter government policy on wages, etc. and initiating activity around them could offer a valuable opportunity to make such a turn.

One thing is clear that the campaign cannot stand still or proceed simply on its present policy of amassing piles of documents and holding discussions, valuable as this is. The ideas which have been generated over the past few years of work will either take root in the aspirations of sections of workers or become buried under a mountain of well-intentioned documents. Having felt the encouragement of the May events in France, as a practical illustration of the potential power of workers control demands, one can only conclude that there is every scope for successful action.

Printed by:

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Malcolm X's message to white revolutionaries

One day, while Malcolm X was eating in the Black Muslim restaurant in Harlem, a young white college girl burst in, and running over to him, pleaded, 'What can I do?' He coldly replied - 'Nothing'. She left weeping.

Later, after his break from the Nation of Islam, he regretted this action. His experience had taught him that there were a few white people who genuinely wished to combat racialism, and he welcomed their efforts, so long as they were directed toward that end, and not toward attempting to tell the black man how to carry out his fight.

However, the carefully nurtured legend of bourgeois propaganda about Malcolm is that he was a violent racist with a hatred of all white people. Unfortunately, many people on the left are taken in by this myth. This article is therefore directed to the white revolutionaries to try and explain why Malcolm X is important for us.

Malcolm X's message was, of course, directed to his own people, but white revolutionaries can learn much from him, both about the nature of the struggle of the black people and about the society which we are attempting to destroy, which spawns racialism as a swamp disease.

It was Malcolm X's most important contribution, and his most misunderstood one, that he preached the need for organisations which were designed to fight for the liberation of black people to be composed of, inspired by, and led by black people

themselves.

For years well-meaning white people had been participating in organisations such as the National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People (NAACP). With determination, and often with great courage, they had marched, petitioned, sat-in, etc. They succeeded in busting discrimination at countless lunch counters, on the bus-routes, the voters' roll, the unions, the factories. But this success was a pyrrhic one.

While many of these gains were real, and brought genuine advantages for some black people, the majority were mere tokens; they left untouched the lives of the masses of black people, simply because they could not eliminate the basic racist nature of American society. Then too they also sparked off a vicious racist backlash. Civil rights workers and black anti-racists were brutally slain, and while the white liberals went north, the black people were left to face the Klan or the police alone.

Because Malcolm had delved into the history of his people, he saw that their basic problem was that they had been robbed of everything by white America, right down to their names. Their oppression was not the result of a misunderstanding but was a basic corollary of their presence in America. From the days of the slaves, black people had been taught that they existed to work for the white man, to do his bidding, and to regard his word as law. Malcolm saw that if black people were to gain anything, it would have to be by their own efforts, and their efforts had to be

aimed at goals which related to their desires, and these goals had to be achieved by organisations which they ran themselves. Thus his exclusion of white people from his own movement was not the result of hatred toward them, but of love for his own people.

So, 'what can we do?' Indirectly Malcolm answered this question, and his answer has a universality which applies not only to anti-racialist whites in America, but in Britain too.

After his trip to Africa, Malcolm realised that racialism was an essential element in imperialist exploitation of that continent; the struggles of the black people in Africa and the United States were linked. More than that, without defeating imperialism there can be no end to racialism.

The essential link between imperialism and racialism is an important aspect of the struggle in Britain. We belong to a nation with a long imperial history; the ideas and assumptions which were essential to preserve that Empire have bitten very deeply into every aspect of life here.

The ruling class had a conscious policy of corrupting whole generations of workers with the privileges they could spare at the expense of the colonial workers. We must face the fact that they were in a large measure successful, and that large sections of British workers are infected with the poison of racialism.

It is foolish to ignore this problem, but it is equally foolish to see it as unrelated to the general fight against capitalist ideology. The penetration of the working class by racialist ideas is the result of the weakness of any alternative theory to that of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement. It is here too that Malcolm X's ideas are important, because they expose the complete inadequacy of Liberal/Fabian ideas to combat racialism.

Because Fabianism's critique starts from the need to make society efficient, and not from a commitment to fight oppression, as does marxism, racialism is opposed because it engenders irrational conflict. Thus the suppression of the slavemaster and the resistance of the slave are equated, and the concept that racialism is an intolerable evil which must be fought now is totally foreign to its method. And because Fabianism eschews the possibility of any rapid change in capitalist society and seeks merely to remove the tensions within it, inevitably it must seek to preserve it against the revolt of the black people. The record of the Labour Government is clear proof of the role of this pernicious theory in the British labour movement; the actions of Wilson, Callaghan & co. are not the result of any personal prejudice on their part, but are the logical result of their brand of ideology, and of course are directly linked with their attacks on the working class.

Malcolm X taught us that the fight against racialism was much more than a fight against discrimination; he showed that racialism pervaded every aspect of capitalism and that the challenge to

that aspect was inevitably a total challenge to the entire world system of oppression.

Discrimination must of course be fought, and militantly, but unless we break from the methods employed by the Brockways and Sopers, we will never succeed. The idea that racialism can be eliminated by legislation is not only foolish but has proved dangerous; it is not possible for black people to say what they think of this country and of the racialists they come into contact with day after day, without running the risk of a prison sentence. What is under attack here is not the sincerity of the good Lords but their notion that racialism is a limited unrelated phenomenon which can be reasoned or punished out of existence.

Equally to be criticised are those 'marxists' who swallow the Fabian concept of racialism whole, and equate the selectivity of the Black Power movement with racial discrimination. Often they are the same comrades who are reluctant to face up to the fact that racialism influences large sections of the workers.

There is not room here to go into a detailed examination of how Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky saw the question, but there will be no dispute about the fact that they maintained the duty of revolutionaries in imperialist countries to defend the right of self-determination for national struggles against imperialism. If we accept Malcolm X's analysis of the link between imperialism and racialism, it becomes clear that we must accept the right of black people to determine their own methods of struggle against imperialism and racialism.

We return to the question asked earlier: 'What can we do?' - Fight imperialism!

Hilda Gadea in London

JOHN EDMUNDS

At a recent meeting in London, arranged by the Movement for Colonial Freedom and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, some 300 people braved the winter weather to hear Hilda Gadea speak. She is the first wife of Che Guevara and the sister of Ricardo Gadea Acosta, the valiant leader of the Pachacutec guerillas who held Central Peru in the lightning offensive of June, 1965.

The following is my Committee's record of her message to us now, a fresh contribution to our knowledge of Latin America's problems.

"It was soon after Russia's October Revolution that the progressive students of Cordoba University in the Argentine overthrew the repression of their reactionary dons and that the voice of Cordoba University was heard throughout the sub-continent. In Peru, Haya de la Torre formed the

APRISTA revolutionary movement and workers popular universities were set up. As the APRISTAs gained power their spirit waned until today they are mere reformist groups. After 30 years of strong well organised Communist Parties their efforts have produced no notable results within the electoral machine, although they are not without some value.

It was only after the Cuban Revolution that similar movements took heart and started operations in San Domingo, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Peru, Columbia, and latterly in Bolivia. In Peru, the guerillas opened up simultaneously on three fronts and came close to success. The reason why it will and must succeed is that 80% of the land is held by 5% of the people, and dispossessed peasants are quite happy to die fighting for land, their slogan being "Land or Death!".

In 1965, Lobaton and Velando led a strong movement and were initially very successful, but failed for the following reasons:

1. The napalm bombing of guerillas from the air.
2. The defection of traitors who gave away information.
3. The utter ruthlessness of the repressive forces who moved whole communities in order to isolate fighters.
4. The mistakes made by the guerillas (no doubt a reference to divisions of loyalty and lack of supplies and supply dumps.)
5. The CIA veterans from Vietnam who fought the underground movements in the towns. As trade is mostly with the USA the Americans were well-placed to act mercilessly against the movement for greater freedom, when thousands of sympathisers were killed or gaoled.

The offensive in the south was led by Hugo Blanco who captured huge tracts of land and set up union

headquarters in the Sierras distributed food, medical supplies and land to starving peasants. The infuriated landowners forced the generals to send blood thirsty troops to shoot children in neighbouring villages and to crush the spirit of freedom. Hector Bejan contracted a type of leprosy of the feet and his fighters were left without effective leadership.

We learn therefore that peasants' lives must be afforded protection from government troops and given arms to protect themselves before they can be expected to support freedom movements.

In the same way commandante Che Guevara, and Inti Peredo, in neighbouring Bolivia, started a struggle which is still glowing and may burst into flame at any time. Their failure was due to the necessity to attack before their plans were ready. Also to the failure of Mario Monjes, the Communist and of the Maoists to help at a critical time.

As far as the Russian and Chinese differences are concerned it is my personal opinion that the quarrel is a burden to the Latin American struggle. The pro-Peking sections of the Peruvian CP did little to help the real struggle.

We must all fight in our own countries for our own liberties and not depend too much on others for help. It is however most important that European spectators take more interest."

Committees exist for the defence of political prisoners in Peru, notably Hugo Blanco and Ricardo Cadea. Write to: El Comité De Defensa De Los Derechos Humanos, Apartado 10149, Lima, Peru. More information can be obtained from: Committee for Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru, John Edmunds c/o 6, Aycliffe Rd., London W12

Document: The Spanish state of Emergency

A statement by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International

The emergency measures taken by the Franco regime on January 22nd 1969, are the outcome of a trend to increased repression which was already very marked during the whole year 1968. They express the bankruptcy of the so-called 'liberalisation' of the regime, which had created some illusions in reformist and neo-reformist layers of the labour movement.

Given the worsening of the economic situation as the result of the West German economic recession of 1966-67, and given the radicalisation of important sectors of the anti-Franco movement, the margin of manoeuvre of the decaying dictatorship became so small that even the miserable concessions made in the previous years had to be taken back.

The key sectors of radicalisation during the period immediately preceding the emergency measures had been: the mass resistance of the people of the BASQUE regions, which combines the struggle

for national self-determination with stubborn defence of workers' rights in the factories; the mass struggle of the ASTURIAS MINERS, whose jobs and livelihood are more and more threatened by the crisis hitting the coal industry; the emergence in MADRID, BARCELONA and other university towns of STUDENT COMANDOS which transfer violent agitation onto the streets; the growing use by the WORKERS COMMITTEES (the illegal self representation organs elected by the workers in the factories) of political demands; the occupation of churches by wives of political prisoners, to demand the liberation of their husbands; the intervention of a great number of lawyers and intellectuals to PROTEST THE USE OF TORTURE by the police against political prisoners; the growing agitation of agricultural workers in SOUTHERN SPAIN.

Fearing a snowball effect of all these movements, the Franco regime has stepped up its repression as a desperate attempt to stem the tides. It is

probable that this decision is the outcome of internal discussions and differences among the ruling groups, with some "die-hard" officers and fascists clashing with those circles in favour of a prudent pursuing of the "liberalisation" policy. But this is not the main aspect of the crisis. The crisis expresses a deterioration of the relationship of forces between the ruling groups such and the toiling masses, much more than the modification of the relationship of forces between the various cliques participating in the Franco Government.

The magnificent answer of the Bilbao workers to the emergency measures, going on strike not only against the wage stop but specifically for the withdrawal of the emergency laws and the liberation of political prisoners, has been picked up by workers all over Spain. At the time this declaration is written, one hundred and fifty thousand Spanish workers are on strike. Far from having suppressed the forces which work towards the maturing of a pre-revolutionary situation in Spain, the stepped up repression of the Franco regime seems objectively to accelerate that process.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International sends its fraternal greetings and expression of full militant solidarity to the revolutionary workers and students of Spain. By courageously developing the struggle against Franco, they can strike today at one of the weakest links

of European capitalism, and thereby weaken the whole system. The overthrow of Franco which they try to bring about, should only raise the curtain for a socialist revolution, which should direct itself against the capitalist system and the centralised bourgeois state as such. The attempts to unify all revolutionists into a revolutionary marxist party fighting for such a perspective should be accelerated given the ripening of the objective situation.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International calls upon the revolutionary workers and students of Europe and the international labour and anti-imperialist movement to actively express their solidarity with the Spanish workers, students, intellectuals and peasants, who are so courageously broadening and deepening their struggle against the Franco regime. Everywhere, demonstrations, meetings, militant actions should be directed against that dictatorship and its representatives in the various countries. A big protest movement should be launched for the liberation of political prisoners in Spain, and against any form of help or assistance given the Franco Government by capitalist powers or the bureaucracies of the workers states.

Down with the emergency laws! Down with the Franco dictatorship! Full solidarity with the Spanish workers and students! Forward to the socialist revolution in Spain!

LSE: WHAT HAPPENED

PETER WILKS

In 1956, the retiring director of the London School of Economics published his biography under the title of "Portrait of an Imperialist". A little research rapidly dispels the myth of radicalism associated with this institution; and as an area of critical social enquiry upholding academic freedom, objectivity and the pursuit of knowledge, LSE has never existed. Justifying the hopes of its Fabian founders, the school has always been deeply involved in politics and industry in two ways:

- (1) the legitimization of bourgeois social theory, e.g., departments act as pressure groups on the Government (Townsend and Abel Smith; social welfare, the Economics Department, etc.);
- (2) the production of skilled manpower for industry and government necessitated by the long term planning needs of monopoly capitalism.

The central position held by the school is reflected in its control by a Board of Governors who between them hold directorship of 80 companies, assorted official and semi-official government posts, and other such eminent positions (such as the Archbishop of Canterbury). The financial interests of the school and of the board members range from South Africa to Vietnam. In this situation any struggle for control of their education by the students is a challenge to the subordination of the school to the needs of British capitalism and is essentially a political struggle.

More than this: the previous struggles of the LSE students by their successful example had provoked spontaneous imitation in other universities and colleges: Hornsey, Essex, Birmingham and others took up the ideas of direct action and the sit-in as pioneered in this country by comrades at LSE. The school became the most advanced area of struggle, and in a very real sense the heart of the student movement.

British university authorities were not slow to learn the lessons of France, May, 1968. The national and international interests of the universities and in particular of LSE were to be protected from student subversion by a national strategy. The Vice Chancellors met in September at Cambridge, deciding to nip the movement in the bud through a policy of repression. Their decision to use the legal machinery of the state - writes at Bristol - marks on the one hand an escalation, and on the other hand, that they are the victims of their own ideology, namely, the idea that the movement can be contained by eliminating "troublemakers".

The events in France also gave impetus to the development of a nationally co-ordinated student movement, the Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation. Unlike such movements in other countries, RSSF appeared sufficiently late to avoid the organisation/non-organisation debate which hampered the development of the Students for a Democratic Society in America. From the start it

faced the need for a national counter strategy.

However at the second conference, the debate on organisation by no means favoured the development of a strong centralised leadership which could take political initiatives in time of crisis. Attention was focussed on the question of building bases lest the organisation existed only on paper. In the event, the concern over the strength of bases seems not to have been justified; once it became clear that RSSF did intend a national mobilisation, then considerable support seems to have adhered to it throughout the country.

What was not clear was whether RSSF was organising and planning a campaign or whether the solidarity movement was to be subordinated to the needs of the Socialist Society in LSE. What emerges from the struggle thus far is not a clear national counter-strategy, but a conflict between the needs of the national movement and its organisational predominance and particularist politics of elements within the LSE Socialist Society. This conflict is itself expressed within the LSE Socialist Society in the division between what Robin Blackburn has called the right wing and left.

It was written in the skies that a major confrontation was to be expected at LSE. Long before the destruction of the gates, duplicated letters had been prepared informing all staff and students that the school was closed, and were awaiting a suitable occasion for dispatch. The standing Committee of the Board of Governors published a document outlining future repressive measures and introduced a code of conduct for the staff. The gates were ordered long before the occupation of school on October 27th in response to an ultimatum from an insurance company. More trouble was expected and the gates were to prevent certain areas in the school being occupied. Given that Adams expected a confrontation, his attempts to strengthen his position before it occurred, worsened relations and made such a confrontation inevitable.

In this situation two positions were advanced among members of the Socialist Society at LSE. Certain groups wished to avoid a confrontation, arguing for a de-escalation of activities, and attention to be paid to propaganda work inside the school with the aim of consolidating support. Others argued for an offensive policy directed towards a confrontation in the most favourable circumstances. Given that Adams was himself pursuing an offensive policy a confrontation could only be avoided by sustaining long term defeats, i.e., accepting gates, codes of conduct, etc.

What emerged from this conflict was a strategy which was neither offensive nor defensive. The Socialist Society conducted a campaign against the gates, and then settled for negotiations (at least in the short term) at a meeting the evening prior to the Union meeting which decided on direct action. As a result of their agitations, however, the Union meeting went against the Socialist Society's previous decision and decided to remove the gates. Because there was no clear determination to provoke a confrontation over the

issue of gates, it was stumbled into rather than planned; no work had been done to prepare the masses of students as to the likely consequences of such a confrontation, and to situate the arrival of the police, the arrest and writs, etc., into a coherent political framework. Even at a minimum level no thought had been given to the retention of union files so that contact could be maintained with the mass of the students; it was left to Dr. Adams to call the Union meeting in Friends House when he thought the situation most favourable.

The RSSF had anticipated the closure of the school and had sent a leaflet to its bases warning them to prepare for action in the event of the closure of the school. It has also prepared to launch an offensive mobilisation through the university system. This was more than simply a demand for solidarity action, the instruction to bases, explicitly called for an escalation of the struggle, through the raising of internal demands and that the Vice Chancellors disassociate themselves from the actions of the LSE authorities.

In keeping with this offensive national strategy, the left group in the Socialist Society argued for the occupation of ULU as a symbolic act - but also as a very practical move to have a centre around which to organise a national campaign. The seriousness with which the university authorities viewed the situation can be glimpsed from the reactions of a meeting of Oxford University Proctors. Any students arrested as a result of solidarity demonstrations were threatened with university disciplinary procedures. Ruskin College which, however, is outside the jurisdiction of university discipline, was threatened with the removal of its privileges as a constituent college of Oxford University, if any of its students participated in such solidarity demonstrations.

In the debates at ULU as to the composition of committees empowered to make political decisions two lines clearly emerged, each based upon a different assessment of the situation. The first argued that the LSE situation was the concern essentially of LSE students, that the movement of solidarity was of no intrinsic merit apart from its relation to LSE*. From this it followed that LSE students should make the strategic decisions regarding the occupation of ULU with minimal consultation of other students. In reality, the occupation of ULU itself was seen by this trend as an embarrassment and diversion from the "real" struggle which was an internal one of rallying the support of the uncommitted students in LSE.

* For example, LSE students called a demonstration for the first Tuesday after the struggle began and the RSSF called one for the following Monday. The Tuesday demonstration was to be an expression of solidarity - no thought was given to its political function of the mundane question of organisation until early Tuesday morning. The RSSF demonstration was conceived as part of a wider student mobilisation and considerable thought was given to tactics and organisation. However, by the time it was held the initiative had passed from RSSF.

to be concluded next issue

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One of the factors which forced the Americans to the conference table is the huge anti-Vietnam war movement. The U.S. government hopes that the bombing pause and the Paris talks will end this movement.

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Meet them at London airport 11 a.m.

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Demonstrate your opposition to American aggression in Vietnam! Condemn British complicity in the War! Show your solidarity with the Vietnamese!

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