

Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

SOLIDARITY ACTION CAN HELP MINERS TO WIN

ENORMOUS PRESSURE is being put on the miners to end their magnificent struggle for a living wage. The Tories have declared a 'state of emergency' in an attempt to isolate them now they have been stabbed in the back by the miserable surrender of the power union leaders.

And a press and television campaign to isolate the miners will mount as the first power cuts hit the country as a result of successful picketing.

The miners have fought on into their sixth week of militant action in spite of getting almost no backing from any other section of the official trade union movement.

But they are receiving growing support from the people that really matter—rank and file workers in other industries. This swelling solidarity action that breaks down the isolation of workers on strike is the key to the defeat of the Tories' vicious pay policy, a policy designed to drive down wages in order to boost profits.

In Birmingham miners from South Wales, Yorkshire and Staffordshire were backed by local trade unionists when 500 police attempted to break a picket at a Gas Board coke depot at Saltley.

Workers from SU Carbuettors and from Bryant's and MacAlpine's building sites went on strike on Monday to join the picket. On Tuesday they were joined by Transport Workers Union members from Janes Car Transport, Autocar Transporters and Progressive Deliveries, by 200 men from H.F. Ward's and delegations from Tractors and Transmissions, Thorn Electrics and Thorn Radiation.

By mid-day on Monday the number of police started to crack the picket line and there were 12 arrests as lorries got through.

Battle

In East London last week, power workers at Hackney power station downed tools in support of the miners after three tankers driven by non-union members had succeeded in breaking the picket line.

The miners declared the station completely black, even turning the postmen back and they asked the power men to black oil. The station men agreed and supplies of electricity were cut off.

In Fife, Scotland, 300 construction workers repairing generators at the huge Longannet power station where 1½ million tons of coal are stored walked out this week in solidarity with 1000 picketing miners.

This action shows that more and more workers realise that the miners are fighting a battle for the whole working class. Victory will mean that all trade unionists can break the Tory pay policy and start a real fight back against rising prices, rents and welfare costs.

But defeat for the miners will mean a major setback and allow inflation to eat still further into wage packets. That is why more solidarity action is necessary.

Power workers should take effective action to hit the supply of power to industry. Transport workers must stop not only supplies of fuel to the stations but must black the movement of fuel inside them as well.

The miners must not lose. Backed by the rank and file strength of the working class they can win and inflict such a defeat on this anti-union government that it may not recover.



Surrender by power unions

THE settlement agreed by the power union leaders and the electricity board on Monday was a sell out and a stab in the back to the miners. That was the immediate reaction of rank-and-file militants in the industry.

It leaves the miners officially isolated in their long struggle to smash the government's wages policy. And it leaves the average power worker worse off financially than he was a year ago.

What's more, it is bound to add to the toll of unemployment. The industry's voluntary redundancy scheme is extended only to June—after that compulsory redundancy will start taking effect.

Wally Preston, secretary of the North West power workers' combine committee and editor of the rank and file paper, Advance, told Socialist Worker: 'The settlement doesn't even bring wages into line with the cost of living. That has gone up 10 per cent, while the settlement only gives us 7½ per cent.'

This is the third time running that the head of the electricians' union, Frank Chapple, has given in to the power bosses.

Now he is asking the workers to accept a rise even less than the one the unions

rejected before the last work-to-rule—at a time when the cost of living was rising more slowly than at present.

The settlement has been made without any form of consultation with those who actually work in the power stations. They will not have any chance to express an opinion on it until after the event, when it is too late.

Meanwhile, the rank and file must fight on. They must struggle to replace the officials who have sold them out. And they must redouble their efforts to back the miners.

And they should demand that the leaders of the so-called left wing unions that voted against the surrender should turn their words into actions.

This means:

- 1 Black the movement of coal within and between power stations. Follow the example of Hackney and take strike action if black oil or coal is used.
- 2 Members of the engineering and electricians' unions should refuse to do maintenance work on coal plant.
- 3 Prevent any power from private utilities by generators being fed into the national grid.

A vast army of police battle with pickets at Saltley coke depot in Birmingham as miners attempt to stop a blackleg lorry. Strike action from car, transport, and building workers in Birmingham helped swell the picket line and keep out the lorries. Solidarity action like this can help the miners win their vital pay fight.

Fighting for the fund

BEST wishes and £2 from an old age pensioner in Blackheath. £2.60 from a Communist Party member of 26 years standing.

The week's donations and collections have taken the International Socialists' Fighting Fund to well over £1000.

Money has come in from all over the country. IS branches are collecting to boost the fund: Oxford kicked off with a magnificent £110, followed by Coventry with £85.

It is impossible to acknowledge in the paper all donations received but we are grateful for every one. But £5000 is a long way off yet.

Last week we witnessed demonstrations against the savagery in Northern Ireland and the miners' protest: this week we march against the Rhodesian settlement proposals.

The marches are signs of growing socialist opposition to the ruling class but to be effective we need to organise and build and for this we need your support. Target date for the fund is 29 February.

Cheques and postal orders should be made out to the International Socialists and sent to Jim Nichol, National Treasurer, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

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DEMONSTRATE SUNDAY 13 FEB
Meet Speakers Corner
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March to Trafalgar Square
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Demonstration to be followed by march to Rhodesia House.

Speakers include:
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Althea Leconte Jones,
Michael Foot, MP.



Rhodesia Emergency Campaign Committee, c/o AAM, 89
Charlotte Street, London W1P 2DQ Tel 01-560 5311

CONTINENT IN CHAINS: SEE CENTRE PAGES

Eastern bloc riddled with contradictions

THE Russian propaganda image of Eastern Europe as an association of independent, socialist states, working harmoniously together for the construction of communism, is utterly baseless.

The entire Eastern bloc is riddled with tensions and contradictions which cannot possibly be solved within the present system.

At the end of the 1939-45 war, Stalin used Russian armies of occupation to install pro-Russian puppet regimes in the East European states. He then subordinated their economies to the aims of the Russian bureaucracy—the blind accumulation of the means of production and weapons of war.

Nationalists within the satellites resented the Russian pillage of resources, the enforced dependence on Russian raw materials and markets, and the unfair system of payments, which worked greatly in Russia's favour.

Further, as the satellite and Russian economies lurched from crisis to crisis, deep splits emerged between the so-called reformers, who wanted to return to the practices of private capitalism, and the conservatives, who saw that terror and repression was necessary for them to survive.

Confused

The Russian bureaucrats were trapped in a hopeless vicious circle. On the one hand they saw the need to develop heavy industry and armaments, imposing great sacrifices on a discontented population, so they could compete with the West.

But they also saw the need to reshape the economy, satisfy the needs of the population for consumer goods, and get rid of the reactionaries in the bureaucracy. None of these problems could be solved in a system based on repression of the masses and rule by a divided, confused bureaucracy.

Most Eastern European countries have gone through roughly the same cycle of events: first economic crisis looms after a period of bureaucratic mismanagement; then economic reformers within the bureaucracy try to get on top by appealing to popular yearning for political freedom and

Czech wave of arrests -200 held

THE wave of repression in Czechoslovakia continues. More than 200 people have been arrested in the last four months, and last week Jiri Lederer, a journalist, was sentenced to two years imprisonment for an article written four years ago attacking the then Polish leader Gomulka.

Most of those arrested appear to be former supporters of Dubcek and thus members of the liberal, reforming wing of the bureaucracy. The present ruling group are clearly worried at the size of the underground opposition, as shown by the widespread boycott of last November's elections.

It is not yet clear if there are any

more radical left-wing opponents of the regime involved in the arrests.

Among those arrested were the sons of Rudolf Slansky and Otto Sling, who were victims of a show trial in 1952 and later executed. Slansky and Sling senior were accused of being 'Trotskyite-Titoite, Zionist, bourgeois nationalist traitors', and were said to have been involved in a sinister international conspiracy including Konni Zilliacus.

The present Czech regime is unlikely to use such picturesque language. The charges will be more subtle and the penalties probably lighter. But if the methods have changed, the basic struggle remains the same.



Russian soldiers near Prague airport. Where will they go next?

more consumer goods. Finally comes either invasion by Russian troops, or else the appearance of a 'reforming' leader from inside the bureaucracy, which makes a few gestures of reform before launching on a new programme of repression.

Examples: **CZECHOSLOVAKIA:** In August 1968 the Czech party apparatus was saved by the intervention of Czechoslovakia's Warsaw Pact allies. The reforms of 1968 have now been largely abandoned, and the present power struggle is between the conservative quisling Husak, and an old

guard of Stalinist time-servers. Russia maintains a 70,000 strong army of occupation.

HUNGARY: So far the apparatus has been outwardly successful in substituting sham elections for real mass democracy. They hope that by keeping the Hungarian workers relatively well fed and clothed demands for workers to participate in industry and government will not be raised.

Like other Eastern European regimes, Hungary is trying to walk the tightrope between worker democracy and Russian intervention; if it has to fall, it will always fall on the

Russian side. After 15 years under Kadar, Hungary now boasts the highest suicide rate in the world.

POLAND: Though one of Europe's leading food-producing countries, food riots have twice threatened to topple the party structure. After the Gdansk bread riots in December 1970, a new 'reforming' leader, Edward Gierek, came out of the party hat. A few concessions have been made to popular feeling and the cycle begins again.

RUMANIA: The black sheep of the Russian bloc. For several years Rumanian leader Ceausescu has defied his Russian bosses by associating with the Chinese and West German industrialists, refusing to participate in the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and arousing nationalist anti-Slav sentiments.

But Rumania's independent policy is not accompanied by any relaxation of bureaucratic power; Ceausescu runs one of the most authoritarian police states in Eastern Europe, and appeals to the lowest nationalist feelings have taken the place of mass participation in government.

East Europe is united only by a common fear of Russian intervention. Old rivalries and hatreds between the German, Slav, Magyar and Rumanian populations have remained.

Belief

The imposition of the Russian political and economic model is now leading to a declining rate of growth and stagnation in the production of food and consumer goods. In trying to solve their economic problems, the party hacks see a choice only between traditional Stalinist methods and the practices of Western capitalism.

But years of subjection to state capitalist regimes have not killed the belief in socialism in Eastern Europe. In Hungary in 1956 workers' councils were formed at an early stage in the revolution; in 1968 in Czechoslovakia the trade union movement was being reconstructed on a socialist model; and in the 1970 revolt large numbers of Polish workers were heard singing the Internationale.

Dale Fox

YANKEE GO HOME

A report on the Puerto Rican struggle against U.S. domination, by Derek Linton and Laurie Landy of U.S. International Socialists

LAST September 100,000 Puerto Rican independence supporters took to the streets shouting 'Yankee Go Home' in by far the biggest independence demonstration for several decades, and a taste of what is to come.

Since 1953 Puerto Rico—in the West Indies—has been a 'Commonwealth' of the United States. What 'Commonwealth' status really boils down to is the exclusion of Puerto Rico from the US minimum wage law, protective labour legislation and federal taxes. Wages are only about a third of the US average.

These conditions have attracted 2000 million dollars worth of profit-hungry US industry to Puerto Rico in the last 20 years. In one year profits in the electronics industry were nearly 11 times the industry's average in the US.

Yet Puerto Rico is a poverty-stricken land which can't feed or house or find jobs for its people. One out of three people on the island are unemployed, and one in nine on social security.

The income per head is less than half the poorest state in the US (Mississippi), yet prices in the capital, San Juan, are 25 per cent higher than in expensive New York City.

The ruin of Puerto Rican agriculture by giant US sugar corporations has created a one-crop sugar economy. US law forbids Puerto Rico to trade in the world market. She is forced to buy goods from the most expensive supplier—the US. Puerto Rico is the US's fifth largest customer.

Now the Puerto Rican people are fighting back.

US military installations occupy 13 per cent of Puerto Rico's land. In 1969

independence demonstrators forced the US military to evacuate its target range on the Puerto Rican island of Culebra. Puerto Rican draft resisters are so many that the government has stopped prosecuting.

Bombings of US-owned businesses have sent insurance rates zooming.

But terrorism as a strategy will not win independence. More important is the fact that Puerto Rican workers are stepping up their militancy, no longer willing to be the sugar cube that attracts US business. Last October thousands of workers demonstrated against the Nixon anti-labour programme.

Militants

Faced with this militancy, US business is packing up and heading for greener pastures.

A third of Puerto Rico's people have been forced to migrate to the US: today they number more than a million. They are forced into the worst-paid, unskilled jobs—the New York City textile industry and migrant farmwork.

In the last few years militancy has greatly increased in the Puerto Rican communities of US cities, with groups who in many ways resemble the early Black Panther Party.

The US government responds by intimidation and repression of Puerto

Ricans, both on the island and in the US.

Carlos Feliciano, a leader of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party who spent five years in jail in the early fifties for his part in the 1950 independence uprising, is now being framed in New York. He is charged with arson and attempted arson. Originally he was charged with 34 bombings and accused of being an agent for the Cuban government and a member of the New York based Puerto Rican terrorist group.

There is no truth whatsoever to any of these charges. His only 'crime' is love for his country and a commitment to its liberation. Carlos Feliciano is being used by the US rulers as a symbol to remind all in the Puerto Rican community to toe the line.

In mid-December two men connected with the Puerto Rican Student Union, Eduardo Cruz and Wilfredo Melendez, were jailed for seven years and five years on extremely flimsy evidence of alleged terrorist activities.

In Puerto Rico, independence supporters have been harassed, sacked, beaten by police and imprisoned for their activities.

Puerto Rico is a weak link for the US. Like Ireland, it is an island colony, which can take the lead in the struggle for a socialist world and shake the US empire to its very foundations.

SINCE the slaughter in Derry, Britain is arousing the same sort of feeling throughout the world as the American murderers in Vietnam. Demonstrations have been held in many cities, including Paris, Washington and Montreal. British-owned offices in Naples have been bombed. Breton nationalists have invited Belfast children to France for a free Easter holiday.

In Australia the Seamen's Union banned tug services to the British liner Canberra, so passengers had to be taken five miles by lifeboat.

CHILE'S President Allende is still walking a tightrope, trying to keep the support of the workers and peasants who hoped for radical change, while at the same time not upsetting the middle-class voters whose support he will need in the 1973 parliamentary elections.

Three recent developments: Firstly, Allende has just reshuffled his cabinet. On the one hand he has brought in two ministers from the oddly-named Left Radical Party, in fact a right-wing split from the Radical Party. On the other hand the new Minister of the Interior, del Canto, is the secretary general of the Chilean Trade Union Federation.

Poacher-turned-gamekeeper del Canto is the man who will have to deal with striking workers and peasants occupying land. Before taking office he said: 'We shall apply the law in its full rigour.'

Secondly, the MIR (Left Revolutionary Movement) which has been supporting Allende so far, has made the sharpest attack on the government yet to come from a left-wing source. It blames Allende's strategy of 'waiting for a majority in order to advance rather than advancing in order to get a majority.'

It comments that 'if the advance of workers is held back to win over the middle class, this is not winning the middle class, it is letting the middle class win.'

Finally, Chile has been asking for more time to pay her foreign debts, estimated at around £1500 million—about £115 for every man, woman and child in the country. Only Israel has a bigger foreign debt per head.

OLD gangsters never die. Guy Mollet, former leader of the French Socialist Party, the man who engineered the Suez adventure of 1956 and later paved the way for de Gaulle's take-over, has reappeared on the political scene. Mollet's great skill was always in combining dogmatic marxist jargon with extreme right-wing policies.

He and a group of friends have now launched a new magazine to join in the faction fight in the reconstructed Socialist Party in the run-up to next year's elections.

The name of the paper is well chosen—La Bataille Socialiste (Socialist Battle) was the name of a left-wing tendency in the Socialist Party before the war. Its members were expelled in 1947. Who by? Guy Mollet.

THE Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation is appealing for messages of protest to be sent to the Argentinian authorities about political terrorism being waged by the police against political militants.

Since General Lanusse took over last spring there have been a few concessions to popular demands, and increasing repression. The nature of law enforcement in the Argentine is such that these incidents could not have happened without the blessing of the government.

Among examples quoted are: On 16 December 1970 Nestor Martins, a lawyer well-known for his defence of militant trade unionists and for his public exposure of police use of torture, was kidnapped by secret police agents with one of his clients (Nilo Zenteno).

From that day nothing is known of them. Repeated inquiries concerning his whereabouts have received virtually a deaf ear from all public officials—including the president.

On 8 March 1971 Diego Ruy Frondizi, nephew of a former president of Argentina, his friend Manuel Belloni and the chauffeur Ruben Greco were gunned down by police—unarmed. The police justified the murders by saying they were 'suspected' of being guerrillas. In fact they were supporters of the nationalist Peronist movement—which has several million members.

On 2 June 1971 Dr Verd Palacios and his wife Sara were arrested by police—who brought their two daughters to the doctor's sister. Later the police denied having made the arrest and the home secretary claims it was a case of self-kidnapping to get publicity.

The Power Game

by Colin Barker
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Violence in Ireland: Heath is to blame

THERE IS MORE humbug and hypocrisy talked about violence than about almost any other subject. Day in and day out we get condemnations of violence from Tories, Labourites and assorted establishment men. The violence that chiefly concerns them at the moment is political violence, the use of force for political ends and especially its use by both wings of the IRA in Ireland.

What is the attitude of socialists to the use of violence? It is, quite simply, that it depends on the ends which the violence is intended to further and the circumstances in which it is used. Does our attitude differ from that of the ruling class? It differs in this: We tell the truth and they tell lies about this as about other matters.

In every class society the rulers depend on three means to maintain their rule. They are deception (usually politely called education and persuasion), intimidation (the threat of violence against those who are unpersuaded) and actual violence against those who are not intimidated. For the last two purposes they maintain police forces, armies and other 'armed bodies of men'.

As the socialist theoretician Frederick Engels long ago pointed out, the core of any state consists of these 'bodies of armed men at the service of the ruling class'. A modern conservative theorist put the same idea in more diplomatic language when he defined a state as 'an entity which has a monopoly of the legal use of violence in a defined territory'. What is legal is what other institutions of the ruling class—parliaments, judges, etc—declare to be legal. Broadly speaking, 'legal violence' is violence in the interests of the ruling class and 'illegal violence' is violence against the interests of the ruling class.

It is obvious then that Heath, Faulkner and their stooges inside and outside the labour movement are no more opposed to the 'use of violence for political ends' than were Adolf Hitler or Genghis Khan. They have supported and directed wars—that is, 'politics continued by violent methods'—all over the world. They praise (and control) the British Army, which, like every other army, is an organisation designed solely for the use of organised violence on a large scale. Heath condemning violence is like Satan rebuking sin.

Political considerations

Today in Northern Ireland British imperialism is employing massive violence against the nationalist section of the population in order to maintain its last direct foothold in the country. The two wings of the IRA are also employing violence—although on an incomparably smaller scale—in order to defeat British imperialism.

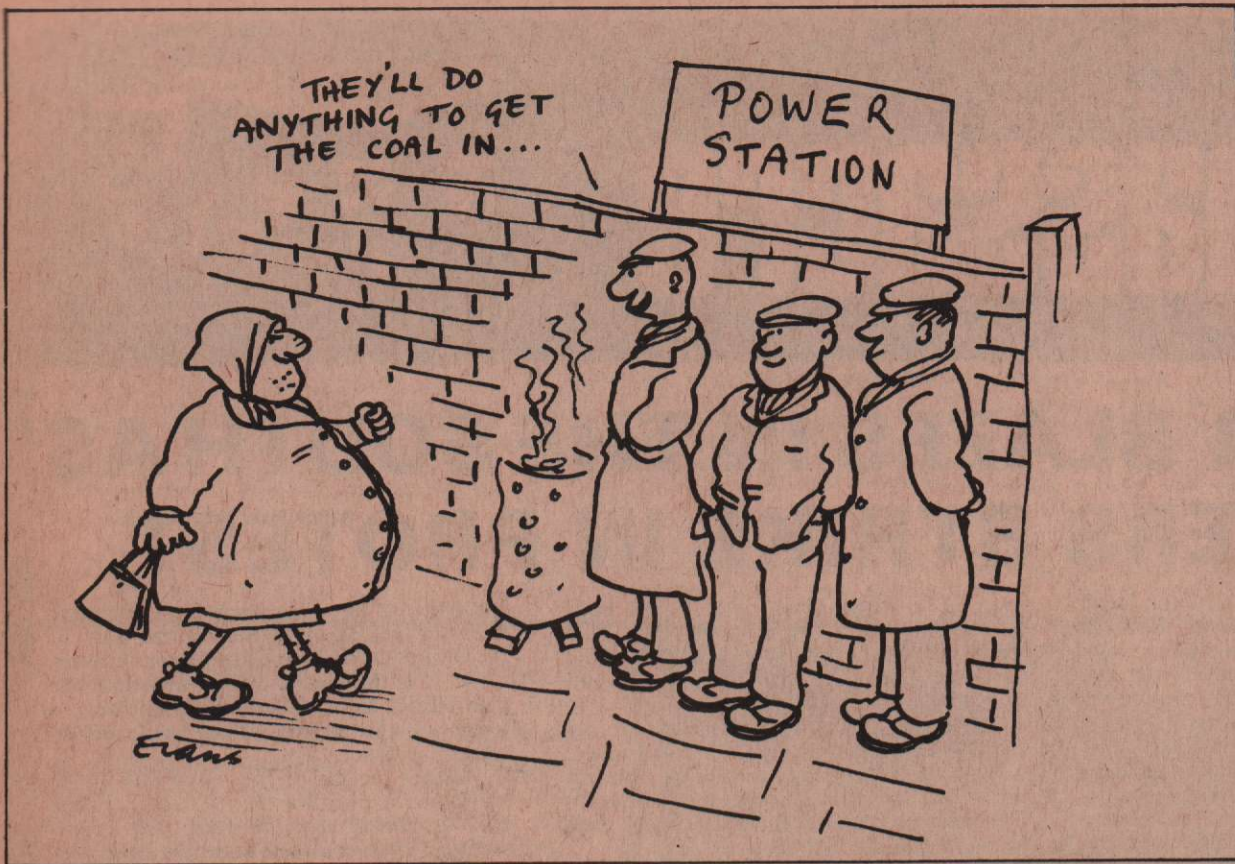
Our attitude, like that of the ruling class, is determined by political considerations. We oppose British imperialism because it is against the interests of the working class here and everywhere. We support the right of the Irish people to national independence and unity because 'no people that oppresses another can itself be free', because national oppression is a barrier to the development of class consciousness among British and Irish workers alike.

We defend the right of the Irish people to use whatsoever means, violent or otherwise, that seem expedient to them in order to achieve national independence and unity. We defend the right of the IRA or anyone else to reply to imperialist violence with their own violence. The original violence was the conquest and exploitation of Ireland by British imperialism.

At the same time we do not support the political ideas of either wing of the IRA. We reject both the utopian 'national socialism' of the Provisionals and the 'first the national struggle, then the social struggle' ideology of the Officials. We believe that the national liberation of Ireland and the social liberation of the Irish workers and small farmers are part and parcel of the same struggle. The one cannot be achieved without the other.

The stranglehold of British imperialism in Ireland will be broken when, and only when, a 32 county workers' republic is established. This in turn can be achieved only when a revolutionary socialist movement gains decisive influence in the Irish working class.

Meanwhile our duty is clear: Unconditional but critical support for the struggle of all those, including both IRAs, fighting imperialism in Ireland. By unconditional, we mean support regardless of our criticism of the leadership and tactics. By critical we mean opposing the sowing of illusions that the struggle can finally be won except by the victory of the working class fighting on a programme of social as well as national liberation.



COTTONS WARMS

IRate Tito

ORANGE and Tory terrorists like Faulkner and Heath, who stoney-faced blame the IRA for the Derry massacre, have won support from an unexpected quarter: President Tito of 'communist' Yugoslavia.

An official government statement was broadcast last week on the Home Service of Radio Belgrade: 'It is an indisputable fact that hardly anywhere in the world do the army and police show such a degree of patience, constraint and self-discipline as in the British Isles.'

It went on: 'It is known that the main factor in Northern Ireland now is the so-called IRA, once a national liberation organisation which has with time degenerated into a purely terrorist formation, having an extremely reactionary and narrow-minded nationalist and Catholic ideology.'

The 13 people who died in Derry were 'essentially the victims of a religious narrow-mindedness and national fanaticism, victims of a political provocation and propaganda of hatred, victims of a manipulation by dark forces which are not limited only to Ireland at the present moment, forces which are well known to us from an earlier time under the name of clerical fascism.'

Why this astonishing whitewash job on British imperialism? Tito's regime is torn by national dissension, with Croats and others demanding more autonomy and a better deal for their regions of Yugoslavia. Support from Tito for the national liberation movement in Ireland might encourage his opponents at home.

He could have kept his mouth shut, but instead has used the IRA as a convenient whipping-boy for his own national minorities. A moment's silence for 'communist internationalism'.

COTTONS' ACCOLADE goes to the Dubliner accosted by a BBC man in the street and asked for his reaction to the burning of the British Embassy.



TITO: convenient whipping-boy

'Terrible, terrible,' he said. 'Why do you say that?' asked the astonished Beeb hack. 'Because Heath and Faulkner weren't inside,' was the cool reply.

Managed news

HUMOUR, management style: the following little merry jest was posted up by the bosses at Jellshaw Leatherwork in Leeds:

'It has come to the notice of the management that employees have been found dying on the job and either refusing to or neglecting to fall over. This practice must cease.'

'Employees found dead on the job in an upright position will be immediately dropped from the payroll. In future if a foreman notices an employee has made no move for a period of one hour it will be his duty to investigate as to the cause, as it is almost impossible to distinguish between death and natural movement of some employees.'

'Foremen are cautioned to make a very careful investigation by holding a pay packet in front of the suspected corpse as this is considered to be a most reliable test... a most successful test is to whisper 'Sunday Work'. This test has been known to restore animation to a corpse which has been motionless all week.'

A close watch on the bosses' hours, lunch breaks, plus details of their free company cars and other perks and their salaries might produce a useful workers' rejoinder to this odious piece of class-hate propaganda.

FAITH, over the centuries, has failed to move mountains, but some people are still keeping their fingers crossed. The Northern Echo reports that 'civic leaders' on Teesside are to attend a special mass to pray for new factories. Our man at the Pearly Gates reports that the request will be carefully considered and that plans for a special factory on the Tees for turning water into wine are being studied by the Heavenly Department of Trade and Miracles

Pink sin

IN a foreword to young Scottish journalist Alasdair Buchan's book on UCS, 'The Right To Work', a certain Harold Wilson hands out much praise to the men in the shipyards who resisted Tory dogma, crude butchery and launched the 'work-in'.

'What the men of the Clyde proclaimed and what I went to Clydeside to assert was the right to work,' the Labour bleeder has the brass nerve to write. He conveniently forgets that when he was in the chauffeur's seat himself, his little 'Fairfield's experiment' murdered a few thousand Clydeside jobs and nationally his government succeeded in doubling the rate of unemployment.

Pity that Alasdair, a good militant, should allow his useful book to be marred by the contribution of this appalling hypocrite.

Scots reel

REPLYING to Jo Grimond's loony outburst last week about the stupidity, mental sluggishness and unsuitability for politics of the Scots, one prominent Highland spokesman underlined the absurdity of the remarks by reeling off a list of Scots who had held high office in the UK: 'Ramsay MacDonald, Harold Macmillan, Sir Alec Douglas-Home... And that's disproving Grimond's point... ?'

MILLIONAIRE Pascoe Watson is giving his wife-to-be, Dodie Burton, an unusual wedding present: a £10,000 pair of golden roller skates with a diamond fitted in each wheel. Well, he is rolling in it...

Hovey craft

LATEST crude attempt by the bosses to buy off workers' leaders comes from Southampton Docks. The chairman of the stewards' committee has been offered a passage to Hamburg, with full accommodation for himself and his wife to attend the launching of Overseas Containers' latest container ship. They would be the guests of a Mr Hovey of Hovey Antwerp who recently made 250 dockers redundant in London.

Black looks

WITH education authorities closing down schools because of the coal shortage, miners in Knottingley, Yorkshire, offered to send a lorry with coal and 10 men to the local school. The headmaster was delighted but the education authority refused to pay for the coal. It said it only paid for coal to go to 'priority' schools, such as grammar schools. So the Tory freeze now extends to workers' children.



Telephone
01 739 9043
editorial

After the massacre



by Brian Trench

THE RESPONSE in the 26 Counties to the Derry massacre was immediate and violent. Thousands of people demonstrated in front of the British Embassy in Dublin. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday delegations of workers marched to the embassy from their factories and sites.

There were repeated attempts to fire the building. Finally—and to everybody's delight—it was burned to the ground on Wednesday. It was the massive march organised by the Dublin Council of Trade Unions which ended in the burning.

Southern workers have taken other forms of action to demonstrate their opposition to the British military repression in the North. In Sligo, for instance, dockers refused to unload coal from the Scottish ship, Ballyrory, until the Union Jack was removed and the Irish flag lowered to half mast.

Neither the Orange violence of August 1969 nor the introduction of internment in August 1971 provoked such outrage in the South. On both these occasions the movement quickly died down and Jack Lynch, the Prime Minister, rode out the storm through the lack of a really effective opposition.

Escape

On this occasion, the high feeling among the population is reflected in contradictory attitudes taken by members of the ruling party, Fianna Fail. Neal Blaney, former Agriculture Minister and one of those involved in the 1970 'arms trial', called on Lynch to move the Irish Army to the border and to offer protection to the 'illegal' marchers in the Six Counties. Blaney has also demanded the release of republican prisoners being held in Southern jails. (He was a member of the last Fianna Fail government which interned republicans.)

Republican prisoners in the South—they number about 20—are likely to be a constant embarrassment to Lynch. Last week, Martin Meehan and six others appeared in court in Ballybay, County Monaghan, on charges connected with cross-Border shooting incidents. Another

ANGER BLAZES IN THE SOUTH AS WORKERS STRIKE IN PROTEST

republican who escaped from Crumlin Road jail in Belfast, 'Dutch' Doherty, is being sought by the Northern authorities, who want to have him extradited from the South. Recent events have certainly made it difficult for Lynch to pursue the prosecution against these prisoners.

When Lynch makes militant-sounding noises about the need to withdraw British troops from Catholic areas and the need to end internment he is only reflecting the feeling among the population. These are not positions he can maintain for any length of time. One reason is an event now obscured by the atrocities in the North: the signing by the Prime Ministers of Britain and of the Irish Free State of the treaty of accession to the Common Market. The proposed Irish entry marks the high

spot of a development which has been taking place over the past 15 years. It is the ever closer integration of the Irish economy into the British and Western European capitalist bloc.

It is because of this relationship that any sustained attack on British property in the 26 Counties in reprisal for military murders in the North would be a direct challenge to the power of Lynch and the middle class he represents.

Intensity of feeling and petrol bombs alone will not shift British domination. But a developing struggle in the South could step up the fight against British imperialism in the North.

Class struggle in the South is in several ways the key to the Northern crisis. It is the key to undermining the middle class

leadership of the anti-imperialist movement. It is the key to undermining the hold of the Orange Order on the Protestant working class. It is the key to finally upsetting the possibilities of a 'federal solution' on the terms of the British ruling class and its allies in Ireland.

Neither section of the republican movement has a position on the class struggle that would allow it to seize this opportunity. The present situation, and the developing crisis in the South in particular, poses clearly the question of the socialist leadership of the anti-imperialist movement. It is a central task facing Irish revolutionaries to build a revolutionary party of the working class that can combine the different levels of struggle into a united struggle for a Workers' Republic.



Tony 'Dutch' Doherty (centre, wearing anorak) being interviewed by reporters outside Dundalk courthouse.

The Paras HEATH'S TRAINED KILLERS

THE massacre in Derry has sparked off a deep concern among politicians to protect the honour of the British army. They would have us believe it is a body of kind men given orders by officers whose main concern is not needlessly to hurt a fly.

It's an easy argument to accept when the soldiers you know are lads from up the road who were forced to join up because there were few other jobs going.

But these men are trained, and, particularly in the paratroopers, trained to kill.

Tom Quick was in the paras for 12 years, serving in Cyprus, Bahrain, Aden and Northern Ireland. The paras' training, he says, is vastly different from any other.

'The whole emphasis is on aggression. For instance, it involves going into the ring with another man with no holds barred at all for three minutes, with kicking, eye-gouging and so on.

The aim is to create what the officers call 'the maroon machine', a group of 'hired killers' who will go into action whenever the order is given.

Contempt

'There is a lot of folklore among the men which they try to live up to,' said Tom. 'For instance, paratroopers will boast that in Cyprus they were known as the Red Gestapo.'

'You are brainwashed from the moment you go in to obey anything they tell you without thinking. An attitude of complete contempt for civilians results.'

'In a riot situation one man in the platoon will be chosen by the officer as the marksman. The officer then will nominate an individual in the crowd as the 'ring leader'—because he's taller than the rest, has a distinctive appearance or something like that—and tell the marksman to shoot him, either to wound or to kill...'

'The troops will fire until they're told to stop... In Aden there was a free licence to kill... The marksmen could shoot anyone they said had a bomb or might be about to fire at them...'

'Paratroopers would go for meals in restaurants and then walk out without paying. Two chaps from our base area who did something like this were worked over in the restaurant... Two days later their company went down and tore the place apart. The owner had to use a shot-gun to defend himself.'

Such methods of repression pioneered in Cyprus and Aden can be used with ease in Northern Ireland—and in Britain.

The army is a mechanism which takes the lads who suffer under the present system—because of unemployment, slum housing—and turns them into a machine that is isolated from the rest of the people and trained so they can be turned against them.

It's all happened before

MANY people faced with the horror of Derry's Bloody Sunday still find it difficult to believe that 'respectable and respectable' people like Maudling, Heath or Faulkner could coldbloodedly plan such an operation. But a brief look at the past shows that the much vaunted tradition of our rulers includes repeated use of such methods.

The Guardian wrote a week ago that 'a significant number of senior ministers now believe that the 13 deaths in Ulster's 'Bloody Sunday' offer... a real opportunity for a new initiative'. (3 February).

The one-man inquiry with a sound army background

THE government's decision to appoint a one-man inquiry into the Derry massacre is particularly interesting in the light of the recent Oz appeal.

The Oz appeal hearing was chaired by the man who is to conduct the massacre investigation. Before the hearing, the government decided that the sentences should stand—to deliver the groceries to the small minds and small businessmen who make up the rabid 'law and order' wing of the Tory Party.

Lord Chief Justice Widgery was put in charge, with a reactionary judge on one side and a liberal judge on the other. Government tactics were that Widgery would be the trusty man in the middle, hearing both sides and then deciding to come down on the side of the reactionary, who would be determined to see that the sentences stood.

In true subservient fashion Widgery did just this, except that the reactionary judge became so convinced of the injustice being done that he switched his line. As a result the Oz editors were not sent to prison.

In the aftermath of the Derry killings, it seems the Heath government no longer

dares hold more than a one-man inquiry because this would make it more difficult to ensure the 'proper' verdict, which in the Derry case is likely to be that a few hotheads lost their grip.

Widgery is the ideal man to deliver the required veneer. He has a sound army background, was a brigadier at the end of the last war, and remained in the territorials until 1952.

Criticised

One of Widgery's more interesting judgements last year was in the Mitchell v Mulholland case. Mitchell had been totally disabled in a road accident and will spend the rest of his life in an institution.

He was awarded £64,000 damages, and his solicitors insisted on an appeal. Lord Widgery was one of the judges who refused to allow Mitchell's solicitors to call an expert witness on the rate of inflation and the need for a higher award.

Widgery himself said that only £8000 was in dispute anyway. This decision was heavily criticised in the Law Society

form their own assembly, the Dail, in Dublin. They had the overwhelming backing of the Irish people in this, but Lloyd George was determined that they should not get full independence.

To prevent them, and to force them into negotiations which eventually led to partition of Ireland, he coolly unleashed a reign of brutal and bloody terror.

The 'black and tans' (mainly ex-convicts enrolled as special military police) and the 'auxiliaries' (ex-army officers) were let loose. Tens of thousands of houses were raided, hundreds of

homes and shops burnt down, men, women and children were dragged from their beds, beaten and often murdered.

The Lord Mayor of Cork, Thomas McCurtin, was shot. In that city alone, seven men were killed by the 'forces of order' and a dozen dangerously wounded.

In Dublin, on a previous Bloody Sunday, the British authorities took their revenge for the assassination of several of their secret police by firing into a crowd of Irishmen at a football match. Twelve people were killed and 61 injured.

These murders were not a result of wild passion, or of a breakdown of discipline in the forces. They were carefully planned by the British cabinet.

Lloyd George accepted responsibility for all done by the black and tans, under their commander Major-General Tudor.

One of the government's principal advisors wrote that Lloyd George 'seemed to be satisfied that a counter-murder association was the best answer to the Sinn Fein murders'. Lord Derby had told him that 'Lloyd George had boasted to him about the counter-murder association which he thinks has been founded in Ireland.'

Trial

Other ministers, like Churchill, were not fully sure that Lloyd George's policies would work. But they were prepared to go along with him, in an equally cold-blooded manner. Churchill felt it necessary to raise the temperature of the conflict to a real issue and a trial of strength and felt that there was 'some lingering hope' in the policy of 'rough handling the Sinn Feiners'.

We do not know in exactly what terms Heath and Maudling discuss the Derry events. But we can be sure that beneath their public expression of concern lies a private admittance of the truth. When the archives are opened in many years time there can be no doubt that they will be seen to be conspiring in the same murderous way that the men in whose tradition they proudly stand did 50 years ago.

Pit strikers: don't let Social Security cheat you of your rights

MINERS from all parts of the country are facing difficulties when they go to the Social Security offices. Despite the fact that they have been paying taxes and national insurance contributions for years, they find that Social Security officials are using every conceivable dodge to avoid paying them.

This is hardly surprising. Social Security is a part of the same government apparatus that is urging the Coal Board into battle and is using the police to harass picket lines. But organised resistance can force officials to pay up. What is necessary is that strikers know what they are entitled to and fight together to get it.

Miners with wives and children are entitled as a right to a payment of £4.60 for the wife and a range of payments for each child, depending on his age:

under 5	£1.70
5-10	£2.00
11-12	£2.45

13-15	£3.00
16-17	£3.60

In addition to this, Social Security has to pay rents and rates in full, or, if you are buying your own house, the interest on the mortgage plus an amount for rates and repairs. On the other hand, they can make a deduction for family allowances and for any tax rebate, excluding the first £1.

Social Security also has the power to pay any HP repayments on essential household equipment (cookers, most furniture etc). There are reports of cases in which strikers are being advised to try and renegotiate their HP repayments with the HP company. But no miner should do this for essential equipment—the onus should be on Social Security to cough up.

The ability to pay HP is one of a number of 'discretionary powers' that Social Security officers have. But in cases like the present strike they usually hide these powers from applicants for

benefit. The case of single men is most important. They are usually told that under section 10 of the Social Security Act they are entitled to no benefit if they are involved in an industrial dispute. This is true. But what they are not told is that another section, 13, makes it the duty of Social Security to pay out discretionary payments to single men when 'urgent need' is proved. There can be very few people indeed who are not 'in urgent need' after four weeks without pay.

Finally, all strikers are entitled to a number of other benefits, such as exemption from health charges, free school meals and free milk for children under five. These can be got by asking for the blue form A9 when the first claim is made.

In all cases, however, what matters is not just the strikers' legal right but the ability to ensure that Social Security takes them into account. There is only one way to do this—continual pressure on Social Security officers from a united body of strikers, backed up by union organisations.

Strikers should not allow themselves to be

isolated one from another when making their claims. They should demand a form (A124A) which is the equivalent of a pay slip, giving details of what benefit is being granted and why. They should not accept any excuse for this not being available. Above all, if they are refused benefit or if the officers refuse to use their discretionary powers, then strikers should immediately ask for an appeal form and fill it in.

The counter clerks in Social Security offices will be under considerable pressure from above to try and refuse strikers' claims, and may try to intimidate claimants. Such threats should be ignored. They are just one further means by which those who run the present system are trying to frighten strikers.

What is vital is that local union bodies now take the initiative in fighting back and protecting their members' rights. They should appoint experienced militants to fight for their members' claims and to be prepared to represent them before appeals bodies.

THE COAL BOARD is very worried about safety underground since no one has been working in the pits. This moving concern for the fate of expensive machinery and walking pit props is in marked contrast to the Board's utter neglect of the physical well-being of the men who are normally crawling around down below.

At this very moment lawyers for seven former miners whose unions have backed them in suing the board for negligence over pneumoconiosis (a ravaging chest disease) are coming up against the full expanse of the NCB's human compassion.

Solicitors for the Coal Board are currently arguing that the worst excesses were committed under the old private owners of the mines before the war. The NCB therefore bears no responsibility, the seven men have no case and the actions should therefore be dropped.

In fact one of the more remarkable achievements of the nationalised British coal industry has been to reverse the trend toward a reduction of dust on the coal face and the consequent decline in serious chest diseases among miners. The National Union of Mineworkers is concerned that the industry is well on the way to getting back to a situation as bad as anything the old owners created.

The cause of this dire situation is very simple. The National Coal Board has rapidly mechanised the pits, putting machines in here, there and everywhere in a desperate drive to increase productivity and run down the workforce.

More machines are driven ever faster, with the result that there is more and more dust for miners to inhale. Rapid mechanisation has also seen industrial accidents soar. None of this is inevitable. It happens because changes in mining technology have been made without any concern for their human consequences.

Between April 1967 and December 1970, 11 miners were killed and 14 seriously injured in accidents which could have been avoided if the power-loaded machines had a warning system that alerted people when a machine was about to start up.

What has happened 25 times in a period of less than four years is that the power loaders have been started up while a maintenance worker was inside it. This means that the men are literally dismembered by the picks which treat human bodies with the same ruthlessness as the coal they are designed to shear.

HACKED

What is absolutely fantastic is that these machines were designed without a warning system, or better still with a locking device only the maintenance man can control. In their absence 14 men have been hacked to death because somehow else switched the machine on.

Over the years, the National Coal Board has preferred to issue written codes of practice and stick up posters in canteens rather than modify the machines. That would be so expensive, it seems, and such a trouble for the friendly machinery manufacturers.

Keith Saunders, the NUM's mining engineering expert, is firmly convinced that the only solution is to change the whole design process so that the prime consideration is impact on the people who have the job of running and operating machinery. But as it stands today, the coal industry, like all others, is eagerly in pursuit of increased output per shift. Massive capital debt and the drive to be 'competitive' demands low cost machinery, no matter that the human and social 'cost' is devastating.

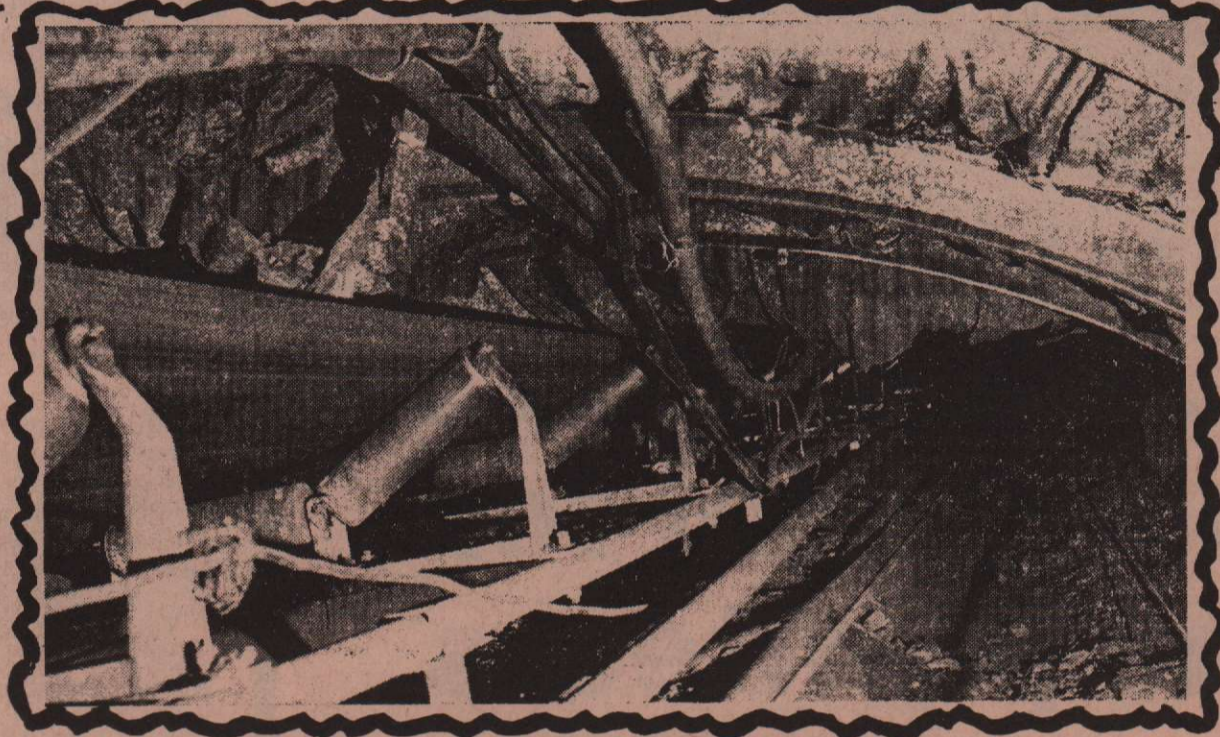
Recently the Coal Board has got worked up about the problem of dust in the industry. It has launched a 'destroy the dust' campaign, in a desperate drive to

MINERS

a wet night
with the cold
wind blowing
on our way to
the pit
we freeze
in the morning your woken
by coughing
from the silicosis disease
and if a rockfall
doesn't kill you
or the cables snap

on the cage
you toil to make their profits
toil for a miserable wage
its cold for a picket
in winter
but one day we will
lock out ted heath
and then he will work
for a living
perhaps he'll dig coal
with his teeth

d r brown



At the end of the third week of the miners' strike, most newspapers printed photographs allegedly illustrating the strike's impact underground.

This picture appeared in The Times showing a trunk conveyor being crushed in an underground roadway at the Sutton Colliery, Notts.

In fact an engineer had reported the serious situation in this same roadway to the Coal Board in November, before the strike even started.

He said that publication of the picture showed managerial incompetence in addition to dishonesty.

UNSAFE MINES— NCB TO BLAME

Laurie Flynn
investigates

reduce its potential liability in future compensation actions for pneumoconiosis.

This is not unconnected with the flood of miners and ex-miners who have been issuing writs following the successful Pickles' action in 1970 that won nearly £8000 compensation in an out-of-court settlement.

Commentators on the industry estimate that the Coal Board may well face a liability of more than £200 million in forthcoming pneumoconiosis actions. This sum is enough to pay the miners' current wage claim about six times over.

The history of dust control in the coal industry since nationalisation is remarkable in more ways than one. For 10 years after nationalisation, the so-called standards for approved working had no scientific basis whatsoever. They were based entirely on what could practically be achieved without restricting the output of the machinery. They had little or no relevance to the safety of the miner's lungs.

New methods of measurement have been introduced and also new standards. It is not known whether or not these are adequate. In any case there is a very wide gulf between drawing up standards and enforcing them.

If the great 'destroy the dust' campaign is successfully carried through, only 90 per cent of the coal faces in the UK will be 'approved'. On the other 10 per cent the deplorable situation where men are paid 'dust money' (with the agreement of the NUM) will continue.

Several reports have reached the miners' union that some local managers—hard pressed by the Board for more and more

production—resort to paying secret and illegal bonuses to get workers to operate in unexpected dusty conditions.

It is true that while some of the machines introduced have increased danger to life and limb, others have reduced it. This is particularly true of the powered supports, which have reduced significantly the dangers of wall and roof collapses.

But in the run up to their introduction the safety payoff was not publicised by the Board. That played no part whatsoever in the decision to introduce them. Once again, it was a strictly 'economic' calculation.

Another invention which would be both economic for the Coal Board and much safer for the miner is the double-ended pick. For some strange reason the Coal Board has persistently declined to introduce it, and has done research on how to keep blunt single picks working at reduced efficiency.

RISKS

The economics of the operation are quite simple. Once the picks on the mining machines become blunted, they could simply be turned over and cutting would continue uninterrupted. There would be much less loss from reduced cutting efficiency, and less time spent waiting or fetching replacements.

Normally what happens once single picks are blunted is operators keep on cutting. This leads to increased dust production and explosion risks. Use of the double-ended pick would reduce these hazards.

A British patent has been held on the double-ended pick since 1964. One of the joint inventors refuses to surrender the patent to the Coal Board saying that since he invented it he is entitled to reap a substantial share of the benefits.

Between 1964 and 1970 Lord Robens, the former NCB chairman, always countered this argument by stating that the Board's patent policy ensured that the whole community benefited rather than a few individuals.

But other interests are at work as well. In 1960 Gullick Ltd, mining machinery firm, devised a new kind of self-advancing roof support. The firm surrendered its patent to the NCB without payment and with no provision for royalties. This was

not done out of public spirit, for the NCB was Gullick's only UK customer.

Designs for this moving prop were not put out to tender. Instead the NCB started to order large quantities of a very similar prop from another firm, Bonser Engineering, whose profits rose as a result.

Lord Robens' son took up shares in the Bonser outfit in 1967, subsequently becoming a director and marrying the boss's daughter. All through the period of the dispute between Gullick and the NCB, the Board's then director general of production, Mr W V Sheppard, now deputy chairman had an indirect interest in Bonser. His wife, Nancy, had 500 shares.

Mr Sheppard actually sat on the committee of arbitration which rejected Gullick's claim that Bonser were profiting from an almost exact copy of their invention. The committee allowed Bonser to continue production uninterrupted. NCB scientists have subsequently found a large proportion of Bonser props to be faulty.

BURDEN

The one problem that must really be tormenting the minds of NCB accountants and economists is where to get the money to pay the fantastic compensation that is likely to arise from the current flood of pneumoconiosis claims.

The Board is restricted in the choices available. The most likely answer under the present system of society is to further increase productivity per man shift, thereby shifting the burden back once again to the mineworker. More productivity means machines running ever faster, which means more pneumoconiosis.

Once again, full circle. The sweat and damaged health of today's and tomorrow's miners will have to fund the meagre compensation for those whose lungs have already been impaired. Fortunately, that is a roundabout the miners are now very unlikely to accept.

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Party, 1945-64
Critique of the 'British
Road to Socialism'
Victor Serge on
Party and Class

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6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Southern Africa



continues in chains

A big deal for the profiteers

AND FOR WHITE RHODESIANS.

BUT FOR THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE — NOTHING

THE TORY idea of 'democracy' is on show in the country called 'Rhodesia'. Five million black Africans call it Zimbabwe, but 200,000 whites call it Rhodesia in fond memory of imperialist gangster Cecil Rhodes—and 200,000 whites, as far as the British government and press are concerned, can't be wrong.

The Tories want to reach a settlement with Ian Smith and his racist thugs who run Rhodesia. They have cooked up a settlement that effectively means that a tiny minority of whites will continue to run Rhodesia, to control the wealth and the land, to pay starvation wages to the blacks, to herd them into 'special areas' like South African Bantustans, to jail their political leaders and to terrorise them with a police force and army paid and advised by Britain and South Africa.

Impartial?

Now in order to give this grisly episode in Tory appeasement a gloss of 'impartiality', 16 civil servants under Lord Pearce are in Rhodesia to 'test the opinion' of the people about the terms of the settlement. The civil servants are good public school Tories to a man and include a member of the staff of London Zoo whose job, presumably, is to deal with the animals who constitute the Rhodesia Front government.

Lord Pearce's impartiality is not above question. In 1968 he was the only member of the Privy Council to vote against a decision that Smith's emergency regulations were illegal. Now this supporter of Smith's police-state measures is heading an inquiry that seeks to make the Salisbury regime respectable in the eyes of the world.

As Bishop Muzorewa, of the African National Council, said: 'We have a chairman who would condone illegal measures in the interests of law and order; who would condone treason in the interests of necessity; and who is not interested in whose fault it was that the



Lord Stokes of British Leyland, which stands to gain £19m in export orders from a Rhodesian settlement.

constitutional crisis had been created . . . African people cannot trust him.'

And the Africans have reacted with a magnificent series of demonstrations, strikes and marches that have smashed Smith's cheap smear of having 'the happiest Africans in the world' who are too illiterate to understand what is going on. The white police state has reacted with its usual barbarity. So far at least 13 Africans have been shot in demonstrations against the Pearce Commission and the attempted settlement. The number dead should remind us of another police state nearer home.

Why the haste to settle with Smith and co? If it were a black government, the Tories—or Labour—would have sent in troops and put down the 'rebellion' with their usual tough efficiency.

But Rhodesia is different. These are 'our kith and kin', guardians of vast investments from British big business. Better a squalid semi-fascist government that protects these investments than control by the black majority who might decide to take over their own natural resources and foreign industry that profits from their exploitation.

The Tories are sensitive to the needs of big business. A few days before the Pearce Commission arrived in Salisbury, a depu-

tation from the British Aircraft Corporation flew to Rhodesia with Tory backing. Their aim was to sell three BAC 1-11 aircraft to Smith, worth £4.5 millions.

Other firms are panting for a settlement. Rio Tinto Zinc (poisoning workers a speciality) and Turner and Newall will be able to bring home the profits made by their subsidiaries and kept in Rhodesia because of sanctions. Imperial Tobacco can once again buy Rhodesian tobacco.

Lord Stokes' British Leyland Motor Corporation expects to gain around £19 million in export orders when the deal is signed with Smith. But it is mining companies that have the most to gain, companies like Anglo American.

This is primarily a South African company, but its subsidiary is 33.5 per cent owned by a British company, Charter Consolidated. A leading shareholder is Evelyn de Rothschild, whose holding in Charter has increased in value by more than £100,000 when the settlement with Smith was proposed. He is also a director of Beaverbrook Newspapers and The Economist, both of which support the settlement.

Profit

Rio Tinto Zinc reported profits in Rhodesia for the first nine months of 1971 of 2.6 million Rhodesian dollars, a hefty rise on the previous year. RTZ shares went up in London by more than 60p following the moves towards a settlement and chairman Sir Val Duncan was personally enriched by £100,000.

With so much profit tied up in Rhodesia, no wonder big business is pushing the Tories for a deal with Smith. It is yet another vile example of how the interests of the profiteers are allowed to determine the fate of five million people. We must do our bit in Britain to help break their grip on Africa.

Peter Lincoln

with facts from Anti-Apartheid News.

IN the past two months the struggles of Africans against white imperialists and settlers in Southern Africa have reached a new pitch. African workers employed in the heart of white industry withdrew their labour and fought the armed white police sent to discipline them.

The latest struggles involve at least 20,000 Ovambos in Namibia (South West Africa), countless thousands of Zimbabweans (black 'Rhodesians'), and at least 1000 South Africans at Prieska copper mines. Many, like the people of Derry last week unarmed but for sticks and stones, have been shot down. At least 10 Ovambos and 14 Zimbabwean demonstrators have been murdered. Mr Heath's armoured cars and helicopters have come in very useful for the forces of white 'law and order'.

Namibia is still at a complete standstill. The mockery of the 'settlement' and its troop of retired colonial service opinion pollsters, the Pearce Commission, has been revealed by Zimbabwean workers for all to see.

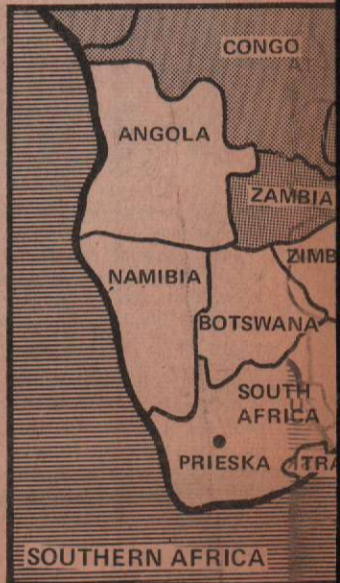
These countries are the weak link in the chain of white domination of Southern Africa. The anchor of the system lies in South Africa, the most industrialised and capitalist dominated country in Africa and the most obscene in terms of its grand solution to the African 'problem', apartheid, and the enormity of the repressive police apparatus designed to administer that 'solution'.

Apartheid, the policy of separate development, is the whites' solution to the problem of a permanent and organised African working class which has built up South African industry and wealth by sweat and blood for the last 80 years. Apartheid is designed to smash any attempt that the African working class has made to organise itself as a class for itself.

Landless

It says that the 4½ million Africans who have lived permanently in the urban areas, some for three or four generations, are not really workers but peasants just visiting the white areas, who when they are old or industrially injured—that is, useless to work for the whites—will go back to die in the bosom of their tribe. It says that Africans are not really Africans, who have become landless and can only sell their labour, but Zulus, Xhosa, Venda, Tswana, and so on.

The Bantustans are designed to be their political and spiritual homes. They therefore cannot have political, economic or any other rights in the white areas where they happen to be living and working. Those rights are reserved for the Bantustans which the vast majority have never seen. During the period of the Second World War the African



A special report by V

working class increased in size and consciousness. A massive strike by African mine workers in 1946 shook the whites' feeling of security.

The Nationalist Party screamed that the whites would be

The people

In South Africa are:
13 million Africans divided into 13 'tribal groups'.
3½ million whites—two million Afrikaners, 1½ million English-speaking people.
1½ million Coloureds and 500,000 Indians, now deprived of all political rights once shared with whites.
African land 13 per cent.
White land 70 per cent.

swamped/ turned into impossible/ between mas/ looking.

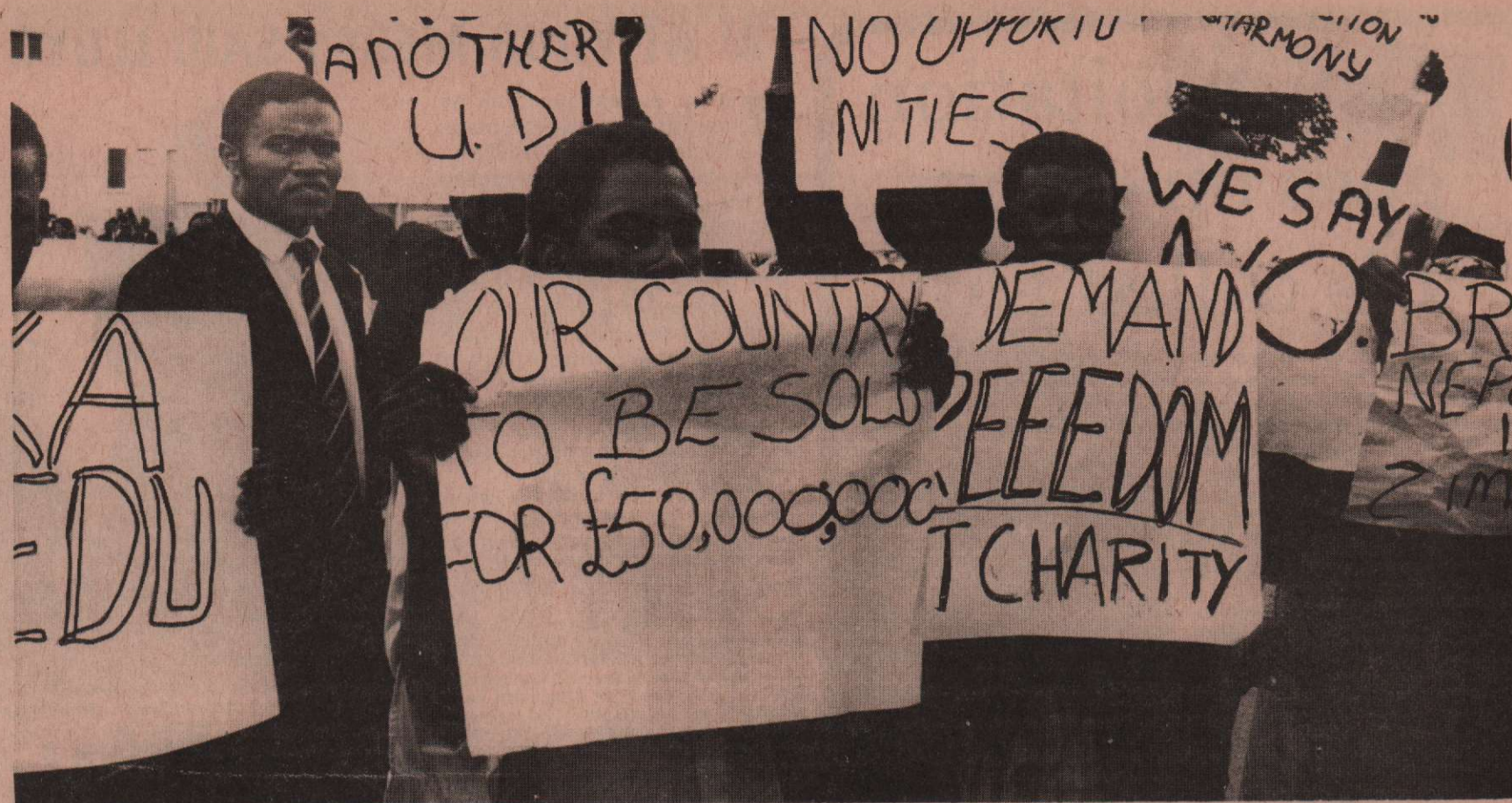
Apartheid/ Keep the/ already bro/ and turn/ Forcibly se/ In pov/ Nationalist/ this task/ separated th/ 13 differe/ forced eac/ Coloureds/ and Indian/ ghettos set/ ment. No m/ is allowe/ thousands/ moved, sor



Separate stairs, separate bus stops, separate buses—

ca:

nt
ns



Demonstrators in Salisbury as the Pearce Commission arrives. They got their answer from Smith—bullets and batons. What will the British government's answer be?



V. Enda

by the blacks and hybrids. It would be to differentiate between and servant just by it was the solution. blacks out, the ones and must be atomised into tribalists. separate out the races. ver in 1948, the quickly set down to the Group Areas Act urban Africans into tribal groups. It group, as well as the (mixed race peoples) to live in separate apart by the govern- mixing or intermingling. Hundreds of if not millions, were under the guise of

slum clearance. To object meant the bulldozing of your home, and it meant jail.

Next, education for the 'Bantus' was redesigned by the government. Schools were purged of the kids not in the right tribal group for the area where the school was located. The so-called tribal tongue, which so many had forgotten, was made compulsory as the medium of instruction. The Africans must be made to forget English.

Subjects such as gardening and simple mechanical tasks were to dominate the time tables, to 'prevent the Bantu from aspiring to jobs that were not for him'. Laws attempting to stem the flow of landless migrants, and to kick out recent arrivals, came thick and fast, harder and harsher. Influx laws had always been applied to direct the labour force, but now it was worse.

The Bantu (Urban Areas) Act defines the African who is allowed to stay in the white areas legally as one who has resided in the same place since birth, has lived there with official permission continuously for 15 years, has been with the same employer for 10 years.

That is, only the African who has proved himself 'responsible'

The wages

Monthly wages in manufacturing industries in 1967:
Whites £120
Blacks £22
Seventy per cent of African families living in Soweto, the largest and richest African ghetto outside Johannesburg, have an income of less than £30 a month. Prices are about the same level as they are in Britain.

The owners

British investments in South Africa get the highest dividend returns of all the ex-colonies—16 per cent. British investors own £1,500m of South Africa.
Exports to South Africa in 1968-70 were:
Britain £250m
USA £165m
West Germany £306m
Japan £177m
They are all there.

enough not to wander from the straight and narrow of one employer, has not got the sack by organising for better conditions and more pay, has not moved to a different area, only he is allowed to stay and work in the white areas where all the industries are located.

All the information on residence, tribal group, employer and so forth are printed in the notorious pass books, which grow fatter as more legislation chaining the African is passed. More than a million arrests a year for not being where the pass book says you should be, testify to the gigantic defiance of these laws.

Sadly, it also testifies to the efficiency of the whites' gigantic police machine. Like the army snatch squads in Northern Ireland, midnight swoops comb cordoned off areas, taking detected pass offenders off to labour in prison farms, or in handcuffs to their 'spiritual homes' in the Bantustans.

Offences

African workers, although they make up at least 70 per cent of the working class, are not actually classified as workers. They cannot negotiate with their bosses. Instead they are represented by a white labour official who makes up his own mind when he'll ask for a little more.

The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), founded in 1955, was never a real trade union organisation because it was never allowed to negotiate and bargain.

It is a criminal offence to strike under the Masters and Servants Act, which can send a worker to jail even for dumb insolence. Twenty thousand workers a year are convicted under this Act.

Striking leads, most likely, first to jail and then to deportation to the 'spiritual' home of the Bantustan. The Prieska strikers last November, the Ovambos, and the Durban dockers who struck three years ago, were all repatriated to Bantustans.

Working class Africans in struggle against apartheid's divide and rule strategy have seen all their political organisation smashed. SACTU, although it was only able to carry out a

propaganda and general agitation campaign, was hounded to death by repeated police raids and the arrests of its leaders by the mid-60s. It was really a wing of the African National Congress (ANC), dealing specifically with the struggle on the labour front.

The ANC derived from the tiny African middle class in the big towns. Up to the mid-50s, when even this tiny number were deprived of their remaining franchise and three white representatives in the white parliament, they organised on a liberal basis futilely appealing to the 'good sense' of the British as against the 'bad sense' of the Afrikaner.

They wanted their feeble franchise rights restored, an end to passes and so forth. Indeed, their struggle did increase in militancy in the face of the vicious apartheid laws outlined above, but somehow they still retained illusions in democracy.

Prisons

Their tactics, symbolic pass burnings, courting arrest by blatantly breaking laws, were a reflection of these illusions. They failed to recognise that the whites could accommodate them all and more in thousands of prisons. Passive resistance was also reflected in the 'stay at home' strategy in the late 50s when the leadership of the ANC, moving to the left, was becoming more influenced by the underground Communist Party.

Moreover these campaigns were often called off at tactically bad times. The bus boycott in Alexandria gave rise to terrific militancy but the ANC leadership fell for a phoney offer of fare rebates and called off the

The guerrillas for freedom

THE Portuguese colonies to the north of South Africa are fast being liberated. The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) fighting since 1962, controls almost two thirds of the countryside and the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), whose armed struggle began in 1964, has wrested control in the north.

have distributed the land among the peasants and set up cooperatives, schools and clinics.

The Portuguese ruling class spends a third of the pathetic Portuguese national income a year on attempting to put down the Africans, as well as keeping the peasants and workers in Portugal suppressed. NATO, of which Portugal is a member, supplies much of the hardware.

campaign. Similarly the women's campaign against having to carry passes was suddenly called off isolating 20,000 women who had marched on Pretoria in protest.

The ANC was split by warring factions, many leaders were in jail, and the Pan-African Congress eventually walked out objecting to working with the whites, who were mainly in the Communist Party. The failure to recognise the complete lack of liberalism of the new Nationalist regime led to the failure to organise tightly knit cadre cells which could survive and grow underground.

At Sharpeville in 1960, when 67 people were shot down in a peaceful demonstration, the redundancy of the tactic of passive resistance was spelt out in bullets.

The ANC was banned, but it had neither the politics, organisation or strategy to work underground. Riddled with spies and agents provocateurs, it reversed the idea of mass passive resistance into that of bombings and sabotage. By 1963 most of its leaders were in jail or had fled into exile.

The ANC still exists in South Africa and has small cells in the

big cities. Open action is restricted mainly to leaflet bombing and perhaps the occasional act of sabotage. The ANC's official line seems to be to attempt guerrilla activities in the countryside and Bantustans 'where the police machine is not so effective'. But this strategy has had very little effect in recent years.

On trial

At the moment 13 members of the Unity Movement, a much smaller organisation which criticised the use of passive resistance as a tactic of the ANC and the Communist Party, are on trial in the Transkei Bantustan accused of attempting to recruit peasants for military training.

The picture seems very dark.

But events in Zimbabwe and Namibia give encouragement inside South Africa. Africans continue to defy and go on strike. They now have no illusions in peaceful means. Many young educated Africans who have been groomed to become leaders in the Bantustans reject them and become workers. New organisations of underground struggle must be formed. Perhaps they already are growing.

The Bantustan fraud

THE Bantustan fraud is pathetic. In the two which are supposed to have some form of self-government, which obviously does not include defence, education and foreign affairs, there is virtually no industry. The mass of the populations of the Transkei and Zululand are forced to migrate to the white industries, on a contract system similar to that against which the Ovambos are striking.

The main income of the Transkei is that of the repatriated wages of migrants, followed by the pensions of those kicked out of the white areas for the sin of becoming too old to work or industrially disabled.

Strikers, pass offenders and other dissident Africans endorsed out to the homelands are kept in camps for rehabilitation.

The South African government has given a few thousand pounds to set up a textile factory, where women work on new wooden looms of pre-industrial revolution

design. This sick development fits in with apartheid's ideology that Africans must develop through the same stages as the whites.

The Bantustans, and reserves, though the Nationalists try to deny it, have not been self-sufficient in basic food requirements for over 40 years and have to import maize, much to the delight of the white farmers. People are starving, mainly the old and children, and widowed women who have no men to send back their wages.

Travesty

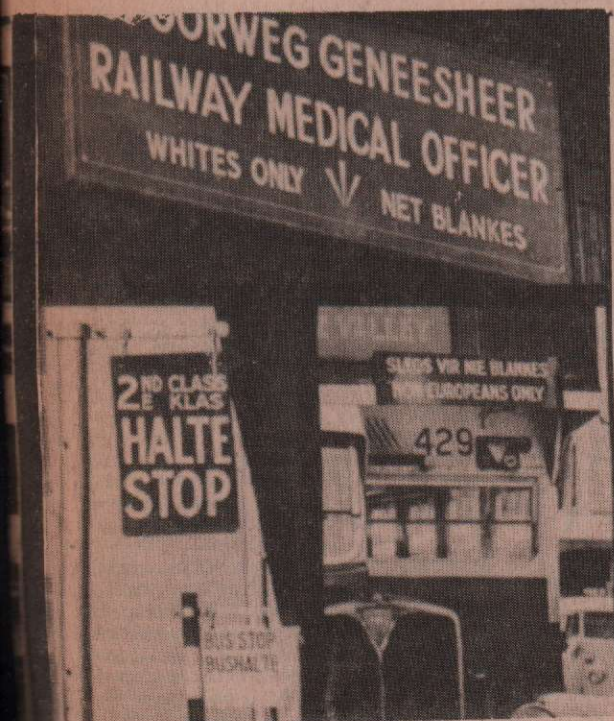
The plan is to dump even more of these people in the reserves. The apartheid ideal is to turn the entire African labour force into migrant labourers by forcing their families out of the towns and into the Bantustans. This has already occurred to a great extent amongst African agricultural workers.

Political rights in the Transkei

are a farce. Every Xhosa, including those in the towns who have never been to the place, has a vote, and in 1964 Matanzima, now the Chief Minister, was defeated at the polls by an anti-apartheid party which did not accept the idea of Bantustans. The South African government immediately put in its nominated chiefs, giving Matanzima's party the majority.

As in Rhodesia, all surviving chiefs are paid agents of the whites. Most have to be protected by armed white bodyguards from the people they are supposed to rule. Especially at this moment in Ovamboland.

Buthezi, Chief Minister of Zululand, appears more outspoken, but is really from the same mould as Matanzima. They both accept the system and say they will 'fight for some control'. It's left to the African working class in the towns, who won't have anything to do with them, to take the bloody lot.



signs in South Africa

The exploitation goes on—now it's called aid

Since the end of the last war, the Great Game of Grab that is Imperialism has continued as before. The identity and relative scores of the different players has changed from time to time, but the rules are basically the same. Where political independence has been granted to the local middle class, economic exploitation continues.

The wealth stolen over the past is not returned, and the economies of the exploited countries cannot fully escape from the dependence created by imperialism, on the production of raw materials.

One change in postwar imperialism has taken place: its effect is to make the 'backward' countries more dependent on their exploiters than ever before. Today overseas investment by the 'advanced' countries flows more than ever between the advanced countries themselves, and not from the advanced to the backward.

Modern industry increasingly requires a skilled workforce of the kind found only in other 'advanced' economies.

The 'backward' countries are left to rot, and as the use of synthetic substitutes for their products increases the price of their primary products on the world market drops, compared to the industrial products of the advanced countries, which they must import.

Some examples. In the ten years 1951-61 the price of cocoa dropped. Ghana, whose economy depends on cocoa, had as a result to export nearly three times as much cocoa to import one ton of steel at the end of the 50s as at the beginning.

Likewise in the same period Brazil would have had to export two and a half times more coffee, and Malaya three and a third times more rubber.

Swallow

This inability to pay for imports leads to debt, financed by loans. But the interest on the loans must be paid in foreign currencies, which can only be got from exports. In the ten years up to 1967 the debts of the exploited countries had increased four times.

Nearly half of all aid goes to finance past debts, and in Latin America in many years debt repayments exceed aid. And the remaining value of 'aid' is more than swallowed up by the falling prices received for primary products. In the early 60s it was estimated that 38.4 per cent of the value of all aid disappeared in this way.

This is a result of the relative falling demand in the advanced countries for the products of the countries they have exploited for so long. From 1938 to 1963 world demand for food and raw materials (the main produce of the exploited countries) grew by 66 per cent. But demand for manufactured goods (the produce of the imperialist countries) grew by 250 per cent.

The only way out of the debt is through loans from organisations like the world bank. But these loans are only granted if 'sensible' economic policies are followed. This means concentrating on products for which export markets exist already—in other words raw materials.

So the exploited countries' dependence on one or two crops, like coffee, sugar or cocoa is increased.

American so-called 'aid' is tied to preserving this state of affairs, and keeping countries open to American investment. As American Secretary of State Dean Rusk has said:

'We don't challenge in a strict constitutional sense the right of a sovereign government to dispose of properties and people within its

WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?



by Stephen Marks

PART NINE

sovereign territory . . . We do think as a matter of policy it would be wise and prudent on their side to create conditions which would be attractive to the international . . . private investor.

'So our influence is used wherever it can be, and persistently on a day-to-day basis in our aid discussion and in direct aid negotiation to underline the importance of private investment.'

These points are often made frankly by the American ruling class's spokesmen to those of their more backward members who are slow to realise the point, and think of overseas aid as 'wasteful'. As a US Assistant of Commerce had to point out to a meeting of US businessmen: 'If these aid programmes were discontinued, private investments might be a waste because it would not be safe for you to make them'.

Exceed

Insisting on the 'open door' to the entry of US capital is one way that the US gets round its lack of empire; using aid to other Western countries as a lever for entry into their colonial markets is another.

Publicity is often given to the American supply of grain to 'underdeveloped' countries under the PL 480 scheme. It is less often pointed out that the proceeds from the sale of these food supplies belongs to the US government.

It has been estimated that US government-owned funds built up in this way amount in India to over one fifth of the total money supply and to 15 per cent in Pakistan, and that in Egypt they will soon exceed the size of the government budget.

Other imperialist powers, of course, behave in the same way. That is why none of the so-called 'underdeveloped' countries can make any real progress at all towards solving its problems without breaking with the imperialist world economic system.

Even after what has happened a crucial choice remains. The answer depends on which class has led the struggle against imperialism.

TO BE CONCLUDED

I'M AT YOUR MERCY SAID LLOYD GEORGE SO..

You eat a meal mouthful by mouthful, not all the plateful at one go. Similarly, capitalist governments gobble up the working class section by section—seizing the power workers first, then the postmen and now going on to the miners—because they realise they would be unable to devour the whole trade union movement with a single bite.

For this reason, working-class solidarity would spell disaster for Heath's government in its present fight against the miners.

Had it been shown in 1926, when the miners were last in struggle, then the whole pattern of subsequent history would have been different and needless suffering avoided.

Nobody could seriously contend that the economy could function for a considerable length of time without coal. Stanley Baldwin's government would have been brought to its knees if no coal had been permitted to enter Britain and none moved about the country. The organised might of labour would have rendered his administration helpless and assured a victory for the miners.

But this did not happen. Coal got into Britain. It was moved about the country. And the miners bravely soldiered on for 30 weeks before having to capitulate.

The disaster happened because other workers did not see that the miners' struggle was equally their struggle. Once the Tory government had defeated the miners, it was more favourably placed to deal with other sections of the trade union movement. Widespread wage cuts and unemployment followed. Every worker in Britain paid for the mistake.

Of course, the main culprits were not the ordinary union members but the union leaders. For throughout they endeavoured to avoid, at all costs, a showdown with the Tory government.

When, eventually, as a result of rank and file pressure, the TUC was compelled to call a General Strike, it was done with extreme reluctance and called off at the earliest opportunity. Cracks appeared in the General Council, not among the masses out on strike.

From the viewpoint of the TUC leaders, however, the staging of the General Strike had two tactical advantages. First, it helped to use up energy to lessen the clamour for solidarity with the miners.

And, secondly, they could point to this theatrical gesture and use it as an excuse for not adopting any more effective and lasting means of helping the miners.

That happened in 1926 was merely a repetition, on a bigger scale, of 1921. On that occasion, the miners were also asked to accept a wage cut.

There was at that time an agreement between the miners, railwaymen and transport workers called the Triple Alliance, whereby each union pledged itself to assist the others when difficulties arose. While they were considering what form joint action should take, the leaders of the three unions were asked to come to 10 Downing Street.

There a remarkable scene was enacted, one that shows what the real relationship of forces are whenever a serious possibility exists that the potential power of the working class may actually be used.

In his book, *In Place of Fear*, Aneurin Bevan vividly re-tells the account of Robert Smillie, the miners' leader, of this meeting with the prime minister:

'Lloyd George sent for the labour leaders, and they went, so Robert told me, "truculently determined they would not be talked over by the seductive and eloquent Welshman". At this Bob's eyes twinkled in his grave strong face. "He was quite frank with us from the outset," Bob went on. "He said to us: "Gentlemen, you have fashioned, in the Triple Alliance of the unions represented by you, a most powerful instrument. I feel bound to tell you that in our opinion we are at your mercy . . . In these circumstances if you carry out your threat and strike, then you will defeat us.

"But if you do so," went on Mr Lloyd George, "have you weighed the consequences? The strike will be in defiance



Robert Smillie, Triple Alliance leader: 'We were beaten'

Mighty union leaders threw in the towel



Lloyd George: quite frank

of the government of the country and by its very success will precipitate a constitutional crisis of the first importance. For, if a force arises in the state which is stronger than the state itself, then it must be ready to take on the functions of the state, or withdraw and accept the authority of the state.

"Gentlemen," asked the Prime Minister quietly, "have you considered, and if you have, are you ready?" From that moment on," said Robert Smillie, "we were beaten and we knew we were."

Paradoxically, it was the strength of the Triple Alliance—not its weakness—that led to surrender. Union leaders, accustomed to working within the capitalist system, shuddered at the prospect that, by their actions, they might bring its downfall.

As Aneurin Bevan clearly saw, when commenting on this episode: 'After this the General Strike of 1926 was really an anti-climax. The essential argument had been deployed in 1919. But the leaders in 1926 were in no better theoretical position to face it. They had never worked out the revolutionary implications of direct action on such a scale. Nor were they anxious to do so.'

The same holds true to even a greater extent at the present time. Today's union leaders, without the militant reputation of men like Smillie and Robert Williams, are even more likely to cave in under pressure. But the principle reason for this does not lie with any psychological weakness they

possess. It is the result of objective forces.

As Jack Jones, leader of the Transport Workers, pointed out quite correctly in *Tribune* recently, trade unions have grown in strength over the years. At the same time, he could have added that British capitalism has become weaker. The consequence of these two developments is that, far more easily than in 1919, a situation could arise where, by using the power of the working class, the government was toppled.

Such a prospect, for leaders like Cooper, Jones and Scanlon, is something they want to avoid at whatever price. They would regard it as most improper and unconstitutional: believing in the parliamentary charade and not being revolutionary socialists, they recoil at the first whiff of all-out struggle with the capitalist state.

This can be seen from their conduct during the past two years, when they have continually tried to play down conflicts. The union leaders were determined to confine opposition to the Industrial Relations Bill to harmless marches rather than industrial action.

They showered praise on the Post Office workers but did not lift a finger to stop them being defeated.

And now no effective solidarity is being given to the miners. Capitalists are overjoyed at the TUC's behaviour throughout the current dispute. It has failed to give the miners full support. As the *Sunday Times* pointed out last month, the NUM is finding itself increasingly isolated within the General Council.

'What influence other union leaders can exert on Mr Joe Gormley and Mr Lawrence Daly is being used, not to support their struggle, but to get it over and done with. This became clear at last week's meeting of leading trade unionists at the TUC.

Mr Daly made a passionate speech on behalf of the miners and then asked for cash support. Only a fortnight before Mr Daly was saying he did not want money, but "physical support". He wanted other unions to stop handling coal, knowing that this was the quickest way of making a public impact when record stocks were on the surface ready to be used.

But physical support has not been there, at any rate not enough of it. Other union leaders have their own problems; they do not intend to get in too deeply with the miners.'

So it can be seen that the TUC, far from being like an army command, out to bring the maximum force to bear on the enemy, is constantly trying to devise a formula for surrender. This is the same as in the past, as the grim record of defeats stretching back to the Triple Alliance show.

For this reason, it would be fatal to leave the struggle to the TUC. Rank and file workers in all parts of Britain must do everything they can, whatever union leaders say, to stop the movement and use of coal. Since the lead is not being given from the top of the movement, it must come from the bottom.

Raymond Challinor

OUR NORMAN



REVIEW

WHEN ALL THE WORLD'S A PRISON

VERY OCCASIONALLY a writer emerges whose work is of stunning relevance to everyone who lives in a particular society. His novels or plays manage to highlight the cross-cutting interests, sentiments and aspirations of people in such a way that they begin to see themselves and the conditions under which they live in a new way.

For socialists such a writer is of the utmost importance, whatever his own politics. For any genuine portrayal of the tensions, the anxieties, the internal conflicts that beset society, helps people to cut through the myths and rituals which protect the status quo from the forces for liberation that lie buried within it.

Most writers do not even attempt this task in any seriousness. Others do, but fail through lack of skill or because they are unable to move outside the limited experiences of the narrow intellectual milieu from which they originate and to which they address themselves.

The Russian writer, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, is one of the successful and significant few. For us his relevance is deepened by the fact that he writes about a society whose claims to be socialist have for long been mistakenly accepted by the left throughout the world.

Solzhenitsyn is often presented, both in Russia and the West, as a political rather than a literary figure. At one point leaders of the Russian writers' union (who later took away his right to live by writing) demanded that he 'renounce his role as leader of the political opposition in our country.'

But his own aim seems to have been more modest and more profound—to write honestly about the lives people lead in modern Russia.

He has written that 'literature that is not the breath of contemporary society, that does not transmit the pains and fears of that society, that does not warn it in time against threatening moral and social danger—such literature does not deserve the name of literature, it is only a facade.'

Solzhenitsyn uses a variety of techniques to put this programme into effect. His first novel, *One Day*, is about a single day in the life of a peasant-turned-bricklayer shut up in one of Stalin's concentration camps in 1951.

The *First Circle* takes in a wider compass. It describes a specially privileged camp where highly-skilled specialists work on technical equipment for the secret police. But it also deals with those of Russia's rulers who are directly connected with the lives of the camp's inmates—including Stalin himself.

Official myths

Cancer Ward looks at society in yet another and different way—through the microcosm of society, the hospital ward, where an ex-prisoner and a secret policeman lie trapped together.

What results immediately is a view of society in complete contrast to the official myths of those who run Russia.

For instance, the stage instructions for his play *The Love Girl And The Innocent* say that the curtain must be painted with 'a posterlike industrial landscape, depicting cheerful, apple cheeked, muscular men and women working away quite effortlessly. In one corner of the curtain a joyful procession is in progress complete with flowers, children and a portrait of Stalin'.

But when the curtain is raised it reveals a concentration camp, in which thin and hungry prisoners, some on the verge of death, are lined up under guard.

In *Cancer Ward* Solzhenitsyn achieves the same effect in a scene in which the ex-prisoner and the secret policeman recall the day of Stalin's death two years previously. The prisoner is amazed that there were actually people outside upset at Stalin's death. He recalls how in the labour camp they were lined up:

'The major, sombre with grief, began to announce: 'It is with deep sorrow . . . that I must tell you . . . that yesterday in Moscow . . .'

'And they all started to grin, they were all openly crowing in triumph, those coarse, sharp-boned, swarthy prisoners' mugs . . . The major saw them as they started to smile. Beside himself, he ordered: 'Caps off'.

'Hundreds of men hesitated on the verge of obeying. To refuse to take them off was still out of the question, but to take them off was too painfully ignominious. One man showed them the way . . . He tore off his hat and hurled it in the air. He had carried out his order.

'Hundreds of prisoners saw him. They too threw their caps in the air.



A day in the life of an internee

ONE DAY IN THE LIFE OF IVAN DENISOVITCH, Curzon Cinema, London

AT the beginning of this film, in reaction to the callousness of the camp guards, Ivan Denisovitch asks: 'How can someone who is warm ever understand someone who is cold?' It's a good question. How can a Tory businessman understand the miners' strike? How can Sir Alec Douglas Home understand the Rhodesian rioters? How, in fact, can the exploiters understand the exploited and oppressed?

It is in this sense that the film (and Solzhenitsyn's book) provide a metaphor, a universal lesson, for the condition of the exploited everywhere. That is certainly how Tom Courtenay, the star of the film, interpreted it in a bitter retort to a plastic girl interviewer on TV the other week.

But though it provides insights of this general kind, the film is very much a literal interpretation of the title. It is a dawn to dusk account of one short day in the life of a random victim of Stalinism.

We see his little victories over the amount of food he can scrounge at meal times, and his little defeats in trying to persuade the camp doctor that he is too ill to work. The fact that the other prisoners have an amazing mixture of accents, varying from Germanic to Liverpudlian, does not obscure, even if it is intended to, the limitations of Siberia.

At the level of direction, the film is a triumph over boredom, in the sense that it manages to transcend the boring routine of camp life which it depicts. Thus the smallest events come to assume great importance, and the awareness of the audience is, or should be, heightened.

A particularly important moment, which is also striking in the original novel, gives us some clue as to Solzhenitsyn's intentions. The prisoners are cursing the guards for making them strip in the freezing cold. The guards take no notice until one internee shouts out: 'You're not true communists! You're not true soviets!' The response is immediate—the man goes to the cells.

But moments like this are rare, and the uncritical viewer may well be forgiven for seeing the film as just another story about brutal Russians. To do so would not only be an insult to the courageous Russian author, and many more like him who are carrying on the struggle against Stalinist dictatorship.

It would also be absurdly complacent.

At this very moment, the best of a generation of socialists and republicans are rotting in camps and prison ships without trial in Northern Ireland. Brutality and scarcity are part of their daily round. The metaphors of Ivan Denisovitch have come home to us with a vengeance.



Scenes from the film *One Day*: top, Tom Courtenay as Ivan Denisovitch; above, dinner time in a Stalinist camp

'And now after all this, Kostoglotov was finding out that men had shed tears young girls had wept, and the whole world had seemed orphaned,' writes Solzhenitsyn.

What emerges in contrast to the myth is a grim picture indeed. We are shown a society in which those at the bottom are under continual and almost unbearable pressure to labour and toil in order to stay alive.

At the end of *One Day*, Ivan Denisovitch goes to sleep 'fully content' because he has avoided being sent to the

survive.

At the top life is rather different. We are told that Councillor Innokenty Valentin, in *The First Circle*, 'looked more like a rich man about town than a responsible member of the ministry of foreign affairs'. Yet even at his level there is the danger of a mistake leading to disfavour with those still higher up and a plunge down into the abyss where the Ivan Denisovitch exists.

A world is revealed in which men do not, at any point, seem to control their own future. Something else completely dominates. In *The Love Girl* we are shown people all the time under pressure to produce at ever greater rates—although the pressure, paradoxically, leads to such alienation on the part of the workers that the goods produced are useless and shoddy.

Explosive

And in *For The Good Of The Course*, it is asked: 'What do we care about most—buildings or people . . . Communism has to be built with people, not bricks. And if we finished building communism tomorrow, but only in bricks, we'd still have a long way to go.'

It is this aspect of Solzhenitsyn's work, the way in which it unashamedly depicts reality, that has been responsible for the publication ban on his works in Russia for the past eight years.

Strangely enough, its explosive political impact also explains the publication of *One Day In The Life Of Ivan Denisovitch*—after the personal decision of Khrushchev—and various shorter works in Russia in 1962 and 1963. For Khrushchev was involved in his last battles for political power against those who were even closer to Stalin than himself and welcomed a book that would turn the people against Stalin's friends.

That did not, however, mean the end of Stalin's methods. While Khrushchev was declaring that there were no longer any political prisoners inside Russia people like the construction worker Marchenko were being dragged in for 'political crimes' and finding prison camps in which conditions were visibly getting worse.



Alexander Solzhenitsyn

punishment cells, he has managed to cadge an extra bowl of almost uneatable soup, he hasn't fallen ill, and so on.

In *The Love Girl And The Innocent*, one character tells another: 'There's only one thing wrong with being a black-faced worker—they die'.

In order to avoid this fate, people are forced not merely to put up with the worst sort of indignities, but also to scheme against one another in order to squeeze the minute margin that makes the difference between life and death.

And, Ivan Denisovitch reflects, while engaged in another day of drudgery, it is these internal conflicts between the oppressed that enables the system to

However, it would be absolutely mistaken to regard Solzhenitsyn merely as some sort of social commentator. His writings are important as literature because they locate people with the full range of human feelings in these conditions.

The result is novels which are intensely readable. It is a great writer indeed who can enthral us, not with contrived games, or the sordid machinations of the wealthy dressed up to look glamorous, but with the everyday concerns of those who work and toil.

Refusal

It is not possible to tell whether Solzhenitsyn has an explicit political position of his own. What he stresses most in his writings is the need for men to refuse to destroy the meaning of their own lives by compromising with the inhumanity of the system.

His heroes are not great men. They are ordinary people who have to survive arduous conditions, but refuse to sell themselves in order to do so.

This leads to a stress on virtues like 'honesty' and 'decency'. In the hands of western pundits such words can easily become an excuse for moderation, for refusing to fight back against oppression. For that reason, revolutionaries are always suspicious of them.

Yet Solzhenitsyn, whatever else he might be, is not a proponent of the view that the oppressed and the oppressor can be reconciled by 'reason'.

For him 'honesty' and 'decency' have to be upheld against the system. They are elements needed to bind together the oppressed and exploited if they are to counterpose human values to its inhuman dynamic. As such they verge on the revolutionary concept of solidarity.

That is not at all to say that Solzhenitsyn is a revolutionary socialist. But as a great writer he poses questions which only the next working class revolution in Russia could answer, even though he may not see that himself. And when that revolution comes, it will owe part of its self-awareness to his writings.

CHRIS HARMAN

MARTIN PIPER

WHAT WE STAND FOR

The International Socialists is a democratic organisation whose membership is open to all who accept its main principles and who are willing to pay contributions and to work in one of its organisations

We believe in independent working-class action for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a classless society with production for use and not for profit.

We work in the mass organisations of the working class and are firmly committed to a policy of internationalism.

Capitalism is international. The giant firms have investments throughout the world and owe no allegiances except to themselves and the economic system they maintain.

In Europe, the Common Market has been formed for the sole purpose of increasing the trade and profits of these multi-national firms.

The international power of capitalism can only be overcome by international action by the working class.

A single socialist state cannot indefinitely survive unless workers of other countries actively come to its aid by extending the socialist revolution.

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organisation in this country we also believe in the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist international independent of either Washington or Moscow. To this end we have close relationships with a number of other socialist organisations throughout the world.

We believe in the necessity to unite socialist theory with the day-to-day struggles of working people and therefore support all genuine demands that tend to improve the position and self-confidence of the working class.

We fight:

For rank and file control of the trade unions and the regular election of all full-time officials.

Against secret negotiations. We believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

For 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

Against anti-trade union laws and any

curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.

Against productivity deals and job evaluation and for militant trade union unity and joint shop stewards committees both in the plant and on a combine basis.

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

For a minimum wage of at least £25 a week.

Against unemployment redundancy and lay offs. We support the demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.

For all workers in struggle. We seek to build militant groups within industry.

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

For the right of coloured people and all oppressed groups to organise in their own defence.

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

Against all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Against secret diplomacy.

Against all forms of imperialism. We unconditionally give support to and solidarity with all genuine national liberation movements.

For the nationalisation of the land, banks and major industries without compensation and under workers' control.

We are opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to build a revolutionary workers' party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary groups.

The struggle for socialism is the central struggle of our time. Workers' power and a world based on human solidarity, on the increasing of man's power over nature, with the abolition of the power of man over man, is certainly worth fighting for.

It is no use just talking about it. More than a century ago Karl Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it.' If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us.

THERE ARE I:S BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

SCOTLAND
Aberdeen
Cumbernauld
Dundee
Edinburgh
Fife
Glasgow N
Glasgow S
Stirling
St Andrews

NORTH EAST
Durham
Newcastle upon Tyne
Spennymoor
Sunderland
Teesside (Middlesbrough & Redcar)

NORTH
Barnsley
Bradford
Doncaster
Grimsby
Halifax
Huddersfield
Hull
Leeds
Mid-Derbyshire
Ossett
Scarborough
Selby
Sheffield
York

NORTH WEST
Barrow
Blackburn
Bolton
Crewe
Kirkby
Lancaster
Manchester
Merseyside
Oldham
Potters
Preston
St Helens
Wigan
Widnes

MIDLANDS
Birmingham
Coventry
Leamington
Leicester
Northampton
Nottingham
Oxford
Redditch
Rugby
Telford
Wolverhampton

WALES and SOUTH WEST
Bath
Bristol
Cardiff
Exeter
Gloucester
Mid-Devon

Plymouth Swansea

SOUTH
Ashford
Brighton
Canterbury
Crawley
Folkestone
Gurdford
Portsmouth
Southampton

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Hornsey
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Woodwich

Miners: tell MPs to stop those lorries

LAST WEEK a miner was killed on picket duty and many more were arrested. The scabs and the police have shown how far they are prepared to go. Pickets will now have to use all their resources to win.

One of these resources could be Labour MPs from mining areas. A few turned up at Battersea Power Station in London last week.

But that was basically a publicity stunt. They could be made to perform a unique function—with a bit of pressure, perhaps.

The police and scabs will have to think twice about harassing them, so the whole picket will benefit. Miners' MPs should be made to man as many picket lines as possible—and stay there. Miners should use the coming lobby of parliament to make the left MPs fight.

Stand your MP on the line in front of a scab lorry—and see what happens!—PETE GLATTER and VIC RICHARDS, Richmond, Surrey.

Weak analysis

STEPHEN MARKS' series 'What is Imperialism?' has not yet answered the question in the title. All we have so far are some examples of colonialism and imperialism with no clear definition, no marxist analysis, no real explanation of how imperialism works.

Although the series correctly tells us that the British and other forms of imperialism ravished Bengal, fomented religious sectarianism and led to the world wars, it could have been written by a liberal professor or a trendy pseudo-left intellectual talking down to the workers.

If the series is to continue beyond the so-called 'imperialism' of Soviet Russia (in an obscure anti-Soviet article echoing the Maoists' cries of 'social imperialism' and implying no hope for socialism in the near future) I eagerly await comrade Marks' treatment of British imperialism in Ireland, if he mentions it.

The article will, no doubt, follow the



● We have been snowed under with letters attacking Peter Sedgwick's review of Family Life last week. We will publish a selection next week.

example of your pamphlet 'History of British Repression' which did not analyse the developing situation in a marxist way although it told us a lot about actual instances. Let's have better stuff, please.—BRIAN COLLETT, Middlesbrough, Teesside.

Labour left can help

IN MY ARTICLE on the threatened closure of the Eaglescliffe Royal Navy spares depot (29 Jan), the editing misrepresented seriously the role played by Labour MP David Reed, by the insertion of 'only' in the following sentence: 'David Reed complained only of the government's indecent haste in pushing through the closure'.

This seems typical of Socialist Worker's pre-judgement of the role of Labour MPs in the fight against unemployment whatever they say or do. It is a political mistake. It is not only sectarian but deterministic and even defeatist.

We are right to constantly point to (1) the role of the last Labour government in preparing for the present Tory offensive on unemployment (a point incidentally on which David Reed would agree) and the opportunism of Wilson's present 'opposition' to unemployment.

(2) the inevitability and necessity for unemployment under capitalism and (3) the impossibility of reformist, parliamentary solutions. In other words we must combat illusions in reformist solutions to the capitalist system.

But how do we do this? Not by reason alone. We have, in concrete

struggles, to push reformism to its limits. This means that we press for the most effective fight against all redundancies, by broadening the struggle from individual closures with tactics that challenge the fight of employers and government to deny the right to work.

This we believe will make the individual struggles most effective and ensure that the political lessons are learnt—the need for workers' power—if the problems faced by the working class under capitalism are to be solved.

To do otherwise is to declare that the struggle against redundancies cannot be won—already disproved by the workers of Plesseys and Fisher-Bendix. In this struggle an MP such as David Reed, who despite our political disagreements with him, is genuinely involved in the fight to prevent any redundancies, can play an important role, simply by giving unconditional support, but also by helping publicise the workers' case and calling on others to give support.

He could also play a destructive role by insisting on defeatist tactics. But at present he is giving the Eaglescliffe men and women his full support, although he is, with the majority in the depot, pursuing a policy which in our opinion reduces the possibility of success.

We must argue against this, with the leadership in the depot and with David Reed, who are willing to do this. We can warn against reliance on MPs (as does David Reed) but we cannot pre-empt their ability to do anything.

As long as the MP as any member of the labour movement is not intervening on the side of the management, or to get a shabby compromise to get the employers out of a difficult spot (as Harold Wilson attempted at Fisher-Bendix), we argue with them fraternally, as fellow fighters in the struggle.—BRIAN EBBATSON, Billingham, Teesside.

● Letters to Socialist Worker must arrive not later than first post Monday. Write or type on one side of the paper only. Letters may be cut for space reasons.

IS NEWS

SWANSEA:—50 people were at the Mond Buildings last Friday to hear Bryn Williams (NUM, Secretary, Tonyrefail Area Strike Committee and Duncan Hallas (IS National Secretary) speak on 'The Miners' Strike—The Fight Against the Tories'. Bryn Williams outlined the history of the miners' struggle both in South Wales and nationally. He analysed the 'sell-outs' of the last two decades, particularly the strike of 1970, when he was one of the leaders in the South Wales coalfield.

He called for workers' control and socialism to rid the country of the diseases of poverty and unemployment.

Duncan Hallas pointed to the two-pronged Tory attack which was taking place on wages, and forcing the cost of living up. He showed how the NUM's policy of 'co-operation' had failed, and how the miners' fight and the coming struggles of the power workers and railwaymen were a common struggle against the bosses. These fights were not isolated, and

the only road to success lay in unity of action.

WALLY PRESTON, an AUEW power station steward and editor of the rank and file power workers paper Advance, spoke to a public meeting of 60 people in Kingston, Surrey, last week. He spoke of the power workers' work to rule last year and the reasons why they lost. There is a genuine need for more stewards' combines and communication at the shop floor level, he said.

Wally Preston pointed out that the miners' strike had made the power workers more aware of the all-out Tory offensive against the unions and of the need for active support for the miners, who must win.

The meeting was also addressed by a Kent miner. A collection for the miners raised £12, with promises of more help

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY miners and power workers packed a meeting held

by the Dunfermline/Cowdenbeath International Socialists in Woodmill miners' hall last week. It was backed by the local strike committee and chaired by the committee chairman, George Comerford.

The miners' case was presented by Johnny Stewart, an NUM Scottish Executive member and also a member of the Communist Party. He declared that 'If there is no leadership coming from the top of the labour movement, then it must be built from below.'

An IS member from the Chrysler Linwood strike committee urged rank and file unity in the counter-attack against the Tories, and Rab Jefferys, an Edinburgh power supply worker, gave details of their demands. He urged miners to take steps locally to meet power workers' stewards, as no initiative could be expected from Chapple of the ETU or Jones of the TGWU. He was backed up in a speech from the floor by a Labour Party member, Ron Brown, who is chairman of the Edinburgh power workers' combine.

WHAT'S ON

Copy for What's On must arrive or be phoned before first post Monday morning. Notices are charged at 5p per line. Semi-display 10p per line. Cash with copy or, if phoned, by first post Tuesdays. No insertions without payment—invoices cannot be sent.

MEETINGS

CAMBRIDGE IS public meeting: Unemployment And How To Fight It. Speaker Roger Protz, Wed 16 Feb 8pm, Mawson Hall, Cambridge.

HARROW IS public meeting: Education For What? Speaker Michael Duane, Wed 16 Feb, 8pm, Victoria Hall, Shepcote Rd, Harrow.

HOUNSLOW and TWICKENHAM IS public meeting: Michael Duane speaks on Socialism and Education. 8pm, Wed 23 Feb, Co-op Hall, Bath Road, Hounslow.

WALTHAMSTOW IS public meeting: Brian Trench on The Struggle In Ireland. Wed 16 Feb, Trades Hall, Hoe Street, Walthamstow, E17, at 8pm.

RUGBY IS public meeting: Fight The Tory Attack On The Welfare State. Speaker Jim Kincaid. Sunday 13 Feb, 7.30pm, The Central Hotel (corner of Railway Terrace and Clifton Road).

BLACKBURN IS public meeting: John Buchanan on The Struggle In Ireland. 8pm, Tues 15 Feb, Duke of York, Darwen St Bridge, Blackburn.

WANDSWORTH IS public meeting: 'Fair Rents' And How To Fight It. Speakers from IS and Wandsworth Community Workshop. 8pm, Thurs 17 Feb, The Spotted Dog, 72 Garrett Lane, nr Wandsworth, Town Hall.

TEESSIDE IS RALLY THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM
Speaker: Tony Cliff
Singer: Alex Glasgow
Friday Feb 25, 7.30pm
James Finnegan Hall,
Fabian Rd, Teesside

Mao supported Yahya Khan against Bangladesh!
He supported Ceylon's rulers crushing revolutionaries!
Now he welcomes murderer Nixon!
Public meeting
IS CHINA SOCIALIST?
Speaker Tony Cliff
Singer Alex Glasgow
Wednesday 23 February 7.30pm
Friends Meeting House, Euston Road

IS Conference WOMEN IN ACTION
Women's Liberation
Tenants, Claimants and social workers
Women in Industry
Sat 26 Feb 10am-6pm in London
Details from branch secretary or
IS Women, 18 Dickinson Rd, London N8

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS YOUTH CONFERENCE
Saturday 4 March 10am
New Merlin's Cave
Margery Street, London WC1
Sessions on:
Apprentices and young workers
Rebel
Building a youth movement

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS Conference on work in the Black Community
Room 5
Digbeth Civic Hall
Birmingham
10.30am Saturday 19 February

NOTICES

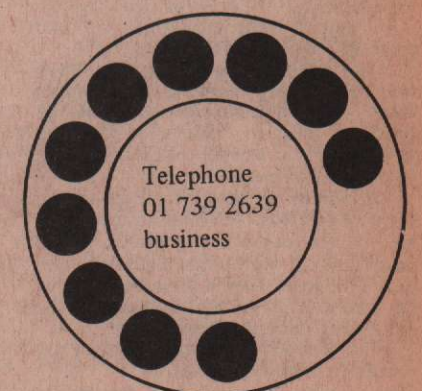
AGITPROP BOOKSHOP, 248 Bethnal Green Road, London E2. Books, pamphlets, posters and badges by post or at the

shop. Titles include: Imperialism a definition, by Felix Greene, 12p; Racism in Britain 6p; The Bust Book (third printing) 25p; Cuba for Beginners 80p; The Politics of Housework 5p; A Gay Manifesto 5p; Woman's Estate 25p, and many more—send sae for list or come and see us (please add postage to above prices when ordering by post).

IS BOOKS OPENING HOURS: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday 2-5pm, Thursday 2-7pm. The bookshop will be opened also on Saturday 12 Feb from 11am-5pm.

ALL IS BRANCHES please note: changes in orders for Socialist Worker must be phoned to the business manager at 01-739 2639 by 5pm Monday or to arrive by first post Monday.

WHEN writing to Socialist Worker please address envelopes clearly either Editorial or Business. Late news items should be addressed to the News Editor.



BUILDERS ON STRIKE AGAINST RENT RISES

Benefit to aid 88-week strike



Fine Tubes striker Mr T Murdock with his wife and two children. Says Mrs Murdock: 'My husband believes in this strike and I believe in my husband. Our only hope is that we win—we can't afford to lose. It is as simple as that.'

FOR 88 weeks the men and women of Fine Tubes, Plymouth, have been on strike for recognition of their rights to organise in trade unions. They have remained united and determined despite intensive police harassment and a systematic attempt to starve them into submission.

To uphold their beliefs in independent working class organisation, the men and women of Fine Tubes have had to make huge sacrifices. Their struggle has been marked by all the heroism and tenacity which, 150 years ago, led the Tolpuddle martyrs to defy the law in their attempt to found the first independent trade union.

Socialist Worker and the International Socialists have consistently supported the workers of Fine Tubes in their

battle. On Sunday 12 March we are sponsoring a Fine Tubes benefit night at Camden Town Hall in the centre of London. All proceeds will of course go to the Fine Tubes Strike Committee fund.

Wives, husbands and families of the strikers will be in attendance at the benefit which will be compered by Bernadette Devlin, MP. Performers who have already agreed to appear include Alex Glasgow and Jake Thackray. Others will be announced in forthcoming editions of Socialist Worker.

Tickets for the Fine Tubes benefit are available now, price 75p, from IS branch secretaries or from Joyce Rosser, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

BUILDING WORKERS at Stevenage New Town have called a 24-hour stoppage against the Tory government's rent rises. And at a packed meeting last week, 100 delegates to Stevenage Trades Council unanimously passed a resolution calling on all workers to join the one-day strike.

And in Sheffield tenants and trade unionists have formed a joint action committee to fight the Tory rent rises.

While the fight has definitely started at ground level, only one Labour council has taken a firm stance against the Tory plans. Halstead Labour Council has refused to operate the Act and is refusing to co-operate with the housing commissioners who are to decide what is a 'fair' rent.

What will clearly happen elsewhere (after complete collapse on the free milk cuts) is that the Labour councils will use as an excuse the part of the legislation which allows the government to fine unco-operative councils. They will claim that the wicked Tories have forced them to put the rents up, but if tenants vote Labour next time, all will be solved.

'USEFUL'

This sham opposition must be exposed. Tenants and trade unionists must demand that the Labour councils refuse to operate the bill or co-operate with the housing commissioners.

The Labour Party national executive has taken its usual firm stance. All it has said is that Labour councils should not bring in the rises until they have to.

Labour's parliamentary leaders are already beginning to wriggle out of any commitment to repeal the law. At last Wednesday's meeting of the Labour Party national executive, the party spokesman on housing, Anthony Crosland, remarked that he thought some parts of the Tory Bill were quite useful.

Tenants should have no illusions about a future Labour government suddenly reducing their rents. Only their own direct

by Hugh Kerr,
Harlow Tenants Action Committee,
and Michael Downing,
Chairman Stevenage Trades Council,

action with the industrial backing of the trade union movement can stop the Tory plans ever being implemented.

Nor is the Tory housing offensive confined to increasing rents. Last week the Minister for Housing and Construction, Julian Amery (himself a slum landlord), announced that there were fewer council houses completed last year than in any year since 1964.

At the same time, the building societies were proud to report that the rise in house prices over the last year was the highest ever recorded. This means that a young couple in London have no hope whatsoever of buying a house with an income of less than £50 a week.

GRIM

Building societies' chairman Stanley Morton said last week he thought the rise in house prices this year would be even higher as 'renting becomes less attractive under the Fair Rents scheme.'

Clearly the Tory plan is to line the pockets of their friends in the property game even more. As a result, the outlook for working class couples seeking a decent roof over their heads is grim indeed.

If you want to buy a house it will be nearly impossible with prices rocketing. If you want a council house the chances of getting one will be slimmer than ever since the Tories are deliberately reducing the building programme.

Forced into an ever declining private market they would have to pay extremely high rents to slum landlords like Julian Amery. Meanwhile builders, landowners and speculators would be making a fortune. The only way out of this vicious circle is to organise and fight.

Anti-racist demo

BRADFORD-Police gave up attempts to throw 120 demonstrators out of a British Campaign to Stop Immigration meeting on 2 February. The campaign, whose guest speaker was National Front chairman John O'Brien, claimed that the demonstrators were 'uninvited'.

After a short struggle only two were dragged out by police, and the meeting was forced to move to another room.

The Indian Workers Association ran a special coach to the meeting, and later was among left-wing organisations which set up an anti-fascist group in the city.

NUJ betrayal

The January meeting of the National Union of Journalists' executive has voted 24 to 3 to register the union under the Industrial Relations Act.

Excuse given is that the executive is only complying with the wishes of the membership declared in a recent referendum when 6,384 voted in favour of registration and 3,887 against.

In fact the referendum was deliberately set up with a view to ensuring that the decision was made without full and democratic debate on the subject. Delegates to the most recent NUJ conference voted overwhelmingly against registration.

IS conference supports equal pay struggle

THE following amendment was made to the resolution on unemployment before it was passed by the IS Industrial Conference in Manchester and unfortunately omitted when the resolution was published in the last issue of Socialist Worker:

Unemployment is causing the downgrading of jobs to 'women's work' at low rates of pay. The employers divide the workforce along sex lines and use the division to get labour on the cheap.

We oppose this and support the fight by women for the right to work at decent rates of pay. We recognise that the fight for equal pay is an important part of the fight against unemployment and fully support women in their struggle.

DUE to lack of space the conference's resolution on the Industrial Relations Act has had to be held over until next week.

Car workers win £5—no strings

by Steve Jefferys
Chrysler Strike Committee

AFTER four weeks on strike, the 6,500 workers at Chrysler's Linwood factory returned to work on Monday, accepting an offer from the company for an immediate rise across-the-board of £5 a week, followed by another £1 from 1 October, to last for 18 months.

In money terms the initial rise means an increase of from 16 per cent for the highest paid to 24 per cent for the lowest paid. It is a real smack in the face for Carr and the Tory wage-cut policy.

Other benefits included in the settlement are one day's additional holiday; a full 10 hours payment to the night-shift when they take statutory holidays; three days paid bereavement leave for a death in the immediate family; 10p per hour to be added to the overtime rates; an improved

pension scheme from July 1971; and a promise to begin immediate negotiations about a sick pay scheme for the hourly-paid.

A key point to the deal is that there are no additional productivity strings attached. Chrysler's original four strings have all been dropped, although negotiations about a new one hour per night overtime pattern and maintenance procedure will also take place after the return.

But no commitment to accepting these proposals has been made. There is also no commitment to establishing group-wide negotiations although it is obvious that Chrysler will do what it can to achieve this.

Blow

While there was some dissent on the strike committee about the settlement, the deciding blow was struck by the national officers, Wright and Moss Evans and Jack Jones.

Yet if official support for the parity fight for £9.20 had been given much earlier in the struggle, then there is little doubt that even more would have been achieved.

But the Chrysler workers have nonetheless struck a powerful blow at the Tory government. In their first united struggle since Rootes went to Scotland nearly 10 years ago much has been achieved.

The miners and the carworkers at Leyland's Bathgate factory must take heart and redouble their efforts.

At Linwood progress must now be made to setting up a joint shop stewards' committee on a permanent basis, and also to take up the Stoke factory's initiative in calling for a new combine committee.

COAL BOARD SAFETY TALK ONLY ABOUT MACHINERY

NOTHING more clearly indicates the determined mood of the miners than their growing attempts to prevent deputies and other officials (members of the union NACODS) from going in to do safety work during the strike. The press abounds with accusations that they are 'wreckers', 'Luddites', that they are cutting their own throats.

But the feeling of many miners was summed up by Dave Fisher of Emley Moor NUM, who said: 'Let's get one

thing straight. The talk by the NCB about safety is only about safety of machines.'

The ban on NACODS men going in, which started at Cadeby (near Mexborough) has spread to other parts of the country, and more and more pits are expected to follow suit. The police have been trying to get the deputies to work, and pickets have been arrested: 24 were arrested at Markham in Derbyshire, and five at Kilnhurst in South Yorkshire.

Miners' leader hits out at press

CADEBY COLLIERY, with 1700 men one of the biggest in Yorkshire, is one pit chosen by the coal board and the press for attack because of the union branch's stand to prevent NACODS members working during the strike.

Tom Ryan, secretary of Cadeby NUM, said that during the seven weeks in 1969 when Cadeby was on strike the coal board never mentioned safety to the union branch. He suggested that the board was now overplaying the safety issue to give the press and television something to latch on to.

Newspapers attacking the militant stand of the Cadeby miners have highlighted the fact that the pit has been losing £½m a year. Tom Ryan's reply is emphatic—the blame lies with the coal board which has starved the pit of investment and decent

equipment. Before the strike preparations were in hand to open a new face in a few weeks' time. The equipment, he said, was like something out of Steptoe's scrapyard, and the chocks were second hand.

On the safety issue and why Cadeby took a tough line, Tom Ryan was adamant. At the last mass meeting the men were solidly against any concessions to the coal board. Neither NUM nor NACODS members are being allowed into Cadeby pit, and Tom felt every pit should follow their action.

Tom Ryan argued that the pay claim could have been settled without a strike but once the coal board and the government threw down the gauntlet the attitude of his men hardened and now no punches can be pulled in the strike.

Many miners have pointed out the coal board's exaggerated claims about damage to the pits, and the point has been taken up by the NUM paper, The Miner. But in time there is bound to be some damage to machinery. Already NACODS officials have asked the government to intervene to save the coal industry by ending the dispute.

The feeling in the militant Yorkshire pits was summed up by a Cadeby miner: 'If the coal industry can't pay us decent wages, there won't be a coal industry.'

Pickets see the ban on safety work as a major weapon to force the Tories to retreat. Moves to extend the ban must be supported. But the picketing of pits to keep deputies out must not lead to any weakening of the picketing of power stations and docks, nor to any relaxation in efforts to involve other workers in the fight against the Tory wages policy.

SAFETY MEN OUT-CALL

AN EMERGENCY conference of South Wales miners has been called by the area executive to propose calling out all the safety men. The proposal was carried on the executive by eight votes to four, with all the full-time officials against it.



I would like more information about the International Socialists

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Send to: IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

STORMONT 'JUSTICE' HITS BRITAIN

March leaders dragged from their beds

THREE HUNDRED opponents of the Tory government's bloody policies in Ireland have been arrested in Britain since the Derry massacre. And a taste of the Stormont regime's police-state 'justice' has come to London with the arrest in the night of three leading members of the Anti-Internment League.

John Gray, John Flavin and Michael O'Kane were dragged from their beds at 2.30am on Sunday following the massive anti-internment march that ended in a police riot in Whitehall. They have been charged with conspiracy to cause a breach of sections of the Public Order Act—legislation brought in in the 1930s to combat fascists.

On the London march, 122 demonstrators were arrested when the police broke an agreement to allow 13 coffins in memory of the Derry dead to be taken to 10 Downing Street.

Angry

The press blamed the marchers for the 'violence', ignoring the impressive discipline and control of the 15,000 who had walked nearly 10 miles from Cricklewood to Hyde Park and then Whitehall.

Made up of Irish workers and British socialist organisations, including more than a 1000 International Socialists, the

by SW reporters

marchers were angry and intensely anti-Tory in their slogans. But the observation of three minutes' silence for those butchered by the government's troops in Derry showed that they were not there for a punch-up with the police and the march would have probably dispersed if the coffins had been allowed through.

Police on foot and horseback baton-charged the crowd, badly wounding many people. Arrests went on for some time and marchers were picked up as far away as the

Police brutally beat printer

BRIAN SON, a 19-year-old apprentice printer, was arrested in Whitehall last Saturday. Taken to Paddington police station, he was brutally beaten by police.

After he had been charged with assaulting a policeman with an offensive weapon, he was taken upstairs to a large office where plainclothes and ordinary duty policemen were grouped. Two policemen took him into a small room off the office where finger printing was done, closed the door and started the treatment.

Brian was pushed against the wall and told to keep his back to it with his hands above his head. 'If you lower your hands when I hit you. I'll use this,' said one policeman, pointing to his truncheon. He was elbowed in the chest. Naturally

he lowered his arms due to the shock. He was then hit in the kidneys with the truncheon and slapped on the face. One policeman tore his overcoat in half.

Fingerprints were taken and then the treatment was repeated, but much harder. Winded, Brian staggered to the floor, where he was kicked in the legs and on the backside.

He was taken out of the office, and baited for being a Jew. One policeman said: 'If you had been in Derry you would have got shot.'

Brian was taken back into the little room and beaten a third time, harder still. One policeman stamped on his toe. On Monday after he was bailed Brian had to go to hospital to have his toenail removed.



Thirteen coffins lined up in Whitehall on Saturday's mass march against Britain's role in Ireland—a grim and solemn reminder of the people shot dead in Derry. The police broke an agreement to allow the coffins to be taken to 10 Downing Street and then attacked the marchers. Picture Jeff Pick.

Embankment and as they went down into Underground stations. Many of those arrested have reported brutal attacks by the police in the cells.

Following the march, the Anti-Internment League held a press conference at which it blamed the police for their provocative manner in Whitehall. The AIL said it is prepared to defend all those arrested and advised them to plead not guilty and challenge police evidence.

Nationally the pattern is the same, with leading political activists pointed out and picked up by the police on demonstrations. In Oxford, arrests were made when the crowd was dispersing after a march last week.

Defence

In York, more than 50 arrests were made on two marches. In Edinburgh, more than 10 were picked up on a march supported by building workers.

With police violence being stepped up against the miners as well, only powerful organisation can prevent wholesale arrests of militants on pickets and demonstrations. The Anti-Internment League said this week that it would not allow police intimidation to stop it continuing its activities and it is going ahead with a trade union conference on Ireland on 5 March in the NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields in London.

Donations are needed urgently for the AIL's defence fund to aid those arrested. Send to John Gray, 139 Holland Road, London W14.

Newry defies police state

by Eamonn McCann

THE NEWRY MARCH in Northern Ireland on Sunday showed that the people will not be shot off the streets.

All week long, prime ministers, cardinals and other distinguished individuals had been forecasting a holocaust, begging the organisers to call it off, hinting at another massacre.

Yet 50,000 people from all over Ireland filtered through the Army's ring of steel to reach the starting point. Derry's Bloody Sunday, far from intimidating the people, has sparked off a new and more fierce determination never again to accept the rule of the Stormont regime.

As Frank McManus, MP for Fermanagh, told the rally: 'Damn

your concessions, Heath, we want you off our backs for good.'

On Monday 26 people, including McManus, Bernadette Devlin, MP, and Gerry Fitt, MP, were served with summonses for taking part in the march. In the next few weeks marches are to be held in Enniskillen and once again in Derry.

Rising anger in the South threatens to engulf Prime Minister Jack Lynch as he tries to keep the struggle within 'responsible' limits.

One of the more significant facts at Newry was that only Bernadette Devlin dared to attack the Southern regime and to demand the release of political prisoners there. This points up one of the weaknesses of the civil rights movement.

Only an all-Ireland strategy will really beat British imperialism.

End Tory regime—Bernadette

GLASGOW

Nine hundred people packed Woodside Halls last Friday, filling the main hall and an overflow meeting, to hear Bernadette Devlin, MP, speak on the struggle for socialism in Britain and Ireland.

A 250-strong body of Orangemen tried to attack the meeting, but were kept back by the police. Inside the meeting efficient IS organisation ensured that the speakers were not interrupted.

Bernadette Devlin was listened to in absolute silence and received a standing ovation at the end. She refuted the lies printed in papers like the Daily Mirror and described the details of what really happened in Derry, with unarmed men shot in the back and the back of the head.

She went on to make it clear that 'when the chips are down I put myself fairly and squarely, on the side of the IRA against the British troops. We will

feed them, clothe them, give them comfort and help them over the border.'

She ended by calling on those present to help get British troops out of Ireland and all internees released. She urged the audience to join not only their appropriate trade union but to commit themselves to a revolutionary organisation that could 'not only end the Tory government of Britain and Ireland, but also end the Tory system altogether.'

Other speakers were Frank Drain, a member of Edinburgh IS and Clann na h'Eireann, and Steve Jefferys, IS area secretary. From the floor, veteran revolutionary Harry McShane congratulated IS for holding the most successful meeting on Ireland in Glasgow for 20 years.

Three hundred people marched through Glasgow behind the IS area banner to call for an end to internment and withdrawal of the troops on Saturday. Throughout the march some 200 Orange counter-

demonstrators kept up a continual stream of abuse and waved provocative Union Jacks without any interference from the police.

While mass support for such demonstrations still has to be built in Glasgow, IS branches believe that the march has re-established the ability to demonstrate against British imperialism in Ireland on the streets of Glasgow.

EDINBURGH

Three days after the Derry massacre Edinburgh IS and local Clann na h'Eireann—the Irish Republican movement in Britain—organised a 300-strong march in defiance of the law to hand in a letter to protest to the Secretary of State for Scotland. 250 building workers from three sites came out on strike to support the demonstration.

Police attacked the marchers almost as soon as they had set out, arresting 10 people.

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