

# working people

## SELF-RELIANCE • SOCIALISM

# WHERE IS

# mark eaton

Mark Eaton, 24 years old, was sentenced at Middlesex Crown Court in March of this year to 2½ years imprisonment on a drugs charge.

Mark Eaton is black and an orphan.

25th August 1975. A friend of Mark's hears for the first time of his conviction. Wishing to visit Mark, Rosa learns that he had been sent to Pentonville prison in March.

Monday 25th was a Bank Holiday.

26th August 1975 Rosa telephones Pentonville - they "cannot help her". Friends suggest she try again, this time asking to speak with the governor. The governor says Mark was transferred in March to Wormwood Scrubs. At Wormwood Scrubs she is told that he had been transferred to Northeye (Bexhill-on-Sea). They 'believe' he "left" on August 19th.

Rosa telephones Northeye, and is told Mark 'left' in June for Norwich.

At Norwich, the Discipline Officer tells Rosa they have 'no record'.

Another call to Northeye. Mr. West of Northeye says he 'may' be at either Maidstone or Lewes.

At both Maidstone and Lewes there is 'no record'.

A friend suggests Rosa ring Middlesex Crown Court where Mark was convicted.

A call from Middlesex Crown Court tells Rosa that their last record of Mark Eaton is at Northeye Prison on August 19th, 1975.

Rosa rings Northeye - for the third time. Again Mr. West. This time he "just cannot" help her.

27th August.

Rosa rings the Home Office in Eccleston Square. They 'suggest'

'The Times' and 'The Guardian' since there is no hint of a letter from the Home Office. Both correspondents are out.

Rosa rings the Home Office and speaks to someone - a woman - on Ext. 187. The woman takes her name and address and says "I see. They will be looking into the matter".

Rosa tells PHRC, for the first time, that Mark is black.

10th September

Rosa attends the 'control units' press conference called by PHRC and CSP. 'Times' and 'Guardian' correspondents attend. The papers have found out nothing more. Two and a half weeks have passed since Rosa first rang Pentonville.

On 19th August Mark Eaton had served 5 months of his 2½ year sentence. He would not be eligible for parole until January 1976. For parole purposes he would need a parole 'address - of a relative or known friend. Without parole, which lacking such an address he would be unlikely to get, he would not be eligible for release until November 1976.

### WHERE IS MARK EATON?

she 'writes in' to the Home Office Prison Department, 89 Eccleston Square.

She did - 1st class 6 p.m. post, Fleet Street, August 27th 1975.

28th August.

Clive Borrell at the Times is contacted by the Prisoners Human Rights Committee (PHRC) on Rosa's behalf.

1st September

Rosa rings Clive Borrell. He tells her to 'hang on' until the 3rd but to 'check' with the Home Office.

She speaks to the 'supervisor' on Ext 90 who will not say whether her letter has been either received or dealt with. In any case, it is 'too early' for a reply!

Late that evening Rosa receives a call from a 'Guardian' correspondent asking for the date of Mark's conviction.

2nd September

Rosa rings Middlesex Crown Court, for the second time, who confirm that Mark was convicted in March, to Wormwood Scrubs, on a 2½ year sentence. She telephones the 'Guardian' correspondent and, as he is not available, leaves the information.

4th September

PHRC advise Rosa to ring both

CONTENTS	PAGE
Unity is Strength	2
What about the Labour Party?	3
'Control Units' Press Conference	5
Can the miners do it?	8
Scargill on Saltley	9
The Steel Situation	11

# UNITY IS STRENGTH —

## DIVISION IS WEAKNESS

The Wilson Government is setting out on a policy for increased unemployment as a means for keeping down wages, as the main weapon to force acceptance of lower living standards for about 98% of the population (the other 2% are doing very well, thank you).

This policy even wins support because people are told it is the only way to stop inflation. As no one else proposes any better way, the unemployment mongers are believed, and win popular support even in the Trade Unions, against the Left-wingers who call for resistance to the last trade unionist, and — with Mr. Clive Jenkins — see their socialist duty as being to win the highest market price for the best paid workers, and bugger the rest of you. Compared to such a policy of the spoils to the strongest, Jack Jones' maximum of £6 a week all round even appears to be a step towards social justice. No wonder Wilson and the Treasury Lords welcome Jones and are laughing at how easily the Left lets itself be defeated.

And no wonder too that the rich 2% and the whole Tory party see Wilson as the best Prime Minister they could possibly have for a very serious crisis like the present — a crisis which, if there were a socialist opposition in Britain today, would be bringing capitalist class rule to an end, and uniting all or nearly all that 98% to sack the profiteers and turn the economy over to producing for the working people by the working people under the working people, with profits and profiteering totally eliminated.

But there is no socialist opposition. No practical alternative policy to that of Wilson/Healey has been put forward. As their policy begins to break down, as it certainly will, the call will come for more brutal enforcement of law and order to keep down wages, and such a call will be supported as it was in Germany in 1933 and in Chile in 1972, because there will be no visible alternative.

Even the present struggle in Portugal has a lesson for us. The Portuguese Communist Party is being defeated because it has failed to put forward a policy to win popular support. The present policy of our own Trade Union Left, supported by and largely based on the CPGB, is fast losing support for the same reason.

Instead of uniting the working people, the policy of a wages free for all — enthusiastically supported by the Tory Right — divides the workers, divides union from union, divides skilled from unskilled, emphasises differentials, and divides the organised workers from the rest of the working people. Wilson and the Tories can laugh at the Tribunites and defy any workers who may still try to fight the wage freeze. They can now set about creating unemployment without fear. What have they to worry about?

What they have to worry about is the very deep crisis of world capitalism and the special case of British capitalism in particular. To maintain capitalism in Britain is going to be difficult. To maintain it without smashing working people's resistance is going to be impossible. So far Wilson with the help of Jones and Murray has succeeded in disorganising working class resistance. But resistance has not yet been smashed. If there is no policy put forward that can win massive popular support by being obviously practical, and if disorganisation continues, to smash working class resistance will be easy.

If the very small dominant capitalist class is to maintain itself in power — the 2% who really do well out of us whatever the state of the world economy — they will have to smash resistance because there surely will be resistance, however disorganised and hopeless it may be. The only alternative, as "Working People" has been saying since we started publication a year ago, is to change the capitalist system. Change it from capitalism to socialism, from a system to maintain the rich to a system run by the working people under their control.

If you still doubt that this is possible, then look at China. If you doubt that we the British are strong enough to do it, then you have forgotten your history.

Who invented trade unions? Who forced the Government after World War I to speed demobilisation and to bring an immediate dole for the unemployed, by a perfectly organised series of mutinies in the army camps in Northern France led by sergeants and with not a single officer, in January 1919? Who organ-

ised the first general strike to paralyse the whole national economy, a strike that continued to spread daily for nine days and failed only when abjectly betrayed by its TUC leaders — a strike inspired by those in Italy in 1920 and that in turn inspired those in France in 1936 and 1968, both national strikes that lacked only a socialist leadership to bring about complete success? The political betrayal of the strike in France by the French Communist Party in 1936 was paid for in 1940 when the French capitalist class, that had been left in power, betrayed their country to Hitler. When its class privilege is threatened, a ruling class becomes a traitor class. If British workers have not learned that lesson, they will leave themselves open to betrayal by our ever weakening capitalist class to one or other of the world's two super powers, both equally enemies of national freedom and of democratic development.

Let us restore the proper meaning of the word democracy. Democracy was invented in Greece, as the name shows, over 2,500 years ago. It has no special relation to parliament or to multiple political parties. The use of the words "people's democracy" for the police states set up by the Soviet Union after World War II has brought confusion. But we should not leave a good word to be used by capitalists, old or new, to disguise their class rule through occasional elections to decide which capitalist party shall administer the capitalist state to maintain capitalist class rule.

We are today back where we were in the 1930s. Capitalism again means and needs unemployment.

Do we still want capitalism?

\* \* \*

There are still well meaning socialists in the Labour Party and even more in the trade unions who believe that somehow somewhen it will be possible to introduce capitalism peacefully, without a struggle. What happened to Allende means nothing to them, any more than it does to the often well-meaning members of the CPGB, still hoping to be allowed to join the Trotskists in the constituency Labour Parties just when these are ceasing to have any decisive significance.

The power of the working class is in unity on the job, not for a general election ordered by a capitalist Prime Minister to make sure of retaining the capitalist system, if possible

[cont. on p. 15]

I agree with your analysis in the projected article for WP - 'Unity is Strength' - with minor modifications.

The modifications I suggest (moderating the denunciation of Wilson CSP) are needed to gain unity. The tone of your letter 'the only useful step that can be taken within the Labour Party is to split it' brands your policy as disruptive.

Contradictions exist within the LP. If a split comes it could isolate the left and leave the right in control. When a clash comes we need to see that a socialist policy is accepted and that the right is isolated. And that's some time away and needs a lot of hard work and achievement of a degree of unity in the left which is at present conspicuous by its absence. So attacks on Foot as a lap dog, on Benn and Jones and others is counter-productive and is, in my opinion, a left-wing deviation.

So, you will see, I agree with your basic analysis, but criticise your tactics. We need a new working class party and we need a program of national unity to deal with the crisis of capitalism! (our emphasis CSP). But before we get over the idea of a socialist solution in Britain, we have to deal with and patiently examine and explain the role of the Soviet Union, and the parallels in bureaucratic state machines in this country. (Electricity Boards, Gas, Post Office etc.)

Don't see no short cuts. Workers see the USSR as a police state and still consider it communist. Workers see the crass inefficiency of our nationalised industries and see it as some form of socialism. We need a grass roots army of poets, writers, songsters, actors, cartoonists to show the alternatives, in simple mass terms which will sweep the workshops and pubs, using irony and ridicule and poetic vision.

A Correspondent.

The letter from a CSP sympathiser in the Labour Party (printed above) brings up what has become a central question — what is happening in the Labour Party? What should socialists do about it?

## WHY WILSON ?

First, one must be clear that under the leadership and skilled guidance of Wilson, the bulk of the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP) supports the Government in carrying out the policy of the Tory Party. This policy is to save

the capitalist system in Britain — the capitalist system being called "our economy", as if its class basis could not be changed.

What is this class basis of our present economy? Its class basis is that it is run by the owning/governing class for their own benefit. So long as they could do well out of letting a portion of the working people get a rise in "real" wages (i.e., what can be bought with the wages) the owning/ruling class let this go on.

But now this can no longer be done. British capitalism is no longer able to go on paying good wages, it is being forced to bring real wages down. This system is in fact and not merely in phantasy on the way to bankruptcy within the world capitalist system unless it can force wages right down — as was done for instance ten years ago in Brazil or as Mussolini and Hitler did in the first inter-war period in Italy and Germany.

So the bulk of the PLP are being forced, just like the Tories, to choose — either go really democratic, which means going socialist, or save capitalism, for a time at least, by abandoning democracy and installing a more or less open capitalist dictatorship.

A capitalist dictatorship can in turn be installed either more or less suddenly and brutally — Mussolini did it over several years, Hitler in a matter of months, in Chile it was done in a single day after months of preparation that was very obvious but was ignored by a "democratic" government that preferred the risk of fascism rather than allow a popular revolution. Or it can be done little by little, as for instance the German Labour Party (the Social Democrats) did in preparing the way for Hitler (it should never be forgotten that they gave him a parliamentary vote of support after he had taken power — he only arrested them the day after they had done this).

## CREEPING FASCISM

Jenkins, the Home Secretary, not the trade union official nor the Arts Minister who share the name, clearly believes in gradualism. He waited until the day after the Birmingham bombs to introduce his Anti-terrorism Act and is introducing Control Units to prisons ever so gradually, in fact the Home Office hardly knows it is happening, it's all being done so quietly.

But that wage freeze that isn't a

wage freeze is being put through quite efficiently. So long as the unions agree to it, we remain "democratic". Of course, if there is resistance — that will be undemocratic, won't it? So it will have to be broken, and Jenkins' boys in blue will enjoy doing it.

The most terrible thing that socialists must face up to but so far have not, is this — there will be massive support for Wilson or whoever may replace him as Prime Minister to save capitalism in Britain, so long as the democratic opposition, the TU militants, the Left, do not put forward a better alternative. An allegedly different and better way to save capitalism by making it more profitable, while or by maintaining high capitalist wages, is simply a hoax. No one will be taken in by it, its supporters will be crushed. Indeed how many of them really believe that nonsense?

Socialists who quite rightly want to save the Labour movement from disintegration, must face up to this — the Wilson Government is trying to save capitalism by sacrificing the working class painlessly. That is the main difference between them and the Right-wing Tory minority. The Right-wing Tories and the National Front want to do the job brutally. The main body of the Tories and the Labour centre want to do it painlessly, or as painlessly as possible. Even Hitler had to get the co-operation of the most influential Jews to make it possible to get hundreds of thousands to go to their deaths without resistance. So long as the sheep can be got to walk to the slaughter-house, why beat them or tie them up?

## SELF-RELIANCE

But our job is to wake them up — to get them to understand that since they are not sheep, but men, their job is to refuse co-operation in their own subjugation. But to do this, it is essential to provide another outlet than the carefully disguised road to the slaughter-house, with a signpost "To Prosperity through Temporary Sacrifice".

The capitalist prosperity is over, the sacrifice is now beginning. It will go on, and it will get worse.

So, all you well meaning socialists in the Labour Party and others who prefer centrism to revolution, or who think centrism can give you a nice kind of revolution, you must, like us in CSP, face this fact, that

cont. on p. 4

what the dominant forces in the Labour Party most fear is socialism. They are lining up with the Tories to save the capitalist system that they both support, and against the possibility of a move into socialism.

So how can we not denounce Wilson? Was it not necessary in 1931 to denounce Macdonald, Snowden, Thomas? Of course we must seek to win the majority of Labour supporters. Not just that neither — we must seek to win the majority of the British people, a much more important, a decisive task, a task that the Labour Party itself has never achieved because the leadership of its Left-wing has always remained not only opportunist but also sectarian.

So far Wilson and his Cabinet have been allowed not to unite but to disintegrate the Labour Party. In doing so they have been disintegrating also the immense potential support for a national movement into socialism in this further world crisis of capitalism. And they are being allowed to do this by the failure of the Left — the failure to put forward a simple genuine and practical alternative. The Left is frightened, and so continues to leave the way open to the Right — just like Allende in Chile.

We must cease to be afraid, we must boldly denounce those who are fighting not for but against socialism from within the Labour Party. We must denounce Field Marshal Wilson and all his staff

officers as the immediate enemy, as those who are conducting the war against the people on behalf of the City millionaires — like Lord Stokes, Lord Ryder, Lord Beeching. Wilson is leading the forces of capitalism against the people. How can we fight for the people if we are afraid to tell them that Wilson, whom they distrust but do not yet see as an actual enemy, is in fact directing the battle against them?

As our correspondent says, we cannot hope to bring the Labour Party, or the Unions, quickly to abandon capitalism and take to socialism. But a start is overdue, already much overdue.

All socialists, all who want to see democracy develop and not perish in our country, must say  
**DOWN WITH WILSON!**

CSP

## away with deference!

Having accepted that Peoples China retains capitalist features, and that the Soviet Union not only contains them but is developing them at an accelerating pace, is it then merely a matter of semantics how we choose to describe the Soviet Union? The relevance lies in our understanding of Peoples China, and of the pitfalls that lie ahead of any revolution.

It is quite clear that in the years preceding the Cultural Revolution the bureaucracy in China was becoming entrenched and increasingly separated from the people. John and Elsie Collier, who spent two years in China during the era of the Red Guards, make the interesting and often overlooked point that the changed relationship which had been growing between the Party and the people "should not be seen purely as a degeneration of the revolutionary integrity of the Party cadres". It was equally a product of the traditional awe of authority which had been handed down by Chinese history. "The authority of the Emperor down to his lowest mandarin official was absolute... This means that anyone who has authority still tends to be avoided... It also means that while the Party cadre remains close enough to the people... he can call forth all the traditional capacity for co-operative effort. Once he has crossed the divide and assumed the aspect of the mandarin he is feared and shunned."

It was to awaken this sloth, to kindle the fires of communal self-reliance, that the Cultural Revolution was called into being. That it had to be called into being is the importance of the lesson, hurtful though such a view is to the libertarian section of our own 'Left' who, despite all the evidence to the contrary, still hope for the millennium through a spontaneous, simultaneous awakening of the people. They don't actually use the word 'simultaneous' but clearly an individual or scattered awakening is going to do nothing to shake the foundations of a ruling class which is never less than very awake.

The Cultural Revolution was at one and the same time a confirmation of the power of the people and of the need for revolutionary leadership. The fact that a different type of leadership or, more significantly, an absence of leadership would have set the Chinese nation firmly on the capitalist road is now plain to see. That is the difference between the capitalist road

and the socialist road: the socialist road is a tortuous one, requiring constant struggle, constant vigilance. To take the capitalist road calls for no positive action: it is sufficient to do nothing. The remnants of competitive, bourgeois human nature will do the rest, as the bureaucracy, free of all control by the people, transforms itself into a ruling elite exerting a fascist control.

That the danger was seen in precisely this form is very clear from Mao's talk to a conference of 7,000 people in January 1962, when he warned that "the dictatorship of the proletariat could be transformed into a bourgeois dictatorship, a reactionary fascist type of dictatorship. This is a question which demands the utmost vigilance."

Later, at the height of the Cultural Revolution, the need for the people themselves to exert their dictatorship is emphasised in the Party document known as 'The Sixteen Points', issued on 12th August 1966. "It is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things in their stead must not be used."

The contrast with the Soviet Union is glaring. Not for one moment can one conceive of such provocative declarations of faith in the people being made from the Kremlin. Merely to consider the possibility is to expose the Soviet Union for what it is, to tear away its veils of "communism", "workers' state" (degenerate or otherwise), and to reveal it in all its fascist nakedness.

Admittedly the Chinese situation is not satisfactory. How can anything ever be satisfactory? That is not the way of the world. But the Chinese people have been alerted to the dangers that confront them. Their eyes have been opened to the realisation that it is their responsibility, their struggle to carry the revolution forward; and they remain the hope and inspiration of the world.

In conclusion there is one important reservation to make regarding the Colliers' pertinent point about the traditional Chinese awe of authority. Doubtless it has a particular meaning in China: given the special features of Chinese history and culture it could not be otherwise. But we delude ourselves if we fail to recognise that we are all tarred with the same brush. In this country we don't call it awe, we call it (if we are aware of it at all)

GPC

# 'control units'

## press conference

On 10th September, CSP was able to announce to the press for the first time the names of the three men currently in the Wakefield prison 'control unit'.

David Anslow, Mick Shendler and Henry Dougan have been in the unit since 22nd May this year.

At a press conference, jointly called by CSP and the Prisoners Human Rights Committee, the sister and mother of David Anslow, who travelled from Birmingham to London to attend, told of their last visit to David when he got up and asked to be taken away after twenty minutes, saying he couldn't stand it any longer.

He had been in the 'control unit' for less than six weeks.

He will be there for at least six months.

Wendy, his sister, spoke of bruises on her brother's face. He said he had fallen playing football - in the 'control unit' where he is locked up in complete isolation for twenty-three hours a day!

And where the two half-hour exercise periods he's allowed are spent shuffling around a tiny steel cage - alone (during the first three months), except, of course, for the prison guards.

Hardly the scene for a rugby scrum or a football foul!

But a visit under 'guard' of two 'cooly professional prison warders' - the description is the Home Office's very own - with a third 'professional' outside the door is not exactly the best place for a private conversation - let alone the truth.

David Anslow - convicted in June 1973 of robbery and arson for which he got twelve years - is a young family man, very close to his sister and mother. And they to him. That was very obvious to anyone attending the press conference.

A violent assault on them during a visit seems unlikely!

The prison authorities, however, obviously think it unsafe to allow a private family visit.

Quite so!

The truth of the Home Office latest torture technique might come out too soon.

Just as the truth of the British Army's torture techniques in Aden and Ulster is beginning to come out.

But the Home Office will go to any lengths to suppress that truth. It has to, lest not only the violence of our police stations, prisons and army detention centres but also the lies used for so long to cover that violence explodes in its own face.

Below we print the text of a statement made at the press conference on behalf of CSP by Meg Howarth:

Last February the Home Office announced - that it had abandoned its 'control unit' policy of indefinite detention in sensory deprivation cells.

The unit at Wakefield we were told had 'been put on ice'

while the unit at the Scrubs was 'unlikely to be required in the foreseeable future' (Guardian 20/2/75).

At a press conference called at the time, Working People stated publicly that it did not believe the Home Office.

It came as no surprise, therefore, to learn in May that three more men were currently in the Wakefield unit.

It is interesting that this has been the most popular unit with the Home Office so far. In the aftermath of the Stephen Smith affair perhaps it feels that the Scrubs unit is too hot to handle for the present. (Stephen Smith was found dead in mysterious circumstances in an isolation cell at Wormwood Scrubs in August of last year. The jury unanimously rejected the official version of 'suicide'. The Home Office has refused an independent inquiry). (Working People No. 4 Nov/Dec, 1974).

In any case, it can afford to keep the Scrubs unit empty 'for the foreseeable future'. For as Working People reported at the end of June, it has a third unit ready for use at Gartree prison in Leicestershire.

Of the original three men placed in the Wakefield unit, possibly the best-known case is that of Michael Williams, who was fortunate enough in having a vigorous outside campaign

mounted on his behalf.

Not surprisingly, the prison authorities did what they could to disrupt that campaign.

Though they didn't succeed, one result is undoubtedly the absence from this press conference today of a relative of Mick Williams.

The other two men - Michael McMullen and John Masterson - were not so lucky.

John Masterson has no relatives.

This is no accident.

Just as it is no accident that

Michael Williams is a black man, an orphan and with previous convictions.

What better guinea-pigs for the Home Office's latest torture technique?

It is already clear that Home Office policy at this early stage in the development of "control unit" torture-for it is early days and there are other techniques-is the selection of men who it can be fairly confident will get little if any outside support. It can more easily carry out its experiments with the necessary secrecy.

Public opinion is at best uninformed about prison conditions and prisoners. In fact it is hostile for it feels that the man who has broken the law must be punished. And the man who has broken the law more than once deserves whatever punishment the prison authorities see fit.

And if he's a black man-well so much the better.

That today's legitimate "democratic" protest is tomorrow's illegal act is regrettably not yet widely recognised.

How much further from recognition then that what goes on inside prisons is a measuring rod of what democracy in our present society really means.

Our reforming Home Secretary dedicated to a reduction of the prison population during the lifetime of the present

cont. on p. 6

Considerable feeling is building up in prisons throughout the country at the manner in which parole and remission are being employed as inducements to prisoners—especially when this is combined with public statistics which misrepresent the true situation.

The increased numbers of very short paroles—a few months at the end of a long sentence—is very apparent to prisoners. Even those selected for hostel during their final six months have found themselves suddenly granted parole—an almost meaningless concession at that stage. Yet statistically these parole successes appear to the public as a positive reform and increased leniency. In fact not only are they of little use, but they disguise the fact that the man concerned will have been held in a cat and mouse situation for year after year since he first became eligible for parole.

The workings of the parole Board are shrouded in secrecy. One prisoner on the south coast was recently advised of the withdrawal of his twenty-two months parole. This was within weeks of his expected release, no explanation was or will be given.

A further aggravation concerns the rumours which are clearly inspired every summer to the effect that half remission is to be introduced (instead of the present one third). Every year the rumour takes the same form—that Jenkins (or Carr) is to make an announcement in a couple of months time, that the new policy only awaits a third reading in parliament(.), that it has been mentioned in such and such a newspaper (never produced, of course)

This is an obvious plant at the start of each long, hot summer, and is intended to encourage compliant behaviour. After years of promises but no action tempers are now very short indeed. The trick has outlived its usefulness. It needs to be denounced.

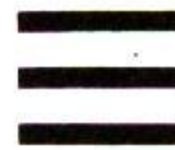
#### THE MODEL PRISONER'S CREED

I BELIEVE in the Quiet Life,  
parole and half remission  
and in my own subservient  
humility.

Jenkins is speaking next month,  
next week,  
tomorrow,  
today,  
yesterday,  
last week,  
last month;  
or was that Robert Carr?

What does it matter  
for we have Frontsheet  
fighting for our rights  
and NACRO,  
the Howard League,  
the good Lord Longford,  
the European Court of Human  
Rights,  
a communion of Saints  
in a fight everlasting,  
for ever and ever  
and ever  
and ever and ever and ever  
and  
ever.

AMEN



cont. from p. 5

administration has succeeded in filling our prisons to over-capacity as never before.

With the prison population now standing at over 40 000—at a cost of at least £70 per week per head—many prisoners are "banged-up" three to a cell—plus faeces and urine. Anyone who has ever been on the "wings" of any of our prisons knows that odour well.

And woe to the short-term prisoner at Wormwood Scrubs. His plight is worse than that of any longtermers.

The closure of four "open" prisons for lack of suitable clients—perhaps the police department has resorted to "shot-gun" retirement of its offending members with the notable exception of poor Sergeant Grant Smith—has only made an already bad situation worse.

The very stuff that prison riots are made of.

The riots of '72 at Gartree and elsewhere have been made the occasion of the introduction of the "control units".

In the midst of all this overcrowding it is curious to find Parkhurst prison half-empty. With a single cell capacity of around seven hundred the island prison has approximately 350 inmates—giving a prisoner officer ratio of more than 1 in favour of the screws.

Perhaps the Home Office expects a sudden influx of "subvertors" not of prison but of economic order. Who after all dare suggest that Wilson//Jenkins/Healey are socialists?

In the worsening economic crisis of our present system, the government will naturally resort to more and more repression, representing as it does the interests of the bosses.

More or less repression is, after all, the lifeblood of its state machinery. With things bad for it already but with much worse to come, the path to a police state is dangerously down hill.

Opposition to such a development—for there will be opposition not least from inside the prisons themselves—

cannot however be ignored.

The control units are but one stamp of recognition of such opposition by our necessarily increasingly repressive government.

After all, one of our more liberal national newspapers has been suggesting that the Brazilian road is the one we must tread if this spectre of economic chaos—inflation—is to be dealt with.

Subvertors of prison or economic order?

There is, of course, no difference in the end. For a questioning of our prison systems must lead to a questioning of our economic system whose interests it alone serves.

And a questioning of our economic system to an understanding that our entire social and political system must be changed if there is to be any future for any of us worth working for.

ARTHUR SCARGILL.

"The ruling class have created these problems, they have taken capital out of Britain, they have failed to invest and they must pay as a result of their failure to do these things. And if they are not prepared to pay, then we take over."

So at last we have a Trade Union leader of national standing who dares to say it - if the owning/ruling class can maintain its capitalist system only by means of a wage freeze and increased unemployment, then to hell with capitalism! But their crisis is thus also our crisis.

Our quotes are from a long and strong talk from Scargill in the current "New Left Review". We pay this established and prosperous journal the compliment of lifting Scargill's vivid account of what he rightly claims as a great victory in the class war - the battle of Saltley in 1972. We also suggest to the Yorkshire NUM that they re-print the whole interview not just for their own members, but for the whole British working people, who must either be brought to understand the politics of Saltley and take over, or if they fail to do so will sink into the condition of the Spanish people under Franco.

#### NO DOGMA

Scargill shows the same intelligent contempt for dogma as does Mao Tsetung (and a pity it is that he seems to be totally unacquainted with either Mao's writings or his work). He also shows the same quick understanding of the practice of war - because of course it is a war, the class war, as Scargill constantly emphasises, and it must be conducted seriously skillfully even ingeniously.

To win a war it is necessary but not sufficient to be able to win battles. A great battle was also won in 1935 at Cable Street in East London. (The Saltley battle is described in full by Scargill in our supplement) In 1935 the whole Metropolitan Police Force had been mobilised and concentrated under Cabinet orders to force a way through the East End of London for Mosley's fascists, and had to give up, as at Saltley, because the alternative would have been to use guns. But after each of these victories the campaign ultimately fizzled out, as we can see today with even the miners, and even more Scargill's own Yorkshire, voting

to support Wilson's Tory policy, to save capitalism in Britain at the expense of its working people.

#### TO WIN

So how do we set about winning the war? Scargill is rightly scathing about "revolutionaries" who can organise national campaigns and can't (tho' rather won't) win a wage fight. Scotland and S. Wales miners, dominated by the Communist Party, who in the 50's and 60's failed to fight for wages and conditions, are today the only two areas that continue to support a blind condemnation of the Wilson wage freeze. Even Yorkshire now gives traitor Wilson a small majority. Of course that majority will not last. But it is a symptom of a general loss of initiative and self-confidence in the working class since Wilson succeeded Heath in the leadership of British capitalism, in its fight to the death against its own working class. (And when we say to the death - is Allende alive?)

But it is essential that the leadership of the militant Left should understand correctly this majority verdict of the miners, reflecting that of the best paid organised workers of Britain, in support of the only policy that claims to defeat inflation. This is not just a sign of political backwardness or of lack of militancy in the working class. It is a sign from the working class that if Socialists fail to put forward a practical policy that is better than Wilson's, they will quite rightly vote for Wilson rather than for the mere absence of a practical policy on the part of the militant leadership.

So the Yorkshire NUM and its President must prepare to do some rethinking. Just as on the Common Market question the intention of most militants who were against it was doubtless a good one, a class conscious intention, but theirs was in fact a wrong policy and rightly judged to be so by the people, even in Wales and Scotland, so on this question of wages and inflation it is not enough to call for continued struggle against the wage freeze. It is necessary to put forward a better alternative for control of inflation.

#### THE REAL ISSUE

That is how the wage struggle in the present increasingly acute crisis of British and world capitalism has to be conducted

so as to win. In these conditions a wage struggle in and for any single industry cannot be won for itself. Just as in 1926, so also both at Saltley in 1972 and at the general election of February 1974, the British working people saw the miners' struggle as representing their own struggle for the whole working class and therefore supported it.

So now the task of socialists is to mobilise the whole working people behind a campaign for the wages and working conditions of us all, whether the immediate issue happens to be for the miners the engineers or anyone else. It is essential to mobilise the whole working people as was done in 1926, but as can now be done with a far wider general support than was then possible.

On the issue of inflation, we have an enormous advantage over the capitalists and their government. We alone can put forward correctly and credibly that we will not merely reduce inflation, we will altogether abolish it. The capitalists in contrast have to admit that they have no intention of abolishing inflation, that inflation is now recognised as necessary to keep capitalism going, to keep it profitable. They only seek to reduce that inflation because it has reached the stage of running away with them.

The President of the Yorkshire NUM, because of his fighting attitude, has become the hope of the most militant section of the working class, who have been let down not only by Wilson and the Labour Party leadership but also by Jack Jones, Murray and even by well-meaning Scanlon. The militant Left desperately needs someone to show them the way out and forward from the ever darkening capitalist storm. But the British people will again vote both with their votes and with their feet as they did in 1931 for a government to sustain capitalism, however harsh, if the alternative is something they neither know nor understand and that they therefore rightly suspect as being likely to bring chaos - as it did in Chile in 1973 and as it is doing in Portugal at this very time.

Lenin won in 1917 because he put before the Russian people not abstract socialism but the practical program "peace to the people, land to the peasants". In Russia after that there was some great success but socially an even greater failure. We must not follow

cont. from p. 7.

the Russian example, and on this Scargill is very clear and definite.

BE SIMPLE AND CLEAR

But on his program for the present crisis he needs to be altogether more clear and definite - on how to take over, and even more important what to take over for.

For this it is no good looking to Benn. Scargill is splendidly scathing on the diversionary rubbish that is peddled under the name of workers control - under capitalism of course. (Mr. Benn and Trotskists please note). The program to put before the British people in this crisis, that is about to be more severe than that of the 1930's, has to be both practical and definite.

The practical program of the President of the Yorkshire NUM - remember that he is unquestionably the best of our Trade Union national leaders is "to change the Labour Party . . . . . to accept Conference decisions . . . . . I believe it's in the best interest of the socialist movement to fight for a Labour Party with members affiliated from all the Left organisations, committed to a socialist program on a broad left base. This can take us so far along the road to a socialist Britain and then the Social Democratic party will have completely served its purpose. We then need a totally new socialist party."

Yes indeed, but long before then we should in fact have a strong fascist government safely installed with comrade Scargill and CSP either dead or if very lucky merely in concentration camps.

The British working people have in Arthur Scargill an exceptionally fine tactician and strategist of the class war in economic aspect, and even more important, one whose heart clearly serves the people and not just his own career. But to win the class war it is necessary to put politics in command and to do that it is necessary to treat politics as seriously as a good engineer or surgeon takes his trade. There is no room for a sneer.

WILL YORKSHIRE LEAD?

The battle of Saltley and the electoral defeat of Heath in 1974, also due to the miners, rank with the battle of Cable Street and with the extraordinary general strike of 1926 and with the Calais mutiny of 1919 and with the engineers strike in Glasgow in 1915 in the middle of World War I to bring rents down - and it did! - as great battles won by the workers. It is now time to concentrate on winning the war. Not by shirking the battles, but by utilising them for more than wages - for power.

To win working people's power in the imperialist - yes Comrade President, that is the word you appear to think irrelevant but it isn't - in the imperialist countries in Western Europe with their very advanced technology and predominantly fairly democratic form of state, is going to need a very different strategy from that required in the Third World.

But it has to be done, and to do it we certainly cannot discard or ignore the lessons of the past half century. We must study them and learn from them.

The basic reason why Wilson is so far winning, just as Macdonald did in 1931, can be summed up under two heads. First the absence of a practical alternative plan to abolish inflation. Secondly the need to achieve national unity of the whole working people on a policy which they recognise to be in their interest and therefore adopt as their own.

The battle of Saltley can then become the battle of Britain and be won like Saltley not bloodlessly, not easily - but definitely.

"Working People" has been urging such a program for over a year and will continue to do so. It would be a very great step forward if a national leader of militant trade unionists were to see the need for such a program, to campaign for it, and so to start developing the "totally new socialist party" which Scargill recognises will ultimately be needed. To leave this till after the power struggle has been decided is to be too late. It is now that the Yorkshire militants should be preparing to lead the Labour Left, to restore Trade Union militancy, to achieve a national unity of the working people as the crisis of high unemployment and increasing misery starts to break around the heads of Wilson and Healey and all their acolytes.

What about it, Yorkshire? Why not show Wales and Scotland the way? Why not again show the way to the steel workers? In 1926 the miners for nine days led a more and more united working people. The General Council of the TUC were traitors, the miners' own leadership was well meaning but incompetent (to continue the strike into absolutely inevitable defeat after the TUC betrayal, however heroic was not the way to win a war). But the concept of working people's unity was the right one, and it was, to every one's astonishment, on its way to winning. That is why it was betrayed. But the idea was correct, as was shown in France in 1968.

This time we could win and in winning set all Europe on its way forward with us.

CSP

[Cont. from p. 13] "M a k i b a k a" ("Dare to struggle" -- a quotation from Chairman Mao -- and a popular slogan of the Filipino revolutionary masses) and the initials "PKP" (Partidong Komunista ng Pilipinas -- the Communist Party of the Philippines), and "NPA" - New People's Army, the armed might of the Communist Party of the Philippines (Marxist-Leninist), comprising at present 50,000 regular men and women soldiers. Since 1968, the Filipino New People's Army, under the dashing command of Commander Dante, has won victory after victory over the puppet-troops of Ferdinand Marcos, the stooge of American and Japanese imperialism. At present, the Communist Party of the Philippines is consolidating liberated areas in the north and south, and has extended guerilla warfare to more than fifty per cent of the Philippines.

The chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, Amado Guerrero, wrote in a poem dedicated to the heroic Vietnamese people: "Command every inch of nature with genius". The Filipino artist David Medalla has conveyed this directive in his drawing. The Philippines is famous for its volcanoes, mountains, dense forests and thick tropical jungles, terrains suitable for guerilla warfare. The Philippine rivers are famous for their rapids. Of all known species of fresh- and salt-water fish in the world, over sixty per cent are found in the Philippines, which is composed of over 7,100 islands. The fish in Medalla's drawing refer to another quotation from Chairman Mao: "Guerrillas should live and move among the people like fish in the water".

David Medalla is the chairman of Artists for Democracy, a broad-front organisation of progressive international cultural workers, founded in London on 6 May 1974. Artists for Democracy organised the highly successful international Arts Festival for Chilean Resistance held last year, and more recently, at their cultural centre at 143 Whitfield Street, London, W1p 5RY (near Warren Street tube station) the highly successful arts festival celebrating the glorious victory of the Indochinese people. Artists for Democracy are currently showing films from China at their cultural centre, 143 Whitfield Street, W1, every Sunday at 7 p.m. (until the end of October), open to the public, admission free.



# saltley

[Part of an interview of Arthur Scargill, President of the Yorkshire Region NUM, with New Left Review. CSP advises readers to read the whole interview in the current NLR. Our comment is on p. 77]

*How did the strike develop on a national basis?*

The picketing had been launched in all the areas. But mobile pickets directed on targets outside the pits had been sent mostly from Yorkshire. You see, we took the view that we were in a class war. We were not playing cricket on the village green, like they did in '26. We were out to defeat Heath and Heath's policies because we were fighting a government. Anyone who thinks otherwise was living in cloud-cuckoo land. We had to declare war on them and the only way you could declare war was to attack the vulnerable points. They were the points of energy: the power stations, the coke depots, the coal depots, the points of supply.

*What was the permit system that you were operating?*

Well, the miners' union was not opposed to the distribution of coal. We were only opposed to the distribution of coal to industry because we wished to paralyse the nation's economy. It's as simple as that. We were fighting a class war and you don't fight a war with sticks and bladders. You fight a war with the weapons that are going to win it. Therefore, we said that we would allow coal to go to old-age pensioners; we would also allow coal to go to hospitals, schools, to other institutions and to the needy and infirm. For this we would create a permit docking system. We would sign a permit to all drivers to collect from the depots for a particular school or hospital. This permit system operated remarkably well and in some areas there was as much coal going out as there'd been before. The only difference was that it was going where it was needed and not to industry. That was the permit system. It was like the General Strike in 1926; we literally took over those areas which were necessary.

*What were the circumstances that produced the confrontation at Saltley?*

By the time Saltley came up everything was quiet. It was a Saturday and the telephone in the Headquarters here in Barnsley had been remarkably silent. Every point was covered and the permit system was operating. The telephone rang at four o'clock on that Saturday afternoon. It was someone from the national office: 'Can you get as many pickets as possible into Birmingham?' 'Pickets to Birmingham?' I said. 'What for?' 'There's a coke depot there,' this bloke said, 'lorries are going in, hundreds of them!' Then he put the phone down. What do you do on a Saturday afternoon? How do you get three, four-hundred pickets to Birmingham? And to go to a coke depot—ten men ought to be able to control a coke depot. Anyway, I thought, the only thing to do is to get it organized. So I put out the call and within three hours we had 200 on their way. Within five hours we had 400 men on their way down to Birmingham in coaches. By this time it was coming up to nine o'clock. I'll never know as long as I live what made me take a decision to go to Birmingham. But, I thought, it's queer, a depot in Birmingham and they need so many pickets. There's something unusual. So I took some colleagues into the branch official's room and I said I'm going to leave here, I'm off to Birmingham.

I drove through the night and I arrived in Birmingham at three o'clock in the morning. I came to a place called Nechell's Green, purely by accident, and I ran into a great compound. It was like the Nuremberg rallies. I'd never seen so many police in my life, hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of police, at three o'clock in the morning, in coaches. So I said to one of them: 'Excuse me, can you tell me where the centre of Birmingham is please?' I couldn't ask for the coke depot: I didn't even know it's name! He replied: 'Sorry, sir, I'm a stranger here!' I've enough savvy to understand that there was something very fishy here. So I went into the centre of Birmingham and found our lads who were in the Communist Party HQ—they'd been put up there for the night with an old friend of mine called Frank Woddie who's the District Organizer of the Communist Party in Birmingham. I was then briefed on this coke depot. We were told that we would have to be down there for six o'clock in the morning because the rules, the bye-laws of the city, said that the coke depot opened at six in the morning and closed at six at night. So we duly went to our coaches and went down to this coke depot on the Sunday. I have never even seen anything like it in my life. It was like the most gigantic stack of any colliery that I'd ever seen. It was estimated that there were a million tons; it was like a mountain. This was no coke depot in the accepted sense. It was an Eldorado of coke. There were a thousand lorries a day going in and you can imagine the reaction of our boys, fresh from the successes in East Anglia, fresh from the successes in Yorkshire. Battles raged outside that coke depot and at ten o'clock they closed it. This isn't generally known but we closed the depot on the first day. The police said: 'No more, we're not having any more of this.' We'd had three pickets knocked down, pickets arrested, clashes with the police. We met the Chief Constable, Deputy Chief Constable, Superintendents, in the central Headquarters of the Police Station and they said that they had to explain to the union leadership that the lorries would have to go in tomorrow. And we said, 'we'd better explain to you that we'll do our best to keep them out.' They said to us, that we could only have twelve people on the picket line and we said, 'No, we're having all the pickets that we've got and more besides.' So it was obvious that there was a confrontation in the air. On the Monday we went down to

the picket line and battled for a solid day. We managed to cut the flow down on the first Monday from about a thousand lorries a day to about ninety.

*The police were using rough tactics to defeat this picket?*

If I tell you we had 180 arrested, it gives you some idea. I was black and blue. They were punching with their heels into the crowd, they were hitting with elbows. They were in the crowds with plain clothes on—a copy of *The Morning Star* in one pocket and *The Workers' Press* in the other, shouting: 'Shove the Bastards!' and as soon as you did you were arrested. They had telescopic lenses on top of the buildings, filming the incidents all the time, they had police officers changing their uniforms each day with different numbers on them so you couldn't identify them. No question about this, it's quite true. I saw this myself, so it's not hearsay. In spite of assurances from the police that there would be no violence, they were really putting in the boot. The lads who were embarrassed on that picket line were in two parts: the ones who were local Birmingham police didn't like what was happening at all. That's a fact. But we had an even more embarrassed set of police officers—the ones who had originated from Yorkshire and who had previously been miners. They were really upset. They said: 'Look we don't mind fighting troublemakers in football crowds or hooligans on the streets; but we're not happy about dishing it out to boys we've worked alongside with in the most appalling conditions underground.' There were a handful of them. They certainly didn't do a lot to implement their own police instructions; but the boys who were brought in, the heavy brigade, they really did so there. These blokes in white steel helmets who came were supposedly motorcyclists, but without actual motorcycles and with heavy jackboots on. They were marching them down, seventy at a time, and they were changing them every hour. Seventy marching down like stormtroopers, you could see them on both sides. Then they started to bring them down every half-hour to intimidate. I yelled through my megaphone: 'We've got them on the run, lads, they can only last half an hour now instead of an hour.' The police told me that if I didn't shut up they'd arrest me for incitement. I said: 'Well go ahead, arrest me, it's entirely up to you. I'm just telling the boys what I think.' Some of the treatment that was dished out was absolutely appalling. They had one lad fifteen years of age from Wooley colliery, fifteen years of age, just like a schoolkid—the police dragged him and one of them hit him, smash in the face. The kid's nose burst open. I ran across and they threw me back. I shouted to the tv cameras: 'This is the sort of brutality they're displaying, why don't you film this? They won't even let me see him.' Well, of course, they knew that this had been said so they changed their tune. 'Why don't you come and look at him.' So they took me to this van and the kid was there, his face streaming with blood. 'He looks all right, doesn't he?' I said: 'He looks a right bloody mess. Let the cameras come and film him.' And one of them said, 'Well, he shouldn't be here,' closed the doors and away they went. This sort of thing went on all week. On the second day, the Tuesday, the battle really got rough. By the end of Tuesday the boys were black and blue. I was battered. I had one terrifying experience: one of the drivers produced a bottle of acid and I couldn't get back to the picket line. I couldn't shift. If he'd used this acid about six of us would have got it. And I said to the police: 'What are you going to do about this?' But nothing was done. The police weren't interested in the drivers' offensive weapons and iron bars; all they were interested in were the pickets. There were lorries going through with no tread on the tyres and we kept pointing out that these lorries should not be on the road according to the rules of the Traffic Act. They weren't interested and they told us that they had been told to ignore all these defects. No lights on, brakes with defects, but they were not interested. Anyway I'm sure that some of the lads made sure that some of the brakes were not quite as effective as they should have been.

But you've got to understand that our boys had been going five weeks now in the strike. A lot of them were tired and we still had a right-wing leadership in Yorkshire that refused to send us reinforcements, I think mainly because I was down there; but they would not send us reinforcements. We'd lost about a hundred people into gaol by this time, at least fifty cases in hospital, broken teeth, broken glasses, cut heads. So the lads were getting very tired and it was obvious to me that we could not carry on throughout the week at this rate. So what do we do? This was the most amazing picket line I'd ever seen—we had 3,000 pickets on that line, 3,000 and an equal number of police. And we were not able to stop them. We'd cut the lorry flow down by Tuesday to forty or fifty but we were still not able to contain them and obviously without containing it we could never achieve a complete success. A number of people were involved with direct negotiations in Parliament—Leslie Huckfield, Doris Fisher, Dennis Howell, from the Birmingham area, were all engaged in informal negotiations with the Government to try and get something done. Through Howell in the Labour Party Headquarters in Birmingham we were in touch with Maudling on Tuesday, and Maudling said that under no circumstances would those gates be closed and if necessary troops would be used to ensure that those gates would be kept open. Yet even Jenkins protested about the brutality that was taking place at Saltley and said that the gates, in the interests of public safety, should be closed. In spite of pleas from moderates in the movement, Maudling and his colleagues were not prepared to concede. So it was obvious to a number of us that something different would have to happen. The picket line didn't close Saltley, what happened was the working class closed Saltley.

cont. overleaf

The question was how, if we couldn't get recruits from our own areas, how could we stop those lorries? Meetings were arranged, mainly due to the offices of Frank Woddis and a bloke called Harper who was president of the AUEW. I met the District Committee, a special extended District Committee in the AEU building on the Tuesday night, and I spoke to them for forty minutes. I told them if they wanted to give us a quid to ease their conscience, then stuff it, we didn't want it. We wanted physical support, we wanted strike action. To their eternal credit they took a decision to come out on strike. I'd been warned about a fellow who was regarded as a moderate on this District Committee. I was told to watch this fellow, a tall bloke, going thin on top. If he came into the discussion he would be against action. This bloke was first in the discussion: 'Brother,' he said, 'I want to ask you a question.' I thought, here it comes, 'What time do you want us out on strike?' I was staggered, I'd been warned about this guy but what the people warning me didn't understand was that his four brothers were miners. They didn't calculate that one and this is a bond that no one could possibly underestimate. Later on that Tuesday night I also met the Transport and General Workers people, Alan Law and Nicky Bridge who was the President, and they decided that they would use every available man to assist us on strike action and the AUEW had decided that they would have strike action on the Thursday at my request. The r&g agreed to do the same although they could only guarantee us 100 per cent support on the Monday, because of the drivers being all over Britain. I then met the General & Municipal Workers blokes and they agreed to do whatever they could to get the members out on unofficial strike because the union leadership would never agree to official strike action, although their officials in that area would do whatever they could. We went to the ERU, after that, and they agreed to do the same, particularly because of the previous decisions which were now having a snowballing effect. The Trades Council issued a statement supporting the strike of Birmingham workers and put an advert in the paper which was published in the *Birmingham Post*, calling for strike action to support the miners at Saltley and asking for everyone who could to go down to Saltley gate. I met the Labour Party, the Communist Party and the Vehicle Builders Union, which at that time were not part of the r&g as they now are, and the Vehicle Builders again decided that they would support us. So it was a question of battling through Wednesday and seeing what could happen on Thursday.

On Wednesday, it was a struggle all day. Most of the leadership of the strike in Birmingham were getting no more than two hours a night sleep. We were getting home at one, two o'clock in the morning and getting up at four. We were stationed all over Birmingham in houses and the people of Birmingham were absolutely fantastic. The lads were really overcome with the tremendous friendship that was displayed. The solidarity of the working class was never more evident. On that Thursday it produced the greatest day in my life. I don't think anybody could adequately report it. I'll certainly try, but how do you describe the indescribable?

The lorries which had been arriving, which as I'd said before were now down to about forty or fifty, stopped coming that morning. For what reason we didn't know, but there were no lorries. The time was about ten o'clock and there was a hush over the Saltley area. 3,000 miners altogether, Welsh miners singing, Yorkshire miners, Nottinghamshire miners, Midlands miners. And yet nothing happened. You could see on the faces of the police apprehension. Here we had a situation where miners were tired, physically and mentally desperately weary. They had gone through nearly six weeks' strike action, they had gone through a three months' overtime ban, they had gone through the worst battling encountered in strike action in any time in recent years. Their comrades had been arrested, one of them had been kicked to bits and yet they were still battling on. I readily concede that some of the lads were feeling the effects and were a bit dispirited that no reinforcements were coming. And then over this hill came a banner and I've never seen in my life as many people following a banner. As far as the eye could see it was just a mass of people marching towards Saltley. There was a huge roar and from the other side of the hill they were coming the other way.

And our lads were just jumping up in the air with emotion—a fantastic situation. I heard the police talking—Sir Derek Capper was one, Donaldson his deputy—the tactic was simple: get the pickets coming from the east to go through to the west and get the pickets from the west—the striking engineers—to go through to the east. East to west, west to east, past each other. I got this megaphone and I'm yelling like hell: 'When you get to the picket line, Stop! Stop!' They were trying to tell me to shut up and I said: 'You try today, no bloody shutting up today. These boys are coming to our picket line.' And they were piling up like sandwich cake, as far as the eye could see they were just pouring in. Saltley, the area of Saltley, was now just a mass of human beings, arriving from all over, with banners. The only time this crowd opened was when a delegation of girls from a women's factory came along all dressed in bright white dresses. They plunged through and one of the lads shouts: 'Go on officer, tell them they can't come. Try and hold them.' And no police officer moved, you know. Who'd have dared to try and stop those girls coming into that square? Nobody. The crowd was absolutely dense by this time. We were in the centre of it and everybody was chanting something different; some were chanting 'Heath Out', 'Tories Out', 'Support the Miners', 'General Strike', a hundred slogans were being chanted. I got hold of the megaphone and I started to chant through it: 'Close the Gates! Close the Gates!' and it was taken up, just like a football crowd. It was booming through Saltley: 'Close the Gates'. It reverberated right across this hollow and each time they shouted this slogan they moved and the police, who were four deep, couldn't help it, they were getting moved in. And Capper, the Chief Constable of Birmingham, took a swift decision. He said 'Close the Gates' and they swung them to. Hats were in the air, you've never seen anything like it in your life. Absolute delirium on the part of the people who were there. Because the Birmingham working class had become involved—not as observers but as participants/

Maudling, who said that the gates wouldn't close, suddenly found that they were bloody closed and locked. The Chief Constable said: 'That's it, I'm not risking any more here, those gates stay closed.' He then turned to me—this is absolutely factual—and said: 'Will you please do us a favour? Will you please disperse the crowd?' And I said on two conditions: firstly that I can make a speech to the crowd. He said, 'Agreed.' And secondly that I can use your equipment, because mine's knackered. He said: 'Agreed.' Then I spoke from the urinal in Birmingham, with this police equipment. I gave a political speech to that mass of people and told them that it was the greatest victory of the working class, certainly in my lifetime. The lads who were there were overcome with emotion, emotion in the best possible way. Here had been displayed all that's good in the working-class movement. Here had been displayed what for years had been on a banner but had never been transferred from the banner into reality. You know the words: 'Unity is Strength', 'Workers of the World Unite', 'Man to Man Brother Be'. They're big words. Sometimes they'd been ridiculed. Through all that ridicule, all that sneering, they survived. Here was the living proof that the working class had only to flex its muscles and it could bring governments, employers, society to a total standstill. I know the fear of Birmingham on the part of the ruling class. The fear was that what happened in Birmingham could happen in every city in Britain. Had that occurred in every city in Britain—and what happened later in Sheffield showed that it could—that would have produced a whole new concept in what was after all a wage battle as far as the miners were concerned. I reckon when the ins and outs are written about Saltley, the telephone-calls, the intrigues, the manoeuvres on the part of the right, the plans of the Tories, the decisions taken in Birmingham, it will make a most remarkable book.

Incidentally, the way we bedded our people in Birmingham was a tribute to the Birmingham people. We used the Transport and General building as a clearing house and the lads slept on the floor. They couldn't sleep on the floor with nothing so the lads went to the Council and got 4,000 blankets. We got 200 sleeping bags from the Co-op at cost price. We got food and assistance. A system developed whereby all those who had slept on the floor that particular night were moved into accommodation in Birmingham—families were coming and asking if they could put a miner up. Each night r&g Headquarters was full of newcomers, being channelled out to families in Birmingham. Many, many people were involved.

#### *How was the march itself organized?*

All that happened was we told them what we wanted. We went to speak to them in their factories as well. We sent out members of our strike committee into the factories. But we told them we didn't just want them to stop work. That would have been insufficient. We didn't want them simply to demonstrate. That wouldn't have been sufficient. We wanted them to come out on strike and come to that picket line, to produce a situation where it was physically impossible for a lorry to go through. We wanted those gates to close and the response was unforgettable. People who had seen what was happening in Birmingham, because they lived there, had reached the stage where they were no longer prepared to tolerate a situation where working-class members, their fellow workers, were being battered by police and they could do nothing about it. When people tell me that there's indifference in the working class, I point to the example of Saltley. They're not indifferent and given leadership, they'll respond—the AUEW will tell you, they were staggered. They expected a few hundred out, not twenty odd thousand. Incidentally, this happened at ten o'clock and at twelve o'clock they were still coming in from Rovers. So god knows how many people actually came in behind any one banner. There were hundreds and sometimes thousands of people: Tractors and Transmissions, Rover Plants, Morrisons. All the plants were coming in. The r&g boys were marching in, all the District Committees, offices from the local factories had brought their members out as well. The Vehicle Builders had brought their members out. It transformed the whole situation. This proved to be the decisive turning point of the strike, because this is where the Government sought to take a stand. Had they defeated the miners at Saltley, I myself am absolutely convinced that the Tories would have tried to defy the miners' union and defy the trade-union movement—even if it meant the use of troops. But they were scared out of their skins by what took place at Saltley. They could have produced as many troops as they wanted at Saltley and they would have been useless. The mass of the working class and trade-union movement decided: this shall be so. In the face of that you cannot have it any other way. To their eternal credit the Birmingham working class responded magnificently. All I can say is that I was privileged to be there.

*This was the first major defeat for the Heath Government and it set the scene for its defeat later in the same year on the Industrial Relations Act and on the imprisonment of the dockers. Did the miners have any direct relationship to those struggles against the Industrial Relations Act?*

Oh yes. You can't separate this from the experience of Saltley because it was so intertwined, beyond belief. We had more people arrested at Saltley, for example, than in the rest of the strike put together. I was the only official of the NUM arrested and subsequently convicted. It was incredible. I was taken to court for picketing and for organizing picketing. But the situation was that later on we were able to use the experience of the strike, when the dockers were put in prison. Yorkshire miners went on strike. We didn't have to ask them, they were out! This is what political education had done for them. They had become aware. They didn't need to be convinced by the leadership of the NUM. They knew instinctively that the dockers in prison should be out, just as they equally know that the Shrewsbury Two should be free now and if someone from the unions concerned would pull their finger out and give the call, the miners would be out on strike tomorrow. If it had been a miner who had been put in prison, we would have been out. There's no question about this. I can tell you quite clearly that any miner who is put in prison under any of these Acts, he can stay in prison—but there'll be no coal produced in this country until he's out. That's where we stand.

# the steel situation

The British steel workers are again fighting a brave rearguard action to save their earnings and jobs. Unfortunately it is not likely to be successful as their own unions agreed earlier this year to a rundown of the steel industry. Of course, if they accept a continuing capitalist framework, state or otherwise, the unions are correct in advising their members that they, the workers, will have to suffer.

At no time has the union leadership rejected Sir Monty Finniston's proposals on the need to maintain profitability in a declining capitalist market and that this is to be achieved by cutting the workforce and modernising the steel plants. At no time have they challenged his statement that BSC had to be competitive internationally and that he had to match Japanese efficiency by 1980. No mention from either side of utilising our already adequate, but idle, steel producing capacity to produce the steel we need. The workers at Shelton Bar, who have just called off a threatened sit-in to allow BSC and the TUC steel committee to discuss further economies, sought by the loss-making BSC, are among the hardest hit and their plant is only operating at one third of its normal capacity. They are only producing steel one week in two but are kept on in employment to do general work. On top of a drop of £30 a week they are now expected to lose a further £10-£12 as a result of not working the Sunday shift.

It was the Shelton Bar workers who carried out a campaign to save their steel works but, one must remind them, they did so on BSC's terms. They carried out, on the basis of figures very kindly donated by our most straightforward capitalist Sir Monty Finniston, and in a manner for which he had nothing but praise, a calculation to show that Shelton Bar was viable **O N C A P I T A L I S T T E R M S.** It is no good them expecting Benn to come to their rescue, although they might be forgiven for thinking that he has access to a source of capital that doesn't have leeches attached, that doesn't somehow demand profits at all costs. Remember the last time that Benn stood up to Finniston, breathing fire but doing nothing?

This dispute at Llanwern over manning Britain's biggest and most modern blast furnace has at last brought out the union in a fighting pose. But on what grounds are they going to fight? The same old wage battle is to be fought, not for the benefit of all the steel workers (although undoubtedly other blastfurnacemen will benefit) but for the benefit of the lucky few (50,000 men instead of 220,000 men) who will still be allowed to work if Finniston's plans go through.

**A N D G O T H R O U G H T H E Y W I L L .** The union has still not challenged him and has no intention of challenging the underlying philosophy of profitability at any cost, at the cost of their own men. Never mind if the steel that industry needs isn't produced, just balance the capitalist books. On this occasion BSC have overplayed their hand by trying to blackmail the workers into running the furnace before terms were agreed, by starting up the furnace and threatening to sack the eight blastfurnacemen involved if they don't continue the operations needed to bring the furnace into full-scale production. The new furnace can handle 5,000 tons of steel a day as compared with the older furnaces which handle 2,500 tons a day. The unions would like to continue the old productivity agreement that would ensure the workers still employed about £140 a week.

## THE ECONOMY

The reason that BSC want a brand new giant at a time of economic recession and a 10,000 tonner in the pipeline for Redcar, is not to provide work or wages for the workers or steel to help the balance of payments, but to maintain their profitability. Finniston himself has told us. The unions, having already conceded the point earlier this year, should now come clean and tell their members that the logical consequence, when less steel production is aimed at, is that they cannot have the wages their increased productivity appears to entitle them to. We do not of course think that the union leadership will draw the workers attention to the consequences of accepting the capitalist framework. So steel workers will find themselves without work, although a "famous victory" will no doubt be claimed when a handful gets the benefits of the

threatened national strike. The country will find itself with a rundown steel industry, an industry that is vital if we are to start rebuilding British industry. And we do need to rebuild British industry.

## EBBW VALE.

If further lessons in capitalist economics are needed we need only look at the antics of another ex-socialist, Michael Foot. As Employment Secretary he has welcomed an American-owned pipe mill to his own constituency of Ebbw Vale. At the same time 4,500 steelworkers are being made redundant there by BSC. We call on Mr. Foot to explain to the workers, if he has the honesty, why it is that BSC are not able to invest £3,500,000 and make a profit but a foreign firm can. We should also remember that American firms can and do pull out regardless of the social cost.

He should of course consult his colleague Mr. Benn who appears to think that if the Government take over the banks and insurance firms, capital in plenty will be available. If it were there, waiting for Benn, in shining armour, to ride up and release it amid general rejoicing, it would be available now given the necessary profitability (essential still in Mr. Benn's plan). The truth is that we are in a capitalist recession and no-one is hiding capital under his mattress. Benn's plans are a sure fire recipe for worse inflation which, of course, is why he now is prepared to forget inflation and try to score by denouncing unemployment.

## IF WE ACCEPT INFLATION AT ALL WE ARE ACCEPTING CAPITALISM.

If we want to rebuild our industry we must do it ourselves by changing the system. The workers must be in political command instead of capital and its profits. We can produce what we need and generate funds for reinvestment ourselves. We don't need the profiteers and we don't need inflation either.

It is now the agreed way to run a capitalist economy. The whole of the western world only talks about reducing inflation never stopping it completely. Time is running out. The only answer is for workers to take political power.

The article below describes the personal experience of the writer, who visited a machine-tools factory in Kwangchow (known in the West as "Canton") in the spring of this year. As the writer can speak Chinese fluently, the incident took place as a direct exchange between the personnel concerned, without recourse to an interpreter. At the time of the visit, the Chinese people were (and still are) engaged in a vigorous campaign to study the theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, consolidate the political power of the workers and peasants, and prevent the emergence of "new bosses".

On being taken around the various parts of the factory, it became quite apparent that my middle-class education and way of life equips me very poorly to properly understand and appreciate the complexities of the various processes involved in the manufacture of machine tools. One cannot help but admire and respect the knowledge and enthusiasm that the Chinese workers display towards their work, and their keenness to explain it to people as ignorant as myself. They also displayed considerable patience in the face of questions which revealed this ignorance. However, to my eyes, one machine tools factory is very much like another, so I decided to find out exactly how such a factory in China is different from one in Britain.

#### WOMEN

The first thing that strikes the casual visitor is the presence of a large number of women workers. These women were completely at home with the machinery that they were handling, and they were engaged in the same sort of work (and often working with) their male comrades. They seemed also to be relaxed and related with the men on a basis of complete equality and respect for each other. There were no signs that they were conscious of the fact that they were women — a refreshing change from the West where so much behaviour is determined by one's sex.

Another feature of the factory which was explained to me is the complete integrity of the processes. The machine-tool factory made its own spare parts (so that production need not stop when parts are faulty but can be continued with very little "bottleneck" effects), and many innovations were suggested and designed by the workers themselves. There was also very little wastage and virtually no pollution. It is true that the factory was not very clean with grease patches in places, but this is not very different from conditions in the West!

#### RELAXATION

Something that soon becomes appar-

ent is the atmosphere of relaxation in the factory. The workers did not seem to be pushed in their work, and appear to be taking things in an easy manner. This does not mean, however, that they were slack in their work. This would be made clearer in the description of a conversation with these workers later in the article.

I stopped by one worker who was engaged in cleaning some lathes, and asked him if they had any kind of supervisor or foreman in the factory. "Of course not", came the prompt reply, "we workers are in charge in this factory. We rely on our own self-discipline and political consciousness to ensure that we all contribute to the best of our abilities." I would have left it at that, but it was quite obvious that he wanted to continue the conversation. He asked, somewhat shyly at first, how was it that I could speak with such fluency the local dialect (Cantonese, which is very different from putonghua, the standard Chinese spoken throughout the country). I replied that I had stayed in Hong Kong for quite a long time in my younger days. Whereupon he asked me if I cared for a cup of tea and if I would like to meet some of his workmates. Naturally I was very pleased at the opportunity to speak to them, and he took me behind some very large machines, where four of his comrades (three men and one woman) were having tea. While he was pouring out a cup for me, I remarked that in England, he would not have been permitted to stop work in this manner to entertain a visitor. "This is socialism", he replied, "and you are a friend and guest of the Chinese people. We workers are the ruling class in China, and we can certainly stop work to speak to people like yourselves. Of course, we have our responsibilities, and we cannot stop if we are involved in some important process where attention and concentration is important, but what I was doing just now can wait. What is far more important is to have an exchange with friends and foreign comrades about lives in our two countries. Besides, we have discovered that if we stop occasionally to have a break with tea, we work much better. The work is not boring, but we have better concentration when we have had a break".

#### THE SOVIET PEOPLE

In the course of the conversation, I mentioned that I had lived in the Soviet Union before, and had visited factories there. They showed great

interest in the conditions of workers in the Soviet Union, and asked me some questions. Among the things I spoke of, I mentioned how Russian workers were reluctant to engage in conversations with foreigners, especially those who can speak Russian. They looked concerned at this, and one of them said that it certainly confirmed his belief that Russian workers are oppressed. "How can they be reluctant to speak to foreign friends?", he wanted to know. "Socialism must have an international basis, and better relations are built through mutual understanding and exchange. When foreigners come we are eager to speak to them about their work and introduce them to ours." We discussed further the relations between their country and the Soviet Union, and they told me how they regarded it as a great tragedy for socialism and mankind in general that the Soviet Union is in the hands of a new ruling class; but they were optimistic that Soviet workers and the Soviet people "who remain in the great tradition of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party", will one day regain power. They requested that if I was ever to go to a Russian factory again, to convey their warmest fraternal wishes to their fellow Russian workers; this was quite obvious to show that whatever the differences between the two governments, the Chinese people still cherished fraternal feelings for their Russian counterparts.

#### BACK TO WORK

Terminating the conversation, the first worker told me how grateful he and his comrades were for the opportunity of discussion with me. They explained that they had to prepare the machines and parts for the next shift that was due in about twenty minutes. No sooner was this said than they were away, packing and cleaning with great enthusiasm. I was very much moved by the experience, and had a much better understanding of the conditions in China, under socialism.

cont. from p.4

deference. But it is the same virus, the same stumbling block to the transformation of society, and until we shake it out of our systems and recognise that we are not sheep but men and women with minds of our own, and with the power to act if we only so will it — until we have sorted this out in our minds we are deserving of all the misfortunes that come our way. ● ●



Bangon, kasama,  
 Kababayan! magkaisa!  
 Makibaka! Durugin ang  
 mga tuta ng  
 imperialismong Kano at  
 Hapon! Tayo ay  
 magtatagumpay!  
 Mabuhay lang  
 Rebolusyong  
 Pilipino!  
 Mabuhay  
 ang  
 Digmaang  
 Bayan!

Philippine Liberation Fighters in a banca on a river medalla 1975

Ink Drawing by David Medalla, chairman of the International Committee for Freedom in the Philippines - Philippine Solidarity Campaign.

The inscription on the rock is in Tagalog-Pilipino, and reads (in translation): "Arise, comrades, compatriots! Dare to struggle! Smash the puppets of American and

Japanese imperialism! We shall win! Victory to the Philippine Revolution! Long live People's War!"

The banca is a wooden boat

carved out a single tree trunk and is a popular riverine and maritime transport in the Philippines. Written on the banca are the word

[cont. on p. 8]

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## jottings

Where would you expect to find children being escorted to school under armed guard? And having their bodies scanned by metal detectors - the kind now used daily at airports - for guns?

Belfast?

Boston and Louisville (Kentucky) are just two of the many ghetto cities in the US where children are being 'bussed' to school. Blacks to all-white schools; whites to all-black schools.

That the kids - particularly the black kids - are unlikely to get beyond the rows of black-jacketed 'national guardsmen' who line the streets, bayonets at the ready, is obvious to anyone - except, of course, the 'integrationists'.

The name of this dangerous game? 'Racial balance' - equal numbers of black and white children inside the classroom.

Classroom 'separatism' is itself the product of centuries of white racism. Classroom 'integration', the crypto-racism of white liberals who refuse to see that there is no 'white' solution to the 'black' problem.

There are lessons for us here, particularly in view of the current attempts to strengthen the law on 'racial discrimination' - a strengthening of the law which will have exactly the opposite effect to that which is allegedly intended.

By making black people go through the courts - at their own expense - the new Jenkins' 'race relations commission' is aiding and abetting racism. It must be denounced.

There is no 'black' problem. The problem is in our own imperialist society. More particularly, in our own attitudes.

Capitalism - now imperialist capitalism - cannot exist without racism - which alone serves the interests of the ruling class by keeping working people divided against each other. No amount of 'buses' or new-fangled 'race relations commissions' can get rid of imperialism. How then can they be expected to get rid of racism? Much less, change our attitudes. For, finally, racism will not disappear until our racist attitudes disappear.

The situation in Ireland continues to be an appalling muddle. But surely one thing is clear - the question of Ireland must be dealt with by the Irish. The one thing that Englishmen and Scotsmen can usefully do is to clear out and stop interfering. The forces of northern Irish capital, that wave the flag of protestantism against the catholicism of southern Irish capital, have reached the stage of having to break with Westminster - much to the distress of Mr Powell, that loyal royalist Parliamentarian. The one thing we in Britain can and should do is to agitate for TROOPS OUT - BRING THE ARMY HOME. Such a campaign can unite millions here and unite them with the whole Irish people whatever religion they support. The leaders of such a campaign are those brave men and women who are being prosecuted by the Wilson (Labour) government for leafletting soldiers to encourage them to refuse to continue the Ulster war. The bombs we are now just beginning to experience here in England are just a further complication and a further reminder of what our exploitation of Ireland has brought us and continues to bring us. Almost everyone now agrees that sooner or later the army will be pushed out. Why not at present withdraw at once instead of behaving like the Americans in Vietnam?

Yet on Monday, 29th September, the trial of 16 of these exemplary BWNIC militants begins at the Old Bailey. Charged with conspiracy to break the 'Incitement to Disaffection' Act, they face heavy sentences if found guilty. As the capitalist crisis goes on getting worse, and unless and until a socialist alternative is put forward, the days of army strike-breaking draw nearer. Any trades unionist who encourages a soldier to desist from such activities will be liable to a hefty sentence under this Act. Repression is the only tool with which the capitalists can begin to 'settle' their crisis.

Support the picket at the Old Bailey, 9.00a.m., Monday 29th September. Details from BWNIC, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London WC1. •

The 'control units' press conference (see p.5) was held at the Artists for Democracy, who are currently being threatened with eviction from their Whitfield St. premises. Already the landlord's 'heavies' have been round to try and force them out before the court has had time to hear the injunction taken out against the landlord.

Camden Council is being petitioned to take out a compulsory purchase order on the premises which, should the Artists be thrown out, may stand empty for several years, as before. Or be mysteriously gutted by fire like the premises next door.

'Peoples of the world, learn from Indochina', urged the Artists through their latest Vietnamese anniversary exhibition, just ended.

Have we not much to learn? From Vietnam and the 'third world'? Not least from our own mistakes.

As a WP reader points out elsewhere in this issue:

'We need a grass roots army of poets, writers, songsters, actors, (and) cartoonists' to wage war on the cynicism and demoralisation which is holding back the development of a socialist movement here in England.

Only with a vision of the future is it possible to transform the present.

But transform the present we must if there is to be any future at all worth working for.

The Artists are part of that army of poets we must build.

• • •

The acute phase, the real crisis for British capitalism is now near enough to be shaking quite a few people who would normally be smiling comfortably to themselves. For instance, a Professor Crick in the New Statesman who complacently admits that he pays for private education for his children, all the same begins to wonder whether it might not after all be better on strictly practical grounds to consider an actual socialist policy to meet this crisis. Yes indeed. It is on practical grounds and only on practical grounds that the Wilson/Healey/Jones - no the Jones/Wilson/Healey - policy can be defeated. Though it would be more accurate to call it the City millionaires' policy put through by Jones, Wilson etc, And further to remember that it is not really that policy that will need to be defeated if the Labour movement is to be saved from destruction.

[cont. on p. 15]

# tu jottings international

In Portugal, the danger of a dictatorship on the Russian model has diminished, possibly vanished. Instead, owing to the general backwardness of political thinking of working class leadership in Europe, we have the very great danger of openly reactionary capitalist dictatorship dominated from the world centre of the 'old capitalism', the USA. We must hope that the Portuguese people will continue to develop a leadership that will bring them away from domination - either by the old CIA-Mafia capitalism of the USA, not yet fully state integrated, or the new state capitalism of the USSR with KGB and concentration camps. Both kinds of capitalism are imperialist and use their armies to occupy smaller countries. At this the Russians have been more successful than the Americans, partly at least because they are still able to pass their military occupations off as socialist, and so do not have to use the crude bestiality of the US defending 'democracy' in Vietnam (though bestiality is an inadequate word since beasts do not in general kill and torture as a way of life).

At any rate, the Portuguese people are certainly learning their politics far more quickly than we are here in Britain. They may perhaps be able to establish a balance between the two imperialisms to give them time and enough freedom to develop a strong grass roots revolutionary party based on the working class, whether with or without the label Marxism/Leninism - that will be able to show the way to a genuinely communist society without any illusions that such a social system can be imposed, instead of developed from below by the people themselves but with the absolutely necessary guidance of a political party that they recognise and support as their own.

Marx made a little-known comment about the Paris Commune, ten years after, when such a statement of truth could no longer do harm (as a true statement can of course do - 'a truth that's said with ill-intent beats all the lies you can invent'). He wrote to an enquirer from Holland in 1881 that the Commune leadership 'if they had had a modicum of commonsense' could have come to a useful compromise with the

bourgeoisie at Versailles, 'all that was possible in the existing circumstances'.

.....

Five young people are currently facing execution in Spain. Two members of ETA (the Basque nationalist movement) and three members of the FRAP (Frente Revolucionario Anti-Fascista Popular) are accused of the shooting of three Madrid policemen.

That policemen are being shot in Spain, no-one denies, least of all FRAP which has openly stated why it has embarked on a policy of direct confrontation with Franco's 'guardia civile'.

Whether or not the five accused are actually guilty is another matter. Opposition to the openly fascist regime is growing daily. The recent passing of an 'anti-terrorist' law, to allow summary execution within twenty-four hours of sentence being passed, has only served to increase that opposition.

Developments in Spain are vital to the success of the Portuguese struggle. For finally the struggles in Spain and Portugal are struggles of the Iberian peoples against decades of semi-feudalism and colonialism; against their imperialist-stooge masters. That the civil war in Spain was needlessly lost to the fascists is a lesson still to be learnt.

It is interesting that at the death last year of Alvarez del Vayo, former Foreign Minister in the Republican government ('37-'39), no mention was made in the various national press reports which detailed his part in the civil war, of his chairmanship, since 1972 right up until his death, of the FRAP.

o o o

The situation in Southern Africa, now the world centre of anti-imperialist struggle, is slowly becoming clearer with the expulsion of the would-be traitor, Nkomo, from the ANC that is at present leading the struggle against the white fascist Smith. The one country in Southern Africa that is clearly on the way to socialism, Mozambique led by Samora Machel, achieved this by the hard struggle of a people's war. In Angola such a people's war had not reached such an advanced stage as Mozambique and failed to prod-

uce a clear dominant leadership. So 'anti-colonial' armies are fighting one another. In Zimbabwe (still at present 'Rhodesia') if armed struggle has to be resumed, as it obviously will be, and Nkomo sides with Smith, that will be better than another Hastings Banda dictatorship as in neighboring Malawi.

.....  
[cont. from p. 14]

tion, but the control by the millionaires of our industry, whatever the government. So far, no actual proponent of a non-inflationary economic policy has come forward. We would like to see Arthur Scargill take the lead. We need a militant, nationally known and clear as to the whole question being basically a class issue. Scargill is all that, he is free of entanglement with any of the existing political dogmatists, and in the two recent national miners strikes he showed the strategic and tactical initiative and ability of a great general. If he can add to these qualifications more of political clarity on the need for a national program to unite all who can be united against the main enemy inflationary capitalism (which is of course also imperialist capitalism) then the Trade Union movement will have at last produced a leader for that next step that the British working class has so long failed to understand the need for.

[cont. from p. 2]

under himself, but in any case under a Prime Minister who whatever his party will not be a socialist but on the contrary a determined capitalist, like every Prime Minister so far.

We have to build a socialist party, a party to represent and fight for the working people in Britain - or in Scotland Wales & England. When such a party or parties comes into being and fights on a practical program that wins national support, then it will be in a position to lead a coalition of all those who decide that they do not want permanent unemployment with a permanent wage freeze. Do we really want the pleasure of continuing to have millionaires live off us?

The working people of Britain will then be in a position to sack the millionaires and run things for themselves, paying themselves their wages.

Then our true history as a people will begin.

STOP PRESS

David Anslow (see 'Control Units Press Conference', p.5) has been put back to 'stage one' and, except for his two half-hour exercise stints a day, won't see daylight this side of 1976. His cell 'window' has been covered.

Why? Because he refuses to lick Jenkins' arse. Jenkins doesn't put it like that, of course. David is 'too surly' in his manner towards the screws. He is also being strip-searched, often as many as three times a day. What does the doctor expect to find on a man who has been in total isolation since 22nd May? ■

Prison psychiatrist tossing a tennis-ball to a young borstal boy remanded for a psychiatric report:

'Here's an orange - eat it'!

Borstal boy tossing it back:

'You peel it and we'll each have half'.

Report: unco-operative and disruptive. A trouble-maker. ■

To celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the taking of power by the Indochinese Communist Party in 1945 - renamed the Vietnam Workers' Party in 1951 - the Chargé d'Affaires and Mrs Van Ngoc held an official reception, which was attended by two members of CSP, on 2nd September.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people is by no means over. The construction of a socialist society is no easy or short-term task.

We have much to learn from the Vietnamese people. The best support the working people of our country can give them is the making of our own socialist society here in England.

A socialist England cannot at the same time be imperialist.

The sum of £8 was collected at the press conference, towards the fares of David Anslow's family. CSP is especially grateful to 'The Guardian' and 'Times' correspondents - who also signed the petition - for their generous contributions.

WORKING PEOPLE will be sent free of charge to anyone in HM prisons.



Notice outside a Wakefield factory:

'M.P. Stonehouse, Worsted Spinners'

- for the best in yarns!



CSP is hoping to start a group in the North-West. Interested readers contact Meg Howarth at the address below.



U N I T E A L L W H O C A N B E U N I T E D A G A I N S T T H E M A I N E N E M Y

On Saturday 9th August, The Times carried a brief report of a new 'segregation' bloc under construction at Gartree prison in Leicestershire.

A pity the Times correspondent doesn't read Working People.

Had he read our last issue he would have known that the Gartree 'segregation' unit is, in fact, a third 'control unit', as reported by WP at the end of June.



Donations to the PRISONERS' BOOK FUND to be sent to the Treasurer (CSP) at address below.

EVERY READER A SELLER.

CSP welcomes help with sales/distribution of WORKING PEOPLE - in particular outside London.

Available from CSP:

- 1 Manifesto for a People's Socialist Alliance.
- 2 What is Socialism?
- 3 Stalin and Revisionism.

10p each, post-free, from address below.

We print the following statement from People's News Service:

'PNS is now being produced by two people with the occasional help of a few others. We will produce a fairly short bulletin every two weeks between now and Xmas when our money and energy will probably have run out. After that, we will only continue production if more people have joined the collective as we feel such a small collective to be unsatisfactory.

To encourage people to work for us we have moved from Brixton to Kings Cross which is more readily accessible for the whole of London and its surroundings.

We shall be resuming our weekly meetings as from Wednesday 18th September at 6.00pm at 197 Kings Cross Road, London WCl.

Please contact us through Box 1949 at the above address.

We urge all our readers who haven't yet done so to take out a subscription to PNS - £1.50 for 6 months and worth every penny.

A people's news service, which

is exactly what PNS is, is an indispensable tool in the building of a mass movement.

Help PNS grow. ■

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BEFORE YOU CAN MAKE REVOLUTION YOU MUST FIRST CREATE PUBLIC OPINION