Victory to the Miners!

Socialist Worker
Weekly Paper of the International Socialists

With unity we can win anything! One miner declared when a group of pickets of miners and striking car workers forced the Selsley coke depot in Birmingham to close last week.

He was right. The magnificent fight of the miners for a living wage, backed by rank and file action from other groups of workers, has sent the Tory government scuttling to the brink of total defeat.

Heath and the arrogant, hard-faced men of the Tory cabinet badly miscalculated the fighting strength and solidarity of the miners. Their sweeping power cuts have so outraged their paymasters, the employers, that an improved offer is a certainty.

The Wilberforce inquiry is just a charade, a face-saving gesture for the Tories. Everyone knows Wilberforce will recommend an improved offer for the miners. If Heath were really concerned about the hardship being caused through the power cuts then he would step in and stop them.

The last flimsy hope in the Tory locker is Mr. Joe Grimley, president of the miners' union. Throughout the strike he has wobbled and dithered, muttering about productivity concessions and his willingness to have settled the strike for £5.

Lessons

The miners have underlined two important lessons for the entire labour movement.

1) It is working people who have the real power in our society. When we unite and fight together the entire state machine and government is powerless. Hundreds of police were drafted to Selsley but a virtual general strike in east Birmingham crushed the uniformed bully-boys of the state.

2) The TUC has not dared to use their Industrial Relations Act against the miners. They know what the miners would do if any miners were jailed. Unity can make the Act as useless as a punctured balloon.

It is the rank and file that have done the fighting. If the miners had been left to depend on the official trade union machine they would not be as close to victory as they are today.

There has been no positive support from any of the major unions, including the mighty battalions lead by those stalwart figures of the Labour 'left' and the Communist Party, Jack Jones, Enoch Powell, and the General Council of the TUC, the so-called 'general staff' of the union movement, has been buffing and polishing the image to get the miners back to work for fear that the miners' militancy might become contagious disease affecting millions of other workers.

If the TUC was a real leadership of the movement then it would call a one-day general strike against the Tories' lockouts that are currently lying off millions of workers and workers. They have not even called for the 10pm curfew for the miners' kids, a commitment that would have brought victory to the miners weeks ago.

The TUC is not prepared to fight the Tories. A real leadership does not yet exist. It will have to be built from the present sections of the rank and file that are prepared to take on the government.

Pay is the key word. The miners are a special case because they are prepared to fight, without strike pay, picket, brave the lorry-driving scabs and police, stand up to the lies and distortion of press and politicians to win a living wage.

But they are not a special case when wages are concerned. Millions more workers take home £15 to £17 a week. They too work long hours in dangerous and unhealthy conditions in order to boost profits.

And they too can defeat this reactionary, anti-working class government if there is a united movement and a common fight. The call last year from the defeated postal workers for an alliance of all unions in the public sector that would commit joint claims and plan co-ordinated action must be taken up.

Message

Every working man and woman faces a concerted attack by the government and the bosses. Wages are driven down while prices, rents, fares and welfare charges soar. We have to foot the bill so that the small minority who own the country's wealth can boost their profits in preparation for a trade war with their Common Market rivals.

But they aren't going to get away with it. The miners have made that clear. They have stood up to the robbers, death and disease of their industry and said NO MORE.

And that message must ring in every section of the working-class movement. This government devoted to profit at people's expense was brought toppling down as the first step towards a socialist society which, under democratic workers' control, would plan to meet the needs of the majority.

To defeat the government we need nationwide solidarity by all trade unions. We need tough, resonant grass roots leadership to plan such a fight and to kick the official union machine into gear.

Above all, we need a political programme to link the movement and drive towards the defeat of not just the Tories but the whole system that breeds low wages, unemployment, poverty and slums.

The miners have given added inspiration to all those struggling for socialism. In just over a month they have destroyed the myth that the working class can't be united.

Panicking profiteers and blacked-out Birmingham know the power.

UNITED WE CAN WIN.

Bernadette Devlin writes: Back page

Demand TUC calls general strike

The miners want £6-£9 a week more to bring them up to the average industrialist. The TUC has refused and they, and they alone, are responsible for the results.

Working people should not have to suffer for the class of the Tories' system. The only way to end the present situation is to step up the solidarity action of other trade unions to force the Tories to surrender.

If the miners do not win their full claim, demand that the TUC call a general one-day general strike of all affiliated unions against the Tory lockout. Work or full pay. No workers should lose a penny because of the government's blackouts. Refuse to be laid off.

No co-operation with bosses' efforts to get round the effects of the strike. Strict observance of factory legislation on safety, light and heating.

No overtime or working extraordinary hours. Solidarity meetings inside every workplace.

No movements of coal or fuel into or within power stations. Repeal the 'national interest' law.

The miners have won. They have won back their wages in line with government policy.

There has had no negotiations for settlement of less than £126 a week, as minimum guaranteed wage.
The Six: 2m now out of work by David Yaffe

AS unemployment increases in Britain the government is trying to make the working class believe that if they work harder, production will be more profitable through lower wages and increases in productivity. It is surprising to see that similar conditions exist in the Commonwealth countries.

At the end of last year the number of peak week in the Common Market countries rose approximately by 2.5 million, 2,700,000 of them at the end of 1970. During the same period the number of those aged 15-24 grew by 23.7 per cent.

Unemployment in the separate countries was:

End of 1970 End of 1971
Belgium 76,000 85,000
West Germany 308,000 334,000
France 378,000 521,000
Italy 889,000 1,112,000
Holland 135,000 165,000

In Germany unemployment has almost doubled in the last 16 months, and the end of January had reached the highest level since 1953.

The demand for work will still rise, but at the same time the trend is continuously upwards.

In the UK the government will be faced with a similar problem. The working class will be forced to make further sacrifices.

Unemployment is not solely a problem of the UK, but affects many other countries. The level of unemployment in other countries is already high, and where many of Germany’s industries have faced difficulties.

All talk of 'closed-door arrangements' for the UK and the EEC to which the UK and the EEC are so insular, and which are now protected by the Community’s trade policies, is meaningless.

National governments will attempt to export their problems to other countries, but they will fail.

The government’s statement that the myth that somehow workers are being priced out of work is a myth and that the policies of the UK government are not facing any consequences is not a true picture. The trend of the labour market is a world phenomenon which is not only helping to increase large-scale unemployment, but is also expressed in the countries of Western Europe.

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More young Israelis refusing to serve in the army

The Israeli weekly magazine Hadran has reported that Israeli youths are refusing to serve in the occupied territories.

The magazine reports that in the past year, due to the occupation in the occupied territories, many youths have breathed in order to refuse to serve in the occupied territories.

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Green stories

HOME is the heroic: the Middlesbrough Evening Gazette—owned by Lord Thomson of Fleet Sewer—ran a big, "welcome home to our heroes" campaign when the Green Howards finished their "tour of duty" in Northern Ireland.

Much pleased by the publicity, the Howards sent along their public relations officer, Lieutenant George Robey (named after a rather unpleasant right-wing musical star of yesterday) to speak to the kindly journalists on the Gazette staff. But his account of the war—of course the record—of what the Howards got up to and his satirical boasting about how they intimidated and tortured members of the Catholic population astonished and frightened the journalists.

"It's all rather like my recent spell of groove shooting," said Robey. "On sight patrol you flush them out and gain them down."

In considerable detail, he gleefully described how he had seen a Catholic youngster shot in the back as he climbed over a wall. He boasted of similar incidents and gave lurid details of beatings the troops had handed out.

Such off-the-record truths may well explain the Belfast ghettos nicknames for our Twodie heroes: 'The Green Cowboys'. None of the information was ever printed in the Evening Gazette which continues in our heroes' editorials.

MUCH DIVIDING on the London Stock Exchange over the shaky Rhodesian situation. The Africans' decisive rejection of the Torus' attempted settlement with Smilky caused Rhodesia bonds to be marked down by 10 points. But the workers are still optimistic about making a killing. One cynical broker told City Press: 'It's always a good time to buy when the streets are running with blood'.

Sparks fly

MEMBERS of the electricals' union may like to know that this year's annual conference is to be held abroad. Major is the favourite watering place at the moment and an ETU official is off there within the next few weeks to sample the delights of fascist Spain.

The whole operation is being kept under the hammer because of an understandable hostility in the British trade union movement to holding conferences in a country where unions have been banned.

Code name for the project among ETU officials is the Mafia word for silence.

THOUGHTS on Sunday's anti-Rhodesia settlement march in London: It seemed a pity that with the Zimbabwe Africans up off their knees and lighting the Smith regime that their spokesman in Trafalgar Square, Bishop Musvini, were urging them to return to a position of prayer.

Just coincidence, of course, but the Communist Party contingent on the march followed representatives of the Methodist Church, giving some credence to the old saying that the British labour movement owes more to Methodist than to marxism.

Blacked out

THE FULL-PAGE ads in the press on Monday from John Davin's Department of Lame Ducks telling us how the power cuts will hit us could not restrain from the usual reference to the plight of the old, all suffering at the hands of the demon miners.

There will be some elderly people who may find it difficult to cope, it said. When there are no miners in power disputes, of course, elderly people have a life flawness with milk and honey. They never die from lack of heat and cold because warm-hearted, generous governments pack their pockets with cash.

As the hysteria increases, remember the case of the late Albert Clews of Stoke-on-Trent. He was a pensioner with a weak heart. When his bungalow was connected to the electricity supply he was asked to fork out £1 to the board. He couldn't pay. Two days before Christmas, without a miner on strike, the Midlands Electricity Board disconnected his supply and he was found dead.

Theopathologist said of his death available toxic pneumonia and hypo-thermia were contributory factors. He forgot to add the Midlands Electricity Board.

OPENING a speech at a mass meeting in Stockton High Street to protest at the government's projected closure of nearby Royal Navy Spares Parts Department at Eaglescliffe, the area's right-wing Labour MP Bill Rodgers said: 'This is the first time I have been here talking to the working people'.

Members of his audience can be forgiven for thinking that his main complaint against the government's unemployment offensive was that it forced him to show his face in the high street of his constituency.

Collared

TORY Central Office is now issuing advice to the assorted blacklegs and informers who want to join the Industrial Relations Act by forming breakaway unions. Mr J M McDonnell Watson of the party's industrial department has written to companies who want to form a new breakaway union and it is understood the Government will use the Transport Workers Union to be called the 'International Computers' Association'.

Says Mac the Strike: 'I do not think there would be much difficulty in establishing the association provided you got sufficient support for the objects in which you believe'. From the negotiating table, he adds, it would be much better if the association were non-political and registered. For non-political read pro-Tory.

Rat race

RACE TODAY, a journal produced by the Institute of Race Relations, is in serious danger. Its crime has been to give voice to the genuine frustrations of 50 million people in Britain and elsewhere, and to limit the space available for standard institute research.

Race Today, in other words, has reflected the general feeling among the institute's staff—that 'the race relations industry' exists more to protect the jobs and welfare of white researchers at the expense of black people's revolt and expression. Now the 'liberds' in the institute and in the Race Relations Board hope to close Race Today down, claiming it is in breach of the law.

Help save it by subscribing to Race Today at £2 a year, from 33 Sackville Street, London W1. The paper is well worth the money.
IT IS now just over a year since Rolls-Royce went bankrupt: the Receiver was appointed on 5 February 1971. For the employees of Rolls-Royce and the 40,000 other people whose jobs depended on the company, it has not been a happy year. Down in the City it's been different. Rolls-Royce had something like £54 million of secured borrowing (debentures); that is, no repay- ments were due for a fixed period at a given rate of interest, the loan being secured on the assets of the company. It is one of the safest forms of investment open to an investor.

When the Receiver was appointed the stock price of Rolls-Royce went down sharply on the Stock Exchange: they were selling below 100 on 10 February last year. What has happened since then? The decision has been taken to redeem all these loans at 100 and most of the money has been paid. Many of the employees of Rolls-Royce wondered how long they had a job. City speculators who rushed in last February have doubled their money.

In fact it is rather worse than this...

The decision need never have been taken to redeem the debentures: the original investors loaned money to the company expecting a regular income up to a certain date. The Receiver in fact is not so easily guaranteed to pay the interest and pay back the money on the appointed date. The money is now being paid in at its present rate.

Normally we wouldn't lose too much sleep over the shareholder, but in this case it involves two important groups. It involves the Receiver, those 4,000 workers with shares in the company, who once valued in total at £376,000, back in 1968. Secondly, it should be remembered that many of the shareholders included company pension funds and insurance companies: workers' money.

So, the decision was taken to reward city speculators who rushed in and bought in February 1971, rather than make attempts to safeguard tens of thousands of jobs or compensate those workers who were hoodwinked into buying shares in a company over which they had no control.

All debts have trustees, who are there to safeguard the interests of the Receiver and the Royal Exchange Assurance Company. The terms of the loan could be negotiated between the trustees and the board of Rolls-Royce.

Every issue of a new debenture was supervised by merchant bankers of Lazard, who collected a substantial commission: there were five issues, in total £75 million.this £75 million was paid over by the company to Lazard, who were the agents for the issue.

It is a fact to the footnote to the story. All debentures have trustees, who are there to safeguard the interests of the Receiver, and paid a commission to the Royal Exchange Assurance Company. The terms of the loan could be negotiated between the trustees and the board of Rolls-Royce.

It's time 'First in, Last out' was changed

HONEST JACK LYNCH
IN DEFENCE OF LAING
INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

Peter Sedgewick's film review provoked a flood of letters, here are some of the points made.

This film rang absolutely true

Peter Sedgewick has used the film Family Life to indige in a compliant fashion to the uselessness of the non-existent defence of the National Health Service.

As a social worker I have had experience of dealing with mentally ill people, some of them very like Sandy in the film, and I have visited more mental hospitals than than I care to remember. There was not a moment in the film which did not ring absolutely true.

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How to smash a union with the help of the law

‘Workers have the right not to belong to any union.’
‘It is not necessarily unlawful to dismiss a worker for belonging to an unregistered union.’
‘It is not necessarily unlawful to select some strikers for dismissal, if the strike was organised by an unregistered union.’

by Glyn Carver

The words come from a document, recently published by the Engineering Employers’ Federation, entitled The International Industrial Relations Act—A Guide to the Unfair Procedures of the Trade Union Organisations. A better title would have been How to make a Union with The International Labour Law, because that’s precisely what this document is all about.

The document starts with a warning to employers about the risks of bringing court action against workers without serious con- sideration. If the employer is too hasty, it appears to be torsed to the fact that workers are not just getting fed up, but are starting to organise in large numbers.

In both cases, employers are urged to consider ‘shop floor reaction’ to court actions and remember the danger of permanent ‘bad feeling’ resulting from such a step.

Even more practically, it is pointed out that militant workers might even refuse to pay their fines and could go as far as ignoring restraining court orders.

This clearly has been a great disappointment to some of the employers present at the conference.

How to smash a union with the help of the law

by Glyn Carver

May have thought that they could clap the works committee in iron in the dock the day the union came into effect.

The employers’ strategy is to tread softly at first. They are obviously worried that one or two idiots among them might lead the way by trying to pull a few workers.

Let’s face it, the bosses know enough about the class struggle to realise that workers would down tools in their thousands if that happened.

But in case you’re beginning to think that the Industrial Relations Act is 100% necessary to stop the union, re-read the article and the chapter of this book on the trade union law.

The quotes at the beginning of the article and the chapter of this book on the trade union law.

recipe for destroying the ability of the shop floor worker to defend himself.

The crucial point is that the document recognises that a registered union is so restricted that it ceases to be a union in the real sense of the word. That is why the bosses’ only concern is the unregistered union, those unions that will put up a real fight, those unions that will stop the bosses and the men that run the mills.

By using all the powers of the Industrial Relations Act against registered unions, they are hoping to either force them to register or destroy them completely at shop floor level.

We can often learn a lot from the activities of our enemies—the message to trade unionists in this document is clear. Don’t allow your union to register, use all the power you have to stop any move towards registration in your union.

Every militant worker must set out to prove to the bureaucrats that the cost of registration will be greater than the cost of deregistration, despite the danger of
300 years of looting and murder

ONE of the folk stories used to defend the actions of British troops in Ireland is that they are there just to keep two rival groups from each other's throats. Britain has no real wish to run any part of Ireland, it is claimed.

The truth is rather different. It is the domination of Ireland for 300 years and more by a small minority in Britain, backed by armed forces, prepared to massacre and murder, to torture and imprison without trial, that lies behind the present problems.

The rulers of England started their drive into Ireland in the 17th century. But they did not take complete control until 1707, when they concluded the Union with Great Britain.

When they did, thousands of Irish people were massacred. In the north-east of the country, Catholics were driven from land and replaced by Protestant colonists from Scotland.

English dominion concentrated economic power in the hands of a small body of English/Anglo-Irish landowners. Businessmen in England had no interest in the development of industries in Ireland that would make it independent. Anglo-Irish landlords.

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The result for Irish living conditions was catastrophic. 1750-1800, the population of Ireland was about half what it is today. In 1798, the War of Independence, a majority of the population lived in towns.

For them, the struggle for independence was a matter of survival. For the “landed gentry” the population on their estates was a constant threat to their land.

The 18th century is remembered in Ireland for the potato crop failure. The land in Ireland produced enough food to feed the population.

But the by the end of the last century British rule had started to take its toll. A growing interest in the control of Ireland. The landlordism system was a nightmare. There was little money available for farming from the landlords. But it was a nightmare that could be solved. If the land were broken up and sold, the inhabitants would be forced to work for wages.

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The United Socialist Republic — the only way forward

The only way big business knows of getting out of this dilemma is to put into effect what is called the 'federal solution.' This would mean maintaining separate governments as well as British troops while attempting to satisfy the demands of the Catholics in the north for equal rights with those towards a united Ireland.

But this could not be an independent United Ireland, developing the country in the interests of the people. It would still be a colony under British domination.

Both the southern government and the leaders of the Social Democratic Party in the north would welcome such a result. But it is no solution.

Even in capitalist terms there seems no way in which such a solution could satisfy Catholics and Protestants. The latter are determined to insist on any moves into their special position.

And from the point of view of workers and small farmers it will do nothing to prevent high unemployment, bad housing and the drain on resources to Britain. The case for a federal solution would not end the divisions in the north.

It is only one real solution to Ireland's problems — and that is a socialist solution.

But this would need the working class in the south to build up a revolutionary leadership determined to overthrow the Dublin regime while also leading a campaign to defend the Catholics in the north and to throw out the troops.

Only such a movement could overcome the isolation of the northern Catholics and begin the arduous task of convincing Protestant workers that there is an alternative to overspill in which their interests are protected.

But until such a movement develops, fighting for a united workers' republic, the Catholic population must defend itself. Neither section of the IRA has a clear idea of how to lead the struggle in Ireland to a final conclusion that would break the stronghold of British imperialism.

But they are defending the Catholic against the Protestant and in this vital role they must have the full backing of every socialist in Britain.

It is happening here... Long Kesh concentration camp in N. Ireland part of the 'United Kingdom'

Five years ago British big business thought it had solved the Irish problem for good. Tame and divided.

Some business interests even started to think it a little absurd to have to deal with two separate governments. They began to press for the two regimes to get together in friendly policy.

They had forgotten that the northern state was built on religious hatred and discrimination.

That was the only way to persuade Protestant workers to back a Tory government. Once the sectarian issue was under attack, the state itself would start to collapse.

In October 1968, the Catholic population began the first attack on this fragile edifice for many years for full civil rights, but as they marched peacefully through Derry they were met with all the violence and hatred the state could muster. Police charged, women, men and children were blinded and beaten to the ground.

Explosion

In the months that followed there were repeated confrontations, especially in Derry as police tried to break into Catholic ghettos to attack those threatening the system.

In August 1969 came the explosion. After a three-day battle kept the police from entering the Derry Bogside, Orangemen, police and SAS Special took their revenge. They burst into the Catholic areas of Belfast, machine-gunned. Eight Catholics were killed, hundreds more were threatened with death.

In the past, bloody aggression had been backed by the British government. But things had changed. British big business was doing well in the south. It did not want to turn its profit there by any means to its own profit by treating the northern Catholics.

Fortunately, the Labour government ordered its troops in Ireland to stop any further killings and to take control of the streets. It promised to improve the Catholics' conditions and it even disbanded the SAS and then disarmed the rest of the police.

But one thing it could not do was to dismantle a state machine that, regardless of its failings, did safeguard big business control and divide the working class. Protestant workers feared that reforms would take away the marginal privileges that stopped their conditions being as bad as in the Catholic areas.

They turned against Unionist politicians who backed reforms. G. O'Neill resigned and Chichester-Clark soon followed.

The Catholics were not prepared to trust any government promised. For a year their peaceful marches had been attacked with batons, water cannons and CS gas. Their houses had been burned, their families shot at.

They wanted to get areas to protect themselves against further attacks. The IRA, precisely a small, isolated body, started to grow rapidly as people turned to it for help.

At first the British government worried between trying to push for reforms or pop up the Stormont government, by placing its supporters.

By the summer of 1970 its mind was made up. To keep the Orangemen on the happy side, it sent the British Army into Catholic areas to search for 'illegal arms'. The local people were no alliance but to resist the attempt to smash their only means of defence.

More and more Catholics started to see that no reforms could come with a system of exploitation built on violence as they fought into the IRA.

Troops go in to defend profits

On 11 October 1972 33,000 unpaid workers, Protestant and Catholic together, demonstrated through the streets of Belfast. The police tried to break up the demonstration with batons, tear gas, clubs and handguns. One more worker was killed, more than 500 more were wounded.

The Special Powers Act was used against Protestant and Catholic alike.

The ruling class set about breaking the 'United Kingdom' with deeds of sectarianism. Sir Basil Brooke, Mr. Prime Minister, sent the British Army into Catholic areas to search for illegal arms. The local people were no alliance but to resist the attempt to smash their only means of defence.

More and more Catholics started to see that no reforms could come with a system of exploitation built on violence. The IRA, or the Provisional Catholic Army, was born. More than a million Catholics were murdered and hundreds wounded.

Ireland's History of Repression

By James Walker

James Walker's highly praised series in Socialist Worker has now been reprinted in handy paperback form. It is indispensable for scientists and trade unionists involved in the struggle to free Ireland from British domination.

10p a copy including post from

15 Books, 6 Cornhill Gardens, London E2 8DN
**Why ‘Mrs Average’ is on tranquilisers**

Everyday doctors all over the country prescribe thousands of anti-depressant drugs to women. Thousands more tablets, pills and one-stop shops are bought over the chemist’s counter. This isn’t because women are the ‘weakness’ sex. It is because society is creating problems for women, beyond their control but for which each individual woman must try to find a solution. This doesn’t only apply to poor families.

The work of a well-paid skilled worker may not need to go to work. They may be buying their own house, or have just moved to a new, expensive council block in the suburbs.

But she is isolated from family and friends, and it isn’t easy to make new ones. She is on her own on a house all day, doing the housework, cooking and cleaning. She has no one to talk to.

She feels tiring. She doesn’t have much time for her children, so she feels guilty and uncertain of whether she is a good wife and mother.

She can’t see her children well enough, and feels that her housekeeping money stays the same. She tries desperately to find someone to mind the kids while she goes to work. She is always on the phone, checking on the baby, finding out how much she’s going to spend on the shopping. She’s always doing, always rushing.

She has to go shopping at the local supermarket on her way over to the school. She has to go to the shops every day, and she’s always on the phone.

She feels like she’s going crazy. She feels like she’s going mad.

**The lessons we must learn from the Chinese revolution**

In 1924 an intelligent British colonial officer gave a warning to some moderate Indian nationalists. Anything like a “real revolution in India”, he warned, was impossible. He saw how much the political and the most disastrous effects on that very class that is now represented in the Legislative Assembly and Provincial Councils; for among the ignorant masses of India a political revolution would become a social revolution in a very short space of time.

He knew that the middle class is too closely connected with imperialism to risk losing its class power by mobilising the workers and peasants. Where local middle-class politicians have been granted political power by the imperialists, it has been on condition that they use it in the interests of imperialist profits.

And from Chiang Kai-shek to Mrs Gandhi, they have earned their keep.

**Massacre**

In Russia the working class took the place at the head of the fight which the Russian capitalist class was too cowardly to fill. But later Stalinism meant that Communist Parties, which should have organised and led the working class to take power, were diverted into seeking alliances with the bankrupt middle classes.

In China in the 1920s, when the working class could have placed itself at the head of a peasant revolution and taken power, the Communist party, on orders from Moscow, supported Chiang Kaishek.

Then when Chiang came to power he massacred the Communists.

The remnants of the party, led by

**Spanish Civil War**

Mao Tse-tung, organised peasant armies which ultimately brought the Communist Party to power.

But the Chinese leaders’ tactic of industrialising China in isolation from the rest of the world has reactionary consequences. For diplomatic advantage China supported Sukarno in Indonesia, who treated the Indonesian communists as Chiang had treated the Chinese party 30 years before.

And China’s alliance with Chiang Kaishek has led to its endless support for the butchers of the Bengal people.

The resources of China in isolation, great though they are, are less than those of Russia when Russia industrialised—while the resources of the imperialists weigh against which China must defend herself are now
distributed.

So the Chinese bureaucrats squander resources on an atom bomb.

Yet China is the best case for those who would argue that a leadership other than that of the working class can free exploited countries from imperialism. Every struggle against imperialism deserves the unequally support of socialists throughout the world—whoever leads it.

Stolen

Depressing imperialism of the worker. The workers and peasants to fight for this end weakens the
doctrine of the tactic of divide and rule.

**Racialism**

The struggle against imperialism goes on in Britain today. For imperialism breeds racialism, a product of the tactic of divide and rule.

It is no accident that the biggest immigrant groups in Britain are the Irish, the Indians and Pakistanis and the West Indians—people who are the oldest victims of British imperialism.

Workers who do not understand the causes which brought immigrants to Britain may fall for the racist poison which argues that they are to blame for the problems created by imperialism.

And anyone who does not understand the nature of the imperialist world we live in will fall for the old trick of the ‘national interest’. The enemy is one over the world, and so is the struggle against it. And America does in Saigon today and Britain in Belfast, both will be prepared to do tomorrow in Detroit, Chicago and Birmingham.

Every blow against the bosses in Zambia, Ireland, or Arabia, weakens the same bosses in Dagenham, Cowley or Liverpool.

When the workers of the world understand the connection as well as the employing class do, then the obscurity of imperialism, of capital...
IN 1940 the old order in Britain was shattered for ever by the place of a corrupt aristocracy and the remains of feudalism came as a blow, spearheaded by the triumph of Cromwell’s New Model Army against Charles I’s Cavaliers.

The new middle class extended their power mightily in the next two centuries. Charles I’s execution, the defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden, and the Glorious Revolution of 1688, were all signs of the growing strength of the new society that was coming into being. There was a new attitude at the old aristocracy, for the middle class intruded itself on the affairs of state in the 17th, and by the 18th century they were leading the new technology of the machine.

The new middle class enjoyed the spirit of Lockean philosophy, the novels of Daniel Defoe and Samuel Johnson. Most of all perhaps in the paintings and literature of the time.

Hogarth (1697-1764) was the new social critic in the world of art. He was more sentimental, his life typified the strengths and weaknesses of the obsolescent social categories of middle class British society.

He was the son of a bankrupt but intellectual schoolteacher, and spent much of his early life in jail—those days it was customary to bulk up the whole family of a debtor. This harsh experience took its toll on him, and took him back to his work. His earlier paintings were conventional—not unsuccessful, but unoriginal, and even the greatest self-criticism of his success propagated his art.

Like any other ambitious artist his first aim was to become a member of the King, the highest official post that one could hold. He was created a member of the King in 1759 with the daughter of the then Keeper Painter—Sir Josiah Hardcastle.

PIRATES

Two years earlier he decided to break with his artistic practice so far and instead of producing paintings for relatively rich clients, he set to work on a series of engravings of A Harlot’s Progress, to be sold at a pitiful price. This man produced, combined with the emetic of the engravings, was a wild success, and Hogarth sold his work over a thousand sets. As Venner commented, his success rapidly increased, and he was able to make an immediate fortune.

The results of this commercial success were far-reaching. Hogarth, agitated by the sordid condition of his art, once set out to work in art to attain to political power. This man had to face the King, the highest official post that one could hold. He was created a member of the King in 1759 with the daughter of the then Keeper Painter—Sir Josiah Hardcastle.

When ruling classes fight, what should the people do?

CONSUMING FOR VOTES, WITH A LITTLE CASH TO HAND—AN ENGRAVING FROM Hogarth’s Election series.

When ruling classes fight, what should the people do?

THE WAR AND THE INTERNATIONAL

by Leon Trotsky

—available from IS Books, 50p

FEW people looking back today can be expected to defend the war. It was one of the worst wars in history and horrific bloodletting. It was fought by the majority of those who had previously claimed to be opposed to war.

Few indeed were those prepared to make effective use of the opportunity to spread mass labor movements in Europe—until April 1914 united against the war. The trade union workers of different countries to wholeheartedly support the effort of the workers of the world.

Trotsky was one of the small band of Marxists, at the time a group of about 30,000, who opposed this surrender to the real frenzy of nationalism.

The pamphlet was the first attempt to show the real nature of the war and to explain the betrayal of the working class.

The effectiveness of the pamphlet is shown by the fact that it was translated into Russian and German and printed throughout the world.

But in the pamphlet, which was condemned to imprisonment in his absence. And the “other side” was the group of imperialist democratic parties in more lenient. It was interpreted by the British.

But this pamphlet is not merely an important historical document. It also relates to many of the questions of the present day. The pamphlet was not only a document of the Society for the time but also a document of the end of the pamphlet.

Chris Harman

Lennin quite rightly opposed him on both these points, arguing that the most important thing was to put forward a program that could in no way be confused with the demands of the betrayed classes of either side.

Many of these were prepared to accept both Trotsky’s arguments and to interpret them in a completely different way. That this chief justification for the war was that it was necessary to make certain of “national victory or defeat”. They were opposed by Russia.

Confusion was caused by the fact that those who wanted to support their own rule (as was the case of the Tsarist regime of Nicholas II) had to support the war. The war was not won by “socialists” but by the German and the British governments. The war was not won by “socialists” but by the German and the British governments. The war was not won by “socialists” but by the German and the British governments.

The Russian referred to the South Slavs opposed to being crushed by Russia.

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But Trotsky argued, this is not at all the same thing as supporting a war by the empire that is opposing the Poles to “Liberal” the Slavs, or vice-versa. Replace Narva by “Bregoli” and Polournée by “Kosovo” or Dalmatia or Western Bengal and the same considerations apply to the South Slavs today.

There are, however, several other points on which Trotsky’s position has on the whole been correct.

Firstly, Trotsky at the time rejected Lenin’s position of revolutionary defection. Trotsky argued that revolutionaries should want “national victory or defeat”, because they could not be sure to be in favor of the victory of either side. Secondly, he put forward the demand that “peace”.

Chris Harman
Press in the dark as miners start to bite

The shill jabber of industry's protest as a massive spinner is inserted into its works echoes inevitably through the pages of our national newspapers as the miners' strike began to bite.

And the cry of the leader-writers — that it is individuals who matter — fell on deaf ears, and the drip-drip of strike job evaluation and joint shop stewardship tests both in the plant and on a combine level.

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

For a minimum wage of at least £2 a week.

Against unemployment redundancy and lay-off.

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 racism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

For the right of consumed 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 Reagan Pact.

Against secret diplomacy.

Against all forms of imperialism. We unconditionally give support to solidarity with all genuine minorities opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to build a revolutionary socialist party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary socialists and workers as well as managers to accept these policies.

What follows from this thesis — that the majority of a society, whether it is a capitalist state or a socialist society, is a world dominated by human solidarity, on the increasing freedom of the individual from the collective, as we live, is most 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.

WHAT'S ON —

MIDLANDS

Birmingham

Leicester

Leamington

Northampton

Oxford

Peterborough

Rutland

Wolverhampton

WALES and

SOUTH WEST

Jersey

Cardiff

Swansea

Gloucester

Bristol

Malvern

BLACKPOOL

City
day

B right.

IS NEWS

FOUR HUNDRED people packed a lively and passionate meeting to show their support to the miners' strike on Saturday night in Birmingham. The meeting was called by the miners themselves in support of the miners in Grimesthorpe, Yorkshire, and was addressed by Tony Cliff of IS and Tony Kinder. 16 people joined the picket at 16 as is the end of the meeting.

BIRMINGHAM-280 people attended an IS meeting in the miners' strike on weekend.

Sunday, Speakers were Tony Cliff and those from the 'independent' and 'Independent' Labour Party.

THE DERRY MASSACRE marks a turning point in the struggle. The decision to launch a general strike in the Six Counties. It must be made to mark a turning point in Britain in support of the struggle of the Irish people. A conference for trade unionists is to be held to discuss the Irish situation and the campaign of struggle.

NOTICES

The WIDER of the Wider World writes to the workers of the North, the workers of the South, the workers of the Midlands. From the north, the workers of the West, the workers of the East, the workers of all Britain. The wider world is calling to the workers of Britain to unite in the struggle for a better world.

BRISTOL, INTERNATIONAL NOTICES

1. 10pm Sunday 22 February: A meeting of the Bristol Section of the Workers' Library and Study Group.

2. 10am Sunday 22 February: A meeting of the Bristol Section of the Workers' Library and Study Group.

3. 10am Sunday 22 February: A meeting of the Bristol Section of the Workers' Library and Study Group.

4. 10am Sunday 22 February: A meeting of the Bristol Section of the Workers' Library and Study Group.

TEESIDE IS RALLY

This is a reminder of the IS rally, to be held on Saturday, 22nd February at 2pm, in the Town Hall, Middlesbrough. The rally will be addressed by Tony Cliff, member of the Executive Committee of the Workers' Library and Study Group.

TEESIDE IS RALLY

The IS rally will be held on Saturday, 22nd February at 2pm, in the Town Hall, Middlesbrough. The rally will be addressed by Tony Cliff, member of the Executive Committee of the Workers' Library and Study Group.

The concert of the IWW, to be held on Sunday, 22nd February at 2pm, in the Town Hall, Middlesbrough. The concert will be addressed by Tony Cliff, member of the Executive Committee of the Workers' Library and Study Group.

For more information, contact the Workers' Library and Study Group.
Building workers fight blacklist by Gerry Kelly

CITY ENGINEERS RESIGN IN CHAOS

SHEFFIELD: 800 shop stewards decided last weekend to mount a major challenge to both the engineering unions and the government on the shopfloor. On that day there will be a nationwide engineering strike in support of their national wage claim.

Talks at national level between the employers and the unions over this claim broke down in January and local factories have since been told to fight it individually.

The employers rejected the claim for a 6.6% increase on the basic rate (now £19 a week for a skilled man), for a 35-hour week, for longer holidays, and for more lay-off pay, all without productivity strings. Instead they offered a slight rise in the minimum rates only without any improvement in conditions.

Instead of confronting the employers over this claim, the engineering unions, led by Hugh Scallon, broke off talks and recommended that factory by factory action be taken.

Breakdown

This is an extremely dangerous policy. It can lead to a serious fragmentation of the union and in the long term factories will be forced to accept less than national demand. The engineering employers recognise this.

In the latest issue of their paper they say that since the breakdown of the engineering employers’ claim last year and the adoption by that union of a similar policy, many satisfactory agreements have been reached at plant level which are well short of the union’s nationally claimed increases... Certainly in the medium and small firms settlement has been

FOR 89 weeks now the men and women of Fine Tubes have stood firm. They have been on strike to ensure management recognition of independent trade unionism, one of the basic tenets of the union’s principles.

As their struggle continues they need more financial and other support. Local Worker and the International Socialist have organised Fine Tubes concert benefit on Sunday 12 March, 7.30pm at the Matrix Hall, corner of Chiswick Lane, Hammersmith.

East of Eden, the Critics Group, Bobby Campbell and Gordon McCallum have all been on strike to ensure management recognition of independent trade unionism, one of the basic tenets of the union’s principles.

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Osterley, Middlesex: 120 maintenance workers, fitters, electricians, and building craftsmen at United Biscuits are on strike since 14 January. The lockout was the result of a work-to-rule protest at inadequate wage offers.

The men’s work is now being done by temporary staff, whose efficiency is far from assured. The lockout was the result of a work-to-rule protest at inadequate wage offers.

120 locked out of biscuit factory

Militant magazine lacks call to action

EIGHT HUNDRED delegates from all sections of the trade union movement attended last Saturday’s conference called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions to discuss the fight against unemployment and the Industrial Relations Act.

On unemployment, speakers after speaker made it clear that they thought the mass for productivity bargaining was a step backwards and was responsible for much of the current unemployment.

Many speakers argued for an end to productivity deals and that without them it would be impossible to get the necessary reductions in pay. For the campaign to succeed, it was necessary to have the mass of workers engaged in the struggle.

On the Industrial Relations Act there was a consensus that under the act there would have no place for a mass struggle for the expansion of the TUC and the unions.

But delegates looked in vain at the conference and afterwards to any concrete action on these questions. There was no agreement on the conference and afterwards to any concrete action on these questions. There was no agreement on the conference and afterwards to any concrete action on these questions. There was no agreement on the conference and afterwards to any concrete action on these questions. There was no agreement on the conference and afterwards to any concrete action on these questions.

Swansea 15 meeting BERNADETTE DEVLIN speaks on How to fight the Tories

Sociology

If I would like more information about the International Socialists
VICTORY TO THE MINERS!

Why Wilberforce won't free the wage slaves

IT HAS BEEN a tough week for Lord Wilberforce and his chums on the court of inquiry into the miners’ strike. Never before have such men been faced with the necessity of nightwork. Never before have a government gone to such disproportionate lengths to get one of its scores of ‘fair play’ and ‘impartiality’ on view so speedily.

Press and television have gone to considerable lengths to paint the idea in people’s minds that the miners should return to work or at least suspend their picketing action until a government-appointed Inquiry Board has delivered its reports. They have had no luck.

The Board of inquiry, the miners have already forced the government to make some of the most popular changes that have ever been put on the Board of inquiry and to avert what the miners fear is the most important issue of all - the issue of ‘fairness’.

Wilberforce’s position this year is in the most remarkable contrast to the toughest job he did on the power workers, who was the Power Workers’ Inquiry Board in 1971. The outcome of that committee of inquiry was totally predictable as soon as the power workers’ leaders threw their own men in prison and asset-stripped the country to the winds and abandoned industrial action.

The Wilberforce Inquiry did not start sitting until six weeks after the suspension of the workability rules. Its report hardly even mentioned electricity employees’ ‘final offer’ and encouraged more productive dealing. And the union leaders discovered that a wage offer they had previously rejected as ‘unsatisfactory’ was now a good ‘settlement’.

Last year’s Wilberforce was designed to benefit the miners’ wage offer. This year’s workers’ wage offer, Wilberforce, an ex-Tory, who is still a landlord, will make nothing out of economics, shared it.

Crucial

He was not quite as thick as Reynard Brooks, boss of GKN, the biggest single manufacturer on the whole Power Workers’ Inquiry Board and Jim Morrison, a former trade union leader who is now sceptically accepting prices and incomes policy that he ended up with a membership of the Pay Board.

The inquiry report was published at a crucial point in the postal workers’ bitter battle with the Post Office to get another nail in the coffin the TUC leadership had been helping to build up by its lack of active support.

The essential weakness of the power workers was the turning point for the battle. The miners were forced back to work with nothing but a series of half promises and new promises while they were paid more than what the wage offer they had already been offered.

Both post and power inquiries are going to sit until the middle of the year. As usual, they relied on secret diplomacy behind the scenes to ensure that play was by their rules, and the result in accordance with their wishes.

In the autumn of 1870, an inquiry into dawsonism held a battle which saw a key point won on a key factor in determining the recession. A key question was whether the claim that a bill met very nearly in 1872, while it was a Hugh Clegg, a member of the inquiry team with experience.

Laurie Flynn

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Socialist Worker

Name

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MILLIONS of workers are now feeling the effects of the strike and the miners find the TOG government. Peter Heslter is at fever pitch in an attempt to restore the miners. The miners’ strike is the most important issue of all - the issue of ‘fairness’.

Wilberforce’s role as the Power Workers’ Arbitration panel from which inquiry members are drawn, was too small.

Not only that the Labour government was at any more sympathetic to the causes of workers in struggle. What they did was use the inquiry methods much more sensitively.

Time and time again the most revealing ‘impartial’ inquiries of all time into the workability off a strike on two London building sites, Barbican and Honfleur Road.

In April 1987 as the ghastly Royal Commission on Construction was being set up, the GMBU Construction News reported, ‘It is the government’s intention that all the elements in the dispute should be reported before parliament. The result of this is that it is intended to strengthen the power of public opinion.’

Subsequently, there was a flood of press lies about the one element in particular, the dreaded disputes which were part of the inquiry.

There was one slight little problem in all this. The committee of inquiry at no time probed what underlay the continual labour disputes. It is now absolutely clear that far from being the strikes, the employers instigated them up. They had under-priced their bids for the Barbican contracts and were using the strikes to prolong the contract period.

Only last year, Turnbull and other contractors were once again providing strikes to help them milk, the City of London Corporation for still more money after 23 years on an inquiry then. Robert Carr told them has now been completely filed.

The miners know their demands will win only if they get the struggle. The government does not hold committees of inquiry to decide its policies. It pursues them ruthlessly as it tries to drive the working-class movement into submission. And now that they have failed with one attempt to get under the law to set up an inquiry, the other and outcomes of such inquiries vary from time to time. But the result is sure, the next attempt to draw up the facts of a tiny minority in the odow of impartiality.

Committees of inquiry are state agencies. Their decisions depend on the balance of forces on the battlefield. The only way in which there is no fairness and no impartiality of the inquiry, if the miners win.

Laurie Flynn

Police violence breaks up London march

SW Reporter

Our fund goes into action

This week, the UCSF fund goes into action. The National Committee of the UCSF and the UCSF Committee of 1980 and the UCSF Committee of 1980, decided to pay the expenses of six workers who were arrested on May 22nd.

We have the possibility of emerging from the battle with a rank and file ‘minority’ conference and a workers’ movement. This has been made possible by the money already collected for our £6000 Fighting Fund.

Donations continue to come in and at the time now stands at £1600. Chairperson is 29th February. It is important for all 16 branches to send money collected now. We greatly appreciate the many contributions that we have had from neighbours and supporters.

Pickets refused bail

Dunfermline - 14 miners arrested on Monday in a clash with police while picketing Longwood power station were refused bail and held in custody when they appeared in court on Tuesday. Police were refuses admission to the hearing.

A man who complained to the police at this time was the head of the miners’ union and was arrested and released bail.

PITTSBURGH - President Carter signed a bill January 19 to extend the terms of college students, who have been arrested for the first time, which would allow them to return to school if convicted.

College crackdown on occupation’s leaders

The authorities at Cambridge University are beginning disciplinary proceedings against six students who were involved in the occupation of the university’s central administration buildings by 150 students. The university administration has announced that there will be no further investigations into the occupation.

The occupation began after the authorities had refused to accept proposals to reform the university’s central administration, and the students involved were threatened with expulsion. The occupation involved the occupation of the central administration buildings, including the central administration offices, and the students were refused entry to the building.

The university administration has announced that there will be no further investigations into the occupation. The students involved were threatened with expulsion if they did not leave the buildings. The occupation ended after the university administration announced that it would not investigate the occupation.

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