

For a  
workers'  
government

# Solidarity

For social ownership of the banks and industry

No 325 21 May 2014 30p/80p

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**Tax the rich! Equalise wealth!**

**Eight per cent  
own all the loot**

Super rich John Caudwell,  
founder of Phones 4u  
(worth £1.5 billion), in his  
£90 million house

- Financial wealth as unequal as if 8% owned it all see page 7
- Review of Thomas Piketty's *Capital in the 21st Century* see page 10
- Danny Dorling on housing inequality see pages 11-12



## What is the Alliance for Workers' Liberty?

Today one class, the working class, lives by selling its labour power to another, the capitalist class, which owns the means of production. Society is shaped by the capitalists' relentless drive to increase their wealth. Capitalism causes poverty, unemployment, the blighting of lives by overwork, imperialism, the destruction of the environment and much else.

Against the accumulated wealth and power of the capitalists, the working class has one weapon: solidarity.

The Alliance for Workers' Liberty aims to build solidarity through struggle so that the working class can overthrow capitalism. We want socialist revolution: collective ownership of industry and services, workers' control and a democracy much fuller than the present system, with elected representatives recallable at any time and an end to bureaucrats' and managers' privileges.

We fight for the labour movement to break with "social partnership" and assert working-class interests militantly against the bosses.

Our priority is to work in the workplaces and trade unions, supporting workers' struggles, producing workplace bulletins, helping organise rank-and-file groups.

We are also active among students and in many campaigns and alliances.



### We stand for:

- Independent working-class representation in politics.
- A workers' government, based on and accountable to the labour movement.
- A workers' charter of trade union rights — to organise, to strike, to picket effectively, and to take solidarity action.
- Taxation of the rich to fund decent public services, homes, education and jobs for all.
- A workers' movement that fights all forms of oppression. Full equality for women and social provision to free women from the burden of housework. Free abortion on request. Full equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people. Black and white workers' unity against racism.
- Open borders.
- Global solidarity against global capital — workers everywhere have more in common with each other than with their capitalist or Stalinist rulers.
- Democracy at every level of society, from the smallest workplace or community to global social organisation.
- Working-class solidarity in international politics: equal rights for all nations, against imperialists and predators big and small.
- Maximum left unity in action, and openness in debate.
- If you agree with us, please take some copies of *Solidarity* to sell — and join us!

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- Printed by Trinity Mirror

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# Remembering Jersey under the Nazis

By Deputy Sam Mézec

In the British Channel Islands on 9 May this year, islanders celebrated the 69th anniversary of their liberation from Nazi occupation at the end of the Second World War.

The occupation of the Channel Islands should be intriguing to anyone interested in working class politics for two reasons.

The first is that the islands were the only part of Britain occupied by the Germans during the war.

The second, and perhaps more interesting, is that they were the only occupied territory in Europe that had the same government before, during and after the occupation.

On Jersey, the largest of the Channel Islands, the only real resistance to the Nazi occupiers was conducted by the Jersey Democratic Movement, a coalition of democrats, the largest faction being the Jersey Communist Party, led by Norman Le Brocq.

Unsurprisingly, the JDM (along with all trade unions) was outlawed by the Nazis. Yet, as the occupation went on, its membership grew.

They sheltered escaped Soviet prisoners of war, distributed pro-democracy literature and liaised with German sympathisers to encourage a mutiny amongst the occupiers (something which eventually became

futile once news of Hitler's death reached the island).

In 1943 the JDM illegally distributed copies of its first manifesto. It set out a clear vision for a post-war Jersey based on what would today be considered basic social democratic principles. Such propositions like introducing a minimum wage, a social security system and an equitable divorce law would be as totally uncontroversial today, but were bitterly opposed by the island's conservative establishment at the time.

Once the war was over and islanders looked forward to free elections, the JDM's membership rose to over 2,000 in the space of just a few months.

### HEGEMONY

The prospect of a JDM victory scared the island's establishment who remained comfortable during the occupation and were determined to preserve their hegemony post-war.

A counter-JDM party was formed, ironically called the "Jersey Progressive Party", which the island's only newspaper overtly supported and subjected the JDM to a McCarthy style witch hunt.

Known members of the

JDM found it difficult to gain employment and some had the Hammer and Sickle painted on their houses by vandals.

A JDM rally in the capital, St Helier, descended into chaos when wealthy islanders from the countryside turned up with their Bentleys filled with boxes of tomatoes that they encouraged detractors to throw at attendees of the rally.

Unsurprisingly, the JPP defeated the JDM in the elections. Having achieved their primary purpose, the JPP disbanded, but its principal members remained in power, with the current government in Jersey undoubtedly being the JPP's ideological successors.

Since 1945, virtually all of the JDM political programme has been implemented as its principles became mainstream. Norman Le Brocq was eventually elected to the island's parliament in 1966 and became very highly regarded, even by the island's establishment, despite being a Communist. However, the island continued to lack a real organised party representing the interests of working-class islanders.

On 9 May, whilst thousands of islanders were enjoying food and

entertainment in St Helier, a group of around 100 islanders attended a ceremony to remember the slave workers held in the island during the occupation.

Many of those attending had been members and activists for the JDM and Communist Party. This included Chris Wakeham, who is well into her 90s now, and organised Jersey's first ever rent strike. Sadly, as time takes its toll, their numbers are dwindling and the stories of the Jersey Democratic Movement are difficult to research.

However, also in attendance at this memorial were three elected members of Jersey's parliament, Deputies Nick Le Cornu, Montfort Tadier and myself, representing a new political party "Reform Jersey" as the ideological successor to the JDM to continue their struggle.

Ordinary working people in Jersey are subjected to the same cuts to public services, exploitative zero-hours contracts and a pitifully low minimum wage that workers in the UK face. Only when organised labour forms a strong political voice will these problems begin to be solved in Jersey.



## Get ready to fight the frackers!

By Andy Forse

A recent report from the House of Lords Economic Affairs Committee has urged the government to go "all out for shale", encouraging the exploitation of UK gas reserves through the technique of fracking.

The dash for extreme energy is implicitly linked to the dash for short-term profits. Previously, extracting fossil fuels like shale gas from the ground has been too costly, but with peak oil gone, it capitalises on a market that feels the pressure of energy scarcity.

The report justifies this venture by favourably comparing the environmental cost of gas to coal, but makes no mention of the

possibility of an immediate transition to nuclear or renewables, citing the economic benefits of the extraction of shale gas.

Another recent report suggests there is little or no environmental benefit from using shale as a so-called "transition fuel" — all the benefits of shale are shared by the alternatives like wind, solar and nuclear. But there is no intrinsic mechanism within capitalist production that enables destructive profiteering from the environment to be placed above the profit motive.

Unsurprisingly, six members of the committee have been linked to pro-fracking organisations, and one denies of climate change.

A recent call for a change

in the law to allow private companies to drill for gas on private land without permission is being strongly opposed by the public and several prominent charities.

For socialists however, this is a troubling line of defence; we should be opposed to fracking on the basis that our fragile environment is the foundation of all life on earth, owned by no individual or company, not because the sanctity of private property might be breached in the process.

Upsurges in the environmental movement have seen encampments at sites at Balcombe and more recently Barton Moss where activists have suffered heavy repression by the police. In the last few weeks a

string of activists — including Green Party MP Caroline Lucas — have been cleared in the courts of any wrongdoing in their efforts to halt the exploratory drilling.

In the past, innovative ways of galvanizing the environmental movement around socialist concerns have been found through actions such as the workers' occupation of the Vestas wind turbine plant on the Isle of Wight.

While there is a popular consciousness around the environment in the air, and a government agenda to act in the opposite direction, we should be ready to involve ourselves in whatever opportunities arise.



# G4S to run child protection services?

By Jean Lane

**Michael Gove has surpassed himself in proving himself to be a callous disregarder of the needs of children.**

If we thought his attacks on the democratic accountability of community schools were not enough, his department has now proposed the privatisation of Child Protection services, including the power to remove children from their families.

If these plans were to go ahead, the most vulnerable people in society would be reliant on services which are subject to the vagaries of the market.

Professor Ray Jones of Kingston University states that G4S and Serco have

been trying to get into these services for a long time and have so far been thwarted. He and over 30 other child protection academics and professionals are challenging Gove's plans.

In a radio interview on Saturday 17 May, Amanda Kelly, a Public Sector Consultant, and spokesperson for Gove's plans, said that this move is needed in order to provide fresh and innovative thinking into the provision of a jaded service.

When asked for an example she said, in a stunningly stupid and insulting statement, that the problem at the moment is that social workers spend too much time on the computer rather than putting the needs of the child at the centre of what they do.

The lament of every social worker is the amount of paper work they are obliged to do which takes them away from the very reason they took on the job in the first place — the child.

The culture for many social workers and other child protection practitioners is that everything they do has to be written down in case there is an inspection or challenge. Everything they do is carried out with one eye over the shoulder i.e. away from the child.

This is not caused by the fact that Child Protection services are under Local Authority control, but by the blame culture imposed by a government out to attack local services in order to make cuts, and by the sensationalist coverage of indi-

vidual cases in the press which generate a sense of fear and panic.

Privatisation of Child Protection Services would not change this. On the contrary, it would be a weapon in the arsenal of a management which wants a flexible, deskilled and underpaid workforce in a service run for profit rather than public good. The management style of G4S in school care-taking service has shown many examples of bullying and anti union practices.

This has nothing to do with "fresh" or "innovatory" thinking. It is as old as bosses ever employed workers and long pre-dates the existence of social services. This is part of a wider plan to remove services from Local Authorities, end local

community control, reduce budgets, install private financing. In the process it has the added benefit of atomising the workforce which cannot then fight effectively for better wages and conditions or for services.

Gove's plans are being challenged by professionals who say that Local Authorities must not be forced to hand over services to outsourced companies.

**This challenge must be taken up by the unions and community users of the services that are so vital for very vulnerable people. It must be widened to fighting the cuts budgets being passed through council chambers.**

## Save Newcastle's Children's Centres

By a Unison activist

**Sure Start Children's Centre services in Newcastle are facing a two thirds cut in funding over the next three years.**

The proposals will mean closure of services, buildings, parents groups, activities for young children. It will mean at least 100 jobs will be lost across the council and the voluntary sector, opportunities for children and parents will continue to be worsened after significant cuts already since 2010. Many families will be even more isolated following the axing of the council's play and youth services last year.

The council proposals for 2013 – 2016 amount to over £5 million, approx. 65% of the total budget.

50% of these services are delivered by the council and 50% by the Community and Voluntary Sector. The city council have estimated that for the work they directly

deliver this would equate to the loss of 63 full time equivalent posts. Since many jobs are part-time or job shares, the true number of people who lose jobs may be far higher.

Unison — which represents the majority of workers — is bringing together parents, communities and workers in what hopes to be a campaign that gives parents and young children a voice. A series of "we love Sure Start" cards have been presented to the Labour leader on Valentine's day.

**Meetings have been held for all staff, a petition has been launched, and a series of local meetings with parents are planned to discuss the next steps, with a proposal for a mass picnic of protest in front of the civic centre for the summer term.**

- Petition: [bit.ly/newc-ss](http://bit.ly/newc-ss)
- Unison's campaign page: [bit.ly/unison-ss](http://bit.ly/unison-ss)

**Sure Start local programmes began over 15 years ago under Labour, targeted in the most disadvantaged communities, becoming statutory services. There were an estimated 4000 centres nationally offering services to children under 5 and their families. They offer support and advice, drop-in groups and often early education and childcare. Many have become centres of communities. But unlike other statutory services there is less fixed definition of funding, and councils are free to determine what size an area each centre covers and how to meet its duty to improve outcomes and offer early childhood services. A failing, poorly funded service covers more families than it can seriously offer support could still call itself a Children's Centre.**



## International fast-food strike

**Fast food workers and supporters across the world organised strikes and other direct action on 15 May as part of an international protest for decent wages and rights at work.**

Workers in 150 American cities struck, with strikes

and other actions organised in New Zealand, Italy, Pakistan, Japan, and the UK. In London, protesters gathered at McDonald's on Whitehall, near Parliament. The day of action was launched at a conference organised by the International Union of

Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers (IUF), which includes the unions behind American fast food workers' long-running fight for a \$15/hour minimum wage.

**The conference was attended by delegates from the Bakers, Food, and Allied Workers Union (BFAWU) from Britain.**

## More students using food banks

**The National Union of Students (NUS) have expressed their concern with the rise of students using food banks.**

At the University of Hull, the number of students having to use the unistudent on's food parcel service has doubled in the past 12 months to 200. Around half

a dozen student unions have similar services.

Other institutions, including Walsall College in the West Midlands, are having to look into initiatives designed to help their students cope with finding food.

The increase in students using these services has been blamed on the rising

cost of living, as well as the Student Loans Company giving loans out late.

**More economically disadvantaged students than ever are now attending university, but as well as having to use food banks, many are dropping out as they cannot sustain themselves.**

## Free school meals not a gimmick

**Nick Clegg's policy for free school meals for all children under seven in England has been at the centre of a row between the Tories and the Lib Dems.**

The plan was denounced in the media by Michael Gove's former advisor Dominic Cummings as "dumb" and "a gimmick", the figures for which were drawn up on "the back of a fag packet".

It is still unclear whether Cummings was acting solo or was a stalking horse for Gove and the Tories. At Clegg's urging, Gove and Lib Dem schools minister David Laws penned a joint article in the Times insisting the policy had "cross-party support."

Free school meals are not a "gimmick", nor should they be used as a political football between warring Coalition partners.

A Greater London Authority report from August 2013 found 8% of parents in London saying that their children had to skip meals because they couldn't afford food, and over a fifth of parents in the capital have had to forego meals so that their children could eat.

Free school meals would go some way towards addressing problems of poverty, and making them universal up until the age of seven would also remove some of the stigma around children who currently receive free school meals.

**We should also demand, however, that the rich be taxed in order to end means-testing and provide free and healthy school meals for all children.**





# Russian imperialism threatens Crimean Tatars

By Dale Street

**Sunday 18 May marked the 70th anniversary of Stalin's deportation of the Crimean Tatars. But the new Russian authorities in Crimea systematically undermined attempts to commemorate the anniversary.**

Beginning in the night of 17/18 May 1944 the entire Crimean Tatar population was deported and scattered across Soviet Central Asia, Kazakhstan and the Urals. Some 100,000 Tatars – 40% of the population – died during the deportation and the first year of 'resettlement'.

After decades of campaigning, Crimean Tatars were allowed to return to their homeland in the dying days of the Soviet Union. But in March of this year – after a pseudo-referendum staged in conditions of Russian military occupation – Crimea was annexed by Russia.

The Tatar Medzhlis (National Council) had dismissed the referendum as "a performance by clowns, a circus being staged in the shadow of armed soldiers" and had called on Tatars and "their neighbours of different nationalities" to boycott the fake referendum.

According to Medzhlis president Refat Chubarov, no more than a thousand of the Crimea's 185,000 Tatar voters participated in the referendum. (The Crimean Tatars live in compact communities, which facilitated monitoring the level of participation.)

In mid-April the Presidium of the Medzhlis issued a statement, "On the Escalating Lawlessness in Crimea", listing a number of physical attacks (including one murder), acts of vandalism, and cases of media censorship directed at the peninsula's Tatars which had occurred since the Russian annexation.

Around the same time, the new Crimean authorities banned Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev from the territory of the Russian Federation (which now included the Crimea) until 2019, and unilaterally announced that a "new format" would be adopted to mark this year's commemoration of the 1944 deportation.

The Medzhlis responded: "We did not return to our homeland so that people who change their political affiliations several times a day could tell Crimean Tatars, who possess their own ancient culture, in what format and in what capacity they should participate (in the commemoration)."

Ironically, mid-April also saw Russian President Vladimir Putin sign a decree officially "rehabilitating" the Crimean Tatars and other ethnic minorities on the peninsula who had been victims of the 1944 deportation.

But, said Putin, this "rehabilitation" was "part of Crimea's integration into Russia." He "understood" that "there are people who have done a lot for the Crimean Tatars ... but what we all need to realize is that the interests of the Crimean Tatars today are bound to Russia."

Dzhemilev dismissed the decree as an attempt by the Russ-



On the anniversary of Stalin's deportation of Tatars from Crimea in 1944

ian government to "ingratiate itself" with the Crimean Tatars and refused to recognise its authority.

In response, the Crimean Governor (and local mafia boss) Sergey Aksyonov accused Dzhemilev of being "on the payroll of Western secret services" and of carrying out "provocations" aimed at hindering the "peaceful integration" of the peninsula's Tatars into Russia.

In early May Chubarov organized a car-convoy of 1,500 Crimean Tatars to travel to the Turyetsky Val checkpoint between Crimea and Ukraine. For five hours they occupied the checkpoint in protest at the entry ban imposed on Dzhemilev while simultaneously staging a rally with the latter on the Ukrainian side of the border.

## LIQUIDATION

**The next day the Russian-Crimean authorities issued Chubarov with a formal "Warning About Impermissible Extremist Activities": a repeat of any such activities would result in "the liquidation of the Medzhlis of the Crimean-Tatar People and the banning of its activities on the territory of the Russian Federation."**

"Emissaries" from the Russian Federation's predominantly Muslim republics of Tatarstan, Bashkiria and Chechnya have also arrived in Crimea in increasing numbers and attempted to persuade Tatars to adopt Russian citizenship.

These efforts at persuasion have been backed up by threats that Tatars risk losing their jobs or seeing their business closed down if they fail to adopt Russian citizenship. In fact, even

before the Russian annexation, Tatars accounted for just 3% of public sector jobs, although they make up 14% of the Crimean population.

A report published by the UN Human Rights Commissioner in mid-May found:

"... Crimean Tatars are facing numerous other problems; these include the freedom of movement of their leaders; cases of physical harassment; restrictions on Crimean Tatar media; fears of religious persecution of those who are practising Muslims."

Estimates of the number of Tatars who have fled the Crimea since Russia's annexation – with the majority fleeing to western Ukraine – vary from 5,000 to 7,000. Poland has also granted refugee status to around 30 Crimean Tatars.

On 16 May the authorities announced that no mass meetings would be allowed on 18th May, and that all mass meetings were banned until 6th June (hardly by coincidence, the day of an annual Russian festival in Crimea).

Although such mass meetings had been staged since 1991 (when 18th May first became an official Day of Remembrance) the authorities stated that events in the south-east of Ukraine meant that mass meetings might result in disorder or "provocations" which would disrupt the resort's holiday season.

The authorities also banned any display of the Ukrainian flag at events being held on Remembrance Day, but tried to insist, rather unrealistically, that participants should be allowed to display Russian flags at the day's events (as that was now the national flag of Crimea).

The announcement came in the wake of raids by the Russian Federal Security Service on the homes of a number of Tatar activists, who were allegedly suspected of "terrorist activity".

A meeting of the Medzhlis on 17th May voted to defy the ban and stage the main commemoration event in the centre of Simferopol as usual. But that decision was subsequently abandoned and participants were urged instead to attend a rally on the outskirts of the city.

In order to minimize the numbers participating in the commemoration, police put up roadblocks around Simferopol from early morning on 18th May onwards. Russian riot police and so-called "self-defence" squads also blocked off access to the city centre.

Tatars resident in Simferopol, and those who managed to get through the police checks, were directed by police to the rally outside a mosque on the city's outskirts. While Russian military helicopters circled overhead and drowned out speakers, between 15,000 and 20,000 attended the rally, compared with the normal figure of up to 40,000.

**For obvious reasons, the Day of Remembrance is the most important day in the Crimean Tatar calendar. The bans and obstacles which the Russian-Crimean authorities used to hinder its commemoration underline the oppressive nature of Russian imperialism's occupation of Crimea.**

## Thousands flee Fallujah

By Tom Harris

**Thousands of people have fled from the Iraqi city of Fallujah as the government army attempts to recapture it from Islamist rebel control.**

Fallujah has been under the control of Isis (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant), a militant Islamist group linked to al-Qaeda, since the group took the city in allegiance with Sunni tribal fighters in January. Since then, there has been continuous violence as the government has attempted to regain control. Now, the tens of thousands of troops have been assembled at Fallujah. In the wake of artillery bombardment, it is estimated that around 300,000 people have fled.

Isis and other insurgent groups have extensive experience in guerilla-style street fighting. In order to counter this, state forces seem to be relying heavily on shelling and bombing. The army denies the use of heavy bombardment or the use of "barrel bombs", large containers filled with explosives and dropped from helicopters, notoriously used by government troops in Syria. However, residents of Fallujah say that they have seen the technique used repeatedly, resulting in much destruction.

Isis has conducted suicide bombings and raids in other areas of Iraq, many of them proclaimed as "revenge" actions for the government's assault on Fallujah. Isis targets Shia Muslims (a majority in the country) as heretics, and many of its attacks have been against Shia civilians. The group was able to capitalise on the Shia-dominated character of the government to gain support in some Sunni areas.

**In the absence of a strong democratic, left-wing and secular movement, Iraqi politics is being dragged into an increasingly murderous feud between Islamist reactionaries of different denominations.**





# Boko Haram and #Bringbackourgirls

Comment by Nigerian activist Yemisi Ilesanmi

**I am not a fan of conspiracy theories... not just because they are mostly misguided but because they do tend to cause pain to victims and their families.**

However, I know that silence in the face of oppression is never the answer. If things don't add up in the Chibok kidnappings, better to voice concerns than keep silent, especially since I can't keep saying "No comment" whenever I am asked to comment on the issue.

Boko Haram is real. It is a monster that has claimed many innocent lives and blown children up in their dormitories since it started its nefarious activities in Nigeria. However, the sad truth is that some prominent Nigerian leaders and politicians have at one time or the other befriended, dined and wined, the monster called Boko Haram in an effort to score a point over their political opponents. It is now blowing up in their faces and unfortunately, it is taking innocent victims down with it.

When I first read [about the kidnapping] I thought "oh no, not again!" ... However, as events unfolded, I started wondering if truly 200+ girls were kidnapped.

When I saw the headlines by some newspapers and bloggers brandishing a purported interview with one of the 53 girls that allegedly escaped, I suspected foul play. Only a line or two was attributed to the girl and there were contradictions. However, recent events point to the possibility that this is beyond irresponsible journalism and overzealous bloggers. It seems in the case of the kidnapped Chibok girls, the more you look, the less you see.

A state of emergency was declared in Borno state before the girls were kidnapped. How come the insurgents did not encounter any police road blocks, especially when it is virtually impossible for civilians to go about their legal, normal duties without encountering police palaver?

Nigeria is a country where people can be paid to do anything or be anything you want them to be. It is a country where unionists sometimes pay workers to join workers' protests for minimum wage.

I was not surprised when it was pointed out that the woman who was arrested during the meeting with the first lady had earlier claimed that her daughter was one of the abducted girls. It turned out this was a lie. While her arrest on the alleged order of the first lady (who actually has no such power, but of course little facts like this won't stop power-drunk Nigerians from exercising powers they don't actually have and won't stop ass-licking police officers from doing the bidding of the rich and powerful) is despicable, one must not lose sight of the damage false claims like this does to police investigations.

It was also reported that the President paid 1 million naira [£3600] each to the parents of the missing girls. I doubt if this was true, but well, it is Nigeria and it could well be true. If true, one must wonder, what is the payment for? How come we couldn't have the names of the entire 276 missing girls but somehow, the president had names of their parents and paid out a million naira to each of them? Was it a death payment? If this was a case of fabricated lies, irresponsible reporting or more dirty politicking, there is a danger that this would cause more people to falsely claim that their daughters were taken.

These children were missing for three weeks and little or no action was taken by the government. However, when the hashtag #Bringbackourgirls went viral and international government got involved, seasoned and emergency activists started organising protests. [But] we have not really read much or seen the faces of the 276 aggrieved parents of these missing girls.

While doing a little online research on this, I stumbled on an internet post which said the villagers actually tried to ambush Boko Haram terrorists with sticks and machetes shortly after their children were kidnapped. If true, how brave of them!

A lot of security votes go to the area considered prone to Boko Haram attacks. Governors enjoy bounties in the name of providing security which, judging by the deplorable state of security in their states, they never did. Is it too much to ask that these Governors account for the security monies allocated to their states?

I fear that even if no one was kidnapped, if it was just a ploy to destabilise the election campaign of President Good-



luck Jonathan by the disgruntled northern politicians and a ploy which was played to the fullest by opposition parties like ACN, in all this nasty politicking, we must not lose sight of what is at stake; innocent victims.

Yes, my fear is that even if no one was initially kidnapped, the terrorist group have been provided a goldmine to exploit in this tragedy. If they have not already done so, they are likely to kidnap some girls or who knows, come to some arrangement with some northern leaders to provide some girls as bait. I suspect that even the girls that were shown on the video reciting the Quran could just be an arranged political clip. Yes, Nigeria is in such a mess that its leaders wouldn't hesitate to drag us deeper into their dirty politics.

Northern Elders have said that the Government "should pay billions as ransom to Shekau and release all detained Boko Haram members" and that there must be "no foreign forces in Nigeria". They have also demanded that "force should not be used" in securing the freedom of the abducted girls. Really?

So in all these dirty politicking, there are bound to be innocent victims. And from all angles, the victims are bound to be innocent girls, forcefully kidnapped or actually pawned out by their parents or family members. Yes, I fear that this is about to get dirtier. And if children are not already the victims, they will be the victims.

## WESTERN INTERVENTION

**There is no gainsaying that Nigeria is a mess. I am happy that the international community is finally getting involved. However, we need to be clear on the terms of involvement.**

Is this a humanitarian intervention out of the goodness of the heart of the countries offering to help, or is it purely a business transaction?

I do not care if the cost of saving lives involves paying with oil or diamonds, because lives are more important than mineral resources. However, it would be helpful if the USA, Britain, China and whatever other international community offering to help would just state clearly on what terms they are offering the help.

These countries have an expertise Nigerian clearly lacks. The question is, are they offering this expertise for free because they care so much about the missing girls, or is their expertise going to involve oil barrels and/or having a hand in choosing the next "elected" Nigerian government officials?

Nigeria is a mess. The northern leaders who are suddenly aghast that children are going to be sold as brides have forgotten that they are also the ones who introduced sharia law into northern parts of the country with the hope that they could use it to justify their many child brides.

Senator Ahmad Sani Yerima, who introduced Sharia law when he was Zamfara State Governor, is a known paedophile and he justifies his penchant for underage child brides using the Quran. Today, he is a serving Nigerian senator. The lawmakers that are today condemning Boko Haram for its threat to sell the missing girl as brides, were all guests at this paedophile's wedding to the 13 year old girl he bought. The hypocrisy is truly disgusting.

I wonder why it took the media and international community so long to eventually acknowledge that the abduction of

three hundred girls was worth reporting. The kidnap was reported in all major Nigerian newspapers more than three weeks ago. Some foreign newspapers also published it.

However, the minute a deranged looking black man who calls himself Shekau, leader of Boko Haram, posted a video where he threatened to sell the kidnapped girls because, well, girls are supposed to be wives not go to school, this was all it took to incite the international community. Suddenly, the video raised the ire of civilised nations. "Who does this barbarian think he is?", they asked. "Are Africans still this barbaric?", many wondered. "Islam is really the religion of the insane", many concluded. "Let us go as white knights in shining armour and rescue the girls!", they screamed!

Help is good, but it would be great to know one can get help without relying on media shock tactics.

The hashtag #Bringbackourgirls makes me cringe. "Our" denotes property. The girls are not our property; they are humans with names and faces. They don't belong to us. They don't belong to the terrorists. They are not even the properties of their parents, because children are not property.

It is a cultural language that I loathe so much. "Our wife" is often used by the in-laws of a woman basically to denote that she is their property. I loathe it when anyone refers to me as "our wife" or "our women" because many tend to use this when talking about the "chastity" of "their" women, of "their" African women. "Our women" or "our girls" are words used to keep women in line, it says: You belong to us. You will do as you are told. You will keep the honour we impose on you. You will live up to the roles we set for you because you are *our* woman.

These girls are not our property. They are their own person and they deserve our help whether or not they are *ours*!

For the conspiracy theorists who are so opposed to America coming into Nigeria to provide the intelligence work needed in eradicating Boko Haram, because they are convinced the big old evil capitalist America is after Nigeria's oil, I'd say, so what? Your ramblings about America coming into the country just for your oil are pathetic. It is pathetic not because it does not have a ring of truth to it, but because Nigerians might actually fare better economically if our damn oil was controlled by entities other than our corrupt government and its cronies.

All Nigerians have to show for the Federal government control of our oil is lack of stable electricity supply, deteriorating educational system, lack of basic amenities, no good water, no security. Many Nigerian families have lost a loved one to road accidents caused by bad roads. Access to good healthcare is nonexistent. Unemployment is so high that it is a surprise that the poor are not eating the rich in broad day light yet.

Yes, I wouldn't want America or any other country to come into Nigeria to play dirty politics, which is why I would rather all Nigerians make a loud call to ask America, UK or China to declare exactly what the payment for their help would be. Let us know, let all Nigerians know. Maybe this would stop the conspiracy theories. Maybe this would help save us from a corrupt government telling us in 10 years time that the money we think they are looting is actually going towards paying for America's help in eradicating Boko Haram.

One thing that is unfortunately glaring is that children (if not already) will be the victims in all these dirty politicking. No child deserves to be used as pawn in the dirty mess that is Nigeria.

It is not my wish to add to the confusion out there or fuel the conspiracy theories. However, facts must be examined. Boko Haram is an evil entity that must be wiped out. Right now, it is not about who created and fed the monster. If those who created the monster that has now grown beyond their control can be brought to book, that would be great.

**The most important thing is, if there are kidnapped girls held by Boko Haram, let us do all we can to rescue them from the clutches of evil, and ensure no one is ever made a victim of the terrorist group again.**

• Yemisi Ilesanmi is a trade unionist, human rights activist and author. She is the founder and coordinator of the campaign group Nigerian LGBTIs in Diaspora Against Anti-Same Sex Laws. You can read a longer version of this article on her blog <http://freethoughtblogs.com/yemmyning>



# Social media are here to stay

## Letter



The replies to my article in *Solidarity* from Jodi Dean (318), Martin Thomas (319) and James Doran (320) centre around questions of the impact of the internet, and particularly Facebook, on political organisation and activism.

I agree with Jodi and Martin that the internet does not replace older forms of organising, both in terms of on-the-ground union and political organising, and in terms of organisational forms such as the union and party.

Network forms of organisation that emerge from social media lack long-term commitment and organisational structure, structured democracy and accountability, an ability to formulate and execute strategy and organisational memory. (For more on this, see my article "The Party's Not Over" at [bit.ly/1mRsyJh](http://bit.ly/1mRsyJh)).

So I do not take the Internet to be a technological fix that will solve the political impasse of the left. There are a range of important things it cannot do. As I said in the article, it amplifies some of the problems of the left and acts as a mirror to others.

Accordingly advocating networked culture as a replacement for "vertical" organisation is wrong. Making the Internet part of our activity does not provide a substitute for formulating a political strategy or creating a durable organisation. Nor does a refusal to ditch vertical forms of organisation imply a rejection of democracy, as many have concluded from the implosion of the SWP's Stalinoid caricature of democratic centralism – rather the opposite.

The Arab Spring was not a Facebook or Twitter revolution. However where the Internet did play a role was in coordinating protests, giving people confidence that they were not alone and enabling the spread of information in real time. It also enabled international solidarity – for example, the AWL made contact with the Centre for Trade Union and Workers' Services in Egypt, circulated their material and organised practical solidarity by inviting its leader, Kemal Abbas, to tour the UK.

It is not just that "it may not be impossible to build solidarity online" as Jodi grudgingly admits. There are many similar examples where online complement offline methods of organising and have had a practical impact on the outcome of struggles. (I discuss some examples and problems in relation to trade unions in my article at [bit.ly/1k5bjxH](http://bit.ly/1k5bjxH).) They can, for example, be a means of showing support for and so boosting the morale of workers on strike. They can bring people together to report on and thus counter police tactics on the street. The key advantages are being able to act at a distance and enabling easy direct contact and flows of information. James Doran is right here. So it's wrong to counterpose

the offline work of organising using old methods to online activity which is seen as only being a distraction from the hard tasks facing the left.

Where I disagree with Jodi then is whether what she calls the context of Internet use, "the larger set of media practices involved in networked communication" are so all-embracingly negative as to reduce scope for serious use of the Internet by the left to the trivial or preclude their use for projects of solidarity and political action that would not otherwise be possible. My answer, despite recognising many of the negative symptoms and the dominance of capitalist interests in shaping the net, is "no".

As long as they enable direct two-way communication, virtual connections do not form an absolute obstacle to promoting the goals of the left, though some forms may make it more difficult through limitations imposed by the tools used and their owners. It is possible to create (cyber)spaces which support organising and solidarity or provide a basis for a collectivity that could not exist otherwise.

I am not advocating "clicktivism", though I think it's probably an exaggerated problem, at least amongst committed activists – does the left really have a culture "dominated by Facebook and smartphone" as Martin suggests? The Internet is obviously not a substitute for traditional forms of left politics from the demonstration and strike to the newspaper and meeting. Jodi is right that some forms of Internet activism such as the use of petitioning do reflect a bourgeois liberal concept of politics, though I don't think that means their use should be absolutely rejected any more than standing in parliamentary elections. We should be critical of organisations such as Avaaz and Change.Org who promote them as the way to obtain change, but not reject them as such.

As to the individualistic nature of Internet action, I did refer to the "me-centric" nature of Facebook and also accept that decisions to act are more atomised and individualised online than they would be, say, in a mass meeting. However this does not preclude the building of active and effective online communities which may either be the product of or spill over into offline action.

I did not intend to portray Martin Thomas as a technophobe. He may well agree with much of what I've written here. However, in pursuit of our shared belief that Marxists should be outwardly-oriented, informed and prepared to study seriously, Martin has over the years written articles that picked up on a varied range of critics of the Internet including Malcolm Gladwell's view that the net can only produce weak inter-personal ties, weak claims one cannot read in depth from a screen and Nicholas Carr's argument that

## Is "clicktivism" the new brand of activism?



computer use reconfigures brain circuitry.

Nowhere does he provide an explanation of why the Internet has the impact he sees that is rooted in the social and economic changes that occurred alongside its growth. The consequence is that the problems he talks of appear as tied to individual forms of behaviour and the availability of particular technologies. In his original article, Martin identifies "continuous, partial attention" as a cause of the decline in the culture of the left without further explanation as to where it has suddenly come from. There follows a bemoaning of students who play with their mobile phones during lectures but no reason given for why this might be the case beyond "the always-on, wraparound character of Facebook."

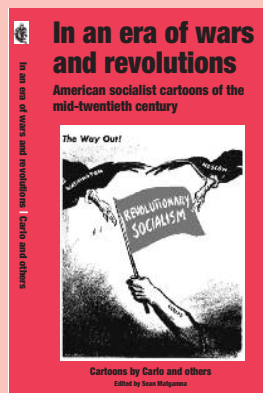
It is necessary to understand the broader social and economic causes, which I tried to outline in my article, if we are to develop an analysis of the potential and problems the Internet poses for the left and what to do about them. Martin suggests "the balance will change with livelier class struggle" with shifts to technologies he sees "as almost unqualified boons". I think this is mechanical and ignores the way social media have become embedded in all sorts of aspects of everyday life. It is this view I referred to as utopian: "expecting things to improve automatically as a result of an upturn in class struggle".

The best activists will, as ever, go onto the streets when the time comes; but, as every major struggle of the last years has shown, social media will accompany them there. The choice between online and offline activity and organising is not an 'either-or' choice as Jodi Dean suggests.

**Rather we should advocate a mix that minimises the detrimental effects on the culture of the left, while building on the proven benefits for left organisation, even though these do not mean jettisoning older, established methods of organising.**

*Bruce Robinson, Manchester*

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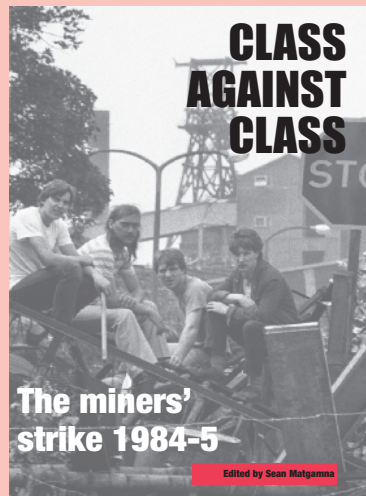


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# Eight per cent own all the financial wealth

**Two sets of data released in the last week show the extent to which the distribution of wealth in Britain is highly unequal, and increasingly so.**

The first data come from the government's Office of National Statistics wealth survey for 2010 to 2012. This shows that the richest 10% own 44% of all household wealth, and the bottom half own only 9%. The top five billionaires own the same wealth as the poorest 20% of the population.

The ONS carefully spun the figures to suggest that although the figures show inequality, this inequality is getting no worse. This largely rests on most people's wealth not being wealth at all. Over two-thirds of it is the houses that people live in and their pensions schemes. Dig a bit deeper into the figures, and much greater inequality emerges.

The worst inequality lies in what the ONS call financial wealth which includes savings and the ownership of assets such as shares in companies. The Gini coefficient (which measures inequality where 0 would indicate complete equality everyone owning the same and 1 complete inequality with one person owning everything) is now 0.84 for financial wealth, up from 0.81 in the previous study 2008/2010.

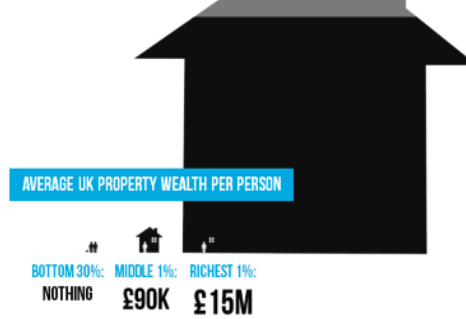
A very rough idea of what that means is that this is the figure that would be produced if all the financial wealth were owned by 8% of households. Note too, that this survey covers the period of 2010 to 2012, it is likely the inequalities of wealth have increased in the unequal economic recovery since 2012. This figure could also be worse since it does not

touch on the billions that the wealthy have squirreled away in tax havens.

This picture of increasing concentration of wealth is backed up by the latest *Sunday Times Rich List*. This shows the richest 1,000 people/families in Britain having total wealth of £519 billion, up 15% from last year. Since the financial crash of 2008/2009, this group have seen their wealth increase by 80%.

**Austerity has definitely been inflicted on the many for the benefit of the few.**

**DO THE UK'S RICHEST 1% NEED THIS MUCH PROPERTY?**



# For workers' unity across Europe!

**Ukip may come top of the Europolls in Britain on 22 May. The Front National, which has a clear-cut fascist lineage, leads in pre-poll surveys in France. Right-wing populist "anti-European" parties will do well in other countries.**

In Germany, the new, right-wing, and anti-euro AfD is at 6% or 7% scarcely a year after being launched.

Ironically, Greece, the country which has suffered most with cuts plans from the European Union and European Central Bank, is an exception.

There, many polls suggest that the left-wing party Syriza will for the first time run clearly ahead of the main right-wing party, New Democracy. Syriza rejects the EU leaders' cuts plans and proposes Europe-wide solidarity to break them rather than advocating "get Greece out" as an answer.

Alarming, the neo-Nazi (and anti-EU) Golden Dawn party may improve on its 7% in the June 2012 Greek parliamentary elections. The other group gaining ground is a new

party, To Potami, which is vague but leftish and not anti-Europe.

Greece shows that the left can provide answers to the social discontent, but only with an effort.

If the left goes halfway with the nationalists by endorsing "get out of the EU" as the first-step answer to social ills, that will only help the right. Fanciful footnotes which speculate that the re-raising of economic barriers between countries will somehow push towards socialism have little weight.

Voters persuaded that re-raising national barriers is the first step will mostly tend to drift to the serious, powerful barrier-raisers: the nationalist right.

"No to the EU" agitation threatens the position of millions of workers who have crossed EU borders to seek jobs.

**We should instead seek to unite workers across the borders for a common cross-European fight against the cross-European plans of capital and of the EU leaders.**



From left to right: Marine le Pen, leader of the Front National; Nigel Farage, UKIP leader; Philipp Rösler, leader of Alternative for Germany

# Self-determination for Ukraine!

According to the *New York Times*, "thousands of steelworkers fanned out on Thursday [15 May] through the city of Mariupol [in eastern Ukraine], establishing control over the streets and banishing the pro-Kremlin militants..."

Other reports, however, indicate that the worker patrols were instigated by oligarch Rina Akhmetov, owner of the local steelworks, and are led by the works boss.



**Petro Poroshenko is set to win the presidential election in Ukraine on 25 May**

Opinion polls show another oligarch, Petro Poroshenko, who professes mild social-democratic views, way ahead for the presidential election due on 25 May. (The far-right party Svoboda, named by some as the presiding genius in ousting pro-Russian president Yanukovich in February, is on 1.5%).

The question on 25 May will be not so much who wins, as how widely voting takes place at all. Pro-Russian groups which have organised coups in some east Ukrainian cities, ran a referendum on "support for self-rule" on 11 May, and have appealed to Russia to annex their districts, are likely to block voting in large areas.

The Russian government of Vladimir Putin can then dismiss the 25 May election as not representative and, using the implied threat to annex eastern areas of Ukraine as a lever, demand negotiations for a new government in Ukraine more congenial to Moscow.

Socialists back self-determination for Ukraine, a nation with a long history of being oppressed, together with due rights for the Russian minorities in Ukraine.

We demand that the Western governments give real help to Ukraine by cancelling its foreign debts.

**We want to help Ukraine's frail left-wing groups to establish a third force in politics, uniting workers against both the pro-EU oligarchs and Russian imperialism.**

**Solidarity will be taking a break next week because of the 26 May bank holiday. The next issue, No. 326, will be published on Wednesday 4 June.**



# When Protestant workers smashed power-sharing

**The third and final part of Michael Johnson's article on the 1974 Protestant Workers' strike**

**The second weekend of the Ulster Protestant general strike against power-sharing further exposed the dark underside of the strike.**

On Friday 24 May, four people were killed; two were Catholics bar owners murdered for opening their businesses in defiance of the strike, and two motorists died when they crashed into a tree felled as part of a barricade. That night a gang in Ballymena also wrecked pubs and a cafe, and minibuses of thugs in Ballymoney ordered customers out of pubs.

Saturday 25 May proved to be a turning point, but not in the way hoped by the Northern Irish power-sharing Executive. It was announced that in the evening, Harold Wilson would make a Prime Ministerial broadcast, followed by Executive chief Brian Faulkner.

A dramatic announcement was predicted. The Ulster Workers' Council made emergency preparations, fearing that they would be arrested during the broadcast. The paramilitaries decamped to a community centre in a loyalist housing estate, leaving the politicians at Hawthornden Road. If troops barged in, they would be forced into the embarrassing position of seizing elected representatives.

They needn't have bothered. Different elements of the government were riven by divisions over the plan to use the army to restart oil distribution.

Though Rees returned from the Cabinet with authorisation to proceed, the army was deeply unhappy. It feared that electricity supplies would collapse, transmission lines would be sabotaged, and that a combination of civil disobedience and loyalist terrorism would overwhelm the British army. Faulkner, too, was worried and feared that if army intervention caused a violent confrontation, then the Faulkner Unionists would be finished politically.

That evening, Wilson went on television. The results were disastrous. The Executive was expecting the Prime Minister to announce bold measures to break the strike; instead, Wilson castigated the UWC as "people who spend their lives sponging on Westminster and British democracy and then systematically assault democratic methods", adding: "Who do these people think they are?"

Members of the Executive watched with their heads in their hands. Glenn Barr from the UWC roared that it was "a brilliant speech" and that they "couldn't have written better ourselves." The speech, though intended to support the Executive, it had the opposite effect. Many Ulster Protestants interpreted this as an attack on their community as a whole, and took to wearing little sponges on their lapels as a sign of protest.

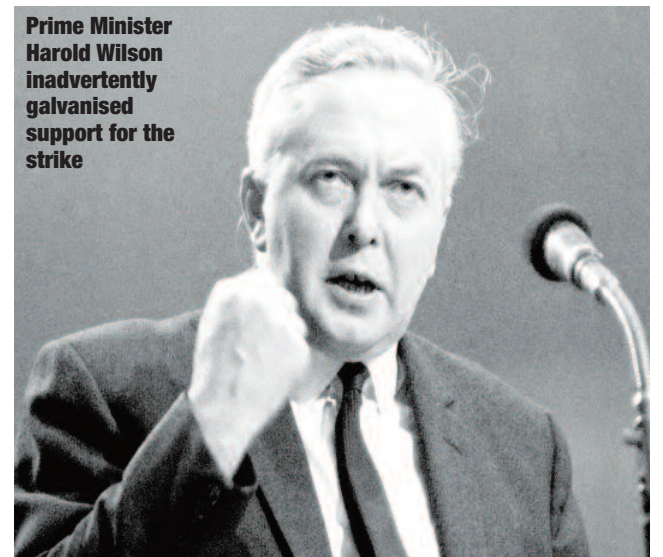
As Sunday morning came, there was still no sign of the army in filling stations. The SDLP was exasperated and all six of its Executive members signed a letter saying that they would resign with effect from 6am on Monday morning if the British government did not take action against the UWC. Wilson was persuaded.

## ARMY

**From 5am the army moved in. However, it faced numerous technical problems in the refineries and in the first few hours, less oil was moving than under the UWC's own plan.**

Electricity was the biggest problem, as the Larne power workers walked out, leaving the Ballylumford plant in the hands of technical staff. The UWC demanded that the power system be run at unsustainably low levels, risking a fault. The NIES told Hume that its staff could continue to run the plant for a further 24-hours but that a blackout was imminent.

Now that the army had moved in, the UWC strategy was to load as much work as possible on to the troops. It announced that burying the dead would cease, and would hitherto be the army's responsibility. The loyalists sensed victory.



**Prime Minister Harold Wilson inadvertently galvanised support for the strike**

Faulkner was despondent, as civil servants told him that farms would run out of livestock by the end of the week and that they expected the first deaths of the very old and the very young due to the withdrawal of essential services within the next 36 hours.

Now, the Unionists and Alliance insisted that talks must be opened up with the UWC. The SDLP refused but was in a minority on the Executive. When Faulkner relayed the decision, the British government said that it would not negotiate under duress. Faulkner and his colleagues resigned. The Executive had collapsed. On Wednesday 29, the population went back to work and Northern Ireland's first experiment with power-sharing government had failed.

The experience of the UWC strike has been the subject of much recrimination. It has been argued that if the army had moved in during the first couple of days, it could easily have nipped the strike in the bud before it had the chance to build support and momentum. This is probably true. Either the

## What the left thinks of Modi

**On May 16, Hindu nationalist Narendra Modi stormed the Indian elections on a scale not seen since 1984. He beat the Congress Party, which has dominated India politically since 1947, and won 282 of the parliament's 543 seats.**

*Solidarity* has gathered opinions on Modi from the left in India.

### Praful Bidwai:

"The Left parties are floundering. They are unsure of their prospects in their former bastions West Bengal and Kerala, and are experimenting with little-known candidates and independents. They have no strategy for crafting a non-Congress-non-BJP front. Left unity, long their major asset, is under threat. The Revolutionary Socialist Party has quit the Kerala Left front after 35 years, and the CPI and CPM are negotiating with rival groups in some states... [Modi's] regime is likely to be even worse [than Indira Gandhi's imposition of emergency rule in 1975-76], with systematic attacks on civil and political rights, railroading of all legitimate opposition, despotic imposition of corporate-driven economic agendas, and further militarization and communalization of society, which will lead to harassment of conscientious citizens, and outlawing and repression of dissent." (*The News International*, 5 April 2014)

### Jairus Banaji:

"The threat [to democracy] is absolutely real. A new model is emerging of the far right in this country. It is not part of the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, right-wing Hindu nationalist paramilitary group from which Modi

comes] tradition to encourage personality cults. Their sarsanghchalaks [top leaders] have never projected themselves the way Modi is being projected now, as a sort of supreme leader, a desi Duce or Fuehrer. This concerted drive for a personality cult represents a new current within the politics of the extreme Right, a further development of electoral fascism. Modi realizes that communal mobilization, the RSS's organic strategy, has paid rich electoral dividends. The violence of 2002 was precisely concentrated in districts of Gujarat where the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] had the most to gain in terms of increasing their vote share. But Modi also knows that there was a strong backlash to that ghastly explosion of orchestrated violence and that he won't be able to retain credibility with the same sort of strategy." (*Hardnews*, 8 April 2013)

### Priyamvada Gopal:

"Modi was a leading activist for [the] secretive and militaristic...Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) — whose founder expressed admiration for Hitler, ideologies of racial purity and the virtues of fascism. It is an organisation that, on a good day, looks like the British National Party, but can operate more like Nazi militias. Known for an authoritarian leadership style, Modi's only expression of regret for the [2002 Gujarat] pogroms compared them to a car running over a puppy, while he labelled Muslim relief camps 'baby-making factories'... A Modi victory will strengthen the arm of chauvinist forces in Britain, which have already had successes such as shutting down exhibitions, quashing caste discrimination laws, and withdrawing Royal Mail stamps. Under Modi there will be no progress on Kashmir, which



will also have far-reaching violent consequences. In the face of a global resurgence of the right we must be alert to all its extremist forms." (*The Guardian*, 14 April 2014)

### New Socialist Alternative (Indian section of the Committee for a Workers International)

"Yes, we do see the immediate possible danger of an avowedly communal Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) headed by the mass murderer Narendra Modi coming to power, who is a professed hatemonger and doesn't hesitate to use state power against the religious and other minorities. But that threat cannot be seen in isolation of the political and economic processes that have been in progress at least in the last quarter of a century. Willy-nilly the corporates, both multinational and Indian, have long decided that their interests are safe in the hands of Congress-BJP and the teams they muster to 'govern' this vast land mass called India.

**"Hence a de-facto, creeping two party bi-polar political 'choice' is presented, [or] rather foisted on [us]... We categorically reject this sham of a 'choice' between the Congress and BJP." (14 April 2014)**





army would have cleared the roads, allowing people back to work, or it would have provoked violence similar to the failed strike of 1973, undercutting the ability of the UWC to attract support from the wider Protestant population. The army did not do so, not because of conspiracies at the highest level, but because, rightly or wrongly, it feared a blood-bath and a war on two fronts — against loyalists and the IRA.

Fundamentally, the strike succeeded because of the sense of grievance felt by large sections of the population against power-sharing and the Council of Ireland. Loyalist paramilitary force may have been the “midwife” but the eventual degree of support for the strike cannot be explained by force alone. Any attempt to find a military solution once the strike got going was always going to fail, at least without creating widespread bloodshed.

Protestants feared that the Council of Ireland would eventually lead to their inclusion into a united Ireland, which did not recognise their identity. Against power-sharing, they supported “majority rule”, which in Northern Ireland terms could only mean Protestant-rule and a return to the Orange State.

The 1974 general election demonstrated that Protestants were against the Sunningdale Agreement, creating a crisis of representation. The Executive was only ever patched together from fragments of the once monolithic Unionist Party, governing with Alliance and the SDLP. By the end of the strike, the UUUC had more of a claim to voice loyalist opinion, and this was borne out by the dominance of hard-right loyalism in the 1975 Convention.

For nationalists, the Council of Ireland was a symbol that their Irish identity and eventual aspiration towards a United Ireland could be recognised in the new settlement. Ironically, the SDLP eventually secured this bureaucratically through diplomatic initiatives, with the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 granting the Irish government an influence in Northern Ireland, over the heads of the Unionists.

In its basics — power-sharing, north-south co-operation — the Sunningdale Agreement prefigured the eventual Good Friday Agreement in 1998. Many lives were lost in the interim, giving a poignant edge to former SDLP deputy leader’s comment that GFA was “Sunningdale for slow learners.”

Arguably, however, power-sharing in the 1970s was little more than a vain hope in such a violently divided society. Northern Ireland is still divided, though the war has gone cold.

If war is politics by other means, then the opposite can also

hold true; the sectarian warfare of the Troubles has been transmuted into a less deadly politics of sectarianism in the Northern Ireland Assembly. Intricate balancing mechanisms try and patch over the enduringly deep divisions in many parts of the community, with the result that government careens from crisis to crisis, if it is not stymied in deadlock.

One lesson of the UWC strike is that though the labour movement was economically powerful in Northern Ireland in the 1970s, it was politically ineffectual.

The folly of the trade union leaders in 1974, mostly grouped around the Stalinists, was that they thought they could bring the labour movement into political opposition to the UWC strike, without having done the preparatory educational work amongst the working-class.

Without being accompanied with anti-sectarian socialist education, trade unions in Northern Ireland had severe limitations as instruments of working-class power. As Liam O’Down, Bill Rolston and Mike Tomlinson have written:

“Trade unions in a sectarian society cannot remain insulated from the society of which they are a part. Where sectarian relations prevail, trade unions, like other elements in society, reconstitute and reproduce those relations. Trade unions, as they developed in Northern Ireland were simultaneously about class politics and sectarian politics.”

## POWER

**Yet the loyalist working class could wield immense power in 1974. By the end of the strike, large areas of Northern Ireland life were in the control of the UWC and its network of shop stewards and paramilitaries.**

In the years after the strike, according to Robert Fisk, Harry Murray was even visited by a Spanish student who asked him if he would help organise a general strike against Franco! (Murray politely refused).

This should caution those on the left who tend to stress — beyond all other considerations — the potential social power of the working-class as the fundamental reasons why socialists look to it, above all other social forces, to be the bearer of a new and higher form of society.

Though true in itself, a stress on the working-class’s “negative” ability to stop production and bring the gears of society to a halt fades out the most important point; it is the working-class, thrown together as a result of capitalism, and forced to struggle collectively for better conditions of life, that generates the powerful feelings of solidarity able to shake the foundations of our current society.

Through its experiences, the working-class develops the

skills and propensities which make possible not only the “negative” ability to bring capitalist society to its knees, but the “positive” and constructive work of building a new society in its wake.

This idea of working-class self-emancipation requires workers to have a conscious conception of what sort of society they are building; to be more than the “muscle” to the “brain” either of a socialist organisation or, for that matter, reactionary bodies such as the UWC.

To make this a reality, we need more than trade unions. We need a socialist organisation in the labour movement, with a programme around which workers can organise.

Ireland requires a consistently democratic settlement, which “prohibits any privileges whatsoever to any one nation and any encroachment whatsoever upon the rights of a national minority.” The aim is to drain the poison from national divisions in order to clear the way for united working-class struggle.

It is clear that power-sharing mechanisms on their own cannot resolve the national question in Ireland, presuming and perpetuating as they do, a static conception of eternally divided communities, within the immutable boundaries of the Six Counties.

Even after the GFA, there are still large parts of Northern Ireland whose Catholic-majority populations would rather join the Republic of Ireland. Our programme should not take the sectarian borders of the Northern Ireland state to be immutable and socialists should assert the rights of communities in border areas to secede if they wish.

The language, culture and identity of Irish minorities in Protestant-majority areas should be recognised and protected; the same applies in reverse, where Protestants are in a minority.

We should also oppose attempts to coerce, through violent or bureaucratic means, the Protestant population of the north-east of Ireland into a unitary state without its consent. Protestant-Unionist identity could be guaranteed in a federal united Ireland, with a degree of autonomy and self-government for the north-east, perhaps in some sort of voluntary confederation with the United Kingdom.

**In a perverse and grotesque way, the UWC organised one of the most effective general strikes in history. Forty years later, though the labour movement is still powerful in Northern Ireland, workers are no closer to developing the sort of democratic working-class politics needed to vanquish sectarian division and fundamentally re-make society.**



# Rise up against inequality!

Martin Thomas reviews *Capital in the 21st Century*, by Thomas Piketty

**Economic inequality has increased. It is on a solid trend to continue increasing. The USA, the most unequal of the richer countries, may set a new historical record for income inequality by 2030, and other countries are following similar though not identical trajectories.**

So says Thomas Piketty in his book *Capital in the 21st Century*. It is a best-seller in France, where it was originally published, and now also in Britain and the USA, despite costing £30 and stretching to 640 pages.

His other message, less expanded on by reviewers or even by Piketty himself, is that “the history of inequality has always been chaotic and political”. “The resurgence of inequality after 1980s”, he writes, “is due largely to the political shifts of the past several decades”, and not to ineluctable social or technical trends.

A large part of the volume documents a *decrease* in inequality over the 20th century. Inequality of incomes *from labour*, or notionally from labour, changed relatively little, before a big surge at the top of the range in the USA, the UK, and other English-speaking countries in recent decades. Inequality of incomes *from property* was, however, huge in Europe (not so much so in the USA) in the years before World War One, then declined a lot after the war and until recent decades.

A “patrimonial middle class” emerged among the 40% between the richest 10%, and the poor 50% at the bottom. That 40% owned very little wealth in 1910. By 2010 they owned houses, cars, maybe a few financial assets. Another 50% still owned almost nothing, but the 40% had taken some of what the top 10% previously had.

The best-off of the working class, and a chunk of the “professional” self-employed or semi-autonomous employees, won gains. But, Piketty argues, only big social explosions and crises — the two world wars, and the periods of revolutions or huge class struggles after them — shook the old oligarchies and forced the concessions and revaluations that allowed the rise.

“The reduction of inequality during the 20th century”, Piketty told *New Left Review*, “was largely the result of violent political upheavals, and not so much of peaceful electoral democracy”.

The inequality of wealth was still high even at its low point in the 1970s. It has since increased again. As yet *overall* inequality of income is less than it was a hundred years ago, except where the increases in inequality of incomes *from labour* have been so exceptionally large, in the USA, UK, and so on, as to push it up more.

The trend, though, is for the inequalities of income to rise, and to feed into and combine with inequalities of wealth. And specifically with inequalities of *inherited* wealth, which are increasing in effect. “Inherited wealth comes close to being as decisive at the beginning of the 21st century as it was in the age of Balzac” [early 19th century].

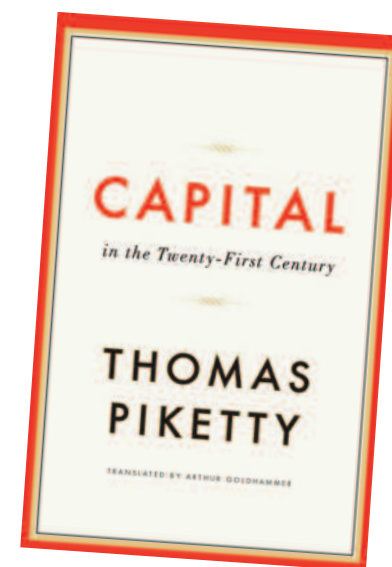
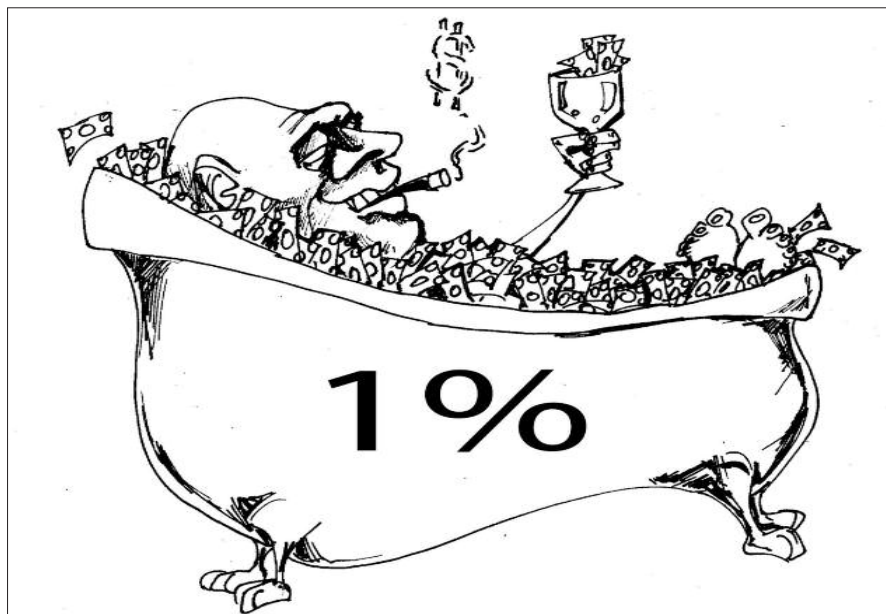
Inequality between the top ten per cent and the rest has increased. That is only half the story. Inequality within the top ten per cent has soared even more. The focus by the Occupy movement on the top one per cent had sense. The top one per cent, or even the top 0.1 per cent, hold a big proportion of wealth.

Some conventional economists suggest that the inequality is one between different phases of life, more than between social classes. People start off poor, build up savings and wealth, and then run them down in old age. The well-off and the worse-off are really the same people at different times in their lives. Piketty refutes that idea, showing that inequality of wealth is high *within age groups*.

He demolishes the idea that the inequality arises primarily from globalised communications, so that revenues flow to a few actors or singers or sportspeople who become tagged (perhaps almost randomly) as “superstars”. The big majority of those with huge incomes “from labour” are “supermanagers”, not superstars.

Why are they paid so much? Mostly because they themselves, or their friends, decide what to pay them. Some economists argue that it is because the advance of technology has dictated increasing rewards to skill. That is very dubious in general, and even more dubious for the “supermanagers”.

Remember when the bosses of Britain’s big banks were



less violent and more efficient response” than “Soviet-style centralised planning”.

Democratic working-class socialist alternatives to both Stalinism and adroitly-taxed capitalism he simply does not discuss.

Although Piketty doesn’t spell out this conclusion, according to his statistical analyses, which for France go back to the time of the French Revolution of 1789, the current spiral of increasing inequality is without precedent, or at least without precedent in recent centuries. Inequality on the eve of World War One was high, but it had been not much lower in the 19th century.

If the limited reductions in inequality achieved in the mid 20th century (and Piketty concedes, even stresses, that they were limited) arose only through “violent political upheavals”, then the current spiral of inequality, which has its own momentum, will be broken by nothing less.

Piketty is not a Marxist. Politically, he is in the orbit of the French Socialist Party. He told Isaac Chotiner, interviewing him for the US magazine *New Republic*: “I never managed really to read [Marx]... *Das Kapital*, I think, is very difficult to read and for me it was not very influential”. I suspect that’s a fib: for example, Piketty systematically refers to the commodity which workers sell to bosses as “labour power”, implicitly making the distinction between “labour” and “labour power” which is one of the things which most marks off Marxist from conventional economics.

In any case, the reviews which either (from the right) berate Piketty for being a hidden Marxist, or (from the left) condemn him for not being a proper Marxist, are beside the point.

Piketty’s book studies issues of the economic history of the last century which Marx, obviously, never got a chance to think about, and which today’s Marxists have not studied sufficiently.

Piketty’s use of the word “capital” is very different from a Marxist usage, and indeed from strict orthodox economic usage too. James K Galbraith, son of the famous liberal economist J K Galbraith, in by far the best review I’ve read of Piketty (in the US social-democratic magazine *Dissent*), makes that point very clearly, and several others too. But if Galbraith’s more exact term, “private financial valuation”, is substituted for Piketty’s “capital”, the narrative remains strong.

The mathematical relation between the rate of return on wealth and the overall rate of growth of the economy explains less, I think, than Piketty claims. Why is the relation that way? Why, for example, are there not large surges of directly-financed (not PFI) public investment spending which boost growth without leveraging up the rate of return for wealthy individuals? Isn’t the mathematical relation as much a *result* of the increasing inequality (the increasing will and ability of the ultra-rich to pocket large revenues) as a *cause* of it?

**Galbraith’s review accepts Piketty’s basic narrative, but proposes a more effective conclusion. “Raise minimum wages! Support unions! Tax corporate profits and personal capital gains!...” So long as we read that as an appeal to workers to mobilise ourselves to win those demands, rather than as pleas to this or that politician, that’s an answer that shows the bridge from here to the “violent political upheavals” which can bring some real human equality.**

asked by a parliamentary committee, on 10 February 2009, what banking qualifications they had. None, they mumbled. As Piketty puts it, this is more like “hands in the till” than Adam Smith’s proverbial “hidden hand of the market”.

The “political” character of “supermanager” pay-outs (in Marxist terms, more a disguised profit pay-out than a “wage”) is shown by the fact that those pay-outs have so far increased much more in the USA and the UK than in other countries, (though the others are following). If there were “technological” reasons, they would apply more or less equally in all rich countries.

## RATES OF RETURN

**Piketty sees a mathematical relation between different economic rates as the driving force of wealth inequalities.**

If the rate of return on wealth — the income you get from it per year, as a percentage of the stash — is greater than the overall rate of growth of the economy, then the wealthy will pay for luxury and still see their wealth increase relative to the whole economy.

That has been the general pattern through history. It took World War One, World War Two, and the tumult around the following them, to reverse the pattern.

With dislocations, financial crashes, and expropriations, the rate of return on wealth sank. The overall rate of growth, spurred by frantic wartime construction and post-war reconstruction, rose above it. People who lived solely from inherited wealth had to dip into their stash to sustain their luxury, and gradually they, or their heirs, were levelled down a bit.

Now the rate of return on wealth is rising above the overall rate of growth. It is even higher for the ultra-rich than for the merely rich. Piketty demonstrates that neatly by showing that the rates of return on US college endowment funds range from 10.2% for the richest (Harvard, Yale, Princeton) down to 6.2% for the majority with relatively small funds. Thus inequality spirals, and cumulatively.

Piketty argues that history shows that formal democracy and formal egalitarianism in official discourse has almost no grip on the development of economic inequality. Republican, “officially left-wing” France was pretty much as economically unequal before World War One as monarchist, “officially conservative” Britain,

Economic inequality, however, has a big effect on how much, or how little, real democracy there is in a society. Piketty titles a section: “The rentier [i.e., person who lives off income from property], enemy of democracy”. In a warm review of Piketty’s book, Paul Krugman in the *New York Times* sums it up well: “a drift towards oligarchy”.

Krugman draws no political conclusions. Piketty does. He advocates a global wealth tax, and very high rates of income tax on very high incomes. He concedes that it will be difficult to get governments to do such things, but responds with a shrug. Other things could help, such as deliberately high inflation rate which erode “rentiers”. In any case, he is just not very optimistic.

“A progressive levy on individual wealth” would be “a





**The haves and the have-nots. Left: dining room in Audley House, Mayfair. Available to rent at £65,000 per month. The house is owned by Clare Johnson, partner of billionaire Phones 4u founder John Caudwell. Right: single mother Sharon Chivero, forced into a single-room temporary residence at Gilroy Court, Croydon. No tables, no chairs.**

# The great housing disaster

Danny Dorling is the Halford Mackinder Professor of Geography at the University of Oxford and the author of many works on issues of social inequality. His latest work is *All that is Solid: the Great Housing Disaster*. Cathy Nugent spoke to him a few days before the Governor of the Bank of England, Mark Carney, warned bankers and the government to bring rising house prices in London and the south-east under control, or risk another crash.

**For Dorling, the structural causes behind rising house prices are bound up with the unequal distribution of housing.**

Those inequalities are stark — in the UK 600,000 residential properties lie empty while over 2,000 homeless families live in bed-and-breakfast accommodation. But it is not just the homeless who are affected by housing inequality. “The housing issue is affecting almost everybody” according to Dorling.

“One [theme] is the inefficient use of housing. When a private landlord buys an ex-council maisonette which used to house a family, the market mechanism will tell him to rent it out to whoever will pay the highest rent. Invariably it is young professionals without children who can afford it, so that maisonette ends up with just one or two adults in it. Everyone thinks we are crowding in, but the median house in London contains less people than it used to.

“When there was more council housing, people were allocated housing according to size of household. But also when people have similar incomes [much less so now] we behave in a more rational way, we don’t try and buy property that is too big. Now that some people’s incomes can be twice or three times that of others, you might buy something with spare rooms that could be your study, or your play room, or spare room... just because you can.

“This kind of behaviour is expected of you. Other people you know have this amount of space, the people above your income have much more, including more than one home.

“But there is a limited amount of space. So this is a really good example of market failure. Not all markets fail but this one does. And it is the sort of market failure that many people can understand. It is one way of showing that the price mechanism doesn’t allocate everything beautifully and efficiently.”

*I wonder whether accepting less would involve a rethinking of aspirations...*

“Well, people could look at how their parents were housed

as a comparison. I don’t want people to blame themselves, for the most part (although it depends where they are on the income scale). With the current system you are told that it is your fault that you are not better housed. It tells everybody to try to get into the ‘one percent’. Which is by definition not possible. But we are beginning to get somewhere countering this. There is a growing cynicism. People are reacting against being told they have to be endlessly excellent at their job and so on.”

## BUILD MORE?

**Government, media, Shelter — all are talking about the need to “build more homes”. Dorling argues very strongly for the redistribution of existing living space. But he doesn’t rule out the need for some building.**

“I would definitely go for building in London. Or in Oxford, where the average prices are 11 times the average wage. Here the market is signalling acute housing need. Places like Oxford could be a bit bigger. It is a place where you can cycle everywhere. You could put 50-100,000 homes on the edge of Oxford, above the flood plain, three miles from the centre. It could be a bit like a new town, but a very different and better kind of new town.

“The main reason I emphasise ‘we are building too much’ is because I want to get to grips with what the future population size is going to be. It is all about the immigration debate.

“It is amazing that politicians can get away with saying we want to build two or three hundred thousand houses a year, but we also want zero immigration. If we had zero immigration there would be almost no need to build anything! But the population of this country is going to go up quite a lot and probably should, for all kinds of reasons. It makes a lot of sense for there to be high immigration for another 30 years.

“It is in the interests of the areas that people are leaving, where there is a surplus of young people. And in the interests of us; who is going to do the jobs as our population ages?

“If we were to look at all the factors we could have a very sensible plan about housing. And we can’t leave this to the market. Then you have all the difficulties of how you plan well, how you get a state-directed housing system that doesn’t turn out to be a disaster.

“But I would be seen as being unrealistic if I talked about immigration openly. There are only so many issues you can look at at any one time. I don’t see any group that is saying,

‘we need net immigration of 100,000 a year, it will be good’. So the book is largely about how we can house ourselves better as we are, with 63 million people, rather than 73 or 83 million.”

*The emphasis on building, whether it is needed or not, now or in the future, is a political thing. I ask Dorling about these politics.*

“It’s not a conspiracy. It’s a thing that appears sensible first off, particularly if you have been taught A level economics, the economics that is all about supply and demand curves. People are taught that if the market isn’t working it must be because of a lack of supply. But when you have got a more unequal society you can easily build and it still will not reduce most people’s housing problems.”

*Another dysfunctionality is that people are migrating to the south...*

“Housing is being demolished in the north, towns are becoming empty. People end up in rabbit hutches in the south, leading soulless lives. The pressure is worse when you get a bit older, and you have to move out to somewhere like Fleet, to live in a Barratt Home rabbit hutch, an hour and a half commute in to London to work, so your kids get to go to an above-average comprehensive.

“Most big European cities do much better than this. People live much nearer to their work. People are not so terrified of living near other people; that their children go to school with other human beings. All this is very English.”

*Dorling also writes about the growth of social ghettos, the physical separating out of rich and poor. Surely this is something that will happen over a quite a long period of time? For instance, I say, in Lewisham where I live for the most part it doesn’t look very ghettoised...*

“In all big towns there are places like Lewisham which are much more mixed, are poor but socially integrated. In Bristol there is Montpelier near St Paul’s, which is cosmopolitan, in Oxford it’s St Clement’s. Yet in Bristol, though the streets are mixed, many of the *Guardian*-reading residents will not send their children to the nearest school.

“But it is happening gradually. For me the problem is what it creates. When I meet a very large number of 18 or 19 year olds, they will tell me how wonderful Margaret Thatcher was. They are saying this is because some adults have told them it — in their school or in their (affluent) neighbourhood. I ask them, have you ever heard someone say the opposite?

*Continued on page 12*



From page 11

And they say no. There is increased ignorance at the top of society.

"And at the bottom people don't get enough chances to encounter slightly posher people, to learn how to deal with them and be confident with them. And cocky posh people do need more interactions to help them become less cocky and less embarrassing to themselves.

"I suspect in the 70s or 80s the posh people would be a little more muted because they had just lived through a time when families of different backgrounds were coming nearer together. Your granddad might have had a stately home, but you have half a Notting Hill house; importantly, not a whole one. So there was less brashness at the top; but also enormous confidence at the bottom, because people were coming up."

*Social mobility and change was important in the past, but there was also more class struggle, more collective fighting for social change. This too is a factor?*

"Yes. And it was particularly effective when you had factories, like Cowley near where I grew up, and you could organise. But the big collective workplaces have gone. The working-class job is a gang of people cleaning an office at five in the morning with hardly any time to talk to anyone else. And if cleaning you're more likely female not male. All this has broken down solidarity.

"Because all these changes are slow, we accept inequality as normal and then say that it isn't that bad. The only way you can see that maybe it is bad, is when you are suddenly shaken out of normality. My favourite example is George Orwell writing about being in Barcelona during the Spanish Civil War when he found that people waiting on tables expected to be treated like equals. He wrote beautifully about it, very honestly. He realised that for his whole life he hadn't seen the inequality.

"In a very big sense the social change we have had isn't terrible. Almost everybody in Britain is better housed than their parents or grandparents were. They have got central heating, they might not turn it on, but they have got it. The things to worry about now are different. We don't need to heat our houses more than many of us who are better-off do. Often they are too hot. This is the point made in *The Spirit Level* [by Richard G Wilkinson and Kate Pickett]. We may have reached a point of material well being, and that makes greater equality more palpable and more sensible."

*I ask Dorling to explain a bit more about the particular volatilities of the current housing market.*

"House prices in London have gone up on average by £50,000 in one year. People are now taking crappy jobs in London, because they think their house going up in value is doubling their real wage. It is distorting behaviour.

## CRASH

**"I think there will be a crash in London, but it is like predicting earthquakes. You can say where earthquakes are very likely to happen but you don't know when."**

"A crash could be next month... 15 years is about as long as I can give it. But if house prices rose for another 15 years, virtually nobody could afford to buy a house. If you gave me £100 and told me I had to place a bet on one day [for the crash], I would make it the day after the general election. The government have been hanging on until then, trying to keep prices inflated."

*Would it be a crash just in London? Maybe not.*

"Help-to-buy is propping up prices in some of the poorest parts of the north, keeping price changes at zero. London on the other hand is not a big beneficiary of "help to buy". So you could have a simultaneous crash in the north, where there has been massive government intervention, and also in London at the very top of the market.

"In the 70s there were plans for such crashes. Local authorities were equipped, saved and were given money to buy property at auction and turn it into council housing.

"Now the thinking and planning is all about keeping everything going (e.g. the contingency plans for the Co-op bank if it went under).

"So the book is a warning about what a disaster would look like. You already have a disaster of people being rehoused in Stoke (when you are not from Stoke), increasing homelessness on the streets, and four families in one house each in one bedroom, but just take it forward and we will have lots of people losing their homes, kids losing their friends from school, all unnecessarily.

"It would just be desperately sad: a much bigger version of the mini crash of 1989-93. Addressing it, planning for it, deciding that you are going to prevent it beforehand, moves you towards another idea — why can't you plan for the

whole of society a bit more?"

*I ask Dorling, how we start to do something about all this?*

"We start with the young because they have not yet bought into the system. We want them to take out massive debts to buy something at a massively inflated price. They won't be able to do this until they are in their thirties. Very many 18 and 19 year olds are already going to have, a £50,000 student debt. So when they enter the housing market in about 15 years time they are already loaded with £50,000 debt. That's why I say 15 years to the crash as an outside figure..."

"Other things? Three year tenancies are a start. We ought to do much better, but you are beginning to tinker with the idea of the inalienable right to hold property."

*Perhaps there are issues which have more potential to mobilise people. I am thinking about "fair rents"...*

"That's certainly one thing. Anything which would make people think that they are not going to make a fortune out of buying property would be useful. If values collapse at the centre of London that might happen.

"Another thing is higher taxation [or effective maximum wages]. The main purpose of higher rate taxation is to deter some people from accepting a massive pay rise, to help them not be greedy. People in that situation tend to need more help. There was that case of the banker who was on £4 million who asked the chair at Lloyds for £6 million because his friend at Barclays was getting £6 million. To throw yourself into banking you probably have to like money, you have to be greedy. That man is not capable of controlling himself. He needs a helping hand.

"I'm a utopian, but we are here now. If you are being optimistic you can look what has happened at the top of the BBC, where the salaries have been halved, and accept we have had half a sea-change in Britain. But the one percent still had the biggest recorded rise in their income last year.

"There is a case for putting forward things that seem impossible like land value taxes, just because they make other things, like three year tenancies, look more reasonable. Land value taxation has just been forced on Ireland. Everybody hates it, but it is good. At the higher rate it become progressive on properties more than €1 million, so it is one of the few progressive wealth taxes. The way you get towards land value tax is by adding a few bands onto council tax. And Wales have done this with one extra band."

*All these demands are fair and good and are things to organise around, but all require laws and regulation and societal-wide reor-*

## Land tax... build for the long term

Danny Dorling's suggestions for changes in housing policy

- **Extend the current council tax bands up to band "Z" with a view to transforming the tax into a fairer national land and property tax.**
- **Enhance the existing "right-to-stay" into a "right to sell" giving mortgagors the right to become tenants rather than face eviction.**
- **Second homes, holiday homes and empty commercial property need to be included into a fairer property tax system to discourage waste.**
- **Spare bedrooms should not be taxed.**
- **An enhanced home-building programme will be needed if more people continue to come into the UK than leave.**
- **Benefits are so low they need to rise faster than wages which must rise faster than salaries, all of which must rise faster than home prices. Rents need to stay still, if not fall.**
- **Reintroduce rent controls. The already calculated Local Housing Allowances could be used to set the maximum fair rent in an area.**
- **Squatting and all other acts that are done to seek shelter should again be a civil, not a criminal offence.**
- **Illegal actions by landlords and bankers that deprive people of their home should be become criminal, rather than civil, offences.**
- **When we build, we need to build for the very long term.**

*ganising. How do we get that? What kind of government and political system do we need?*

"If the PR vote had been passed we would have had eight or nine parties in Parliament, the Labour Party split in two. We would have got a whole different kind of politics.

"At what level do you try to plan somewhere the size of London? I don't think you can just have extremely local democracy for an organic mega city. [For example, there are areas in London which are places where people are just moving through.] It's an interesting question because the world is full of mega-cities. But it is very easy for a small village or market town to be entirely democratic and local.

"Britain is likely (if it does well) to be going to have to cope with vast influx or 20 or 30 million more people over the coming decades. But I don't want Stalin sitting in City Hall with the Abercrombie Plan saying how we should do this.

"Democracy will work well when we start off with a similar amount of income and when you try not to have too large a group of people together to make decisions?"

*But to get to greater income equality we need more class struggle around wages and income?*

## REDUCE

**"We could dramatically increase wages (in real terms) by reducing our housing costs."**

"These are not paying for more building or maintenance. They are paying interest to people who lent us money and money to landlords. Reducing costs is a much quicker and a more universal way of raising wages. Rather than having one union [struggle] being successful and another not."

*But whatever way, we need to organise...*

"Our ability to organise is getting worse and worse. We've seen the implosion of the SWP. The membership of the three main parties are minimal. People are changing how they want to be organised. They don't want to go to committee meetings, we have all become a little more anarchistic.

"It may possibly be that stronger labour movements are a thing of another time, and that something else is emerging. Maybe we hold on to existing organisation but look carefully at what is emerging, to at least help it.

"If I go and do a talk about the book in a local library somewhere, the people are mainly older. People want to discuss politics but don't want to feel an obligation, to become committee secretary, etc., though there is desire for involvement. Other forms of recreation — e.g. gardening clubs — that helped to organise communally are declining. We are watching 30 hours of TV a week on average. That's a massive amount compared to the 1950s, when entertainments were more communal.

"Capitalism has generated many more things for you to do, to suck money and time out of you, but people do still organise.

"In London it's the born-again churches that are really grabbing people with a solution, a shared memory, an explanation.

"On the other hand it is unlikely people will completely waste their time, so the question is what are they doing with their useful time. It could be very badly directed, it may have no historical context..."

"One of my excuses for being a little bit anarchistic, is that I am aware of my potential fallibilities. If you put me in charge of London and let me have the power to make the master plan, you would get a disaster. I might be ever so clever but it would actually go wrong. No single human being is that capable. What we hope is that a collection of human beings working together can produce something, a unique thing, the solutions.

"We need to think of ways to engage people. And help people not think they are odd when they think something is terribly wrong with the way we are living. There are lots of ways constructive energy can be diverted.

"I am involved in the campaign to get 20 mile-an-hour speed limits. Local groups have won a hundred local authorities to the limit. It is the cheapest possible local policy you can do. The nicest thing about it is, that when people get involved they realise they can alter their environment. If you are a parent and you see these 20 mph signs you know that your child will be able to cross the road on their own at ten or nine years old, maybe eight.

**"That's realisable. It began with local action and local people."**

• Graphics and extracts from *All that is Solid* available at [www.dannydorling.org/books/allthatissolid](http://www.dannydorling.org/books/allthatissolid)



# Fran Broady, 1938-2014

By Martin Thomas

**Fran Broady, who was a leading member of our organisation in the 1970s, died on 18 May at the age of 75.**

Fran met us in 1970, when we were an opposition tendency in IS (forerunner of, but very much more open than, today's SWP). The IS/SWP expelled our tendency in December 1971, because of our campaign against its switch of line to "No to EU", from advocating European workers' unity as the answer to the EU. Fran chose our small expelled group without hesitation.

I remember a conversation with a student member of an-



**Fran (centre), with Susan Carlyle (left) and Rachel Lever (right), at a meeting in 1975 when our group merged with the former Left Faction of IS/SWP**

other left group in 1972, when we were labouring to get a circulation for our new, small, primitively-produced newspaper.

He liked the paper because it combined activist reporting with more theoretical articles, obviously (he said) by well-read writers. The article he pointed to was one by Fran ("Slaves of the slaves", *Workers' Fight* 11, 23/07/72).

"In the family, the man is the boss and the woman the worker... We have a long struggle ahead of us to establish our rights as human beings. Laws alone will never do that. We will have to do it ourselves..."

"It is not enough to confine ourselves to fighting for women's rights. We must take up our place in the working class and fight on all fronts, the economic, the political, and the ideological".

Yet Fran's formal education had been limited. She was working in a factory when she first met us; she later worked in other jobs, including for many years for Manchester City Council in a women's hostel.

I remember her telling me about her first laborious effort to read the *Communist Manifesto*. The unfamiliar word "proletarians" was in the first section heading. Fran looked it up in a dictionary: "Someone who owns nothing but their children".

She quickly educated herself in Marxism. Characteristic, also, was her first excursion to sell a socialist newspaper (*Socialist Worker*, it would have been). She sold some copies at a factory gate, but had one left as she travelled home. So she buttonholed the bus-driver and sold it to him.

She was active in the lively women's movement of the early 1970s, and part of setting up one of the first women's refuges in Britain, in Manchester in 1972.

Her leaning was to ebullient polemic rather than subtle tactics. In 1976 this made her part of a dispute inside the women's fraction of our organisation (then called I-CL), with Fran and Marian Mound regarding the others (Pat Longman, Michelle Ryan, Juliet Ash) as tending to political self-effacement in the name of movement-building, and the others regarding Fran and Marian as abstractly declamatory.

The dispute was transcended (with no dead-end aftermath) by the "transitional slogan" of a working-class-based women's movement.

Fran's domestic life was not smooth. Her husband Dave Broady, for whom I wrote an obituary in *Solidarity* just last month, was an angry, unsettled character.

Eventually Fran drifted out of activity. But her ideas, and her special admiration for Frederick Engels above other Marxist writers, didn't change. She was active in the union; read our paper; donated money from time to time.

Her last years, after retiring from work, were difficult. Her health was poor: hypothyroidism, diabetes, arthritis. Her son David died suddenly in 2012, at the age of 47. Her ex-husband Dave was jailed for manslaughter in 2008, and then died in unclear circumstances. Relations with her daughters Karen and Rachel were not easy.

In January 2014 Fran collapsed at home and was taken to hospital and diagnosed with pneumonia. At first she mended well: she was interested and pleased when I took her a copy of our new book of cartoons from the US socialist press, 1930s to 1950s. But after the pneumonia was cured, she remained weak and declined towards death.

**We send our condolences to Fran's family and friends and especially to her daughter Karen, who works with AWL in Manchester.**

• From Karen Broady: Fran's funeral will be on Friday 30 May at Manchester Crematorium (Barlow Moor Road, Manchester, M21 7GZ). 3.30pm in the new chapel. If people want to make a donation rather than send flowers, they could make a donation to the AWL.

[www.workersliberty.org/donation](http://www.workersliberty.org/donation)

## Fran on Eleanor Marx

Extracts from an article by Fran Broady on the life and work of Karl Marx's youngest daughter, Eleanor Marx.

**More notably than either of her sisters, Eleanor was to grow into a dedicated fighter for socialism. She organised and led the unskilled workers of the East End of London, and was for decades one of the foremost fighters in the British labour movement for the cause of working class socialist internationalism.**

When she was 16 she went to France. It was the time of the heroic rising of the Paris Commune, the first proletarians to seize power.

During the rising, despite the weakness of conscious socialist organisation in Paris, the Communards carried out policies of a socialist nature: they abolished rents, confiscated the means of production, abolished the standing army and state bureaucracy, and had all social affairs managed directly by workers and their elected representatives.

This period of revolution was to have a great effect on Eleanor, both politically and personally.

Refugees flooded into London from Paris to escape the slaughter there: Paris lost 120,000 of its workers at this time. But there was not much support for them.

Eleanor's political work began in earnest in 1881.

Not many people at this time in Britain had thought about independent working class politics, and there was no socialist movement to speak of, unlike in Germany and France. The ideas of socialism were kept alive in a few Working Men's Clubs. And German Social Democratic exiles were in touch with some of the old revolutionaries of the 1840s, who had kept their socialist ideas.

But after 1879 the labour movement was on the upturn; the major organisation in the revival of socialism in Britain was the Democratic Federation.

The DF was founded by Henry Hyndman in 1881. Soon after it was founded, Eleanor Marx joined.

Frederick Engels, who became Eleanor's chief political guide after her father's death in 1883, was very wary in his assessment of the SDF. He welcomed it, but was concerned that many of the people who turned towards Marxism were of bourgeois origin. They needed, Engels said, to turn themselves outwards, to implant themselves into the working class, if they were not to remain a sect.

By the 1880s a sizeable trade union movement had developed, but it was a bourgeois-minded, non-socialist movement, confined mostly to skilled workers. In the late 1880s the unskilled workers began to unionise on a large scale. For Eleanor, the touchstone was always this mass movement of the working class.

The first big clash between Eleanor and Hyndman came over internationalism. In spite of his support for some colonial struggles, Hyndman had strong nationalist tendencies (he ended up as a chauvinist during the First World War).

When Eleanor proposed sending an SDF delegation to the Roubaix Congress of the French Workers' Party, Hyndman dismissed the proposal.

In December 1884 things came to the point of a break.

The breakaway organisation, whose most prominent member was the poet and designer William Morris, was called the Socialist League. Its paper, the *Commonweal*, carried a series by Eleanor under the title "Record of the Revolutionary International Movement".

But the Socialist League never progressed very far. Its very loose internal organisation opened the doors of the organisation to all kinds of political influences. A group of anarchists entered, and it wasn't long before the SL was caught up in internal strife, and then taken over by the anarchists.

Eleanor, arguing strongly against the anarchists, was on the losing side.

More and more, she extended her activity to the broad labour movement. Her next big battle was for free speech in the East End of London.

In 1888 the Socialist League split and by 1889 it had effectively ceased to exist.

Meanwhile, the workers on strike at the Gas, Light & Coke Co in East Ham were celebrating victory.

The gas workers had tried in the past to organise themselves and failed; 1889 was the first decisive victory.

Eleanor had helped and led the strike, and was centrally involved in their new union, one of the most important of the growing unskilled workers' organisations. She drew up the founding Address and rules of the union, working closely with Will Thorne, a major leader of the union, whom she taught to read and write.

As a member of the union executive, Eleanor took special responsibility for two of its branches, which were composed entirely of women workers.

The Gas Workers' union fought for an eight hour day. Eleanor was heavily involved in strikes for this demand.

When Keir Hardie founded the Independent Labour Party in 1893 Eleanor was at the founding conference.

After the mid-1890s the political outlook became bleaker for Marxists. The long depression ended and there was a new boom for British imperialism. Reformism became well established throughout the unions and in the ILP. The Eight Hours League faded away.

Eleanor and Aveling rejoined the SDF in 1897, as did other prominent members of the SL. As revolutionaries they saw the need to be inside a socialist organisation.

**With the death of Eleanor in 1898 and that of Aveling, from septicemia, a few months later, the British labour movement lost two of its best Marxist leaders. Eleanor committed suicide. No-one knows for sure why, though her personal betrayal by Aveling is usually taken as the main precipitating cause of her death.**

• Full text [bit.ly/e-marx](http://bit.ly/e-marx)



# The Good Priest and our sins

Tim Thomas reviews *Calvary*. Warning: plot spoiler!

**We are not in Sligo although it might seem so from time to time. We are in “the world” and when “the world” is the subject we have to expect a certain lack of realism and the onset of allegory.**

Who is going to kill the Roman Catholic priest (Brendan Gleeson) is the whodunit aspect, but the sins of “the world” and their victory are the real issue; and it fills the space between, on Sunday, a promise to kill the parish priest and, a week later, the murder itself. And what a week!

Gay people in need of redemption, bankers with consciences, deeply cynical doctors high on cocaine etc. Not surprising then that the *Guardian*, who gave it five stars, called it “a puckish little tease”. We must await a more serious examination of the corruption of Irish Catholicism.

This priest (Brendan Gleeson), is a good man, good not perfect. He has not abused children, he is against war, he is empathetic — all together a fine, upstanding man albeit with a bit of a drink problem. He has a daughter. He was married and became a widower before he entered the church.

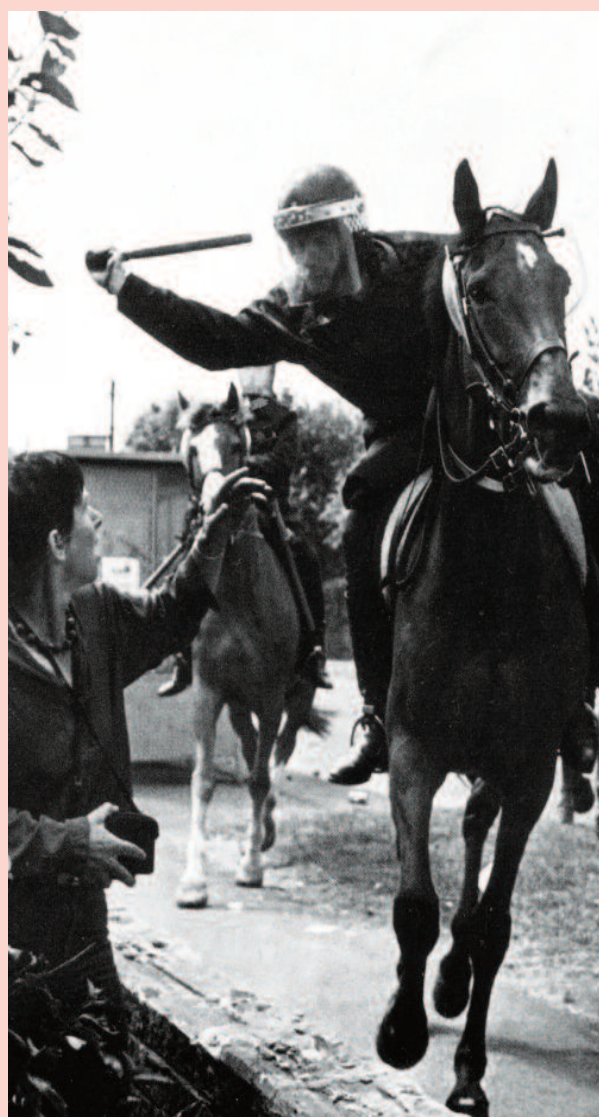
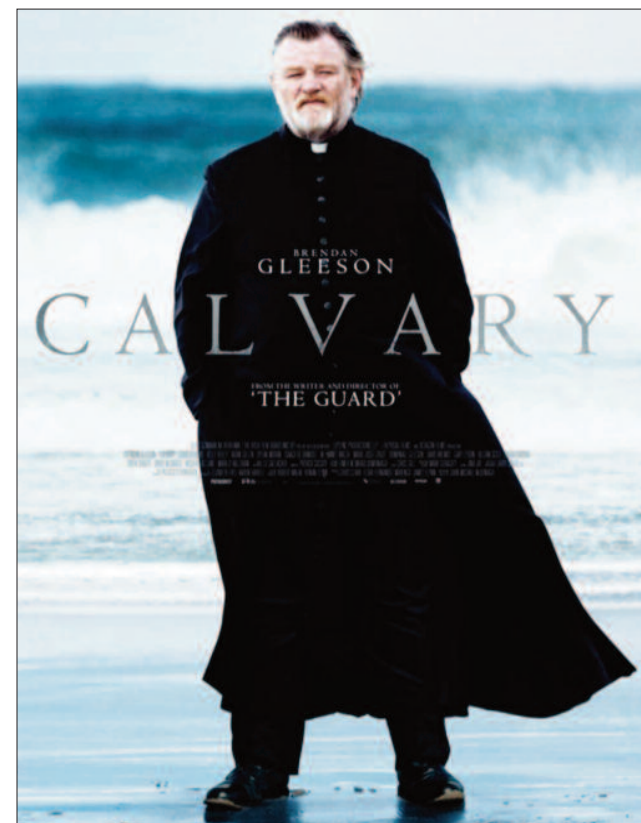
This daughter suffers from depression largely because she lost her mother to cancer and her father to his faith — an angle of the plot that does not quite ring true, but confirms in our minds that he is not blemished by always having been celibate.

Just as Jesus, a syncretic mythic figure, was insulted and spat at on his road to Calvary, so this man is derided and cursed by the people he might formerly, in the heyday of the Church’s power, have frightened into repentance. Now they sneer at him. They are angry even to the extent of burning down his church (Wednesday, I think) and killing his dog (possibly Thursday). On Sunday, he is murdered by a man who, as a child, was abused by a paedophile priest.

The film is troubling. The incidents of child sexual abuse, covered up and ignored not only in Ireland but in Britain and America too, have eaten away at Catholicism’s central place in society and, the film suggests, nothing has yet replaced it. There is a gaping hole where once it reigned supreme, and so the citizens of “Sligo” have fallen into the state of hopelessness priests once threatened them with if they did not obey the holy laws. The Good Priest must suffer for the sins of the Bad Priest.

So the message is we can forget all that stuff about the corrupting nature of hierarchies, enforced celibacy, mind-numbing hypocrisy, because provided there is one good man there is hope for all us sinners.

**Comrades of course will not fall for this line, but pause briefly before clearing away the ashes and then begin to erect something more worthwhile than corruptible blind faith and superstition.**



**Weekend tickets bought before 12 June are £32 waged, £17 low-waged/uni students, £7 unwaged/school or college students. Day tickets also available. You can book online at <http://www.workersliberty.org/ideas> •07796 690 874 - [www.workersliberty.org](http://www.workersliberty.org)**

## THEIR CLASS WAR AND OURS

**Ideas for Freedom 2014 A weekend of socialist discussion and debate hosted by Workers' Liberty 3-6 July. 5 and 6 July will take place at University of London Union, Malet Street, WC1E 7HY.**

**Across the world, capitalists are waging class war against the living standards and rights of workers and the oppressed. We will be asking: how can we effectively resist and fight back? And: how can we organise and educate to revive and strengthen our movement for the long term?**

**IFF will include lectures, debates, workshops, films and plenty of space for objections, dissent and criticism. It will open with a Thursday night Radical Walking Tour of East London and a Friday night meeting on one hundred years of women’s struggles, 1914-2014.**

**Other discussions will include:**

- **An activist from the Turkish rank-and-file workers’ movement UID-DER on working-class struggle in Turkey after the Soma mine disaster**
- **How can the unions regrow? With Lambeth Unison branch secretary Ruth Cashman, Jason Moyer-Lee of University of London IWGB and professor Gregor Gall**
- **Will there be a Labour government? What should the left demand of Labour? With John McDonnell MP, James Elliott of NUS executive and Labour Students for Free Education and Jill Mountford from the Save Lewisham Hospital Campaign.**
- **Oppression and liberation: Marxism and “intersectionality”; The politics of sex and “sexualisation”; Building international solidarity for LGBT rights**
- **Is the far right winning over Europe’s workers? With Yves Coleman of the French journal *Ni patrie ni frontières***
- **Should the left call for foreign intervention? Debate with James Bloodworth of Left Foot Forward**
- **Learning from the Miners’ Strike: the story of the strike, how the miners could have won, the strike and liberation politics (with a speaker from Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners)**
- **A history of migration and migrants’ struggles in Britain, with Vicki Morris**
- **Learning from the socialist environmental activism of 2006-10**
- **Gloom and doom: the allure of the crime thriller, with screenwriter Clive Bradley**
- **Introduction to Marxism sessions: How could a revolution happen in Britain? How can socialism end women’s oppression? How can socialism end war? Why the state serves the ruling class and not the people.**
- **Plus speakers from the Lifeworks and Ritzy Living Wage struggles, NUS International Students’ Officer-elect Shreya Paudel on defending migrants, RMT Women’s Advisory Committee chair Becky Crocker and much more...**

**Free creche and accommodation (get in touch to book) and cheap food.**

**For more info email [awl@workersliberty.org](mailto:awl@workersliberty.org) or ring 07796 690 874.**



# London university workers fight job losses

By Daniel Lemberger Cooper, Vice President, University of London Union, and IWGB member

The higher echelons of the University of London's management have announced the closure of three of Bloomsbury's intercollegiate Halls of Residence on Cartwright Gardens, with over 80 redundancies threatened, effective from 30 June 2014.

Amid delay and obfuscation, many long-serving cleaners, porters, catering and security staff have now learnt that they will have to look for new jobs. Having previously been promised that jobs would be safeguarded in event of closure, the workers have so far received no guarantees of future employment.

The catering staff believe that their employer, Aramark, is seeking to dismiss all the workers in order to reduce the terms and conditions of their contracts, and



establish zero-hour contracts across the board.

The security staff, employed by Cofely, are also being asked to apply for jobs themselves, but the only jobs available are outside London or far beyond the pay grade. The list is largely thought to be an insult, and evidence that the company is doing nothing more than jumping through legal hoops.

The University, by outsourcing, is encouraging a race to the bottom, and the number of zero hours contracts is increasing.

When I spoke to a chef at one of the affected halls of residence — who wishes to

remain anonymous — she was deeply worried about the situation, saying she has worked there for over 10 years and felt that “the university and the contractor want nothing but slaves”.

Many of these workers are in the Independent Workers' Union of Great Britain (IWGB) trade union, but neither the University nor its contractors Cofely and Aramark is dealing directly with the union. Instead, they are “consulting” with Unison. This despite the fact that a majority of the workers across the halls of residence are IWGB members.

The IWGB has been at the

forefront of the high-profile 3 Cosas campaign, which has successfully fought for improved terms and conditions for outsourced workers at the prestigious institution.

Most of the affected workers — mainly migrant women — have been key activists in the success of the 3 Cosas campaign this year, putting their jobs on the line time and again for an enrichment of their lives.

The IWGB is demanding a guarantee of no compulsory redundancies, full and meaningful consultation, the same wage levels for any workers transferred to contracts outside the University, the same terms and conditions for any transferred workers.

The union has called for a month of action, including weekly Friday protests at Senate House at 1.15 pm. Two major protests have taken place already, with the third on Friday 23 June.

**This will be combined with other protest action, working towards a series of strikes should the demands not be met.**

## Lambeth College strikers rally



By Rachel Barnes

On 17 May, around 300 activists marched from Clapham to Brixton in defence of the striking workers at Lambeth College.

The demo was called by UCU, after a judge took out an injunction on their members on April 30 preventing them from going on all out strike, following an attack on their terms and conditions. UCU members had voted 95% to

strike. On May 7, Unison members also voted 83% to strike over the same issues.

The demo was lively, and trade union branches from educational institutions across London were represented well. A small contingent of students organised by the National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts, including students from Lambeth College, was also present.

Workers from the local Ritzy cinema, Brixton, who

have their own ongoing struggle for the living wage showed their solidarity by marching and making speeches at the closing rally. Other speakers included John McDonnell and Beth Redmond, a Workers' Liberty member.

**The Lambeth College struggle is said to be one of national significance, but in order for it to win it needs the widest possible support from groups up and down the country.**

## Unite to debate Labour link

By Dale Street

Motions at the upcoming policy conference of Unite, Britain's largest union, will debate the union's relationship to the Labour Party.

There are coded “disaffiliation” motions. But real controversy may be sparked by a motion applauding those members of the Executive who voted against the Collins Review. And a motion committing Unite to encourage councillors to vote against the cuts.

Other subjects under include the proposed merger with the PCS union, policy on the EU, and policy on Israel/Palestine.

For a full preview of the submitted motions, see [bit.ly/unite-pol](http://bit.ly/unite-pol)

## GMB ballot opens way for 10 July strike

By Darren Bedford

The GMB, Britain's third largest union, will join Unison and Unite in balloting its members in local government for strikes to win a new pay deal.

Members in all three unions overwhelmingly rejected the offer of a 1% increase from local government employers, by margins of 83%, 70%, and 90% in GMB, Unison, and Unite respectively.

GMB has said it will strike alongside Unison and Unite on 10 July if the ballot returns a yes vote. Members of the National Union of Teachers (NUT) could also join the 10 July strike, as part of their ongoing dispute over pay, pensions, and workload. So could Unison members in the NHS, whose April conference voted to move to a strike ballot over their own 1% pay offer.

The conference of the Public and Commercial Services union (PCS), taking place in Brighton as *Solidarity* went to press (19-22 May), will also discuss their live ballots and possible participation in a 10 July strike. The Fire Brigades Union has an ongoing dispute which could allow it to join the strike.



Activists in GMB, Unison, and Unite will now focus on mobilising the largest possible vote for strikes, and using the ballot as an opportunity to hold workplace and local meetings to discuss how the dispute can be organised and won.

A large strike on 10 July could be an important catalyst for galvanising working-class confidence. But if the public sector pay fight is not to meet the same fate as the 2011 public sector pensions dispute, rank-and-file workers will need to develop an alternative strategy and challenge for control.

**Even a mass strike will have little impact if it is allowed to be a one-day spectacle rather than part of a sustained industrial and political campaign, involving an ongoing programme of escalating action, organised around clear demands.**



## Cinema workers strike again

By Ira Berkovic

Workers at the Ritzy cinema in south London will strike again on Wednesday 21 May, from 5pm.

The workers, who are members of BECTU, have undertaken a sustained campaign of strikes, protests, rallies, and other actions, to win the London Living Wage.

A similar campaign of BECTU members at the Curzon cinema in Soho was recently given an official award by the union at its 2014 AGM.





Protest in Istanbul. Other protests have been attacked by police using water cannon

## Soma mining massacre: the terrible cost of capitalist exploitation

By the Association of International Workers' Solidarity, Turkey (UID-DER)

On 13 May the capitalist system of exploitation took the lives of around 300 workers in a coal mine "accident" in Soma, a town in western Turkey.

This is the biggest massacre of workers in the form of a "work accident" in the history of Turkey. The technical reason for the incident is still unknown. But for some reason a fire erupted in the mine, producing carbon monoxide with the fatal effect of poisoning the miners.

What happened in Soma cannot be downplayed as a "work accident". What happened was a mass murder at a workplace perpetrated by the boss of Soma Holdings and its accomplice, i.e. the AKP government.

While greedy bosses do not take necessary work safety measures, the AKP government, which is responsible for inspecting workplaces for safety, turns a blind eye to the situation in workplaces. Just 14 days ago there was a proposal by opposition parties in parliament which demanded a parliamentary inquiry about the mines in Soma. And that proposal was rejected by the AKP.

On every occasion Erdoğan likes to declare that they are zealously working to clear all obstacles out of the way of the bosses. And now in Soma we are seeing the results.

Mines, where high level safety measures have to be taken, and where qualified workers should be employed, have been privatised and outsourced. To reduce costs bosses do not take necessary safety measures, and mines are filled with unqualified, short-term contracted and low-waged workers.

In an interview given to a daily, *Hürriyet*, Alp Gürkan, main owner of Soma Holdings, described how his company had grown, pointing out that they were extracting six million tons of coal a year. In that interview he boasted that they had reduced the cost of coal extraction from \$140 to \$24 and linked

this to "the way the private sector works." Now we are seeing once more what this kind of "achievement" costs workers.

The AKP government know there is a link between economic growth and the continuation of their rule. During AKP rule nearly 13,000 workers have lost their lives in work "accidents" and many more have been injured, maimed. These figures testify to the direct link between economic growth and "work accidents". It has to be reminded that in 19 years Turkey has still not ratified ILO agreement no 176 on "Safety and Health in Mines".

Work accidents (or rather murders at work) are one of the biggest problems for the working class. To raise awareness on this issue UID-DER had initiated a campaign with the main slogan "Work Accidents Are Not Destiny, Stop Workers Dying of Work Accidents!" And through this campaign UID-DER had reached hundreds of thousands of workers and managed to collect more than one hundred thousand signatures, submitting them to parliament.

Now there are many protests taking place across the country, which unsurprisingly face police repression. During his visit to Soma Erdoğan was demonstrated against by the people of Soma and the miners' relatives. The crowd chanted "Prime Minister resign!"

In important industrial areas many factories and mines joined a one-day strike. More than ten thousand miners in Zonguldak, a miners' town, were among the most active. There was also international workers' support extended to Soma miners. Workers in Cuba, Venezuela and Bolivia, especially miners, stopped work in solidarity.

**Unless the working class gets organised and fights, bosses and their governments will not take necessary safety measures. And this fight cannot achieve its goal without taking aim at the capitalist system of exploitation!**

• <http://en.uidder.org>

## Istanbul University occupied

By Beth Redmond

Following the Soma mining disaster around 1000 students occupied Istanbul University.

The occupation came directly out of a protest against the university's relationship with Soma Holdings, with one protester saying that "the faculty [of the university] is complicit in the deaths of the miners".

The company that runs the mine has employees sitting on an advisory board at the Istanbul Technical University, and pressure from the occupation has already forced university management to sever ties with them.

But the students are pushing for more.

They demand the resignation of Orhan Kural, a professor in mining at the university, who said the workers in the mine "died beautifully". They have said they will not leave the building until those responsible are brought to account.

Students have written the names of all the miners who were murdered on the walls of the occupation, as well as the slogan "We won't be engineers of the murderers. We will be engineers of the people".

The occupiers have been showing documentaries about problems with the mining industry and are having heated debates in the middle of a busy occupation.

**The National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts is in touch with members of the occupation.**

• [isgalinguncesi.wordpress.com](http://isgalinguncesi.wordpress.com)

