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Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

MURDER!

Devlin: fists not enough

Bernadette Devlin, MP, spoke to a crowd of people outside Hammer-smith Town Hall on Monday who could not get into a meeting she was to address:

Maybe you felt better after I had hit Maudling in the House of Commons. But if you think my fist is going to bring down the Tory government, you've got another think coming. The Labour Party certainly isn't going to do it and the only people who can is you.

Look around Britain today and you will see the miners being kicked on their picket lines. In four years time, it won't just be kicks. It will be guns, too.

So-called democracy doesn't work. Out of 626 elected representatives there was only one—me—who was outraged that the paratroopers without provocation shot our people in the back.

But it is not our function in life to die for Ireland. It is our function to live, work and struggle for a workers' republic.

It is not sympathy or feelings of frustration that are needed now. You must go away determined to organise and act.

If you are not in a trade union, get into one. If you do not read books, start to read them. If you are not a member of an organisation determined to bring down the Tories, join one.

You must organise, educate and agitate until we bring them down. We must spell out the message that no one will have any freedom until we bring them down.

Get yourselves out on the demonstration on Saturday and pledge yourselves to organise and fight for freedom. If you continue to do nothing after these 13 murders, then they will remain on the memory of an idle and indolent working-class movement.



A Sunday's pleasure

With savage pleasure on his face, a Paratrooper grabs a young lad in Derry, on Sunday and prepares to club him. The murder of 13 Irish men and women by the Army came from orders signed in Whitehall by the Tory government. This barbarous crime must be avenged by the working people of Ireland and Britain. The demand in Britain must be: Withdraw the troops—end internment NOW!

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BUT THE BARRICADES STILL STAND — THERE WILL BE ANOTHER DAY...

From Eamonn McCann and Mary Holland: Derry

ON MONDAY MORNING in Rossville Street and in the courtyard behind Glenfada Park, people stood in groups looking at the patches of blood and weeping. We had thought in the Bogside that we had become used to violent death. But there isn't a human experience which prepares you for what happened . . .

Four women clinging to each other, lying in the middle of the road, the guns cracking 50 yards away and the bullets whining off the pavement and the walls around them, burrowing under one another, sobbing, hysterical, pleading 'Please, mister, don't leave us, don't leave us.'

Just behind us three people, fleeing from the terror at the bottom of the street, suddenly stiffen as they stumble over the barricade at the front of High Flats, then crumple and fall into the rubble.

The first reaction after fear was bewilderment. Why were they shooting?

There seemed to be bodies everywhere, bundles lying on the street and on the pavement. In an alcove underneath the steps which lead up to the maisonettes in Glenfada Park a woman with a scarf on her head kneeling, her face pressed against the wall and her fists beating the stone: 'Jesus, Jesus, help us now.'

DIDN'T STOP

And all the while at the bottom of the street there were the soldiers kneeling, rifles aimed, picking off anything that moved. Had the whole world gone raging mad?

And it went on. It wasn't just a sudden crazy burst of gunfire. As the minutes passed it didn't stop. 'Single-aimed shots' as they say in the Army communiques.

Afterwards in the comparative safety of Meenan Square, hundreds milled around. Young girls clung to one another, weeping, giggling in hysteria. A woman who had come down from Belfast for the march and couldn't find her two children, clawing at people demented, begging, 'Have you seen my Seamus and Dermot?'

Men, angry, demanding to know, 'Where the fuck's the IRA?'

And how many were killed. Who were they? 'Somebody called Nash', 'Jimmy Wray from Drumcliffe Avenue', 'That

'JIMMY'S BLOOD MUST BEAR FRUIT'

JIM WRAY is dead, killed by British bullets at the end of a day which started as a family party going on another march. He was 22, a boy you'd see on any council estate in England, working on the assembly line in a local factory making refrigerators.

Going into the little house in the heart of Derry's Bogside, you can tell his brothers and sisters because their faces are very pale and their eyes rimmed red with tears. Here his father, also James, talked to us about his son and about the day he died.

'He was never a member of any political party. He wasn't in the IRA. He was Irish, he wanted this country to be free. He hated the British soldiers because he hated what they stood for.'

Jimmy was shot running with thousands of others from the fire of bullets. He fell just outside his grandmother's flat.

Mr Wray said: 'Some good must come of it. That good blood must bear fruit.'

man McKinney that works for the Journal' and so on.

We now know who they all were. All the names. The ones we knew well. The ones we recognised when we saw the photographs.

On Sunday evening the area burst with anger at the TV news: 'Soldiers returned fire'. And on Monday the Mirror dares to print a headline: 'Horror after snipers fire on troops'.

But Mirror lies and army lies and Tory lies are minor points now. We know what happened. The memory of it is burned into us. We will not ever forget it.

It was not the first bloody Sunday that Ireland has known. These were not the first innocent people shot down here. They have battered us and gassed us, curfewed us and killed us, thrown our men into cages in Long Kesh and Magilligan.

But the barricades still stand in Creggan and the men wait at them every night. There will be another day . . .

All out Saturday

March against repression in Ireland

Saturday 5 February
Assemble 'Crown', Cricklewood Broadway, 3pm
March through Kilburn to Marble Arch
and Downing Street
Organised by the Anti-Internment League

WORLD NEWS

BRIEFING

Ceylon: The big clampdown goes on

THE British press has said little about Ceylon since last spring's rebellion was put down. It has been clear for some time that the rising was provoked by the government. As they broke their election promises and antagonism rose, they harassed the revolutionary organisation JVP and finally banned them.

All the stories about North Korean agents have now been quietly forgotten, and it is accepted that the JVP was an entirely home-grown product.

Nobody knows what the death toll has been, though the government admits to killing two to three thousand and imprisoning 14,000 without trial. The Ceylon emergency laws made the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act look mild.

by Edward Crawford

Any member of the police or army can hold anybody in detention for fifteen days without even telling a magistrate; all habeas corpus is suspended, and political trials are before three judges with no jury. No reporting is allowed about any accused person, and court proceedings—for instance defence statements—are subject to censorship.

As well as the arrest and slaughter of JVP militants in the countryside, the main working-class organisation, the Maoist Communist Party, has been dissolved and its leaders arrested. There was no evidence they were involved, but they were said to be 'anti-parliament'. Many

young members of the official Communist Party have been detained, though their leader backs the government.

Finally the very small Trotskyist group, the Revolutionary Communist League, has been wiped out, with 50 or 60 members shot.

Even the parliamentary records are censored, and the Prime Minister, Mrs Bandaranaike, reports that four to five thousand rebels are still hiding in the hills.

The government must try to buy off at least a considerable part of the population with economic favours. But this seems impossible. Ceylon is steadily going bankrupt; its exports have fallen in price, and

it has failed to build up any industry to speak of.

Aid from abroad has been bailing them out, but this cannot last much longer. If the present fall in world trade continues aid will be more difficult to get. The expansion of an expensive army doesn't help.

Real wages have been declining as unemployment has risen. The old complacent ruling class, aping the manners of its old colonial masters, will not be able to go on in the same way. Trade unions and the remaining left parties will certainly be smashed.

It is possible that eventually there will be an army takeover by the Sandhurst-trained officers whose only feats of military valour have been murdering their fellow-citizens.

STUDENT demonstrators in Egypt have got standard treatment from President Sadat—tear-gas and accusations of 'outside agitators'. The actual demands of the students were a ragbag; basically they were expressing disappointment that Sadat's promises—that 1971 would be the 'year of decision' when Israel was finally sorted out—had not been fulfilled.

Thus the students demanded the setting up of a war economy with wage limitations and the suppression of 'frivolous' television programmes. They have been offered facilities for becoming military volunteers, and Prime Minister Sedki is talking of a 'war economy'.

But some of the demands are more embarrassing. Thus the students also demanded the release of Helwan steel-workers (involved in disturbances last August) and American interests in Egypt. Sedki was quick to point out that this was quite impossible.

The students have been dispersed, but Sadat's prestige has taken a knock. He will not be able to go on bailing himself out with military rhetoric. And if discontent spreads to the army and the working class it will not be so easily dealt with.

BANGLADESH FACES A GRIM FUTURE

From John Ashdown, SW special correspondent in India

THE jubilation is fading in Bangladesh. Now that Mujibur Rahman has returned from prison in West Pakistan, there is not much to look forward to except the long grim work of repairing the shattered economy.

Most of the jobs have been shared out. The Awami League has kept its political rivals away from the spoils, lest its own fragile unity be afflicted by internal jealousies.

Mujibur Rahman has reserved four cabinet ministries for himself as well as the prime ministership, not because he wants the jobs, but because he has too few people he can trust. Of the 150,000 irregular troops at loose in Bangladesh, only eight battalions can be absorbed into the new armed forces.

For those without jobs there is not much reward except rhetoric, usually delivered by men who spent the war comfortably over the border. The new government demands that those not in the official militia give up their arms at once. Few of the young men will. Their guns are all they have to give them a little dignity in the world.

The threat of warlords controlling particular areas and of general banditry remains great. The terrible poverty makes the prospect grim—Bangladesh needs at least half a million tons of food from abroad to



A joyful Sheikh Mujibur on the day he returned to Bangladesh from captivity. But how long will the smiles last?

survive at the best of times, as well as 20 million homes to replace war losses and house the returned refugees.

The one bulwark against disintegration is the Indian army. Yet a prolonged Indian occupation will make it impossible for Mujibur to build a viable state out of the ruins.

To the disaffected youth this would mean no independence at all, but an Indian puppet state. The war was not for Bangladesh independence,

they will decide, but for the Indian destruction of Pakistan.

The Indian government has enough problems without taking on 78 million impoverished Bengalis. But the more unstable the new state, the more the Indian government will have to intervene. And the more the Indian government intervenes, the more unstable will be the new state.

So far the issue has been a boon to Indian Premier Mrs Gandhi. The refugees gave her a pretext for vir-

tually anything she cared to suggest for six months.

The domestic opposition was completely rattled by the war. Workers called off strikes, unions withdrew wage claims. Mrs Gandhi called for a three-year ban on strikes, so far without success. Now she has rescheduled the state elections so that she can really cripple the political opposition.

In Bangladesh Mujibur has talked of ending share-cropping (if it can be done, and done without injuring the Awami League's rural supporters); of housing co-operatives; of nationalising heavy industry (hardly a major sector in Bangladesh) and industry abandoned by West Pakistani capitalists.

Jute

Despite his popularity, he can move no faster than his political base—small businessmen and landlords. But he can offer some show trials of war criminals.

Indian assistance, vital in the short term, has another price. Bangladesh produces two thirds of the world's jute (it is the only major industry). India, with poorer quality jute, is the nearest rival.

For Indian jute capitalists, one useful product of the long war in East Bengal was that they were able to scoop the world market. One of their fears was losing their share with the creation of the new state. Now India has come up with a scheme called a 'Jute Community', whereby the two governments jointly control jute exports.

Sooner or later, whichever way the new citizens of Bangladesh look, they will find an Indian big brother. The real struggle will have to begin.

THERE has been much press coverage of the King of Denmark's death. Less has been heard of Aksel Larsen, one of Denmark's most popular figures, who died in January at the age of 74.

Larsen, a foundry worker, joined the Danish Communist Party when it was founded. A talented and popular speaker, he quickly rose to prominence. He was frequently in trouble with the law.

In 1942 the Danish police handed Larsen over to the Gestapo for transportation to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The Communist Party was illegal at the time, and was leading the resistance movement, in which Larsen was a central figure.

Larsen survived the concentration camp and came back to Denmark in 1945 more popular than ever, to join the coalition government that was to revive Danish capitalism.

It says a lot for Larsen's popularity in the party that he could get away with Moscow charges of Trotskyism and later Titoism. In 1956, when he condemned the bloody crushing of the Hungarian revolution, he was able to remain general secretary of the party. Finally in 1958 he was expelled on Moscow's orders.

He then formed the Socialist People's Party, which won all the Communist Party's parliamentary seats and more besides. Its main plank was hostility to NATO and militarism. In 1966 it split over support for the social democratic government's wage freeze. Last year it won back some of its lost seats solely on its hostility to Danish entry to the Common Market. Ironically it ended up supporting a minority Social Democrat government whose main aim is now to get Denmark into the Common Market.

Larsen can be credited with one thing that will help the process of building a revolutionary party. His creation of a left-reformist party with no embarrassing ties to Moscow has made the Communist Party superfluous.

NIXON'S much publicised proposals for peace in Vietnam contain nothing really new. In any case ground troop withdrawals get less relevant as the war becomes more and more an air war. Bombers can be based in Thailand, and the massacres are more impersonal and less embarrassing.

The background is first of all the approaching election campaign—as Nixon's agent, Kissinger, said: 'If we can end this a united people, that is of very profound significance.'

Secondly, the US have admitted that the Christmas bombing raids were a military failure; and Communist forces are making big advances in Laos. Some reports suggest the US may be getting ready to ditch South Vietnamese President Thieu.

ALREADY Allende, Marxist President of Chile, seems to be going the way of so many others that have pretended that somehow through parliament capitalism can be wished away.

Last week he reshuffled his government to include in it two ministers who had broken from the middle class radical party because it was 'too revolutionary'.

Right turn for Italian Communists

THE centre-left coalition government Italy has collapsed. A bit of horse-trading between the parties will produce a new coalition which won't be much different.

Underlying the melodrama of Italian parliamentary politics is the social and economic crisis gripping Italy. All the problems of a highly developed and of a wretchedly underdeveloped nation are piled together—inflation, stagnation, unemployment, poverty, inadequate transport and education, and pitiful welfare and housing. Strikes, occupations and mass demonstrations sweep the country.

For the Italian Communist Party the issue is quite straightforward—reform or reaction. It has just blown another trumpet-call for left unity to defend 'democracy' against the 'grave danger' of a right-wing backlash. It demands social reforms and immediate measures to stimulate economic growth.

Such a strategy hardly fits the reality of the Italian situation. Nor does it correspond to the aspirations of the millions of working people who look to the Communist Party for leadership.

At the end of the war, the party entered a coalition government, was dropped during the cold war, then, when

TWO weeks ago we reported on the new programme of the French Communist Party. This week Mike Balfour looks at the Italian Communists.

the end of the coalition again opened up prospects of parliamentary power, set out to transform itself into an electoral party. The largest union, the CGIL (which the Communists control) was left to maintain links with the working class while the party turned to search for allies among the 'progressive' bourgeois parties.

The party's main platform became the demand for social reforms and the nationalisation of heavy industries, and its programme increasingly coincided with the economic plans of the dominant group of the ruling class.

The Pieraccini Plan of 1965, a major government plan to iron out the unevenness of Italian capitalism, led to the nationalisation of whole sectors of industry. Since then the big industrialists and bosses of the state-owned enterprises have become convinced of the need to modernise Italian society.

Because they are opposed by backward sectors of the bourgeoisie, they need the

indirect support of the unions and the Communist Party, which, with one and a half million members and over eight million voters, represents an invaluable guarantee of control over the working class.

The party hopes this will mean an opening to greater influence within the Italian state and, sometime in the future, participation in a coalition government. Its present mass campaign for reforms, backed by one-day national strikes, is a campaign to modernise Italian capitalism.

The campaign has taken the struggle out of the factories and work-places, where, for the past two years, the employers have launched an all-out offensive against the wages, conditions and shop-floor organisation of workers.

The real menace to the Italian working class is the collaboration of the Communist Party in economic growth and modernisation. The Italian Road to Socialism (Communist Party style) means sacrificing the interests of the working class.

Socialist Worker

For Workers Control and International Socialism, 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2 8DN

Stop Tory barbarism in Ireland—NOW

THE MASSACRE at Derry is the turning point. The attempt to prop up by brute force the Tory-Orange police state in the Six Counties has produced the Irish Sharpeville.

From now on it must be clear to every working man and woman that the continuance of British rule in Ireland can mean only more shootings, more beatings, more gassings, more torture of prisoners, more wrecking of homes, more barbarous repression.

The prime responsibility is plain. Heath, Faulkner and their supporters are the guilty men. Their actions, their policies led directly to the shooting of 30 unarmed demonstrators, 13 of them killed outright, on Sunday 30 January—a date that will be added to the black calendar of British colonialist repression.

But others share in the responsibility. The leaders of the British labour movement have given aid and comfort to the vicious reactionaries who have run the Six Counties in the interests of big business for more than half a century.

It was the Attlee Labour government that forced through the notorious Government of Ireland Act in 1949, an Act designed to make the partition of Ireland permanent and irrevocable. It was the Wilson Labour government that tried to save the Orange dictatorship by pressing the Stone-age reactionaries of Stormont to accept the charade of reforms that would make it easier to preserve their power. This complicity must be ended. The Labour leaders must be forced to break with the Tories.

The Tory government is waging a colonial war in Ireland. The interests of Irish and British workers alike require that this war is ended in the only way possible—by the immediate withdrawal of all British forces from Ireland.

The millionaire press argues that Stormont represents 'the majority', that the nationalist population is a 'minority'. The argument is parroted by right wingers in the working-class movement. It is a false argument. What Stormont represents, and what it has always represented, is the exploitation of religious differences in order to maintain a direct foothold for British imperialism in Ireland.

Stirred-up hatred

Ireland, the whole of Ireland, was directly ruled by British landowners and capitalists for several centuries. When Irish resistance made direct rule more and more costly, the British ruling class systematically set out to stir up religious hatreds. The Unionist Party, which is an integral part of the British Tory Party, was the instrument of the British ruling class.

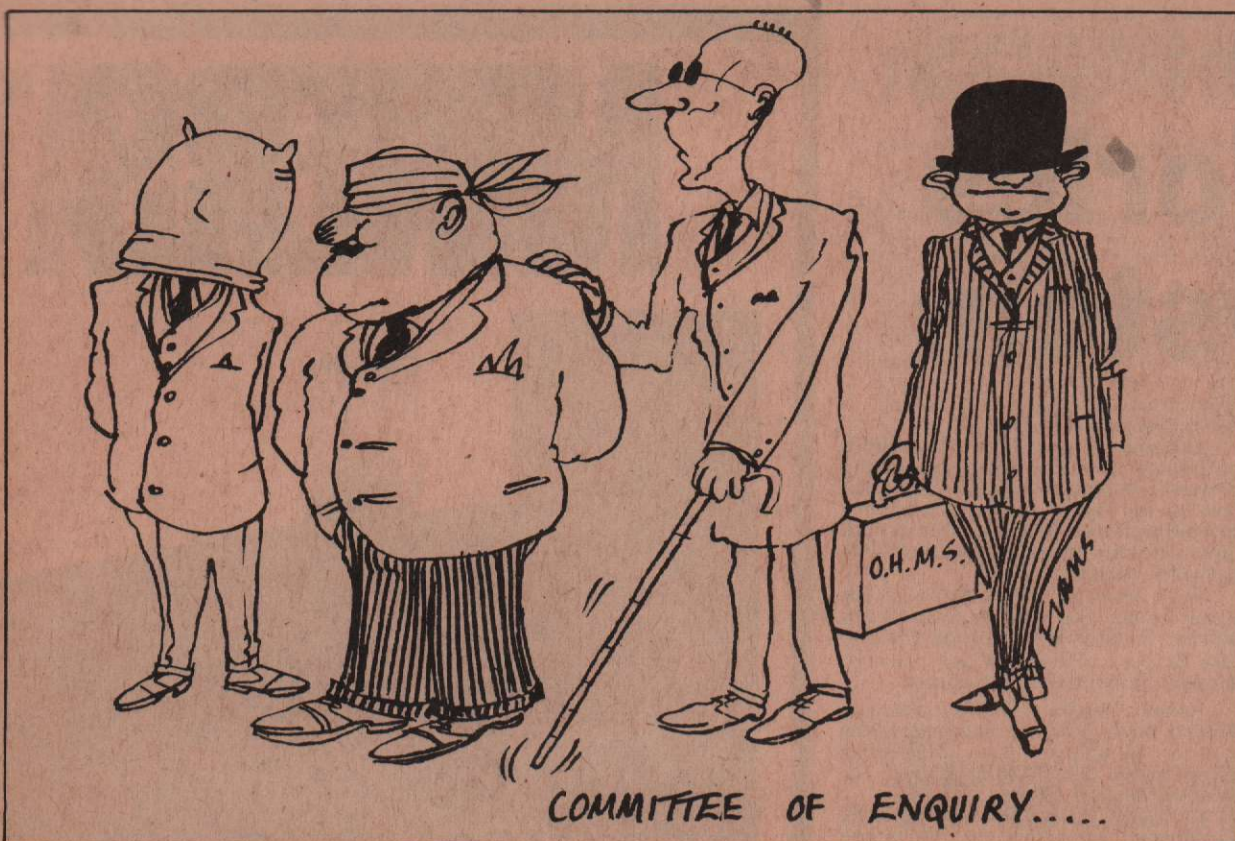
The aim was to exploit sectarian hatreds in the interests of foreign rule. When a Liberal government in the years before World War One sought to replace indirect for direct British rule, the Tory opposition began to support armed opposition to the UK government in NE Ireland. Arms were smuggled in from Germany and elsewhere. Bonar Law, the Tory leader, publicly encouraged the 'Ulster will fight' agitation. So much for 'law and order'.

In the event, after the savageries of the Black and Tans—yesterday's Paratroopers—had failed to break the national movement, partition was forced on the Irish people. Since Ulster too, had a nationalist majority, it was itself partitioned. Six of the nine Ulster counties were split off to form the Stormont statelet with boundaries gerrymandered to ensure a built-in Tory majority. It was as if Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire, with their 'natural' Tory majority, were to claim the right to opt out of a left-wing Britain and were to be backed up by the armed forces of a foreign power.

Ever since partition, Stormont has ruled by repression and discrimination against the anti-Unionist section of the people and by perpetuating religious fears and hates. But in the last resort it is the UK government that rules NE Ireland.

That rule is now ending in bloodshed. Every socialist has the duty to hasten its end. The working-class movement must make it impossible for the Tories to continue their war against the Irish people. All sections must press as immediate demands:

**END INTERNMENT NOW!
BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND NOW!**



COTTONS WARMS

Peyton's place

IT'S tough being a Tory minister these days. They're so popular with the electorate that they can't go out without a phalanx of phuzz to protect them.

Even at home, they feel nervous. Since the Carr bombing last year, all ministers were told to change the locks on their doors and keep them locked. They have been told to keep their eyes skinned for anything unusual.

So when the wife of genial Agriculture Minister Jim Prior returned to their London flat one day to find a strange new fireside chair in the sitting room, she was immediately suspicious. Jim knew nothing about the chair either.

The flats porter and a cleaner reported seeing the chair brought in by men from a furniture van. But the Priors hadn't ordered a chair. Gingerly, they backed away from the unwelcome visitor and phoned the Home Yard.

Before you could say 'hobnail', Scotland Yard were on the spot. The chair was possibly full of explosive, almost certainly bugged, the experts said. They set to work with geiger counters and other strange devices but could find nothing. The chair, they said, was safe.

Our Jim was unimpressed. When the Yard men had gone, he took the chair apart, piece by piece.

It was lying in a heap of rubble the next morning when a furniture firm rang to say they were terribly sorry, but they'd delivered a chair to the wrong flat and could they have it back...?

Ur-gent

SOCIAL SECURITY officials in Pontefract seem to think that because the miners are prepared to hold out for victory they can hold their bladders as well. A temporary office has opened at Pontefract barracks and hundreds of miners have to queue there for several hours to sign on.

But there's no lavatory in sight—



A kiss for The Teacher's pet: editor Max Wilkinson greets Mrs Thatcher

apart from one marked 'Ladies'. SS officials are keeping the whereabouts of the Gents a closely-guarded secret.

MINERS on picket duty in Manchester were surprised to see Lord Goodman emerging from a large motor car nearby. 'Wotcher', they yelled at the portly noble 'come to test the opinion of the natives?'

NUT wanted

UPROAR when the National Union of Teachers invited the dreadful true-blue-rinsed Margaret Thatcher to be a special guest at their dinner to honour 100 years of publication of the union journal, The Teacher.

Apparently on occasions such as these, the real world is put aside for a few hours. NUT officials can conveniently forget that Education Minister Thatcher was responsible for depriving over-sevens of their school milk, said that a third of the country's children are 'ineducable' and underlined the point by cutting back on the secondary school building programme.

'The problems facing education in the next 100 years would be even more difficult than those of the last 100 years,' she told the dinner guests.

The assembled NUT bureaucrats might have pointed out that things were already more difficult thanks to her—but that would not be playing the game on such an 'uncontroversial' occasion.

The Snatcher drooled on about the paper's greatest achievement being its stand for the 'dignity and independence' of the teaching profession. A flood of letters to The Teacher have demanded that the paper continue to fight for such independence by refusing to grovel to reactionaries like the present Minister who are intent on putting the clock back to before the paper was first published.

JUST WHAT she always wanted: piston rod inspector Edith Stephenson has retired after 21 years with a firm near Wakefield, Yorkshire. In

those years she inspected more than a million piston rods. For such devotion to duty, the management presented her with... a gold-plated piston rod.

Donkey work

ATTEMPTS by printers or journalists to ban reactionary cartoons always receive a shriek of abuse from the press barons about the need to preserve the 'independence' of cartoonists.

But just how independent are these scribblers? Take Jak, humourous dauber of the London Evening Standard, famous for his attack on the power workers during their work to rule in which he depicted them as heartless, greedy ogres responsible for killing pensioners and babies.

Jak, it appears, is an expert at killing of a different kind—such as cases of champagne or brandy sent to him by the McAlpine construction firm every time one of his cartoons shows a building worker with the name McAlpine on his donkey jacket. Does he also get free electric central heating?

PUBLICITY for the new film version of Macbeth—financed by millionaire Hugh Hefner of Playboy mag fame—carries the credit: 'Screenplay by Roman Polanski and Kenneth Tynan' followed in smaller type by 'from the play by William Shakespeare'. How grateful this obscure Elizabethan playwright would have been for the help of right-wing Polish emigre Polanski and trendy left-wing pseud Tynan for bringing his unknown play to the attention of a modern audience.

Each-way bet

THAT STAUNCH working-class MP, Arthur Lewis from West Ham, held a buffet at the Commons on Wednesday for a group of men in desperate need of 'left-wing' support—bookmakers. 'Honest Art' Lewis is springing to the defence of the bookies in their fight to have the government's Tote Bill thrown out of parliament. The Bill seeks to widen the scope of the Tote at race meetings and will deplete the leech-like activities of private bookmakers (an odd thing for the Tories to do, you might think).

The bookies have already thrown massive banquets for 100 Labour and Tory MPs to impress upon them the need to preserve this small area of freebooting private enterprise. Now they have found, in Brother Lewis, an Hon Member prepared to act for them inside the Palace of Westminster. As a Labour MP for one of the most-socially deprived areas of the country, he has nothing more important to do at the moment.

Defeat the Tories —and their system

THE VICIOUS TORY government and the social system it upholds can be beaten back—this was the uncompromising message put out by the highly successful International Socialists' industrial conference in Manchester on Sunday attended by 708 delegates.

But the recipe for success in the face of complete default from the official leadership of the movement is that efforts are redoubled to win the working-class movement to a fighting programme of resistance against the employers' offensive and for the ideas of workers' power.

Opening the conference, the chairman, Ross Pritchard (National Graphical Association) said that while 1971 was largely a year of success for big business and its government, new methods of struggle had been thrown up in the absence of any direction from the official leadership of the movement.

'A counter-offensive can be mounted,' he declared, 'and the key to that is the creation of a fighting socialist organisation.'

Chris Davison, a London busman, opening the conference session on unemployment and how to fight it, underlined that, faced with the miners' magnificent struggle, Vic Feather represented the only section of the movement which did not recognise that this was a head-on struggle with the government.

'The whole movement is being put to the test in a way that has not happened for many years,' he said. 'A determined lead for solidarity action from the left would mean speedy victory for the miners' as it would have prevented the defeat of the postal workers this time last year,' he stressed.

'But this has not been forthcoming, for the left are totally unprepared to come out from the traditional methods of struggle by negotiation,' he added.

'Over all the bitter struggles of our time, there is the shadow of 1½ million unemployed,' he stated. Over the years the official movement had failed to take up the question of shorter hours and a high basic wage. They have a grave responsibility for the present situation not least because



Jim Higgins: class solidarity



Malcolm Marks: call for action

they continue to sign productivity deals which cause unemployment,' he said. 'The IS position on these deals had been proved time and time again,' he added.

Davison stressed that there has been a complete turnaround in the mood of important sections of the working class movement. They are now ready to fight. 'The importance of the occupation tactic is not as propaganda against the government nor as an exercise in workers' control. It is a determined form of industrial action to win specific job guarantees,' he said.

In the present situation the International Socialists had to fight hard to give their programme wide currency. And the key to any serious fight against unemployment is the development of political ideas and action in industry, he argued.

'Socialist ideas make it possible for workers to take an uncompromising stance.

As no other social problem, unemployment poses the question of the evilness and waste of capitalism. As socialists and militants we have to fight to show that we have no room for a society which sacrifices human need for private enrichment.'

'We have to make the demand for a 35 hour week a serious one, not something that is played around with when drafting a wage claim and then dropped at the first opportunity. If the trade union movement enforced a 35 hour week, it would create

one million jobs overnight.'

Subsequent discussion on the resolution on how to fight unemployment saw shop stewards and militants from Scotland detail how the fight against the Tories had seen a toughening of resolve among other sections of the movement after UCS and Plessey had taken militant action.

Terry Moore, a representative of the Fisher-Bendix shop stewards committee at Kirkby, outlined how they had come to take the road of a factory occupation in the fight to shorten the dole queues.

Norman Wright, a TGWU steward at Preston docks, made an uncompromising call for doing more than just freezing productivity deals. They should be smashed, he said.

G Rae, an ETU steward at Doncaster Monkbridge stated that the job of the International Socialists was to tie up the struggle of this or that section of the labour movement, and to build a fighting organisation capable of leading the movement forward.

Action

The second session of the conference was concerned with the Industrial Relations Act. Jim Higgins (Post Office Engineering Union), opening, stated that the formal law approach of the Tory government would never succeed in crippling working class ability to fight.

'What we are seeing is the rebirth of trade unionism and elementary class solidarity,' he said.

'With this and the demise of the Labour Party, there are unparalleled opportunities for revolutionaries provided they concentrate their energies in fighting for a socialist programme in the traditional structures of the trade union movement. We have to give a lead on specific trade union questions.

'The International Socialists' programme on the Industrial Relations Act is designed to do two things: to put pressure on the trade union bureaucracy and to weld together trade unionists coming into struggle.'

'That is the importance of the call for local councils of action,' he added. 'These organs would take on the tasks that the official leadership avoid. Just imagine the impact if they existed now to spread solidarity action for the miners.'

'The Industrial Relations Act is designed to split and divide the working-class movement. But I believe the reverse is happening. Consciousness of our position as a class is increasing as strikes happen more often and last longer,' he said. 'The working class movement can go on to storm the citadels.'

John Deeson, Wigan AUEW, warned that the chief impact of the Act would be to provide full-time officials with an excuse. The Act would not be used against Fisher-Bendix or the miners, but against the weaker sections, the isolated wildcat strikes. 'One of the main planks of our campaign must be to force the officials to take a stance and defy the act,' he said.

Pressure

Malcolm Marks, Fisher-Bendix occupation committee, stated that when the Tories wanted to divide, the movement must be united. 'When they want passivity, we must develop action,' he said. 'We cannot leave it to the union bureaucrats, we must organise ourselves on the factory floor where it all begins.'

'When they say wait 60 days for a cooling off period, we must say occupy from day one. If they say no sympathy action, we must organise sympathy action and strikes on an unprecedented scale. We must learn that our needs and the needs of big business are poles apart.'

'During our occupation we felt a new sense of purpose in our lives. We learned to control not just in the plant, but in our lives. This is the watchword of our struggle and I think the International Socialists is the organisation capable of spreading that message to the heart of the working-class movement.'

Winding up the conference Roger Rosewell, for the IS executive committee, said that while the quality and quantity of IS work had improved enormously, the situation called for greater efforts still: 'We must rise to that task,' he said. 'We must build a revolutionary working class party designed not only to fight this or that issue, but to change the world.'

The resolutions on unemployment and the Industrial Relations Act were carried overwhelmingly. A collection for Fisher-Bendix in IS branches realised £154. And the conference itself collected £135 to be split equally between the long-running Millingfords and Fine Tubes strikes.

● The conference resolution on the Industrial Relations Act will be published next week with the first of a series of articles on how to fight this anti-union law.

MINERS



UP IN the Rhondda Valley the memories of 1926 are always fiercely present: 'If the Taff was deep enough Heath would be sending up battleships'. The mining families are getting ready for a long siege with the knowledge that their battle is not just for money but is a political fight with the Tory government.

Pride and confidence are strong but there is also anger at the feeble response of the TUC and the way the union leaderships refuse to commit themselves to the struggle. The solidarity of rank and file power workers, of dockers, is what counts to the miners.

Faced with the empty hands of the TUC, the men on the picket lines are also worried by the lack of accurate information from their union leadership, which makes it much harder to challenge the lies of the blacklegs.

There is, above all, the knowledge that the only way the government can be defeated is by the united action of those workers presented with a wage cut by Tory policies. The solidarity of the militant power workers is vital element in the present situation.

The fate of those same power workers in December 1970 is in many minds, but this time there is the feeling that the Tories can be defeated and put on the run, that the working class solidly supports the miners.

You can break a stick, but not a bundle



COUNTRY COUNCILLOR MACDONALD, from Tonyrefail: 'This is where I blame all unions. They lost the boat when they didn't support the electricity union. You know the old adage. The first thing you learn in school. They show you a bundle of sticks. You can break one. But you can't break a bundle.'

'We as the working class ridiculed the electricity boys and I speak now as an AUEW official. So far as this strike is concerned, I think it's just engineered to smash what they think is a strong union. If they're going to survive, now is the time they've got to fight.'

'Being realistic, it's not an opportune time for the miners to win. If the TUC was to say determinedly that they were going to see that the miners were not going to lose, they wouldn't lose the strike. But I don't think the quality and timbre of the leadership is in the TUC to have the guts to do it. They vacillated on the Industrial Bill.'

It's the best strike I've ever conducted



BRYN WILLIAMS: secretary of Cwm Lodge and Strike Committee: 'I would say that while I've led several strikes, area and national, this is the best strike I've ever conducted. We've had some good ones.'

'Up till this point I haven't heard a single word said against us. People have welcomed us where we've been picketing. They've brought us tea. They've even given us stimulants in the tea. This is the feeling in the country.'

'I would say quite categorically that if Heath and Co don't take heed of this they could well have an Ulster on their hands, because while we are peaceful at the moment, it doesn't always stay

so that we will be peaceful when we go shorter and shorter of food. We don't intend to see wives and children suffer.'

'There's plenty of food in those big stores and you can take it from me, before our people will starve we will help ourselves in an organised fashion.'

ON UNEMPLOYMENT THE CONFERENCE RESOLVED

The struggle on the shop floor

WIDESPREAD redundancy, growing unemployment and the inevitable waste of productive potential are crucial problems facing workers across the world. They are the result of capitalist society based on competition and profit and have grown worse in recent years as the ruling class has sought to solve its problems at the expense of workers.

Mergers, automation and productivity deals have all destroyed jobs. At the same time the government is using high unemployment and the threat of the sack as a weapon to force down workers' wages and conditions.

In a world dominated by poverty and need it is a criminal waste to have millions unemployed. This can only be ended when the working class takes economic and political power from the hands of the employing class and organises production for the needs of the great majority of mankind instead of for the profit of the few.

Conference believes that the policies of the Labour government, subsidising industrialists, promoting productivity deals and forcing through wage freeze and anti-union laws are utterly bankrupt and have only strengthened the Tories.

Crucial

We reject any policies which seek to tie workers' interests to the success of individual firms, combines, international companies or nation states in the jungle of competition. We declare for international solidarity between workers.

Our attack is on unemployment wherever it occurs—from Dundee to Turin, from Chicago to Paris, as well as in the underdeveloped world whose economy suffers the ravages of imperialism.

Conference considers the battle against redundancy and unemployment to be one of the most crucial questions facing working people. This battle must be organised round these demands:

1 NO PRODUCTIVITY DEALS. All such deals tend to reduce job opportunities whether they involve direct redundancy or not. For the 'freezing' of existing deals, particularly flexibility clauses where job recruitment has stopped.

2 A £25 MINIMUM WAGE. For a living basic wage. Ban on overtime in firms/companies declaring redundancies. Enforcement of union limits on overtime. District overtime bans where members are unemployed.

3 CUT THE WORKING WEEK. For a 35-hour week without loss of pay. For militant action to force the shorter week.

4 NO REDUNDANCY. Opposition to cuts in manning levels, redundancy and natural wastage. Black work and machines of sections where sackings are imposed. Build and strengthen combine committees to make blacking effective. Share the work where redundancy is enforced. Defend the organisation—first in, last out.

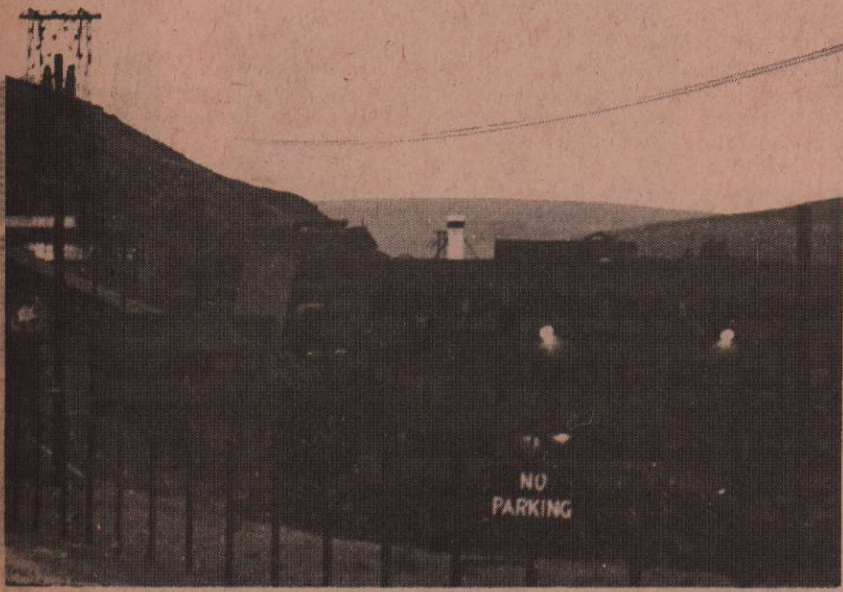
Occupy the factories and strike to defend jobs. Conference recognises the tremendous step forward made by the Plessey and Fisher-Bendix workers in occupying their factories, and believes that this tactic should be spread.

5 WORK OR FULL PAY. Let those responsible for unemployment carry the can. Either provide a man with work or maintain him at full union rates of pay.

6 ORGANISE THE UNEMPLOYED. Build links with the employed working class through the trade unions. Regular meetings of unemployed members in trade union branches. Resist the means test and benefit stop. Support the claimants' unions.

7 NATIONALISATION UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL. Challenge the right of employers to put men on the dole.

TALKING



Maerdy pit at dawn: normally a scene crowded with miners on their way to work.

Any trade unionist not a socialist - he's no bloody trade unionist



ALAN JONES, Rhondda miner: 'People today are not going to stand for the pressures put on them by the Tory government because—as miners—for the job we're doing we're worth £40 or £50 a week.'

'We are prepared to stand right by the executive till the very last. As we're out now, we may as well go the whole bloody hog. We're not prepared to stand for the indignities that our parents suffered in their time; especially lack of support from other unions. We're having that support now.'

'It's only the tip of the iceberg. With the help of the dockers, the power workers and the transport workers we can beat this government right into the ground where they deserve.'

'The young miner today has to have a militancy in him, otherwise he's downcast and had it. I know boys of 18, 19 and 20 years old who have been with us on picketing and I've never seen anything like it: they're full of trade unionism.'

'I think people are beginning to realise at an earlier age that politics plays a big part in their lives. Today they're beginning to care because they know that their jobs stand behind politics. And they're going to stand and fight for their rights and their beliefs.'

'And socialists they are every one of them. Any trade unionist not a socialist, he's not a bloody trade unionist—in my opinion. It's a pity it had to come to a strike, but now it's come I'm glad.'

The foreman's broken promise

JOE THOMAS, treasurer of Lewis-Merthyr Lodge: 'We in South Wales have achieved a great measure of success with non-violent picketing. But what we do find is that having picketed for three or four days we get a promise: "Don't bother—no coal will leave this site". Now just by chance the chairman of the Lodge was passing the site, when he saw three full lorries leaving. And when he approached the foreman, the foreman told him he'd made a promise of one day only.'



The coal was landed at another port

EMLYN THOMAS, Maerdy Lodge chairman: 'We did a recce down Newton Abbot power station. It was on the cards that it would be closed down. Now the coal trawlers had already made the decision that they wouldn't handle the coal if it meant that it would have to be sent somewhere else.'

'Once we were down there we met a lorry driver who had been to Shard Colliery to pick up a special type of coal for domestic use and he informed us that coal had been landed at Teignmouth.'

BY AUBREY GORDON AND DAVE SHONFIELD

No room for union shufflers

ONCE AGAIN you are pointing out the already well-known fact that leaders of trades union organisations have no stomach for a real fight. Surely it must be plain to all that there is only one answer: they must be weeded out, now, and replaced with men who are prepared to fight. If they are not, then the miners and power workers will suffer the same fate as the post office workers.

If you enter a fight such as this, that threatens the existence of every worker, then you must fight all the way with every weapon at hand. There can be no possible room in our ranks for spineless leaders who shy away from taking action. I should think that by now most people are aware that the present figure of over a million unemployed is quite acceptable to the crooks who at present form our government. It is all part of the general policy and I have no doubt that as well as forcing wages to pittance level, they would like to see the present figures for unemployment doubled by the end of the year.

In view of these facts there is no room for squeamishness. There must be instant strikes, walk-outs, political agitation at

all levels, and industrial sabotage. How many shy away from the words industrial sabotage. Yet this is the most powerful weapon at our disposal if used properly. It hits the Tories where it hurts most, in their fat pockets.

Before you brand these views as extremist, remember that there are over a million people at present who have had extremist measures taken against them. Remember, also, when was anything ever gained for workers by peaceful demonstrations?

I am no different to many others. I am 35, highly skilled and unemployed, laid off seven months ago. I am only different in that after seven months of drawing dole money and trying to support my family on it, I now seek to turn the skills I possess against the Tory machine in whatever small way I can.

The time is now. Positive action must be taken and you should urge in your paper that leaders who have shown signs of foot shuffling be replaced. There must be plenty of men willing to fight all the way, and who are not motivated by greed or personal gain.—JAMES L JONES, Lowestoft, Suffolk.



Ireland—danger of blind-alley tactics

FIRST let me congratulate your paper on the quality of its reporting of the situation in the Six Counties over the past 3½ years. But in recent issues a new, totally naive and utopian view has been put forward by some contributors—notably Eamonn McCann and Sue Kelly.

They write as if the Irish people were embarked upon, or were about to embark upon, a war of national liberation. They see the Provisional Alliance as the harbingers of this war of liberation.

Unfortunately this is precisely the direction in which the Provisional Alliance is drawing the people. There was a time when the Official republican movement (of which I am a member) did not stand alone in its condemnation of both the Provisionals and the SDLP as champions of Catholic nationalism.

That was before and during the early stages of the Provisional military offensive of 1971. We predicted, as did others, where the Provisional Alliance offensive would lead and what its consequences would be. Unfortunately now that all that was predicted has come to pass, only we appear to have retained the courage of our convictions and acted accordingly.

Even now, at the height of their success, it is far from certain that the Provisionals can force negotiations for a federal deal—certainly not for anything more than that. I feel the Provos are past

A fund has been set up to help the widow and children of Irish socialist Liam Dalton, whose death we reported last week. Donations should be sent to: Ann Murphy, 139 Sickert Court, Canonbury Street, London N1.

their peak and are plunging into a military collapse. And what the supporters of the Provisionals forget is that we still retain a revolutionary organisation North and South.

We are not interested in manoeuvring for position within a negotiated reorganised power structure servicing British imperialism in Ireland. And unless our demands are met by Britain, any talks will be sabotaged by our continuance of the struggle in our own way.

Increasingly, too, the people of the North are returning to the methods of struggle we have advocated—the civil disobedience campaign continues unabated, street demonstrations and mass confrontations with military and police are revived. But much more needs to be done to draw the people out of their blind alley of sectarian, elitist, military confrontations. For what has the Provisional campaign achieved?

Between August 1969 and August 1971 we were not responsible for the death of a single Protestant worker. We have not escalated ghetto violence or attempted to incur an Orange backlash. Such a backlash

could only lead to a Holy War in which working-class Catholics and Protestants would be the main victims.

Eamonn McCann's utopian dreams of the Northern Catholic community smashing Unionism and blazing the trail for a national war of liberation provide easy slogans for the British left and further credibility for the Provo bandwagon of Catholic nationalism. In the coming months, I believe, unlike Eamonn, that we will succeed and assume leadership of the struggle North and South.—PADRAIG YEATES, Birmingham 12.

Promises?

AS a communist I find great difficulty in arriving at any sort of objective viewpoint re Socialist Worker. Its sectarianism triggers mine.

On one page I find closely reasoned social analysis. On another—a shrill, vituperative, totally one-sided anti-Communist Party or anti-Soviet diatribe.

Now, I realise that as the capitalist class will forgive anything except a pro-communist line or a broad, historical support for the USSR, many of your readers cannot (because of their job expectations) face the sort of total opposition that capitalism reserves for the communists.

OK, let them keep this line of retreat open—but is there any need to be quite so accommodating to capitalism? The pathetic little shard headlined 'Promises, promises...' is just plain and simple Daily Telegraph—rehashed and tarted up with a few liberal-anarchist clichés!

Surely you can do better than that? An old mate of mine in my pre-university days had a way of putting it that might strike a chord: 'Just because a man can't face the cross he doesn't have to be a Judas!'—KEN GEERING, Haywards Heath, Sussex.

UNIONS UNITE!

The following letter from Welsh novelist Alexander Cordell, whose latest novel is on the Merthyr Riots of 1831, was sent in the first instance to a member of Swansea International Socialists.

I THINK your newspaper is doing a first rate job in bringing home to people the tenets of true socialism, not the top-hat variety which purports to represent the left wing element in the country today.

The truth is that the thinking man in the street with his ration of ideals and compassion just has no political representation: only the Tory is properly represented, and we know how well to our cost—the violence of a million unemployed and a bull market on the Stock Exchange; a planned economy that goes hand in hand with the conservative edict that one conserves to oneself, and to hell with the rest of the population.

We exist within a newspaper sphere that is notoriously right wing, governed by a cabinet that is increasingly reactionary in nature. The principle of divide and rule is being applied with increasing deliberation and success.

Unless the unions bind together at this historic moment in time, they will fall singly to the hammer of the Industrial Relations Act. What we need now is union opposition as a great cohesive force, not a unionism which has forgotten the glories and sacrifices of the past, many of whose leaders are prostrating themselves in genuflection to government authority.

Unless this occurs now, I can see ahead only a slow demoralisation and dilution of the union ideal. The theory that the housewives' vote in this country can be bought for bigger and better promises must be derided, and the true facts of Tory domination brought home to the people.

It might sound like rhetoric—even the derisive shout of those enjoying the economic gilt—but the truth stands in this government's record over the past year and it will be moved from office by something stronger than rhetoric—the union of unionism. If the miners are defeated—and they will be defeated unless their comrades gather about them and support their just cause—it will be the first step to the total

defeat of what we know today as democracy.

I believe that Welsh nationalism, indeed any sort of nationalism, is never the answer—only class solidarity against a class system will win the day.—ALEXANDER CORDELL.

THE POWER GAME



by Colin Barker
illustrations by 'rag'

Forget the fairy tales the CEBG and trade union leaders have told you about the efficiency of the electricity supply industry and the wonders of productivity deals. Here are the facts the bosses don't tell you—in a useful rank-and-file handbook in the fight for better wages and working conditions and to save jobs.
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Miners can shake these vicious Tories: NUM leader

'OURS IS NO LONGER a wages battle. We are directly challenging the government and its whole range of policies. It stands or falls on this issue and we, the miners, stand or fall by the solidarity and supporting action of the mass working-class movement.'

This is the message being belted out in the Kent coalfields and the working class movement in the South East by Jack Collins, National Union of Mineworkers' executive member for the Kent coalfields and one of just two working miners on the 24 man executive. (The rest are full-time officials.)

In his speech to the students of the South Bank Polytechnic last week, Collins heavily underlined that this struggle would not be won at the negotiating table but on the picket lines and through the active involvement of the trade union movement.

He stated that miners did not only need and deserve active support from the broad movement. 'Such support is essential for each and every union member confronted with this government and its 7 per cent wage norm.'

His speech started out with a devastating analysis of how the miners had been robbed. In 1962 Jack Collins was earning £5-£5.10s a shift with a 16 per cent bonus if he worked five straight shifts. Immediately prior to the strike he was earning £30 a week. With the zooming cost of living he had taken a severe wage reduction.

Every ruse

For years, he said, we had no leadership in the coal mines. Apathy and despair were encouraged by the policies of the national union leadership who put up no fight while the industry was being decimated.

On the much talked of parity that has just been introduced, Collins explained that Yorkshire and Kent miners had paid to bring Scotland and Wales a little up the scale.

'Who are the coal board to talk about safety?' he asked. 'They are the people who use every ruse to get miners to work in unsupported seams to get ever more production.'

'They are the people who, when you complain of dust say, "it's not the dust you can see that you should be worried about, it's the dust you can't see and there's none of that there."

'What we reply is that if there's dust you can see there, there's dust you can't see as well. They worry about the safety of the machines alone. Our concern is the well-being of the people.'

Speaking of the strike, he said the response had been beyond any militant's wildest dreams. All of a sudden the rank and file miner had stood up and will stand firm.

'I cannot say how long it's going to last,' he said. 'But I am

NUM leader



Betteshanger strike committee in session. Jack Collins is executive member for the traditionally militant Kent area.

certain it's going to be a long one. We cannot go back for an extra pound no matter what Joe Gormley says.

'Any sellout engineered by the full-time officials will be resisted at the pit heads. The organisation and feeling now exists to fight on.'

Explaining that many miners had never been on the streets before, Collins stated that everything had changed. The leadership was now being driven along by the movement. 'Nothing less than £5 a week will mean a thing.'

'I think one thing will certainly come out of this strike. Ordinary miners' attitudes to the NUM will be totally transformed. We will go on to put rank and file miners on our executive in place of the present occupants.'

'And many other things are

being changed. Miners are examining their ideas, rethinking their position in society. Of course miners will vote to return a Labour government next time, but as the class struggle hots up ideas about politics and socialism can change too.'

Returning time and again to the active support from fellow trade unionists, Collins attacked the role of the TUC and criticised the lefts. 'Jack Jones hasn't publicly stated where his union stands,' he said.

Ashamed

'Instructions must be issued. At present some TGWU regional secretaries are using the Industrial Relations Act to justify doing nothing.'

Asked why the power workers were not moving into line beside the miners, Jack Collins said 'It's because of unevenness, because they have a union leadership like the one we've had over the years.'

He quoted an incident in the second week of the strike when the miners were picketing an Electricians' Union meeting and General Secretary Frank Chapple declined even to discuss with them, 'I talk to Joe Gormley,' said Chapple.

But Collins stressed: 'The rank and file can be moved for they are in substantially the same boat as ourselves. If the militants in the power industry are anything to go by, then they are raring to go.'

Collins said he was ashamed that the postal workers had been left to go down to defeat by the TUC.

'Miners are different, immensely stronger, living in communities where everyone knows everything about everyone else. If anyone can really shake this vicious government then it is the miners. We will stay out until we've done just that. And believe you me, we've learned a lot from the postal workers.'

'If our parents lost the battle in 1926 then we won't be repeating that. We've come to collect what is owing and we'll not be found wanting in the struggle.'

Laurie Flynn

It is outrageous to exist on what we are given

SILENT AND ALONE, they grow cold. At this time of year they frequently die from the cold, rating a paragraph in the local paper if there should be an inquest.

Usually their deaths are put down to any number of other causes. This is because the thermometers used by doctors and social workers do not register the extremely low body temperatures associated with being old and cold, existing on a miserable pension.

Thermometers don't measure the cost of heat, the gas bill and the price of butter either. There is no handy instrument to gauge the condition of the people of the abyss.

Some 60,000 old people in England and Wales alone die each and every winter from bad diet and lack of warmth. A recently published survey done by voluntary workers in the London Borough of Islington shows that two of the 185 pensioners interviewed had no heating whatsoever during the winter.

The more fortunate ones huddle round a gas ring in a constant struggle to keep their bodies warm. At night, when the welcome release of sleep seems near, they retire into unheated bedrooms and shiver the long night away.

Those guardians of the people's interests—successive Labour and Tory governments—know about the situation in great detail and have done nothing about it. Strictly, that is inaccurate. They have made the situation worse.

Even as the press lies about the cause of the situation (attributing it to power work-to-rules and perhaps shortly to a miners' strike), official spokesmen lie about the extent of the problem.

'Excessive cold, hunger, thirst and neglect killed 155 people aged 65 and over during 1969,' Alison, one of the Tory Health spokesmen, told the House of Commons early last year.

Even the true figure of thousands each winter is apparently an acceptable level of remote-controlled murder in this civilised society where governments are concerned exclusively with strike 'problems' and the lack of capital investment.

Meagre

Walking into the furnished rooms of misery where the old are dumped when they are of no further use to society is an excruciating experience. Desperation often makes for very humble people. They are grateful for the meagre imitation of assistance they are allowed.

In most respects John Hyde, a man aged 63, is completely typical. With blackouts and a gastric ulcer—the result of injuries as a farmworker, and subsequently as an industrial acid packer—he must eat only certain kinds of food.

His pension of £9.90 a week ensures that in the winter months he chooses one week to be warm and the next to feed himself in some manner which at least resembles the diet his doctor has ordered.

When I went to see him, he had an unexpected fire in the grate. He had been lucky enough to find a few bits of wood that morning when he went out.

Otherwise, he would have spent the day huddled close to one ring on his gas cooker, a specially designed economy central heating system for the old and poor.

A fighter

John Hyde, like millions of other old people, is an expert in the complex mental arithmetic of poverty. Each and every day is a constant series of calculations, to see how best cigarettes, food and laundry can be provided from a pension which scarcely meets rent, gas and electricity bills.

But in other important ways John Hyde is utterly untypical. For he is a fighter, a man who is not fooled by the occasional sympathy doled out by the news-

COLD TERRIBLE

papers or various charitable organisations.

'It is outrageous and beyond the human nature of life to exist on what we are given now,' he says. 'We are isolated only through misfortune and it is time we got together and demanded a higher standard of living.'

'Even when you're working you're not living,' he states. 'You're only existing while the people at the top live off your sweat.'

He has been assisted by voluntary organisations like Task Force which try to fill the massive cracks which have now been noticed in the welfare society.

Pitiful

He has much respect for the sincere youngsters who organise assistance and for the schoolkids who come to carry his coal up the stairs when he can afford to pay for it. But he states that the government authorities are taking advantage of charity and the young. They function to excuse others whose only real concern is the balance of payments or business profitability.

The performance of the Ministry of Social Security—a humorous title—is true to form in this area. When the voluntary organisation Task Force has found the people who qualify for the pitiful extra heating allowances, they meet with scant success.

A grant for a fire may be extracted. Nothing is forthcoming to pay for firing it.

Cases exist where a regular extra sum is allowed. The same sum is then deducted from another section of what is already received, leaving the allowance unchanged. An official is sent round to explain the 'fairness' of the calculation.

Dr Geoffrey Taylor—the liberal and campaigning doctor who was falsely used by the Sun last year to intimidate the power workers—told me that the question was not just one of heating and diet.

'The question of what is proper diet or good housing is

Islington, 1972. Mrs from bed to back again in one room is of a sad and struggle to warm and

not dealt with we don't look Since first licising theip Doctor Taylor articles, eachan ing that the specially desig proper heating merely begin a what good diet enough money 'I shall con Health Ministe to realise th better than pounds are sp



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BRENDAN MONKS

Winter moves her chair and at night. Her the scene constant keep alive.

AND DYING—THE TERRIBLE PLIGHT OF BRITAIN'S OLD

Special report
by ARTHUR MALONE

This is because at human need. her took to publication of the old, has written many and every one stressed should live in med housing with They should not position to know is but should have to buy it too. ne to pester the until he is made at prevention is ure. Millions of at on old people

in hospital suffering from hypothermia which is brought about by lack of food and cold. It would cost less to give them free vitamins,' he stated in September 1964.

The first ever national survey of the old and cold is now under way. The matter is in the hands

of experts and results will be published soon. For a welter of reasons, nothing will be done.

A mountain of scientific evidence did nothing to stop the the rival Wilson and Heath gangs progressively taking away free school milk.

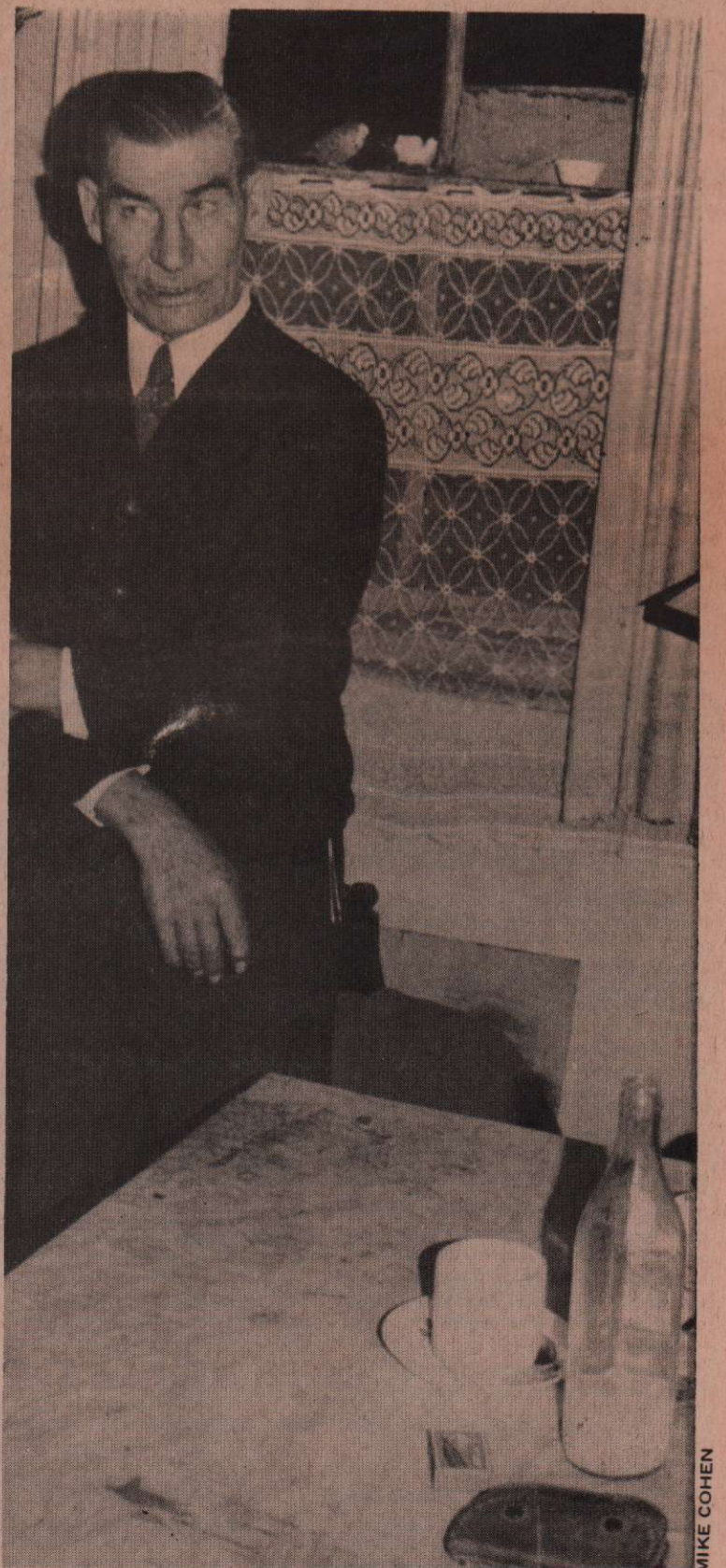
The fact is we live in a society where some people are only too happy to kid others that publicity and more research means that something is being done about these problems.

Obvious and minimal changes like an increase in the pensions and an extra week's pension in

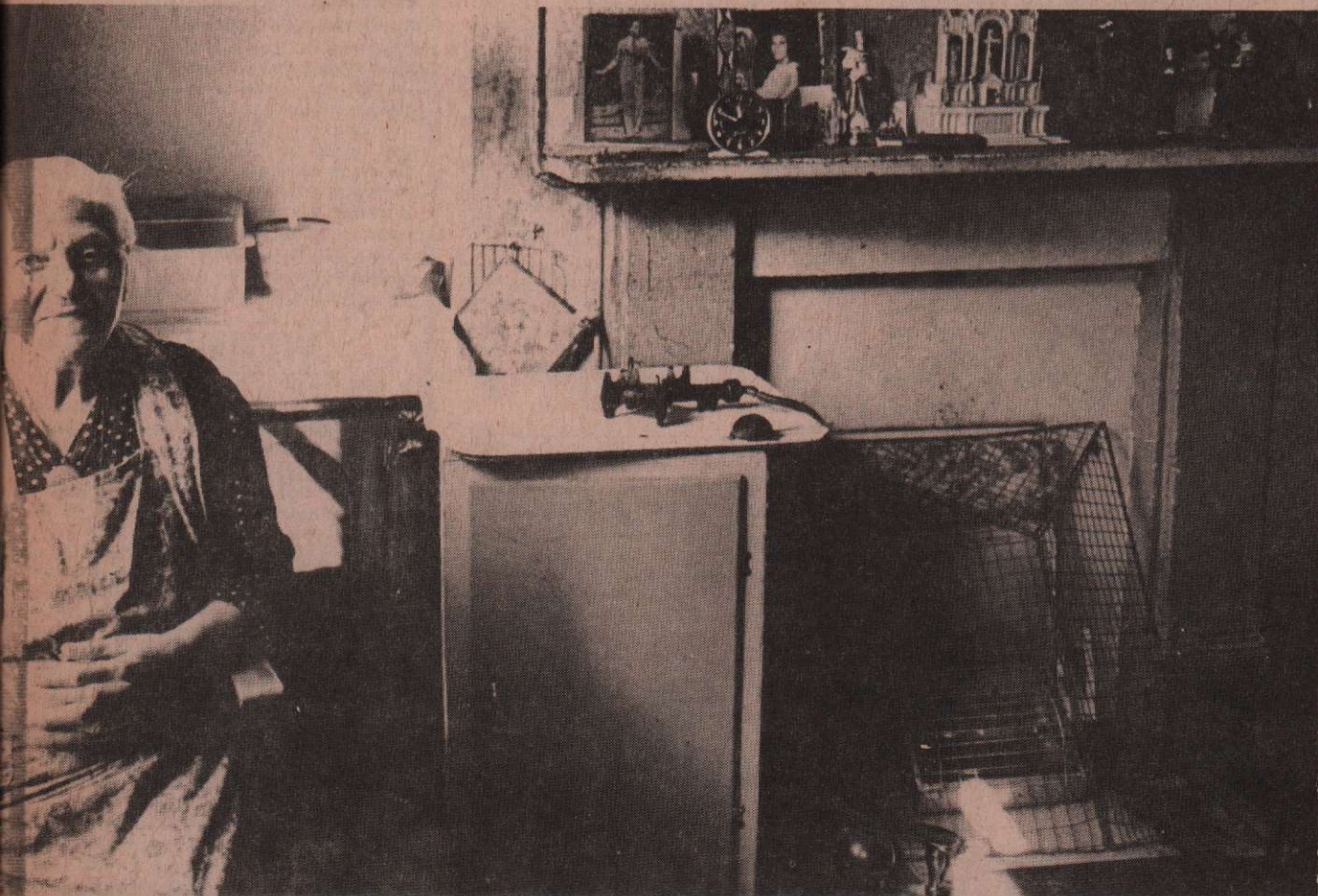
the winter, as Vic Feather suggests, are found impossible by Tory or Labour governments. Even were they to be conceded, they would do nothing in terms of a solution, so fast is the cost of living rising.

And changes within this system would not fundamentally alter the condition of the old. Wounded in body and mind, they are the victims of a society concerned with human beings only in so far as they register their existence by clocking in to a factory or dole queue.

Compassion and pity are not what the old want. What they need—as a simple matter of survival—is a society where such a word as 'old' would have no real meaning, where people's importance would no longer be judged by their ability to produce profits.



MIKE COHEN



BRENDAN MONKS

ABOVE: John Hyde—two rooms of misery, one uninhabitable with the damp, the other with a broken window that his landlords, Drivers and Norris, will not mend. Old and cold sitting tenants reduce the market value of these houses—a terrible state of affairs for the property speculators.

LEFT: A mantelpiece of memories and a shaft of sunshine brighten the misery of Mrs B, 35 years in the same house and still paying the slumlord his weekly chunk from a miserable pension.

After the world was carved up by the capitalist nations of the West, only one country other than Japan succeeded in industrialising itself: Russia.

It would not have been able to do so if the Russian workers had not taken power in 1917. When the Russian workers lost power, the bureaucrats who took their place helped imperialism continue in the rest of the world, and copied its operations themselves so that they could compete with it on its own terms.

Russia before the revolution was a backward country, dominated by foreign investment. As in the colonial countries, the local capitalist class was too weak and cowardly to do what was needed to industrialise and develop the country.

They could not break with foreign investment, as their own interests were too closely linked with it. And they could not help free the peasants from the grip of landlordism; the banks had too much money loaned to the big landowners, and any peasant movement might threaten law and order.

Russia's small but militant working class was the only force which could lead the revolution.

And as the rule of the workers could not last long in isolated backward Russia, the revolution would have to spread.

In 1917 the Russian workers, led by the Bolsheviks and with a parallel movement by the peasants, did take power. And the Communist regime made its chief priority the spreading of the revolution to the centres of imperialism in the West.

But when the revolution in the West was defeated, the Russian state was isolated. The small Russian working class had been exhausted in the civil war, caused when capitalist countries sent their armies to invade the new Soviet state.

A new layer of bureaucrats grew up, enjoying great privileges at the workers' expense, and increasingly suppressing all opposition to their rule.

Armies

These bureaucrats, with Stalin at their head, faced the same problem as every other ruling group in an imperialist world; how to survive in a continual struggle to carve-up the globe, and not become the victim of the carve-up.

They could not rely on the working class at home or in the West, for they knew that as soon as the workers began to move, their bureaucratic privileges would be the first target of attack.

So, like the rulers of Japan before them, the Russian bureaucrats had no alternative but to copy the methods of the capitalist world in which they found themselves, and which they no longer seriously wished to overthrow.

They used the Russian state to carry out, in the five year plans, a crash programme of industrialisation, by the same methods of forced accumulation against the workers and peasants of Russia as the capitalist class of the West had used against its own working people and against the



The confrontation of Czechoslovakia 1968: the people and the invader

RUSSIA TODAY: THE NEW IMPERIALISTS

WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?

by STEPHEN MARKS



PART EIGHT

of a series

exploited countries.

While this was going on, Stalin and the ruling bureaucrats wanted international stability. So Russia's massive influence with the Communist parties of the world was used against workers' revolution everywhere else, and in the interests of Russian foreign policy.

This not only meant that in Spain, France and Germany in the 1920s the overthrow of capitalism was prevented, but also had its effects in the colonial countries.

This first showed itself as early in the mid-1920s. Because the Russian leaders thought that Chiang Kai-shek, Chinese nationalist leader, would have a pro-Russian foreign policy, the Chinese Communist Party was ordered to join his party, the

Kuomintang, and give it full support. When Chiang came to power he butchered the workers, and the Communist Party was driven out of the towns.

In the 1930s, when Communists in France supported the Popular Front government and France had an alliance with Russia, the Communists in Indochina and other French colonies stopped demanding independence. The same occurred during the second world war, when Communists in the colonies of Russia's allies, Britain and France, also gave up the fight for independence.

At the Yalta conference in 1945, Stalin carved up Europe with Roosevelt and Churchill. He installed puppet governments in his part of Europe, and exploited their

economies in classic colonial fashion.

In fact he even tried, without success, to persuade Churchill and Roosevelt to give Russia Italy's former colonies in Africa.

Russia is relatively self-sufficient economically, so foreign investment and trade are not nearly as important for her as they are for the USA. Nonetheless, to survive militarily and politically in the struggle of the superpowers, Russia must get the most she can out of her own sphere of influence, and seek to increase it at the expense of other super-powers.

To this end she will support opposition within the American empire, but only to the extent that she feels it can be used to further her own imperialist ambitions. In the same way the Americans have helped rebels against Russian imperialism such as Tito in Yugoslavia.

If a national movement does not suit the interests of either side, both will happily combine to see it crushed, as the Palestinian guerrillas discovered.

Corrupt

But the basic lessons of the Russian revolution remain. It happened in the first place because in 'backward' countries the middle class is too weak to challenge the outmoded and corrupt regimes on which imperialism depends for control. If the working class can take the lead, it can make the fight against backwardness and imperialism flow into the world socialist revolution.

What happened to the revolution once the workers lost power shows that any force in any society which does not or cannot base itself on the working class, must end up reproducing and fitting in with the logic of an imperialist world system.

No dole for the investors

IS UNEMPLOYMENT good for the stock market? The fact that share prices surged ahead last week to a new high point on the very day that unemployment figures of more than one million were announced would seem to give a pretty conclusive answer to the question.

Nevertheless, the connection between the jobless level and the wealth of those who own Britain's companies is a subject being debated with some vigour in the City of London.

Latest to weigh in on the great debate is the Ionian Bank, which lays bare the thinking of much of the City in its January newsletter. 'All the indications', says the bank, 'are that the process of shake-out has a fair way to run yet.'

This, it reckons, is good news for investors. 'The greater efficiency in the use of manpower is of course one of the

factors which should improve profitability in the years ahead.'

Having established the link between lengthening dole queues and their own blossoming bank balances the bank admits some disturbing features about the current situation.

'The slimming down process which we have witnessed is one which has been much sharper in this country than elsewhere in Europe where it has been more continuous. The inevitable result is that unemployment will remain high even if production were to pick up as sharply as the Chancellor has forecast.'

So why is the bank worried about the possibility of a permanent level of high unemployment? The question, it explains, is how the government will react.

'Would it accept that what we are witnessing is a structural shift, or would it regard the unemployment level as the

key economic indicator? If it did the latter, it might well go on pumping for too long and in that case such gains as have been achieved in the battle against inflation would quickly vanish.'

In other words, what concerns the bank is that the government might panic and take action to reduce unemployment by increasing workers' purchasing power. If this happened, it could swing the whole balance of economic power back in favour of the labour movement.

Such action, it reasons, would be very bad for Britain's investors.

But with a Tory government in power the nagging doubts of the bank are quickly forgotten. 'The budget should hold no fears for investors and may well provide some further goodies,' it forecasts. The unemployed have reason to be less optimistic.

OUR NORMAN



WHO

Few readers will need to be told of the great frequency and seriousness of mental and emotional disturbances which afflict large masses of the working population, including not only those who receive psychiatric treatment but also the members of their families living in the same household.

Active militants in the trade union and socialist movements often have to contend, not only with the pressing demands of the struggle and the attacks of the capitalist class and its agents, but also (what is perhaps hardest of all to bear) with psychological collapses, varying in their severity and character, but uniformly stressful in that they have to be faced in the isolated surroundings of the family home.

The stress or collapse may affect the child, the spouse, or the parent of the political activist, or indeed the activist himself (or herself).

In fact, if it affects any of his close relatives, he is hardly likely to remain unscarred by the immense strain which such problems bring. To take these problems outside the confidential circle of the family, into the doctor's surgery or even to the sympathetic ears of close friends, is usually a step taken with great reluctance and often with a delay amounting to years, while the crisis in the household steadily accumulates.

STIGMA

For a long time, indeed, this psychological hell may not be regarded as arising primarily from an 'illness' at all or it may be seen as caused by some kind of physical illness, ranging from anaemia to 'nerves'. The stigma of 'mental illness', along with fears of an hereditary taint and guilt-feelings about moral responsibility for what has happened still operates very powerfully even in these allegedly enlightened days.

The presence of physical illness at home can usually be discussed, at least in vague terms, among workmates and friends and accepted as the basis for sympathy or as an excuse for withdrawal from some organisational commitments. To admit to 'mental illness', however, whether affecting a relative or the militant himself, is still a much more shameful matter.

Mental stress and breakdown, whether psychiatrically treated or not, is thus one of the most grievous hidden costs of life in this type of society. There is no way of gauging how many thousands of individuals have their lives poisoned or wrecked in the secrecy of their own dwelling, while maintaining an apparently cheerful public 'front' outside the home.

Some limited scope, however, for the discussion of personal psychological problems under capitalism has been provided in recent years by the body of work which has been presented in more-or-less popular form by the Scottish psychiatrist R D Laing and his colleagues.

Laing has concentrated on one important group of the 'mental illnesses' that are diagnosed by doctors, namely the disorder which is termed schizophrenia. This is among the most serious maladies recognised by modern psychiatric medicine: it is very hard to define in a few words since it includes a number of rather different ways of withdrawing from reality.

VICTIMS

But anybody who is diagnosed as 'schizophrenic' by a psychiatrist is usually incapable of holding down a regular job, at any rank without episodes of breakdown that may last weeks or months, and is nearly always in serious trouble in his close personal relationships.

R D Laing has offered a number of theories about the nature of 'schizophrenia' and the methods used by doctors to treat patients diagnosed with this condition. His books on the subject are readily available (some of them are best-sellers in cheap paperback) and readers who want to discover more about his ideas can easily do so.

Roughly, he says firstly that 'schizophrenia' is not a mental illness at all but a nasty disapproving label which is fixed on unfortunate people by their relatives acting in collusion with psychiatrists to condemn these victims to a long career inside a mental institution. And, secondly, that since our kind of society is clearly mad anyway, the people who are called mad-

IS MAD-YOU OR THE SYSTEM?

PETER SEDGWICK reviews the new David Mercer film 'Family Life' and discusses current 'left-wing' attitudes to the treatment of mental illness



Lenin: stay away from 'doctor-comrades'

men by public opinion may (at least in some cases) be the sanest of us all.

What doctors and relatives call 'hallucinations', 'delusions' or other 'symptoms' of insanity may really be important experiences for the person undergoing them, something like a mystical meditation or a really good trip on LSD. Laing condemns all the methods of psychiatric treatment that are commonly used to treat schizophrenic patients in the Health Service, and has tried, along with his followers, to set up a number of small-scale units in which so-called schizophrenics are helped by close personal support and encouragement with little or no medication in the way of drugs.

There is no evidence that these units have been any more successful than good NHS hospitals. Laing's ideas have had some success in the medical profession, if only because mental patients like what he has to say, and are sometimes able to influence their psychiatrists by argument.

He has enjoyed a tremendous vogue among young people and older middle-class trendies, most of whom know nothing about the subject apart from what they have read in Laing. At the moment his school of thought is in some disarray. For Laing (after flirting with Marxist language on and off during the last few years) has pulled out permanently from all his patients and sympathisers and gone off to a monastery in Ceylon where he has been spending about 17 hours a day meditating on Buddhism.

Since a fierce civil war has been going on in Ceylon between the government there (which is a stooge of foreign capitalism) and a revolutionary movement of youth, trade unionists and peasantry, Laing's departure for that country at this particular time has somewhat spoiled his progressive reputation, particularly since the Buddhist establishment in Ceylon supports the state's bloodthirsty repression of the left.

Laing's theories are enjoying a boost from an extremely powerful film made by a writing and production team of convinced socialists. This is *Family Life*, scripted by David Mercer, produced by Tony Garnett and directed by Ken Loach, now at the Academy Cinema in London. It has received rave reviews from virtually all the critics, especially liberal or left-wing ones.

The basic story is one that is found repeatedly in all Laing's accounts of what the dreadful psychiatrists do: a naive young girl (appealingly played by Sandy Ratcliff) is driven slowly into a condition of frightened, inert withdrawal by her two horrible parents, who goad her, nag her and

generally mess her up with their repressive, authoritarian, dishonest, brutal (or sometimes saccharine-sweet) chatter.

At first the poor girl gets some sympathetic psychiatric help in a ward run by a Laingian doctor, who is called Mike by his subordinates and conducts therapy-sessions through earnest discussion about relationships. This nice doctor is however witch-hunted from the hospital by a snooty, Tory-minded administration, and when Sandy goes in again for treatment it is at the hands of a cold, tight-lipped doctor (who seems to live only for the purpose of giving electro-shock treatment to his victims) and a complacent, uncomprehending and bureaucratic nursing staff.

Sandy escapes from the horrors of the National Health Service on the back of her boyfriend's Vespa, but is mercilessly hunted down by yet another repressive, authoritarian, bureaucratic doctor who comes with the uniformed fuzz to drag her back to the ward. As a result of these exertions, she is finally reduced to a pitiable state of vegetable lunacy, and placed on display before a classroom of toffee-nosed medical students as a typical case of the disease 'schizophrenia'. End of film.

We are given to understand that, beneath her outward weird behaviour, Sandy is groping towards a true revolutionary analysis of modern capitalism. 'A machine in the centre of the world is controlling us all!' she obligingly yells to the ward nurses, who obviously think the poor woman is crazy and quell her revolutionary speech with an injection of potent tranquilliser.

The message of *Family Life* is basically that since life in our society is repressive and exploiting, mental illness is one more form of protest which deserves our sympathy and solidarity. And the psychiatric treatment of mental illness (except in a form which is virtually unavailable to the working masses, i.e. through intensive therapy of the Laingian type) is seen as a part, perhaps an essential part, of the brainwashing, head-fixing, mind-dulling apparatus of modern capitalism.

This message is in many respects true. But it is a half-truth at best. And the half of the message that is false is dangerous—all the more dangerous because it is likely, through this skilful, well-intentioned film, to reach and impress a wide audience.

For if there is no such thing as mental illness, we can have no use for the idea of mental health. We can therefore make no demands on the system to provide better

facilities, material and personal, for the treatment of the mentally ill. There can be no question of drawing up a programme for a greatly improved psychiatric service within the NHS.

We cannot demand the expenditure of millions of pounds on more and better mental hospitals, more and better doctors and nurses—at the expense of armaments and the profits of the rich—for Mercer has told us that all that these hospitals, doctors and nurses do is to brainwash potentially revolutionary people through the use of drugs and electro-shock.

Unwittingly, the authors of this film have created a climate of opinion in which their audiences will no longer be so keen to resist the present massive Tory attack on the psychiatric facilities of the Health Service. For the Tories also want to close down the mental hospitals, to cut central expenditure on the aftercare of the mentally ill and throw them on the mercy of the local authorities who will find it easy to reduce expenditure for this powerless and unpopular section of the community.

INTOLERABLE

In that case, the burden of mental illness will be thrown back on to the working class, to be dealt with in the isolated, walled-off home-situation of the agonised common man and woman. It is a burden which is already intolerable: it must be a central demand for the working class and socialist movement that, on the contrary, the state must accept responsibility for the care of the mentally afflicted—not on the cheap, by impersonal mass-produced treatment in overcrowded hospitals, but as expensively and expertly as we would wish to be treated ourselves.

More generally, *Family Life* panders to the common prejudices which create the stigma of mental illness. It tries to persuade us that there really is something horrific and shameful about seeking medical help during a time of emotional distress; that to submit to a controlled state of unconsciousness which may afford temporary (but essential) relief from a personal nightmare—which is what electro-shock therapy does when properly administered—is some kind of surrender to the ruling class; that to take a tranquillising pill or injection—again perhaps for relief rather than any profound cure—is to accept conformity with the goals of our hateful social system.

It cannot possibly encourage any person with serious mental trouble to seek voluntary treatment from any existing NHS facilities—it can only discourage and



Sandy Ratcliff in *Family Life*: reduced to a pitiable vegetable

frighten them. And it cruelly mocks (through its caricature of the family situation of a schizophrenic patient) the awful dilemmas which confront thousands of actual families in which all, perhaps, are 'ill' but one particular person is actually crazy.

The majority of diagnosed schizophrenics who enter treatment are not bullied youngsters but older people aged 30 and over and it is a consistent finding of medical sociology that schizophrenia strikes the lowest social classes with the greatest frequency in proportion to numbers. The Laingian schizophrenic, living full-time in a sympathetic commune with his psychoanalyst, savouring the ups and downs of his romantically mystical 'trip', is a delightful spectacle for the intelligentsia who come to watch him; he is not a practical possibility for the average working man or woman undergoing mental torment in the midst of family responsibilities.

There are many aspects of Mercer's (and Laing's) case which deserve support. It is probable that the actual diagnosis-label 'schizophrenia' is too confused to be of much further use in psychiatry. (Psychiatrists in this country, incidentally, tend to avoid using it in comparison with

their American colleagues; a diagnosis of 'depression' is made nine times more frequently over here than in the USA, and in one study when a film of a disturbed patient was shown to a sample of 32 British psychiatrists, none of them called him 'schizophrenic' while a third of the sample of 40 American psychiatrists used this label.)

TRENDS

We know, but still need to be told, that many mental hospitals are bad, that many psychiatrists are incompetent and reactionary. The same of course applies to hospitals, doctors and nurses dealing with physical medicine, only nobody thinks of using this to attack the very existence of public amenities for treating physical illnesses.

Politics and psychology both demand serious and disciplined theory and practice; in both we should avoid being captivated by fashionable trends. Lenin's advice to a sick comrade was at all costs to stay away from marxist medics and go to bourgeois specialists instead: 'Really in 99 cases out of 100, doctor-comrades are asses . . . To try on yourself the discoveries of a Bolshevik—that's really terrifying.'

Dr R D Laing is not even a Bolshevik. It is to be hoped that those who thought that he was a "doctor-comrade" will have some serious second thoughts.

Dangerous half-truth in attack on the NHS

WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We fight:

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

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

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

Against anti-trade union laws and any

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

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

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

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

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

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

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

NORTH WEST
Barrow
Blackburn
Bolton
Crewe
Kirkby
Lancaster
Manchester
Merseyside
Oldham
Potteries
Preston
St Helens
Wigan
Wrexham

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

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

Plymouth
Swansea

SOUTH
Ashford
Brighton
Canterbury
Crawley
Folkstone
Gurdford
Portsmouth
Southampton

EAST
Basildon
Beccles
Cambridge
Colchester
Harlow

Ipswich
Leiston
Lowestoft
Norwich
Peterborough

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES
Acton
Camden
Chertsey
Croydon

Dagenham
East London
Enfield
Erith
Fulham
Greenford
Hackney & Islington
Havering
Harrow
Hemel Hempstead
Hornsey
Hounslow
Ilford
Kilburn
Kingston
Lambeth
Lewisham
Merton
Newham
Paddington
Reading
St Albans
Slough
South Ealing
Tottenham
Walthamstow
Wandsworth
Watford
Woolwich

Ssh-keep quiet on poisoned workers

RIO TINTO ZINC seem to have hit on the final solution to the unemployment problem. It is a scheme of Eichmann simplicity. You just poison the few poor bastards who are still left in their jobs.

The plan certainly deserved better coverage than it received from our national press.

When the news broke that Rio's subsidiary, Imperial Smelting Corporation, were having to close their £14 million Avonmouth smelting plant for two months because their workers were suffering from lead poisoning, only one paper—the Guardian—saw fit to lead on the story.

In doing so the Guardian revealed many of its inadequacies. The story by Peter Harvey noted, for example, that on two occasions late last year workers downed tools 'because of fears of poisoning.'

Why was there no big fuss then? Well, they were only workers, after all. We can't really take much notice of what THEY say.

Now we have a TUC medical expert saying the same thing and forcing the bosses to close the plant. That's different, you see. HE'S a professional man. HE'S got statistics to prove it.

The Guardian story also recalled a planning inquiry last summer at which another medical man, the mid-Gloucestershire medical officer, complained that soil near the smelter site was contaminated with zinc, lead and cadmium.

SPIKE RON KNOWLES' press column

Again, why do we have to wait for the big money boys to close their deadly smelter before there is an outcry?

The Times used the Avonmouth poison story to introduce a general pollution piece to lead their Page Three Homes News section, but the rest of the press tucked it away—except for the Mirror, the workers' friend, which ignored the story completely.

In case anyone should think that workers are more important than, say, orchids, the Daily Telegraph was at hand to jerk us into a sense of perspective. They gave the smelter story eight inches of single column on Page Two while leading the same page on an item headlined: ORCHIDS RUINED BY JET FUMES, SAYS GROWER.

Still, I'm forced to admit, workers don't smell as sweet as orchids.

While the Mirror was unable to find space for the Avonmouth shut-down it was still doing its bit for pollution. It led that day on a Commons attack by Labour's Rugby MP, William Price, against the cyanide dumpers.

Nice to see that the Mirror still has the public interest at large, you might think. But the real reason the story got the treatment was that Mr Price, a former journalist with an eye for headlines and a publicist's sense of how to appeal to a newspaper's vanity, praised the Mirror on the floor of the House and read extracts from a Mirror campaign against the dumpers.

Amazingly few papers seemed to see any pollution relationship between dumping cyanide at tips and poisoning workers with lead at a smelting plant. The Sun was typical in putting the smelter item on Page Five and CURBS ON POISON DUMPERS on Page 11—without so much as a cross-reference.

The Daily Mail, sensitive as ever to the image of big business, carried a limp three paragraphs on the Avonmouth poisonings at the tail of a longer article by their special environment reporter.

My favourite headline over the past few weeks was that of the Guardian on 25 January which stated without a blush or a critical glance at the recent past: WILSON PROCLAIMS THE RIGHT TO WORK.

I suppose a man who can claim to be a socialist leader while at the same time pursuing a deliberate policy of unemployment can say anything and get away with it.

IS NEWS

NORTH STAFFS:—400 workers, mostly miners, heard Gwynn Reid, Doncaster area NUM, Wally Preston, Manchester power worker, and John Charlton of IS, at a meeting organised last week by the local IS branch.

The meeting had the support of rank and file miners after it had been smeared in the local press and radio by NUM officials. An area union agent, a magistrate, issued a circular before the meeting threatening severe reprimands to militants who attempted to pursue 'independent' lines of action.

He said he intended the strike to be conducted in an 'orderly and sensible way', and that any help must come through the officials' 'strike liaison committee'.

The officials' confidence in themselves was not shared by the audience, who greeted Gwynn Reid's call for the end of permanent officials with loud applause. He also detailed the need for a national strike committee and the exchange of

pickets between the coalfields.

Wally Preston called for rank and file unity between miners and power workers, for 'when one coughs the other spits'. Power workers or miners must not be isolated. That lesson was learnt last year by power workers and postmen. The support of the entire trade union movement is needed, he added.

In the majority of pits in the area, safety men are still stopping out, despite the NUM and panic cries of irresponsibility from the NCB, as their expensive equipment starts to buckle and a few coal faces begin to heat. Safety is covered by NCB officials and there are more of them down the pit than ever before the strike.

WOLVERHAMPTON:—The room was packed at last Thursday's IS meeting held in support of the miners. On the platform were three rank and file members of the NUM from Lea Hall Colliery, Staffs, Alf Ford, senior ETU steward in the local

electricity supply industry and Vic Collard AUEW shop steward at Lucas, Birmingham.

All speakers stressed the importance of the miners' strike not only for the miners themselves but also for the whole organised labour movement. They also pointed out that the strike could be won only if the miners and the power workers united their claims.

Alf Ford said: 'Even if agreement is reached within the power industry I hope we will not accept a settlement until the miners have got their claim as well.'

All three miners paid tribute to Socialist Worker and the Miners Special issue 'for having outlined so clearly the case for the miners and the importance of the strike for the whole working class.'

The meeting also felt that the TUC must express not only verbal but active support if its assurances of solidarity were to be meaningful.

Last Sunday 150 copies of Socialist Worker were sold at the Lea Hall NUM branch meeting.

WHAT'S ON

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

MEETINGS

LAMBETH IS public meeting: The Class Struggle in India. Speaker from Communist Party of India (Marxist), Wed 9 February, 8.15pm, Tulse Hill Tavern, corner Tulse Hill and Norwood Junction.

GLASGOW IS: Bernadette Devlin MP and Steve Jefferys, IS area secretary, on The Struggle for Socialism in Britain and Ireland, Friday 4 Feb, Woodside Halls, 7.30pm. Tickets from IS members.

COVENTRY IS public meeting: Unemployment And How To Fight It. John Palmer, a Chrysler shop steward and a representative from Fisher Bendix speak at Lancaster Poly, room 107 (opp Cathedral) Wednesday 9 February at 7.30pm.

CRAWLEY public meeting: Fight The Tory Rent Bill. 10 Feb, 8pm, in the Civic Hall.

CRAWLEY RALLY: Fight the Tory Rent Bill: Queen's Square, 5 February 2pm.

'Support the Miners' Social, with food. Saturday 5 February, 54 Lancaster Road, London N4. 40p at door.

WALTHAMSTOW IS: 'Support the Miners' meeting. Speakers to be announced. Wed 9 February 8pm, Trades Hall, Hoe Street, Walthamstow, E17.

SOCIALIST COMPUTER STAFF: meeting to discuss computer staff and trade unions. Wed 9 February, 7.30pm, The Stanhope Hotel, Gloucester Rd, London SW7.

HOUNSLOW and TWICKENHAM IS public meeting: Michael Duane speaks on Socialism and Education. 8pm Wednesday 23 February, Co-Op Hall, Bath Road, Twickenham.

Supported Yahya Khan against Bangladesh!
Supported Ceylon's rulers in crushing revolutionaries!
Now Mao welcomes murderer Nixon!
PUBLIC MEETING
Is China Socialist?
Speaker: Tony Cliff
Wednesday 23 February 7.30pm
Friends Meeting House, Euston Road

Teesside IS Rally
THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM
Speaker Tony Cliff
Singer Alex Glasgow
Friday 25 February 7.30pm
James Finegan Hall
Fabian Road, Teessville.

NOTICES

FILM SHOW: Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea presents 'To Kill a Pito-Pito' (the first showing in Britain of a film shot in the liberated areas of Angola) and 'People's War: Vietnam'. Feb 4 at 7.15pm, The Old Theatre, LSE, Houghton St, London WC2. Admission 25p.

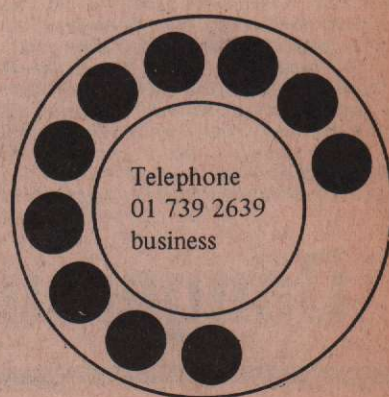
OWN ROOM and share in non-profit making flat in West Kensington. £4 including heat, light, etc. Tel 385-9066/5817.

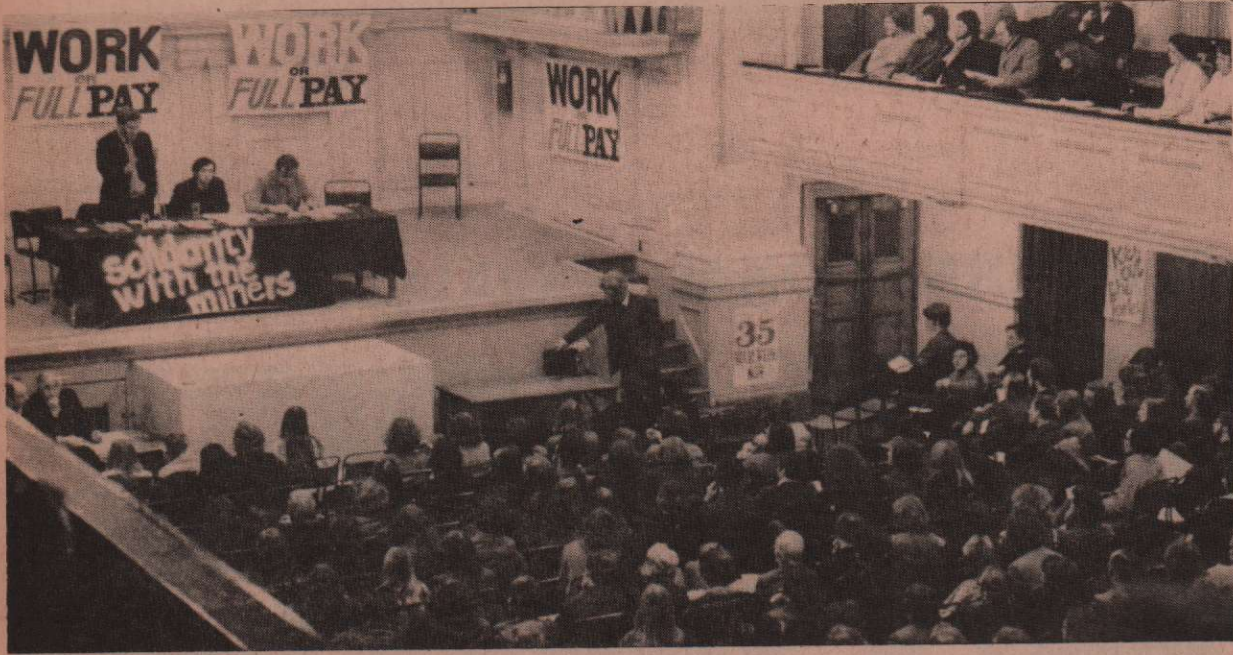
IS BOOKS OPENING HOURS: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday 2-5pm, Thursday 2-7pm. The bookshop will be open on Saturday 12 February from 11am-5pm.

ALL IS branches please note: changes in orders for Socialist Worker must be telephoned to the Business Manager on 01-739 2639 by 5pm Monday or to arrive by first post Monday.

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

RANK AND FILE
(the left-wing teachers' paper) needs a little **OFFICE SPACE** in North East London area (eg Stoke Newington). Could pay a small rent for suitable place, but would prefer something free. Any ideas, offers, please phone Nigel Wright, 794-5590 or write to: Rank and File, 28 Manor Road, N16





The highly-successful IS Industrial Conference in session on Sunday. Speaking is London busman Chris Davison. With him on the platform are chairman Ross Pritchard and POEU executive member Jim Higgins. REPORT: Page 4.

Poison lead smelter —no action until workers strike

by Keith Elliott

BRISTOL:—The largest smelting plant of its kind in the world, Bristol Imperial Smelting, which employs 1150 men, was closed on Monday after a medical check on the blood lead content of 100 workers showed 80 were above the danger level.

Now Bristol's Medical Officer, Dr Robert Wofinden, has called for a massive lead poisoning investigation covering the whole city.

Lead poisoning has been common at the smelter for the 3½ years since it opened. The situation has been ignored by directors of the parent company, Rio Tinto Zinc, and the factory inspectorate. It was only the recent militancy of the

men that achieved anything.

On 9 December 150 maintenance men staged a token strike against lack of information about blood test results. As a result the company agreed to allow a TUC doctor, Dr Robert Murray, to inspect the smelter.

His report said: 'The situation is the most shocking I have ever seen in 25 years of looking at factories. The plant is only 3½ years old but utilises 1913 regulations, even though the nature of the process is entirely different from any previous lead smelting process. In the 3½ years, 20 cases of lead poisoning have been notified and 100 men suspended as a result of abnormal lead exposure.'

'The plant is indescribably filthy: Dust is piled high on ledges and the floors look like a pithead.' He goes on to note that the ventilation is totally inadequate and that 'the wearing of respirators as a method of control of lead poisoning is incredible in the 1970s'.

Inadequate

The response of the company has been predictable. The plant was due to close for five weeks annual maintenance in the third week of February. The dramatic closure three weeks early and pledge by Duncan Dewdney, British chairman of RTZ, that 'there will be no ceiling on the costs' is totally inadequate.

The company intends to spend £180,000 on extractors, though the factory needs restructuring at an estimated cost of £3m-£4m. The whole plant was built on the cheap, as Dewdney said: 'Corners were cut all round . . . at least £16m should have been spent instead of £14m.'

One place Dr Murray did not see was the effluent pit on the 114 'isecoon' process where acid gasses and chlorine are given off. In the last two years 11 of the 20 men on the pit have been gassed. Last Wednesday Roy Pearce was severely gassed and spent two days in hospital.

The safety officer for the section who has no power, when asked by a steward: 'Are they going to wait until someone is killed?' replied: 'I have just asked the same question myself'.

One key problem has been the weakness of the unions' response to the situation. Last July, when 900 redundancies were announced, there was no real fight back. At the moment a temporary inter-union watchdog committee has been set up.

Boiler welded to track

LINCOLN:—Workers at the Ruston Boilers plant, part of the Clarke Chapman John Thompson group, welded a boiler to the track and sat on another in an attempt to prevent management moving machinery. Management intends to kill 233 jobs at the Lincoln plant and move boiler production to their plant at Annan, Scotland.

But after talks last week between full-time union officials and the Engineering Employers' Federation, management announced that unless sanctions were lifted the men would be sacked.

The Ruston Boilers shop stewards committee were also advised by the engineering union (AUEW) that workers could lose their redundancy pay if they continued unofficial action. Occupation of the factory had briefly been considered.

Management has been trying desperately to keep the Lincoln affair quiet because it has many other redundancies in the pipeline. More than 100 were announced last week for their Gateshead plant.

Steps need to be taken urgently to set up a liaison committee with other Chapman Thompson factories. Messages of support and experiences of how factory occupations have saved jobs despite management threats should be sent to N Pashley, John Thompson Cochrane, PO Box 33, Lincoln.

BENDIX: ROUND ONE TO THE WORKERS

KIRKBY:—The Fisher-Bendix occupation is over. On Monday more than 600 workers voted to end their month-old sit-in against the planned closure of the Merseyside radiator factory.

They have won the first round of the fight but they still have to face many dangers in the months ahead.

The occupation began when the owners of the factory—the immensely wealthy Thorn Electrical group—announced that it would have to close by the end of March and that at least 60 workers would be sacked immediately.

Unemployment in Kirkby was already a staggering 23 per cent and the factory closure

by Roger Rosewell
SW Industrial Correspondent

would have made the situation worse. Learning and improving on the UCS and Plessey campaigns, the workers took over the factory on 5 January.

They dramatically evicted the managers, built barricades at the gates, connected high-power hose pipes in preparation to defend the factory from any attacks and established a number of committees to manage the sit-in.

Last week a series of meetings were held between management and shop stewards. They were chaired by Labour leader Harold Wilson,

whose constituency includes Kirkby.

After three days of talks, an agreement was reached that was accepted overwhelmingly by a mass meeting on Monday. The agreement cancelled the 60 sackings and guaranteed that the factory would be kept open at least until the end of 1973.

While this is a tremendous improvement over the company's first statements, there are a number of extra dangers still facing the workers. There is little doubt that these are a result of Wilson's interventions.

With the company reeling from the workers' determination and scared to organise a police assault on the sit-in in case their machinery was damaged, the employers seemed certain to face total defeat.

Wilson's role was to try to prevent that. The final agreement states that a joint management/union working party will be set up to examine how productivity in the factory can be improved.

The committee must report by 5 March. Until then there will be no sackings. After this date the company has said that it will be unable to employ all the workers and that unless a plan to lease part of the factory to another firm is successful and employs men from Fisher-Bendix, then it suggests that redundancies will follow.

The agreement also accepts that manning levels will be studied and that the unions pledge 'energetic pursuit of more economic shop floor production'.

The battle of Fisher-Bendix is by no means over. The fight against any redundancies or productivity deals must be continued.

But the occupation of the factory is yet a further example of the value of this form of struggle that should be used not only to defend jobs but also to win other struggles.

Plessey deal: fewer jobs, but sit-in makes big gains

ALEXANDRIA, Scotland:—A settlement has been reached between the workers occupying the Plessey factory and the management.

Although it guarantees jobs for the 70 workers occupying the factory, it will leave the work force much lower than it was last summer and so does little for the overall unemployment situation in the area.

But however small the success, it does prove that more can be achieved by occupying than by doing nothing. Never again will an employer's property and his 'right' to manage 'his' factory be an unassailable fact of life.

The terms of the settlement are that Plessey will set up a development company for the site in collaboration with the Lyon group, a large industrial estate company. This will employ some of the occupiers on maintenance jobs permanently and the rest on a temporary basis until jobs become available for them on the estate.

All 70 occupiers will be guaranteed employment either for up to two years or 'until such time as suitable jobs appear'.

The first tenant employer on the estate is expected to provide jobs for 20 of the occupation workers in two months time.

As a guarantee that Plessey is not conning the workers again, the unfinished work, stock and scrap metal will only be allowed to leave the factory as permanent jobs are created, and the occupation will

continue until the arrangements to employ the men on a temporary basis are completed.

Time will tell how good a deal it is. As Eddie McLafferty says: 'If Plessey do back out from the agreement and it is necessary to occupy again, at least we'll all be in the estate together.'

ABOUT TURN AT UCS YARD

GLASGOW:—The co-ordinating committee running the occupation at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders was split last week over a decision on whether or not to release a completed ship. Last November the workers voted to release no more finished ships until they were given definite guarantees on the future of the yards.

But with an American firm, Marathon Construction, showing interest in buying the Clydebank yard, Jimmy Reid and James Airlie, the two stewards working closely with union full-time officials, were anxious for show of 'good faith' and responsibility. On Monday they persuaded a mass meeting to rescind last November's decision and to release New Westminster City, a bulk carrier built at Govan. So another bargaining weapon in the workers' hands has been lost.

Demanding yet another 'four-week deadline' for the liquidator to make positive proposals, Airlie said a refusal to release the carrier would lead to a confrontation that would 'sabotage a settlement' with Marathon.

Fight for union rights goes on

WOLVERHAMPTON:—Workers at the H C Hives factory are in the fifth month of their struggle for trade union recognition.

Despite official union backing and partial success in blacking goods, the picket line is still being broken by trade union as well as unorganised labour.

The strike started in September when the men were threatened with the sack if they struck for union recognition. Management has consistently refused to recognise employees' demands, saying at no time would they discuss anything with anybody.

Wolverhampton Trades Council has pledged its support and the strike committee has issued a call for all workers to support their stand for elementary union rights. Pickets are in a serious state of financial hardship. Though some are

threatened with eviction by their landlords, they are determined to continue their fight. Financial assistance is urgently needed.

All donations and messages of support to D. Smith, 7 Moreton Road, Bushbury, Wolverhampton.

Chrysler men 'No' to pay offer

LINWOOD:—6500 Chrysler workers voted overwhelmingly, with fewer than 400 against, to continue their strike last week. They rejected the company's latest offer of a £4.80 increase to last 18 months, and showed their determination to win parity now.

TRADES COUNCIL LEADS RENT BILL STRUGGLE

CRAWLEY:—The Trades Council has taken the initiative in organising resistance to the government's Bill to force up rents. It has distributed leaflets to every household in the town this week and is organising meetings which will result in the election of a tenants action committee.

The government claims that its proposals are aimed at ending subsidies to publicly-owned houses. But in Crawley the rises proposed for this year alone will more than do away with the subsidies—yet rent rises are to continue in following years.

The government speaks of house purchase as an alternative. But in Crawley the average house costs between £7000 and £8000. To get a mortgage you need an income of £1500 a year—but 45 per cent of workers in the new town get less than £20 a week.



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Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

MINERS + POWER MEN = VICTORY



Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire area NUM executive member seen speaking to a packed meeting in Norwich last week. Miners from Yorkshire have toured the Norfolk-Suffolk area to win support from other trade unionists. Picture: Tony Skipper

Rank and file must demand action now

THE FIRST power cuts because of the miners' strike emphasise that the success of the strike and of the power workers' pay claim are intimately linked.

The miners will win very quickly if they get real support from power workers, and if a shortage of electricity makes the Tories give in to the miners, it can also make them give power workers the rise they need.

The four power workers' unions have so far failed to give the miners the support needed. To back their own wage claim they called for an overtime ban rather than the much more effective work to rule. And then they put the ban off for a week for no good reason.

Blacking

Rank-and-file power workers must demand effective action from their unions now. And when the unions still refuse to move, they must take

by Wally Preston

Secretary of Manchester and District
Electricity Supply
Shop Stewards Combine

action themselves.

1 The unions must direct every one of their members to black the movement of coal into power stations or between power stations. There should be strike action if necessary at individual stations to stop new coal or oil being brought in.

2 The engineering and electricians' and plumbers' unions should instruct their members not to do maintenance work on coal plant.

3 The transport workers union should instruct its members in oil refineries not to let oil out to power stations. This means that every load leaving must be checked for its destination.

4 The unions must instruct their members working in the many

private electricity plants owned by industrial concerns not to allow any electricity produced by them (20 per cent of the national total) to be switched into the national grid. Production must not be allowed to rise above the concern's normal requirements.

Channel

The miners' union itself should appeal not only to British power workers, but also to the French unions not to permit any feeding of electricity into the British national grid via the cross-channel cable.

Finally, the best way for power workers to help the miners is to make their own struggle effective. There is an urgent need for an emergency meeting of power workers' shop stewards and combine committees from all parts of the industry and all unions to issue a call to turn the overtime ban into a work to rule.

Fight for our fund

THE MAGNIFICENT support for the IS Industrial Conference last weekend shows that more and more militant workers now realise the need to build a revolutionary political organisation to defeat the Tories and their rotten system.

That is why the IS Fighting Fund is so vital. We need to build on the success of that conference, to sink deeper roots into the working-class movement, to have more full-time organisers, more books, pamphlets and posters.

So far the response has been encouraging. £803 has been sent in by IS branches and individuals. But there is a long, long way to go if we are to reach our £5000 target by 29 February.

Don't delay—rush your donation to us now.

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

THE MINERS can win. And their victory will be a victory for all those suffering under the Tory government's policies. This is the message that becomes more and more clear as the strike enters its fifth week.

The miners' success so far has been shown by the first electricity cuts this week. Big business and the government do not give a damn about what happens to the old, the very young and the sick. Their vicious attacks on the welfare state services show that.

But they do worry when industrial production and industrial profits are hit. The miners' strike is beginning to do this.

This success has been due to the effectiveness of the miners' picket lines and the solidarity shown by tens of thousands of other workers.

The five or six millionaire newspaper owners have recognised this by the way in which their papers have spread lies and distortion about the picketing. They speak of 'intimidation'—without of course mentioning that employers threaten to sack workers who do show solidarity with the miners. A militant picket is needed to counteract other workers' fear of the boss.

Unfortunately, leaders of other major unions have not given the miners the help that is needed. The transport workers' union has issued a general call to its members to respect picket lines, but it has said nothing about the movement of coal inside factories and power stations.

Even worse, it has not made sure that all its members are aware of the fact that they are not to go through pickets. This week there have been reports from parts of Lincolnshire that union members are driving through miners' picket lines.

Victor Feather, TUC general secretary, has been playing an even worse part. Instead of organising mass backing for the miners, he offers himself around as a go-between for the government. Is it for this that millions of trade unionists pay his wages?

ISOLATED

Some union leaders are even raising their refusal to organise support for the miners to a point of principle. At the TUC general council meeting last week, according to the Financial Times, some were actually arguing that the more isolated the miners were, the better it would be. This isolation will, they believe, make it easier for the Tory government to treat the miners as a special case, and give them more than a seven per cent rise.

Trade union leaders who talk such nonsense are backing the Tories, not the miners. The fact is that the government will only make concessions to the miners when it has been forced to. And the key to forcing the government lies in solidarity action.

Nor is it true that the miners are such an exception. True, their conditions are much more dangerous than most other workers. But there are literally millions of workers facing the same low wages and the same toll of redundancies. On the railways, manpower has been halved in ten years and rotten wages are the rule.

But power workers are the most obvious case. Like the miners they have seen their average wages decline slowly but surely

by SW political correspondent

over recent years. Like the miners they have seen the labour force slashed. Over the last four years alone, 30 per cent of the jobs in the power industry have disappeared.

Like the miners, they too are being offered the Tory government's idea of a pay rise—something a good deal less than the rise in the cost of living.

Yet the power workers' leaders—far from rushing to support the miners to consolidate their own pay struggle—have postponed their own overtime ban for a week.

Right wing union leaders like Frank Chapple clearly fear that success for the miners will make their own members more militant—particularly if the success is through dislocating electricity supplies. And the so-called left-wing union leaders like Jack Jones have refused to disassociate themselves from this attitude.

REFUSAL

All this makes continued and determined action from the rank and file necessary. Real solidarity action must be organised. Pressure must be applied to the official union leaders to force them into action. And where they will not move, we must move without them.

Last summer, after the postal workers had received a drubbing from the government, their general secretary, Tom Jackson, suggested a public sector alliance, so that all unions in the nationalised industries could unify their wage claims and their action in a single struggle. The idea was rejected by the leaders of the miners' union among others. Now it is the miners who need real solidarity and the other unions who are standing back.

The lesson has to be learned. What is needed is an organisation of militants that will go much further than the official union leaders in pushing for real unity in action.

And this means rejecting completely the Tories and the system they uphold—a system whose priorities mean low wages for miners and power workers, mass unemployment, the shooting in the back of peaceful demonstrators and the snatching of free milk away from schoolchildren.

The fight now must be for:

Victory to the miners' full claim—no productivity concessions.

Maintain and extend the picketing, 24 hour pickets at the power stations to stop coal being smuggled in at night.

Unity of power workers and miners to beat the government pay policy.

Back miners' rally

Sunday 6 February

Assemble Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, 12 noon.
March to rally in Trafalgar Square, 3pm.

Speakers include Lawrence Daly, Jack Jones, Bob Wright and Anthony Wedgwood Benn.

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