

International

A SURVEY OF BRITISH AND
WORLD AFFAIRS

**Labour,
parliament &
socialism**

Rosa Luxemburg & Karl Liebknecht 50 YEARS AFTER

SPEAKERS

**Ernest
Mandel**

**Peter
Brandt**
GERMAN SDS

**Tariq
Ali**

BEAVER HALL, GARLICK HILL E.C.4
(Mansion House Tube)

SAT. JAN. 25 at 7 p.m. admission **2/6**

Issues before VSC

Cuba: Ten years of revolution

1/6

Letters

FROM THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT (12/12/68)

We are writing to ask your support in our campaign to avert a sell-out in Rhodesia. The present lull in negotiations does not mean that attempts at a settlement have been abandoned. Mr. Thompson has left the proposals "on the table" for Mr. Smith to pick up whenever he chooses.

Any settlement based on the "Fearless" proposals will involve Britain in the creation of another apartheid state in Southern Africa. These proposals do not provide for the release of political prisoners, nor will any of the existing discriminatory legislation be scrapped by the settlement. For four million Africans the settlement would be a sell-out.

Our campaign culminates in public demonstrations prior to and during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers conference, and we would appreciate it very much if you would publicise in your journal the all-night torchlight picket we are mounting outside Marlborough House from 7 pm on Monday 6 January until Tuesday morning at 10 o'clock when the conference opens. We are most anxious that this picket should have massive participation.

We trust that this demonstration will lend support to those Commonwealth Prime Ministers who will urge the British Government to stand by NIEMAR and, we hope, give some expression to popular feeling against the betrayal contemplated.

We hope it will be possible for you to assist us in this way.

With many thanks,
Sincerely yours,
Ethel de Keyser,
(Executive Secretary)

Editorial note: The address of the AAM is 89, Charlotte St., London W.1. Telephone: 580 5311.

FROM A HULL READER

The following item which appeared in the December 5th issue of *BEAVER*, the LSE student union paper, seems to me to be a suitable comment on the Obi Egbuna sentence:

"In good faith our wonderful Government passes laws to protect good citizens. Then suddenly - zapp! - the amazing fuzzmen discover the loopholes. How they can use a perfectly ordinary law as yet another weapon of oppression. Perfectly sensible laws against colossal groups completely blocking whole streets become an excuse to pick up anybody for "obstruction."

"The latest knife they are about to twist in our backs is that of suspended sentences. A great idea originally - must keep sentences up because of det-

errence, but this bloke is not a baddy. So give him a suspended sentence. If he does anything else wrong meanwhile we will know he was a baddy all along, and can imprison him as sentenced in the first place.

"Aha! So we get a political demonstrator, and we give him a suspended sentence instead of an immediate. That way we put him out of action for several years. He won't dare demonstrate. Or have a drink. Any time he could be picked up for something petty and thrown into prison.

"If there's trouble brewing in a big town, with lots of stories of molotov cocktails, we can pick him up. Any trumped up charge will do. It always does. Suspended sentences have been on the increase recently, especially for leading political militants of the left. If you think this increase is due to the judges' growing humanitarianism, you wouldn't have read this far anyway."

FROM NOTTINGHAM

A Nottingham branch of the National Joint Action Campaign Committee for Equal Rights is being formed at the end of January. This will be at a public meeting sponsored by the Women's Subcommittee of the Nottingham and District Trades Council. Audrey Wise, of USDAW Midlands Divisional Council will be the main speaker.

From this meeting we hope to find a hard core of people in this area to carry out the work of the campaign. I hope all readers of *INTERNATIONAL* in the East Midlands will attend and co-operate in the project.

The meeting will be on Thursday, January 30, at 7.30 at the People's Hall, Heathcote St., Nottingham.
Antonia Gorton

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Signed articles do not necessarily represent editorial opinion.

Labour, parliament & socialism

One of the big events of January, 1969, will be a debate between the representatives of **TRIBUNE** and **BLACK DWARF** on the theme of the "Labour Party, Parliament and Socialism." Michael Foot and Eric Heffer will, we understand, defend the concept that socialism can best be fought for in Britain via Parliament. Tariq Ali and Bob Rowthorn will oppose this view.

In a certain sense it seems strange that it should be necessary to have such a debate: the evidence of all our experience is that every time the labour movement in this country obtains a success through the ballot box, the cause of socialism suffers. If we look around the world we can see no example of socialism being achieved through parliament. An example, much used, Sweden, reveals that capitalism is just as strongly entrenched in that country as it was when the social democrats became the Government decades ago.

Mr. Eric Heffer, the one time editor of a magazine called **REVOLUTION**, will use, no doubt, the example of the degeneration of the Soviet Union to show the dreadful folly of the revolutionary road. In fact, a sober assessment of that degeneration points the other way. The main factor in the degeneration of the Soviet Union was the failure of the revolution to spread outside of Russia. In turn, one can say, that it was the parliamentary illusions of sections of the German working class, utilised by social democrats and centrists, which paved the way for the victory of reaction in Germany after the first world war. The defeat of the German working class was the most important aspect of the failure of the revolution to spread outside of the Soviet Union.

It is no accident that the degeneration of the Soviet Union has been followed by the adoption of the parliamentary road by those communist parties under the influence of the Kremlin. In early summer

of 1968 we saw one of these parties pass by the opportunity of destroying French capitalism in the hope of a parliamentary success.

In Britain there is an organic link between the working class and the Labour Party which tends to regenerate illusions in the parliamentary road. Because of the multiple ties between the unions and the Labour Party the organised working class has come to identify itself with that party. In the absence of a meaningful alternative this relationship can survive shocks even as great as the Ramsey McDonald betrayal.

This is inextricably bound up with illusions in the parliamentary road to socialism. In fact one can define the Labour Party as the organised expression of those illusions. But today how many people really think that the Labour Party will bring them socialism? To pose the question even more sharply: how many people, apart from the marxists and revolutionaries, even think in terms of a socialist solution? Those who preach the parliamentary road to socialism may not have achieved much but one thing they have done is to destroy the prestige of socialism in the eyes of millions of people.

This, then, is the state of battle on "Labour, Parliament and Socialism": the parliamentary road to socialism means no progress at all. Because Labour has opted for the parliamentary road it is no nearer bringing about social change than it was when it was launched over 60 years ago. 1969 may see big battles but those battles will not take place in Parliament. In 1969 the main force in socialism in Britain will be the radical youth - also to a man they reject the parliamentary road to socialism. No matter who wins the verbal battle on January 24th in Central Hall, that argument has already been settled.

Two revolutionary anniversaries

In this first issue of 1969 we celebrate two anniversaries: the fiftieth anniversary of the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and the tenth anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. One is a very sad occasion, the other a joyous one. However, they both have common lessons for socialists. What is strikingly common to both is the internationalism of the main socialist figures concerned. Rosa and Karl were a living embodiment of the slogan: "Workers of the World, Unite!" They earned the hatred of the German bourgeoisie and its agents because they refused to follow the chauvinist road of the majority of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. But more than that, they organised an internationalist wing within the German Labour movement. Their activities played a significant part in the collapse of German imperialism in 1918.

The significance of Cuba today is that for the first time since the early days of the Russian revolution there is a leadership of a workers state that realises that the destiny of its revolution lies in the

spread of that revolution. This is a very powerful form of internationalism that has earned Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders the hatred of American imperialism and its agents.

Karl and Rosa embodied, as do the leaders of the Cuban revolution, a will to fight. Just as Rosa told her friends that she wanted to die in action, so Fidel Castro has shown by his actions that he is ready to fight, with gun in hand, against the imperialist colossus, only 90 miles away.

Just as we recognise that Rosa made many mistakes we can recognise the heroic features of the Cuban leadership without remaining uncritical. But we say this: we are proud to carry on the traditions of Karl and Rosa, just as we are proud to be the champions of the Cuban revolution. We hope that when the test comes we show the same courage and fighting spirit as Rosa, Karl, Fidel, Che and the many other internationalists we commemorate in this issue.

Secondary school students organise

CHARLES FENECH

On Sunday 15th December, 1968, one of the most important landmarks in the radicalising of the British people towards socialism took place. This event was the inaugurating conference of the London branch of the Secondary Schools Student Union.

The SSSU was originally formed in Manchester. There the union has over 500 members, with an even greater number of students influenced by it. The union has been quite active in Manchester and has had several confrontations. Its success can be attributed to its relatively (for Britain) high membership and influence over other students in the city. This, in turn, can be ascribed to its reputation as a non-political organisation, although the union is greatly influenced and largely controlled by International Socialism secondary school student members. In fact, it was the IS students who played the significant role in the formation of the union in Manchester. The experience gained from Manchester and the YCL failure in the high schools will mean that the national SSSU will be a non-aligned organisation.

Before the SSSU branch was formed in London there were two main organisations fighting for the rights of high school students in the capital. These were the North London RSSF and the London Schools Federation (consisting of South London schools). The former being the most important engineer in the formation of a London SSSU branch and the latter being the more active.

The London SSSU branch inauguration conference was very successful. It was attended by over 70 London high school students, representing 38 schools. The London branch was divided into 4 divisions (East, West, North and South London). Each division has a secretary. The conference provisionally accepted three programmes, which will be compounded into one programme by a committee. The London branch will put forward its programme to the 1st national SSSU conference on the 4th January, 1969.

The first programme has eleven points:

- (1) a reconsideration of the role of the secondary school within the total educational system;
- (2) a study of the methods by which the above can best be achieved (including teaching methods);
- (3) a reconsideration of the relationship between the headmaster, the teaching staff, parents and students.
- (4) (a) greater participation by students in the affairs of their schools, including an increased role for the student body in disciplinary procedures;
(b) a discussion of the role of prefects and of possible alternatives;
(c) the abolition of corporal punishment;
- (5) a thorough revision of the external examination

system, including a change from the present emphasis on preparation for a final examination to an emphasis on education as such and the preparation of students for life;

(6) a demand for a new Education Act to:

(a) place on a firmer and more definite basis the transformation of our secondary school (including abolition of public schools) system into a comprehensive one;

(b) an increase in both Government and local authority spending on education;

(7) an end to sex-segregation in the educational system and to the related discrimination against girls (in their syllabus) and all other forms of discrimination (racial or religious);

(8) increased autonomy and responsibility for school magazines, clubs and societies;

(9) increased contact and discussion between students at secondary schools throughout the country, including the publication of regional and national magazines and the holding of regional and national conferences on the subject of secondary education and related matters;

(10) a demand for the improvement of the Youth Employment Service;

(11) a demand for students of 16 years and over, under full-time education to get grants.

This programme suggested that the SSSU should have a small membership fee. This to subsidise the publication of a national magazine and to pay for facilities for national conferences.

The second programme has seven points:

- (1) education for all;
- (2) control of education by workers;
- (3) introduction of non-segregated comprehensives;
- (4) smaller classes;
- (5) take over and abolition of public schools;
- (6) syllabi planned and chosen by the teaching staff and pupils;
- (7) an education useful for life and compulsory till 18 years.

The third programme has five points:

- (1) all power in elected councils, consisting of teachers and pupils;
- (2) free speech;
- (3) abolition of exams and all punishment;
- (4) all education should be free;
- (5) schools should become centres of culture, out of normal school time, for everybody.

What is of the utmost importance in the creation of the SSSU is the radicalising of secondary school students; for it will not only make more students militant at a younger age but it will also lead to a growth of militancy amongst workers. This is because most of the secondary school students go to work directly from leaving their secondary school. This, therefore, makes the 1st national SSSU conference on the 4th of January very important.

BLACK POWER ON TRIAL

ERNIE TATE

The trial of Obi Egbuna and his two co-defendants, Peter Martin and Gideon Dolo, opened late November, at the Old Bailey Central Criminal Court, London.

The three Black Power militants had been held in Brixton Prison for four months, since July, without bail. Egbuna is an internationally-known playwright and author of two novels, WIND AGAINST POLYGAMY and ANTHILL. He is one of the most articulate spokesmen for Black Power ideas in Britain.

The arrests caused considerable apprehension in the immigrant community. The refusal by the courts of three separate applications for bail was sufficient testimony to the racialist overtones of the case, especially when such refusals were contrasted to the ease with which two fascists, recently arrested in London for possession of machine guns, along with a cache of ammunition and other weapons, were granted bail.

The trial lasted two weeks. As it unfolded, it became increasingly obvious that what was involved was a clear attempt by the police to put the ideas of Black Power on trial and to "get" Obi Egbuna. Apparently the police had applied in the past to the Director of Public Prosecutions to have Egbuna arrested under the Race Relations Act, but had been turned down, it being pointed out that too many black people had been arrested under the Act since its introduction.

The charges against the defendants were that between June 9th and July 25th, they had handed over a statement to a Nigerian printer, living in London - Simon Davies - which contained words which "threatened to murder" and which "incited others to murder". These threats, according to the prosecution, were contained in a hand-written statement, in Obi Egbuna's hand-writing, under the heading of "confidential" and "to be printed and circulated to the membership of the Black Panther Party" and to readers of BLACK POWER SPEAKS, the organ of the Universal Coloured Peoples Association. The latter journal was edited by Obi Egbuna.

The prosecutor, E.J.P. Cusson, argued at great length that the motivation for the writing of the "statement" lay in a "disturbance" at Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, June 9th, when fighting broke out at a black speaker's meeting between a black man and a white heckler. The mainly black audience had become incensed when the police arrested the black man and not the white, and then proceeded to arrest a further two black men, using considerable violence in the process. The crowd became angry and spontaneously protested outside the police station in Hyde Park where the arrested men were held.

These events were related to the court by police witnesses - two plain-clothed detectives, Detective Sergeants Edge and Bennett, whose special assignment, it would seem, was to melt with the crowds at

public meetings at Hyde Park for snooping purposes. Both claimed Egbuna had been responsible for the demonstration, having organised and led it.

Obi, whose defence counsel was Tom Kellock, Q.C., argued that he had not been present at the demonstration, but had come late having been informed of it while at another part of the park. Under Kellock's cross-examination the cops admitted that they were separated from Egbuna by a large number of people, that there was much shouting making it difficult to ascertain what Egbuna was doing or saying. Both read from prepared notes.

Certainly the most unsavoury character to emerge was Simon Davies, sometimes known as Agibolo, the printer, who along with his wife, comprised the only civilian witnesses for the prosecution.

Davies, a Yoruba, at first claimed he was a "law student". This was a straight lie, a crude attempt to give himself a respectable cover. Under cross-examination by Sir Dingle Foot, defence counsel for Peter Martin, he admitted that he was an "undischarged bankrupt", having had printing businesses over the past six years, and that his finances were in an attenuated state as he owed money to many people.

It was on Davies' evidence that the cops worked up the charges against the defendants and pinned their hopes on a conviction. As Davies talked, one wondered why the cops had the gall to parade this unfortunate specimen forth. His inconsistencies were monumental - his memory, when it came to questions he found difficult to answer, would totally fail him - at other times he could remember the minutest detail of situations and dialogue of several months back. He baldly contradicted evidence he gave in the magistrates court and changed his evidence in the course of cross-examination. He presented the image of a pliable police tool.

The purpose of Davies' evidence was to establish that Egbuna was the editor of BLACK POWER SPEAKS, and that he was also author of the "statement" (which became known as Exhibit 13) and that it had been brought to Davies by Peter Martin. The strangest part of his testimony was that about the occasion when Exhibit 13 was first handed to him by Martin. Davies said he did not read it then, although he admitted that he had started to type it, but got as far as doing a foolscap page and "became so shocked" with what he read, he stopped and did not continue. THREE WEEKS LATER, he claimed, he read it in full and then instantly saw "its illegality" - he then phoned "Inspector Thompson at Scotland Yard." He could not remember when he took it to the police or when they came to visit him. "I can't remember", was the stock reply to any question about his connection with the police; although in a slip he admitted that he had been previously in contact with the police "about another statement".

According to defence witnesses, Davies had been a member of the UCPA and had participated in one of its

meetings as chairman. It would seem that he soured when a decision was made not to let him print **BLACK POWER SPEAKS** any longer because of outright incompetence on his part as a printer. Evidence was given that Davies as a printer was totally unreliable in terms of quality and deadlines - an entire issue of the magazine "was lost" after it had been delayed for one reason or another. Copies of the magazine with parts of it almost impossible to read were shown to the court, which he admitted printing. One issue arrived with the magazine's pages unsorted and unbound.

Davies admitted being in contact with the police for some time - but plain logic would suggest that they were anxious to contact him to know who was printing **BLACK POWER SPEAKS**. No doubt they were immensely pleased when they discovered at the other end of their search a willing undischarged bankrupt.

Although Egbuna and his co-defendants were ostensibly being tried on the basis of what had appeared in the "statement", Exhibit 13, nevertheless the issues at dispute were the defendants' ideas on Black Power. The defence counsel sought to make a legal defence. (A lot was at stake, including a possible sentence of 15 years imprisonment.) But the prosecution went to some lengths to work up as much prejudice as possible against Egbuna and his black comrades: politics were not far removed from the proceedings.

Defence witnesses were interrogated on the ideas of black militancy that had appeared in articles in **BLACK POWER SPEAKS**, as the prosecution attempted to establish a pattern of attitudes related to Exhibit 13. Among the evidence kept on hand by the police were pamphlets on the black struggle in America, including speeches by Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X. Each day the police carried into court a huge box of materials, amongst it, prominently visible for the jury to see, were large photographs of Che Guevara and other revolutionary leaders.

The most impressive figure to emerge in the trial was that of the chief defendant, Obi Egbuna. On the witness stand he looked relaxed and in complete control of himself, despite almost two days of intensive prosecution cross-examination. He explained that he had been working on a new novel, entitled **WIMBLEDON BLUES**, since April. Its theme was the process of psychological change and the frustration of a black man living in racist Britain, and of how the racist pressures could transform newcomers' thinking and activity from that of accepting society to a complete violent rejection - a total alienation from that society.

The "statement", Exhibit 13, which Davies had taken to the police, had been part of the final chapter of **WIMBLEDON BLUES** - Obi had loaned Davies the unfinished manuscript and at one time discussed with Davies the final chapter of the book. "What I gave Davies", Egbuna said, "was a consultation note". He said his method of writing was to work out key speeches and dialogues in advance - a practice common to many writers.

He emphasised that the writing was purely fictional; it was only on this basis that certain contradictions



in Exhibit 13 could be understood. For example, the statement was marked **CONFIDENTIAL**, yet the police were alleging that it was meant to be printed in copies of 700 to 800 and to be included for circulation in the magazine. The date on the statement was Sunday, June 8th, 1968, an entirely fictional one.

The novel's conclusion, Egbuna admitted, had been influenced by the events in Hyde Park on Sunday, June 9th, causing him to discard an earlier version which he had been unhappy with.

As Egbuna explained it, the main character in the novel, wrote the "statement" in order to give someone else to read in Hyde Park. The prosecutor argued that it was "a blue-print for a riot and murder" and attempted to have Egbuna state that the words of the main character in the novel were Egbuna's. Egbuna said he disagreed with these particular views but his intention as a writer was to shock the average reader - to make the reader aware of the true conditions and frustrations of the black man in Britain. Contrary to what the prosecution were claiming, "this was a deterrent to violence" because it demanded social change to prevent an otherwise unavoidable social explosion, Obi continued.

If there is a social explosion in Britain a key element in it will be the grievances black people feel about the discriminatory treatment they receive at the hands of the police. Peter Martin in his evidence, showed that the police, despite their veneer of politeness and no guns, are as racist-minded as their American counterparts. Martin was pushed around, threatened with a beating, forced to sign a confession, subjected to psychological pressure and held without being given food. The Lincolnshire police and Scotland Yard detectives contradicted themselves on the stand - some denied totally that police officials spent time alone with Martin in his cell and others admitted to it.

At the end of the trial, the Recorder of London, Sir Carl Aarvold, in his instructions to the all-white jury, put the question in its baldest terms: if Simon Davies was a liar - and he certainly shown himself a bad witness - and had malicious intent, out to harm the defendants, then the jury had to ask itself how it was possible for Davies to have the cooperation of the police and have his story confirmed by them on several crucial points. After all, the Recorder said, the police were only ordinary

people, "like you and me", trying to do their job, "which at times was extremely difficult".

Posed like that - the words of the black militants against the cops - then it was inevitable that Obi Egbuna would be convicted. He was sentenced to one year imprisonment, which was suspended for three years. Peter Martin was also found guilty.

Gideon Dolo, midway through the trial, was acquitted of two out of the three charges against him, and finally was acquitted on the third by the jury.

To be held for four months without bail is an intolerable

injustice, but for the three black militants the outcome of the trial should be seen as a modest victory. Michael X, another black power militant, received one year imprisonment on a lesser charge under the Race Relations Act only a short time ago. It would seem that the interest displayed in the case by sections of the left - on the October 27th demonstration there were many "Free Obi Egbuna" signs - aroused by the exceptionally long period elapsing before trial, persuaded the authorities to be "tolerant". We should learn that a campaign of defence of any of those whom the police seize from our ranks can be an excellent form of attack against the system.

Rosa Luxemburg on Internationalism

(The following thesis was drafted in the period when the launching of a third international was being worked out. Although to a certain extent a collective effort the main drafter was Rosa Luxemburg.)

A large number of comrades from different parts of Germany have adopted the following theses, which constitute an application of the Erfurt programme to the contemporary problems of international socialism.

1. The world war has annihilated the work of 40 years of socialism: by destroying the revolutionary proletariat as a political force; by destroying the moral prestige of socialism; by scattering the workers international; by setting its sections one against the other in fratricidal massacre; and by tying the aspirations and hopes of the masses of the people of the main countries in which capitalism has developed to the destinies of imperialism.

2. By their vote for war credits and by their proclamation of national unity, the official leaderships of the socialist parties in Germany, France and England (with the exception of the Independent Labour Party) have reinforced imperialism, induced the masses of people to suffer patiently the misery and horrors of war, contributed to the prolongation of the massacre and the increase in the number of its victims, and assumed their share in the responsibility for the war itself and for its consequences.

3. The tactic of the official leadership of the parties in the belligerent countries, and in the first place in Germany, until recently at the head of the international, constitutes a betrayal of elementary principles of international socialism, of the vital interests of the working class, and of all the democratic interests of the peoples. By this alone socialist policy is condemned to impotence even in those countries where the leaders have remained faithful to their principles: Russia, Serbia, Italy and - with hardly an exception - Bulgaria.

4. By this alone official social democracy in the principal countries has repudiated the class

struggle in war time and adjourned until after the war; it has guaranteed to the ruling classes of all countries a delay in which to strengthen, at the proletariat's expense, and in a monstrous fashion, their economic, political and moral positions.

5. The world war serves neither the national defence nor the economic or political interests of the masses of the people whatever they may be. It is but the product of imperialist rivalries between the capitalist classes of the different countries for world hegemony and for monopoly in the exploitation and oppression of areas still not under the heel of capital. In the era of the unleashing of imperialism, national wars are no longer possible. National interests serve only as the pretext for putting the labouring masses of the people under the domination of their mortal enemy, imperialism.

6. The policy of the imperialist state and the imperialist war cannot give to a single oppressed nation its liberty and its independence. The small nations, the ruling classes of which are the accomplices of their partners in the big states, constitute only the pawns on the imperialist chess-board of the great powers, and are used by them, just like their own working masses, in wartime, as instruments, to be sacrificed to capitalist interests after the war.

7. The present world war signifies, under these conditions, either in the case of "defeat" or of "victory", a defeat for socialism and democracy. It increases, whatever the outcome - excepting the revolutionary intervention of the international proletariat - and strengthens militarism, national antagonisms, and economic rivalries in the world market. It accentuates capitalist exploitation and reaction in the domain of internal policy, renders the influence of public opinion precarious and derisory, and reduces parliaments to tools more and more obedient to imperialism. The present world war carries within it the seeds of new conflicts.

8. World peace cannot be assured by projects

utopian, or, at the bottom, reactionary, such as tribunals of arbitration by capitalist diplomatists, diplomatic "disarmament" conventions, "the freedom of the seas", abolition of the right of maritime arrest, "the United States of Europe", buffer states, and other illusions. Imperialism, militarism, and war can never be abolished or attenuated so long as the capitalist class exercises, uncontested, its class hegemony. The sole means of resistance, and the only guarantee of the peace of the world, is the capacity for action and the revolutionary will of the international proletariat to hurl its full weight into the balance.

9. Imperialism, as the last phase in the life, and the highest point in the expansion, of the world hegemony of capital, is the mortal enemy of the proletariat of all countries. But under its rule, just as in the preceding stages of capitalism, the forces of its mortal enemy have increased in pace with its development. It accelerates the concentration of capital, the pauperisation of the middle classes, the numerical reinforcement of the proletariat; it arouses more and more resistance from the masses; and leads thereby to an intensified sharpening of class antagonisms. In peace time as in war, the struggle of the proletariat as a class has to be concentrated first of all against imperialism. For the international proletariat, the struggle against imperialism is at the same time the struggle for power, the decisive settling of accounts between socialism and capitalism. The final goal of socialism will be realised by the international proletariat only if it opposes imperialism all along the line, and if it makes the issue: "war against war" the guiding line of its practical policy; and on condition that it deploys all its forces and shows itself ready, by its courage to the point of extreme sacrifice, to do this.

10. In this framework, socialism's principal mission today is to regroup the proletariat of all countries into a living revolutionary force; to make it, through a powerful international organisation which has only one conception of its tasks and interests, and only one universal tactic appropriate to political action in war and peace alike, the decisive factor in political life: so that it may fulfil its historic mission.

11. The war has smashed the Second International. Its inadequacy has been demonstrated by its incapacity to place an effective obstacle in the way of the segmentation of its forces behind national boundaries in the time of war, and to carry through a common tactic and action by the proletariat in all countries.

12. In view of the betrayal, by the official representatives of the socialist parties in the principal countries, of the aims and interests of the working class; in view of their passage from the camp of the working class international to the political camp of the imperialist bourgeoisie; it is vitally necessary for socialism to build a new workers' international, which takes into its own hands the leadership and the coordination of the revolutionary class struggle against world imperialism.

To accomplish its historic mission, socialism must be guided by the following principles:

1. The class struggle against the ruling classes within the boundaries of the bourgeois states, and international solidarity of the workers of all countries, are the two rules of life, inherent in the working class struggle and of world historic importance to it for its emancipation. There is no socialism without class struggle. The renunciation by the socialist proletariat, in the time of peace as in time of war, of the class struggle and of international solidarity, is equivalent to suicide.

2. The activity of the proletariat of all countries as a class, in peacetime as in wartime, must be geared to the fight against imperialism and war as its supreme goal. Parliamentary and trade union action, like every activity of the workers' movement must be subordinated to this aim, so that the proletariat in each country is opposed in the sharpest fashion to its national bourgeoisie, so that the political and spiritual opposition between the two becomes at each moment the main issue, and international solidarity between the workers of all countries is underlined and practised.

3. The centre of gravity of the organisation of the proletariat as a class is the international. The international decides in times of peace the tactics to be adopted by the national sections on the questions of militarism, colonial policy, commercial policy, the celebration of May Day and, finally, the collective tactic to be followed in the event of war.

4. The obligation to carry out the decisions of the international takes precedence over all else.

The murder of

On Wednesday, January 15, 1919, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered. The Burgergerwehr (Civil Guard) of Wilmersdorf, a suburb of Berlin, raided the illegal dwelling of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and took them both to the Eden Hotel in Berlin, the Staff Headquarters of Gardeschuetzen Horse Guards Division.

The imperialist officers of the German Republic rubbed their hands (despite the fact that the Government was headed by social democrats, it was representatives of the junkers who held all important military and police positions.)

A Lieutenant - Jaeger Runge - hit Liebknecht as he sat in the automobile which had brought them to the hotel. After hitting Karl twice from behind with a rifle butt he then hit Rosa over the head. She fell. The car drove away into the night in the direction of the Tiergarten (a large well-wooded park in the centre of Berlin). It stopped in a dark avenue. Karl was told that the car had broken down and made to get out and walk. Armed soldiers bunched round the half-senseless man. He was led deeper into the wood, struck down and then shot.

National sections which do not conform with this place themselves outside the international.

5. The setting in motion of the massed ranks of the proletariat of all countries is alone decisive in the course of struggles against imperialism and against war. Thus the principal tactic of the national sections aims to render the masses capable of political action and resolute initiatives to ensure the international cohesion of the masses in action; to build the political and trade union organisations in such a way that, through their mediation, prompt and effective collaboration of all the sections is at all times guaranteed, and so that the will of the international materialises in action by the majority of working class masses all over the world.

6. The immediate mission of socialism is the spiritual liberation of the proletariat from the tutelage of the bourgeoisie, which expresses itself through the influence of nationalist ideology. The national sections must agitate in the parliaments and the press, denouncing the empty wordiness of nationalism as an instrument of bourgeois domination. The sole defence of all real national independence is at present the revolutionary class struggle against imperialism. The workers' fatherland, to the defence of which all else must be subordinated, is the socialist international.

ROSA LUXEMBURG 1871 - 1919

The theoretician of German communism and author of a number of theoretical books on economics, politics and other questions. She played a very prominent role in the German, Polish and Russian labour movements before the first world war. From 1910 she headed the revolutionary opposition within German

Karl & Rosa

His body was delivered to a first aid station, by one Lieutenant Lipeman, as an "unknown man, found dead."

Rosa was dragged, senseless, into another car. A man, not known, struck her again on the head with the butt end of a pistol. Ober-Lieutenant Vogel put his pistol to her head and blew out her brains. The car then drove to the Landwehr canal and her body was thrown over the bridge into its dark waters.

The murderers made their report: "Liebknecht shot whilst attempting to escape." They write further: "Rosa Luxemburg lynched by an infuriated mob."

The murderers then arranged a drinking bout in Eden Hotel. They felt safe: the social democrats in the Government might shed crocodile tears but they were really accomplices in the crime.

* based upon an article commemorating the 5th anniversary of their assassination, which appeared in the January, 1924, issue of the British Communist journal, COMMUNIST REVIEW.

social democracy. In 1918, together with Liebknecht, she founded the German Communist Party. Rosa, "our Rosa" as the old revolutionary movement knew her, was born in Poland. At the age of 18 she was forced to migrate because of her revolutionary activities to Zurich, Switzerland. In 1893 she founded the Polish Social-Democratic Party (later known as the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania).

In 1897 she began participating in the German socialist movement. It was Luxemburg, Mehring and Flekhanov who initiated the struggle against revisionism within the Second International (Bernsteinism and Millerandism) and compelled Kautsky to take a position against it.

At the 1907 London Congress of the Russian party she supported the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks on all the key problems of the Russian revolution. The same year, in Autumn, together with Lenin she introduced at the Stuttgart Congress of the Second International the revolutionary anti-war resolution which was adopted in essence by that Congress. Long before the war she came into conflict with Kautsky and other centrists in the German party.

When the first world war broke out, she took an internationalist position from the outset. From gaol - she was incarcerated in February 1915 - she collaborated in the illegally published SPARTACUS LETTERS and in the work of the Spartacus League. In the spring of 1916 she wrote in gaol, under the pseudonym of Junius, the famous pamphlet THE CRISIS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY in which she pointed out the urgent need of creating the Third International. (See elsewhere in this issue.)

After the November 1918 revolution she was freed and joined in the work of creating the Communist Party, being the founder and editor of Rote Fahnen, the party's central organ.

KARL LIEBKNECHT 1871 - 1919

Long before the first world war, he earned revolutionary renown by his struggle against militarism. He was sentenced to 18 months in prison for writing his pamphlet, MILITARISM AND ANTI-MILITARISM. Liebknecht's name is a symbol of revolutionary international and irreconcilable opposition to imperialist war. On August 3, 1914, he opposed voting for war credits at a session of the Social-Democratic parliamentary fraction; but under pressure of party discipline he voted together with the entire party fraction at the Reichstag session on August 4, 1914.

When the next vote was taken, on December 2, 1914, he was the only deputy who cast his vote against. But even before that, in October of the same year, he published, jointly with Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and Clara Zetkin, a statement against the official party position in the Swiss Social-Democratic press. In March, 1915, when the Reichstag took a vote on war credits, 30 Social Democrats left the chambers and the only ones who voted against were Liebknecht and Otto Ruehle.

In 1915 he began to organise the Spartacus League,

and started the publication of the famous SPARTACUS LETTERS. When the Zimmerwald Conference convened, Liebknecht was drafted into the army and could not attend, but he forwarded a letter to this conference which closed with the following words: "Not civil peace, but civil war - that is our slogan." On January 12, 1916, the Social-Democratic fraction expelled him from its ranks.

On May Day, 1916, he distributed antiwar leaflets in Potsdam Square in Berlin, was arrested and sentenced to hard labour. The victory of the Russian October found him in prison where he greeted the conquest of the Russian workers and peasants, and called upon the German workers to follow this great example. The November, 1918, revolution in Germany freed him from prison, untying his hands for a direct struggle against the social-chauvinists and their centrist allies.

Together with Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogisches, (Tyshko) he organised the Communist Party of Germany which broke all connections with the Independent Social-Democratic Party, headed by Kautsky and Haase. As a member of the revolutionary committee, he headed the uprising of the Berlin workers in January, 1919. After this uprising was suppressed he was arrested by the Scheidemann Government.

A DRESS REHEARSAL

Another book on the May revolution in France has just been published by Maspero (in French).

The authors, Daniel Bensaid and Henri Weber, were both leaders of the JCR. Although the book is aimed at the student and worker militants of the May uprising, its theoretical clarity and internationalist approach should not be lost on British marxists. It examines the development of the French student movement and shows how the JCR was created in a struggle within the communist student union, and how with its method of organisation and the attention it gave to the Vietnam movement, it was able to influence the May events. The role of all the other "groupuscules" is also critically evaluated.

A rationale for the mobilisation of the working class in their support for the students and their general strike is shown in terms of rising militancy in the factories during the months preceeding May. The role of the French Communist Party is dealt with briefly but adequately and firmly.

The book is deeply polemical, in the best marxist tradition, and is positive as well as optimistic in its attitude to the immediate problems facing the revolutionary left in France today.

It compares the conditions that generated the uprising in France with those of other advanced capitalist countries: the crisis of capitalism reflecting itself in the alienation of youth and the imperialist war in Vietnam. It explains that the new forces of youth have been transformed into a revolutionary vanguard, and an important factor common to all countries, is that these forces are independent of the degenerated social democratic and stalinist workers parties.

Jim Clough

* MAI 1968, Une Repetition Generale, Maspero, Paris.

HISTORY OF COLD WAR

Andre Fontaine, the foreign editor of LE MONDE, attempted to write a history of the relationship between Russia and the capitalist world. The first of two volumes takes us from the October revolution to the Korean war. He is a lucid writer and he gets most of the facts down. This book is well-nigh predestined to be a standard university text over the next few years. This is where several criticisms have to be made. The reason why this book is so peculiarly fitted to be a text is that it strings together a series of facts and refuses to situate them in any recognisable theoretical framework. Why is this so? Fontaine is a fairly orthodox, liberal bourgeois commentator. This school, in the fifties, explained the cold war in terms of Russian imperialist expansion with a "roll-back" counter strategy as an optional extra. Accepting the influence of the present detente, the answer to his "the facts and just the facts" approach lies in the decisive discrediting of the Russian aggression theory of the cold war by Fleming and Horowitz. The extent of their victory is shown by Fontaine's retreat from the area of theory. Read Fontaine, but make certain you have read your Fleming and Horowitz first.

Brian Davey

"History of the Cold War", Andre Fontaine, Secker & Warburg, 50/-

DIALECTICS OF LIBERATION

The Congress on the Dialectics of Liberation took place at the Roundhouse in July 1967. It was quite an event. The hippies were out in force while a dazzling array of talent spoke from the platform. It would be incorrect to say that it was uniformly brilliant. It was characterised by considerable unevenness: the important and creative jostled awkwardly with the pretentious and frankly boring. This recent book is a very fair record of that fortnight.

Perhaps the most important speech was given by Stokely Carmichael on Black Power. This importance largely arose as this was one of the first major Black Power speeches made in Britain. The newness of the concept was shown by the confused and often antagonistic response accorded to his speech. Even taken out of this historical juncture the essay still stands as being of considerable importance.

Far more is included than just Carmichael. Gerassi contributed a very sound piece on South America, while Sweezy explores the likely future for capitalism. As always, the anti-psychiatrists manage to make the activist look at politics from a new viewpoint. It is certainly a book worthwhile reading to gain an insight, albeit brief, into what some layers of the left are thinking now.

Julien Atkinson

* "The Dialectics of Liberation" edited by David Cooper, Penguin 5/-.

THE ISSUES *before* VSC

MIKE MARTIN

The Vietnam movement in Britain, and particularly the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign has developed from very small beginnings until in one form or another, it now encompasses some 100,000 people, the great majority of whom are in conscious solidarity with the Vietnamese freedom fighters. This came about, partly because a principled stand on the Vietnam issue - that of support for the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic - was combined with non-sectarian methods of work, enabling wider sections of the population to be won over; a united front was built on the one issue. More decisive perhaps was that the work done was consistent and based on the assumption - still not universally admitted - that the outcome of the Vietnamese struggle was and remains crucial to the development of the world-wide revolutionary movement. It is the continued escalation of the war by U.S. imperialism and the growing drama of the victorious struggle of the N.L.F., that has made the Vietnam issue so central, and which has inspired massive movements throughout the world in support of a living revolutionary struggle. These movements have grown up largely in spite of the established organisations of the left, and the great burden of the responsibility for the great progress that has been made has fallen on tiny groups of militants who had already broken with such organisations as the social democratic and communist parties. These facts give the key to the weaknesses and problems of the movement now.

The tremendous success of the October 27th demonstration has been followed by a feeling of frustration and uncertainty, and has led to a discussion in the movement which raises issues which relate also to the wider revolutionary movement.

Past headaches suffered by the movement could generally be put down simply to a disparity between ends and available means, but we have reached a point where a series of new factors come into play. The successes of the movement have brought their own complications.

In the absence of a mass revolutionary movement in Britain, in the sense of a viable organisation with a rounded out political programme, newly active militants are drawn to the Vietnam movement as the main field where revolutionaries have made progress towards developing a mass movement. It is precisely at this point that the lack of a mass party is felt most acutely, and this is particularly true at the present moment when the advent of the Paris talks raises the question of what must be done by revolutionaries to make further progress once the Vietnam war is over. It would be a serious mistake to assume that the war is nearly over, and it would certainly be so to base future plans on such an assumption. Nevertheless, the question is raised and a current has developed in the movement in favour of utilising the Vietnam movement as a basis for creating a mass revolutionary organisation. The

issue is rarely posed directly in these terms, but more commonly in the form of disputation over the future of V.S.C.

A recent V.S.C. National Council adopted a document for recommendation to the coming National Conference. The content of this document can only be described as bowing to the feeling in favour of making the campaign multi-issue. In arguing for the document many comrades stated their opposition to the idea of making the campaign multi-issue. However, among the suggestions made were the following: that the facilities for affiliating organisations to the campaign be ended (this was not accepted, but if it had it would have greatly weakened the possibilities for the campaign to make inroads into the trade union movement, where affiliation of a branch could be the first step towards an active commitment); that the building of local branches of the campaign be given more attention, and that in the local groups minorities should be able to utilise the association to facilitate their own projects. These all boil down to changing from a multi-issue organisation united front to a multi-issue organisation, by leaving the question to be settled by local groups. What must be stressed is that so long as the war in Vietnam goes on a special campaign is required to unite all the left tendencies and workers organisations on this one issue.

In the discussions in the movement it has been suggested that the proposals for strengthening local groups were to supplement national campaigns, and were not to be posed against them. That this is a fallacy is clearly seen by the active resistance on the part of the document's supporters to the moves to initiate a new ad hoc committee to call a demonstration in March on the theme of bringing N.L.F. spokesmen into Britain. The opposition was not to having a campaign, but to fixing a date for the demonstration. The suggestion was that it was first necessary to build local groups, when in fact the most effective way of building local groups is to give them a perspective of a national mass activity. The opposition to having another ad hoc committee was on the grounds that V.S.C. was already an ad hoc committee and that if people wanted to be active in the movement they should join V.S.C. Again the united front concept is brushed aside.

The proposals come down to little more than a very poor substitute for regrouping the left in Britain. Such a regroupment may be very desirable, but can only take place after a careful discussion of the political programme involved, and the type of organisation required. The V.S.C. exists for one purpose only, the defence of the Vietnamese revolution, and any move explicitly or implicitly to change that is doing a disservice to the Vietnamese revolution.

The protagonists of the document in question gained support from the widespread feeling that the October 27th demonstration could have achieved more, and the uncertainty about the future of the development, and the growing recognition of the need for a mass revolutionary movement. In fact, however, their proposal can only do harm to what has been gained so far. It is important that the movement adopts a positive attitude and prepares to take another step forward actively supporting the move to call another mass national demonstration.

Cuba: Ten years of permanent revolution

BOB PURDIE

This is a revolutionary decade, in breadth and scope the revolutionary process which has swept the world in the last ten years has had few precedents. In the chain reaction which has mobilised workers, peasants and youth in country after country, and has raised the red flag of revolution at last in advanced European society, nearly toppling the senile regime of Gaullism, it can be compared with 1848, in the destruction of landmarks and institutions which held back the masses for many years it can be compared to 1917. More and more of those who desire social change are turning in disgust from the orthodox social democratic and communist parties, and are following new prophets: Che Guevara, Mao, Fanon, Malcolm X, Debray; the list is endless of those revolutionaries who have spoken to the youth of the sixties. And old revolutionaries have been rediscovered: Gramsci, Luxemburg and, with his unique understanding of the revolutionary process in western Europe, and his burning analysis of bureaucracy, Lenin's "young eagle", Leon Trotsky.

It is possible to question whether this process would have been possible without the resistance to imperialism of two tiny nations: Vietnam and Cuba, which, combined with the financial crisis of international capitalism, has exposed the true nature of this degenerate imperialist society.

The revolutionary change which has gripped Cuba in the last ten years has been extraordinarily rapid and deepgoing, it has taken a simple democratic national revolution, under a leadership which understood only the need to overthrow the Batista dictatorship, and directed it toward the overthrow of capitalism in Cuba and encouragement and aid to other third world countries to do likewise - most strikingly exemplified by the sacrifice of Che Guevara.

That such would be the development of the Cuban revolution was, perhaps, the last thing that European revolutionaries expected ten years ago. The friendly attitude of the US Government to the new regime seemed to indicate that it was little different from the other liberal petit-bourgeois governments that had been taking over in various sectors of the third world, and subsequently selling their nations to imperialism.

Thus when the revolution rapidly deepened, when reactionary elements were thrown out of the govern-



ment, when the nationalisations of imperialist property invoked the hatred of the US and when the sharpening of the struggle brought about a change in the basic nature of the revolution, and it became an anti-capitalist one, overthrowing bourgeois property relations in Cuba and establishing the first workers state in the western hemisphere, many European marxists were thrown into confusion; unable to grasp the significance of this rich example of the revolutionary implications of the struggle against imperialism. This lack of understanding was the result of an underestimation of two things: the strength of the organic link between the national liberation and anti-capitalist revolutions; and the determination of the leaders of the Cuban revolution to carry their struggle to liberate Cuba through to the end.

In a recent speech commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the struggle for Cuban independence, Fidel Castro made a very important statement: discussing the evolution of the struggle, from the times of Cespedes and Jose Marti until his own victory, he stressed the fact that the whole hundred years of struggle had been part of one revolution, and that these early struggles had been the necessary preliminary to the victory of the socialist revolution in Cuba; and that their significance lay in the extent to which they had fought for the most revolutionary programme of the epoch.

It is because the Cuban leaders started with this conception, and were prepared to take up an unrelenting armed struggle against imperialism, that they were impelled along the road of socialist revolution. Their determination and ability to learn rapidly from experience brought them face to face with imperialism: without hesitation they took up the challenge and changed Cuba - and thus the world.

They have changed the world through the power of the living example of the Cuban revolution, through their contribution toward aiding the revolution in the third world, and by smashing many of the stalinist shibboleths which have held back that revolution in the past - myths like that of the "progressive bourgeoisie". As Fidel said to the OLAS conference: "And we ask ourselves if there is anybody, at this

time who can believe in the revolutionary role of a single bourgeoisie on this continent?"

The message of the Cuban revolution is clear: in this era, at the end of this decade, there can be no social progress without the socialist revolution and no national liberation without revolutionary internationalism.

The development of the Fidelista leadership has not been an even one, and they can be criticised for a failure to grasp the dynamics of revolution in western Europe. This weakness was revealed in Fidel's speech in support of the Soviet invasion of Czecho-

slovakia, as was his lack of understanding of the historical development of the bureaucracy in the older workers states. This speech was marked, however, by a bitter condemnation of the Soviet Union and other workers states for their unprincipled attitude toward the colonial revolution.

Despite these weaknesses it must be recognised that the contrast between Cuba ten years after her revolution and the Soviet Union, where Stalin had consolidated his power ten years after 1917, is a great one. We can hope for new victories for the Cuban revolution in the next ten years, for as Fidel said: "here in Cuba stands a 'Patria o Muerte' people."

An occupational Health Service now

PART 2 Geoff Richman

Apart from accidents, there is an enormous amount of illness which can be attributed to working conditions. For instance lung disease is still prevalent. Pneumoconiosis (a chronic scarring disease of lungs leading to breathlessness and cough and eventually death - and untreatable) was found in 1,403 new cases in 1965 from potteries, quarries, foundries, refractories asbestos works and mining. 55,929 men were in benefit under the disablement scheme. 2,430 cases (1965) were recorded on death certificates. Asbestosis is one form which is on the increase - in lagging insulating, construction, textiles, filling and many other industries. Though the factories manufacturing asbestos are covered by regulations (albeit drawn up in 1931) many new industrial uses have no such protection. Between 1924 and 1930 there were 20 deaths, in 1966 alone there were 64. Two thirds had associated cancer of the lung, and a rare new form of cancer of the lining of the lung (mesothelioma) has now been related to asbestos - not only in workers but in their wives, affected by dust brought home. Even those in the vicinity of asbestos works are at risk, since asbestos bodies are found in up to 40% of the lungs of town dwellers. In a recent study of 15,000 naval dockyard workers (including all occupations) 4.4% were affected. Of those with continuous exposure (fortunately only 3% of the total) 28% had evidence of asbestosis. Control is by engineering practice to suppress dust, protective clothing, sealed packaging, and the banning of crocidolite (blue asbestos) the most dangerous kind. That the regulations are under review is due entirely to union pressure. April 1967 - 600 Liverpool dockers came out on strike after refusing to handle asbestos cargo. After an enquiry the Minister of Labour said that he had recommended that asbestos should only be handled in dust and fibre proof containers, and that the best method would be mechanical handling from special container ships. In the same month, British Railways were forced to agree to remove asbestos insulation from passenger coaches as they came in for repair. A spokesman for the Derby carriage and wagon works shops stewards committee said that asbestos insulation sprayed be-

hind panelling was disintegrating with the risk of asbestosis. Insulation engineers in West Scotland had similarly threatened to come out on strike if new health precautions were not implemented. 15 of their members had died from asbestosis in the past 5 years.

CLASS AND DISEASE

There are many other occupational lung diseases, but all are frequently associated with chronic bronchitis. I mention it here because its symptoms - cough and breathlessness - cannot be distinguished from the occupational type, and this is used by employers and the government to delay any action. It is also the prime example of a class disease. One worker in three over 60 has it, 30,000 deaths a year, and the death rate in unskilled workers is six times as high as in the highest income group. The number of days off work per year per thousand men is - for miners 5,012, for managers 44. Dusty work, polluted atmosphere, poor housing and nutrition are the sort of factors which go to produce this class differentiation.

THE EXISTING LAW

We should now look briefly at the present provisions before going on to discuss a socialist policy. The existing law is based on the Factories Act (1961) which lays down certain general conditions at work, with detailed regulations for particular processes. The Shops, Offices and Railway Premises Act 1963 extends similar regulations to workers in the occupations indicated by the title. Miners, agricultural workers, power workers are covered by their own regulations under separate Ministries. There is however no statutory duty to promote health and safety, only to avoid breaking regulations - that is, common law applies and a worker has to prove negligence in a claim for compensation (and the law is of course judges' law - only 2% of claims are settled in the workers' favour). Yet the compensation industry is said to be worth £100 million a year, again an index of the economist attitude of unions, who will recruit on the basis of the (laudable) efforts they

make to win compensation but with notable exceptions, see prevention of accidents as taking second place.

The Factory Inspectorate should enforce this limited law - yet with 533 on its staff (in 1966 only 482 posts were filled) it can investigate only 20,000 of the 300,000 reported accidents. The maximum fine - and this for breaches which may result in death - is £300 and the average fine £30. Only 2,275 prosecutions were made in 1966, and the total cost £1,814,240.

Medical provision is patchy with 500 full-time industrial medical officers in large concerns and nationalised industry - often more concerned with fitness for work than preventive measures. I have often been told at meetings how much workers distrust any system in which the medical officer is employed rather than being independent. Some 4,000 doctors give part-time service, but without any laboratory or hygiene service, or proper organisation. An official report in 1966 recommended a complete overhaul of the system with training facilities and organisation for these doctors - but as usual the report is shelved. The Nuffield Foundation has pioneered 8 industrial health schemes which provide medical services from a centre to small firms which subscribe on a levy. These have shown how small-scale industry can be provided for, but are too small and lacking in standards to measure up to need. Only 100,000 workers are currently covered - and again, they are not independent of employers).

OUR PLAN

What then should be done? In campaigning for an occupational health service to deal with the situation outlined above, we can do so in the knowledge that no one can openly oppose us. Most unions, the T.U.C. and the Labour Party the medical organisations and many official Commissions and reports have come to agree with S.M.A. policy. Our plan provides for a unified service, with standardised regulations to cover all employees whether in industry, offices, Government premises, laboratories, and even the health service itself, and schools and colleges. Administration would be part of an integrated N.H.S. on a regional basis, fully democratic, and able to organise a comprehensive service. It would include an expanded inspectorate, technical and advisory services, industrial medical officers and nurses, general practitioners working from health centres, rehabilitation, retraining, re-employment and sheltered workshops, and specialist medical services for particular diseases. It would be backed by pathology and hygiene laboratories. Above all, there would be research and development institutions, concentrating on prevention of illness and accidents and safety design for both machines and premises.

This is set out in more detail in the pamphlet "An Occupational Health Service Now" (S.M.A. 13, Prince of Wales Terrace, W.8. 1/6). What should be emphasised is that we must get away from the voluntary approach which relies on the individual employer doing something and which has been such a disastrous failure. We need, therefore, a picture of what real occupational health service would be like as a framework for campaigning.

WORKERS RIGHTS

However the base on which this service rests, and an element which can and must be developed now, is the statutory workers safety Committees. Only control by the workers at shop floor level, through elected representatives, can ensure effective health and safety in the work place, and these committees can be formed now, and begin the process both of developing education on occupational health in workers, raising political aspects, and sustaining the campaign. For example, in a large factory in Slough, following an inquest in which a worker had fallen into an opened, unlabelled drum of phenol a safety committee was formed. Rules were set up for labelling and storage of drums and chemicals, but the Committee was able to go on to other aspects of safety. As a result, other factories in the area were encouraged to set up safety committees. The atmosphere in the movement is definitely changing towards more active interest in health at work. Whereas 4 years ago, less than 3,000 joint (ie. worker-management) Safety Committees were active, a 10% sample survey in November 1967 showed 7,793 out of 21,211 factories had safety committees. Though often mere talking shops, it is an encouraging trend - it is also evidence that employers and Government are under pressure to do something in face of the growing demands for legislation.

A safety committee acts as a focus for examining and acting on health problems in a factory, and not allowing them to be left at the end of a long list of items for negotiation. Safety delegates should have the right to pursue their duties in working hours, with time off for training (available under the Industrial Training Boards) without loss of pay, and protected from victimisation.

They would have a duty to:

- a) regular inspection of the works.
- b) study accident and health records and make recommendations.
- c) call in medical officer or inspector
- d) accompany them on their visits and receive their report in writing.
- e) supervise dangerous processes.
- f) supervise safety training - especially in entrants and young workers.
- g) ensure compliance with the regulations.

The main need at the moment, in developing a successful campaign, is for much more discussion and understanding of the issues involved, at a rank and file level. Resolutions are not enough, there has to be a sense of urgency that the continued toll of life and health imposed by the industrial system cannot be tolerated. Socialists have a special responsibility to give meaning to the slogan "The health of the people is the responsibility of the people themselves."

STALIN'S RUSSIA

Penguin continue their policy of releasing a series of books around one topic within the one month. November saw the publication of two books about Russia*. They are both written by Russian authors who suffered under Stalin. But

the differences are enormous.

Solzhenitsyn describes a concentration camp for political prisoners in the early 1950's. The prisoners have been swept up in the petty purges that included every ex-prisoner of war, and a most of minor offenders. They know they are not guilty but prison life has almost become natural life. There is an acceptance of the system tempered with a few jeers at Stalin as "Old Whiskers!" The ironies exist. The worst working area has been named by the camp authorities 'The Socialist Way of Life'. The sole reference to socialist ethics is made by the prisoner Buinovsky when he addresses the guards - "You are not behaving like Soviet people.... You are not behaving like communists" Buinovsky got ten days in the cells.

Victor Serge was a professional revolutionary who - in the early years of the revolution - edited the newspaper "Communist International". He was active in the Left Opposition until his deportation to Siberia in 1933 and his subsequent exile. Serge does not write with the taut, authoritative austerity of Solzhenitsyn, but he brings into his novel a well-honed political intellect. In Serge we see the process whereby the deadening 'natural' order of life that operates in Solzhenitsyn's book has been born. His story is hinged around the assassination of comrade Tulayev - the Great Pilot's friend. It is a repeat of the Kirov assassination in that it brings in its wake a new purge. Those accused, however, are no longer the top leadership of Lenin's Bolsheviks. An old Bukharinite is roped into the 'plot' but the principal 'plotters' are now from Stalin's faction. The Comrade Chief has turned his attention on to his own followers.

These victims are sufficiently politically experienced to understand the processes that are taking place. The story is not just a political tract, because Serge has managed to present the conflicting theories in convincing human form. By proxy, Bukharin, Trotsky and Stalin live out their ideas in thousands of other bodies and minds. It is possible, via Serge, for us to understand the stalinist bureaucrat Mabeyev, who is later purged. He is a simple, ordinary man, who played a heroic role during the civil war. After the war won, all he wanted was to build socialism in Russia. They needed to overtake the U.S.A. economically and to hell with the theorists who wanted a world revolution. He accumulated some perks and had to do some unpleasant things, but omelettes aren't made without cracking eggs. Through his progress we see the rise of a social grouping - the Soviet bureaucracy. It was their rise, over the dead bodies of the Old Bolsheviks, that opened the doors to the bleak and desolate landscape that Solzhenitsyn charts for us.

D. Atkins

* Alexander Solzhenitsyn, "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch", Penguin 4/-.

Victor Serge, "The Case of Comrade Tulayev", Penguin 7/6d.

POLITICS AND THE APOLITICAL

If anyone still doubts the disadvantage that women live under in our society, the first chapter of Kenneth Hudson's book* will introduce them to the most obvious.

The book is a collection of grievances: a state education system in which girls are treated as a species of inferior boys; and inadequate provision of day nurseries for married women workers (during the war there were 70,000 nursery places, in 1967 there were only 21,000; women used as cheap, unskilled labour; and the mystique of "femininity" still cultivated to paralyse women into inactivity.

He has recognised the symptoms of anti-feminism, but has not coped at all with its cause or possible cures. The old lies occur again and again: "Since war and preparation for war is at the centre of the philosophy of the nation-state; and since Britain's expansion overseas was based on the unfeminine qualities of violence and aggression, the Victorians and Edwardians had some incentive to keep women from public affairs where they were likely to threaten the priorities and values held by so many men." In "Women as Force in History", Mary Beard's analysis of the role women took in the growth of Hitler's nation-state disproves any generalisation about women's natural non-aggressiveness. Kenneth Hudson talks of "women" without taking into consideration differences of race, or the social philosophies of the society in which they live.

Man's oppressiveness towards woman is explained in Freudian terms of memories of mother-reproof. A "laissez-faire" society which encourages exploitation of one class by another apparently has nothing to do with it. Women's present and future struggle is to reject the role assigned to her by man. Unfortunately, "the evidence suggests that a large proportion of English women during the past two centuries and more have been willing to accept the inferior role so plainly emphasised in the Old Testament and by St. Paul". I wonder, how can women who worked in mines, factories and mills, and who were half, and sometimes all, the economic strength of their family, be described as taking an inferior role to their menfolk?

Kenneth Hudson may have a sure sense of the frustrations of the life of middle-class woman, but his apparent ignorance of the history of the British working class woman causes him to misinterpret her situation. Her struggle is not to be allowed to work; it is to be allowed to work with dignity. Her status is not that allowed her by her husband, but that dictated by her class.

Judge the political in sexual terms and you produce half-truths and clichés. One of them is feminism and anti-feminism."

J. O'Brien

* "Men and Women - Feminism and Anti-Feminism today" by Kenneth Hudson, David and Charles, 35/-

Mining: new militant mood

Malcolm Ball

The primary purpose of this paper is to contribute to the discussion started by Mike Martin in the December issue of *INTERNATIONAL*. On that occasion the comrade started from the correct assumption of the importance of the strike and in discussion wrote off miners as militants. It is not my intention to refute the comrade's arguments, for there is a great deal of truth in what he says; however, in coming to the conclusion he does, and failing to clearly analyse the changed nature of coal-mining, he fails to see the emergence of a new militant attitude.

When it is argued that the new wage structure for miners, i.e., a day wage structure, is the causal factor in the decline of militancy, the point is missed that this new structure is itself an indication of the changed nature of coal-mining. The very nature of coal-mining changed before the advent of the N.P.L.A. (National Power Loading Agreement).

At the height of the importance to the internal economy, when it was indissolubly linked to the fortunes of capitalism, coal was seen as a barometer reflecting periodic crises and turns in the trade cycle in a very real way. The miner by identifying the source of his exploitation, not only in the industry but in the system which coal mining so accurately reflected, called and fought for controls and in this fight was recognised by organised labour as being in the vanguard of the labour movement. Particularly important in developing the cohesive solidarity of the miner was not the socialisation at the point of production, it was not the physical adversity of his employment nor was it solely the exploitation. Though these were integral contributory factors they relied for cohesiveness on the socialisation of the miner in isolated communities: the mining villages. It was one thing to exploit the miner, to subject him to the inhumanity of the trade cycle and the physical danger of his employment. It was something altogether quite different to allow men who worked and suffered together to live and think together.

Coal-mining no longer holds the position it did in the internal economy. It is no longer, after 20 years of nationalisation, subject in the same manner to the trade cycle. Equally the miner is no longer so blatantly exploited in sub-human conditions. The fortunes of mining and the miner are less clearly linked to British capitalism than for example the car industry. This is not to deny the justification for a coal industry, its importance to British capitalism or the obvious exploitation of the miner. What is important is that these relationships are less important to capitalism and to the miner appear non-existent.

Just as we have had 20 years of nationalisation, we have had 20 years of the N.U.M. The corollary of the two going together is the disputes machinery arbitration, conciliation and 20 years with not a day lost in official strikes. Consequently we have a generation of miners reared in conciliatory attitudes and without a recognisable national leadership.

At the local level, pit level, membership involvement is at a minimum. Not only do the local bureaucracy see no task for themselves, membership is obligatory, large sections find it difficult to identify with the N.U.M. Craftsmen and general workers on the service and underground have long posed the question of the willingness and ability of the N.U.M. to represent them. As far as craftsmen are concerned their importance in the present mining industry should not be underestimated. Particularly since it is a mechanised industry. The importance that the N.C.B. have placed on craftsmen is their willingness to incorporate them in the N.P.L.A. (which pays approximately 25/- a shift more than the day rate for craftsmen). Such is the N.C.B. regard of the importance of craftsmen that all new entrants to the industry are processed and prospective apprentices 'creamed off'. Such importance has been given to the training of craftsmen that there are now fears of a lack of suitable candidates for colliery officials. As a consequence of this programme of training, the youngest section of the mineworkers are craftsmen.

First of all then the craftsman is educated and trained as no other section of industry are or have been. He is, therefore, as a consequence intellectually more sophisticated than his predecessor and his expectations are higher. It is with the failure of his expectations to materialise that he becomes discontented. (Less than 5 per cent. of all apprentices completing their apprenticeship can expect to get either promotion or adequate material rewards - for only one fitter and one electrician can be included in the face team.) It is at this point that we see the contradiction, for they have been educated to suit the convenience of the employer; an education which develops their expectations and capacity to articulate, and at the same time these expectations are unfulfilled, giving rise to discontent among a strategically important and articulated section of the workers.

In addition, the craftsman is less tied by loyalty to the N.U.M. than any other section. Constitutional changes in the union structure temporarily quietened the criticism aimed at it by the craftsmen. However, the failure of the union to impress upon the membership in general and the craftsmen in particular their ability to represent them will prove to be an important factor in the near future. An emergence of militancy among the craftsmen will not be controlled by the union bureaucracy. A bureaucracy which cannot adequately represent and safeguard his interests.

In conclusion may I add that in no way do I underestimate the importance of the majority of the N.U.M. and mineworkers who are not craftsmen and who are equally dissatisfied. The disenchantment long felt by the miners of South Wales, Northumberland, Durham and Scotland at the Government lack of a fuel policy and at their union's lack of leadership has now permeated the areas which once promised bright futures. This is indicated by the demonstration of miners at the Blackpool Labour Party conference, and by the election of Lawrence Daly on a militant platform.