The Socialist Correspondent

Issue Number 1 Winter 2007

What and where is the working class in Britain?

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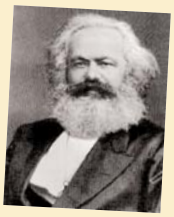
The Socialist Correspondent has the aim of exposing capitalism and promoting socialism. Based on Marxist principles, it will aim to establish a discussion forum for those seeking to better understand developments in a world run by capitalism, following the defeat of the Soviet Union. It will seek to assist those fighting capitalism and imperialism and it will promote the values and principles of socialism. The journal will be published several times per year.

Marxist Point of View



Future issues will carry a Commentary on the political situation in the world from a Marxist point of view. These Commentaries will take as their starting point that the 21st century is radically different from that of most of the 20th century in which progressive forces, led by the Soviet Union, made considerable gains. The Socialist countries along with the forces of national liberation and the working people in many capitalist countries forced concessions from capitalism and imperialism. The defeat of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has reversed this dramatically. We now live in a world run by capitalism. It does not make it a more peaceful world but one that is more dangerous. The need to discuss and to find successful ways of fighting capitalism and its continuing drive to war is one of the aims of the Socialist Correspondent.

The working class in Britain

The article, "What and where is the working class in Britain?", by Helen Christopher, introduces a discussion, of this question, to be continued in succeeding issues. Linked to this, it is intended to carry brief analyses of different industries in Britain.

The first of these is the coal mining industry in Britain, by Barry Johnson. The defeat of the Miners' strike in 1984/85 by the Thatcher Government paved the way for some

Commentary

twenty five years of continuous attack on the whole of the working people by successive British governments.

The current extremely weak state of the political and industrial labour movement in Britain is a reflection of this. There have been many changes to the composition and nature of the British working class over the last 30 years.

The discussion of the nature and state of the working class, alongside analyses of industries, will seek to clarify and understand these changes.

International nature

The Socialist Correspondent is of the view that to understand the state and nature of British Capitalism one needs to view it in a global context.

For this reason, but also cognisant of the fact that British Imperialism has not been the dominant capitalist state for some considerable time, the journal will carry material of an international nature. After all, it is a world struggle against imperialism. A victory anywhere against capitalism is a victory for all working people.

The Socialist Correpondent will seek to describe and explain events elsewhere in the world, normally ignored or distorted by the capitalist media.

In this first issue there is an article on Cuba, a country which continues valiantly to maintain and develop socialism in a very different, and arguably far more difficult, context than when the revolution occured in 1959. Gina Nicholson, following a recent visit, brings to life some aspects of what it means for the people of Cuba.

60th Anniversary of Indian Independence

Even when there are defeats for imperialism, it does not give up the fight or retire from the fray. As Lenin wrote, after a defeat, the capitalists fight a hundredfold to regain their lost position. They fight to reverse defeats in a variety of ways. One of these ways is to re-write history, and to appropriate and distort the struggles which led to

capitalism's defeat. Britain's Empire was huge, straddling continents, in which "the sun never set and the blood never dried".

India was at the centre of the British Empire. This year is the 60th anniversary of Indian Independence. It is also the 150th aniversary of the Indian Rebellion of 1857. The British imperialists termed it the "Indian Mutiny", thus giving it a particular ideological spin. Both of these momentous struggles/events continue to have considerable significance today.

Divide and Rule

British imperialism's 'turning defeat into victory' is exemplified by its partition of India into India and Pakistan, as a condition of independence. Imperialism encourages and uses divisions among people, whether it be race, colour, religion or something else, to further its own ends. And, of course, it blames the people for their divisions, often explained as merely a fact of life.

In the case of India, it fomented the divisions (having drawn the lessons of the Indian "Mutiny"), and eventually, when it was forced to concede independence, it institutionalised the divisions by partitioning India into two separate nation states based on religion.

This tore apart communities which had lived together peacefully for a very long time. India and Pakistan, divided as two separate hostile entities are easier to deal with, exploit and manipulate.

This practice of 'divide and rule' is not unique to the Indian sub-continent but it can be found in the Middle East, Asia, Africa, Ireland and elsewhere. Partition has been one of the most effective ways of Imperialism 'turning defeat into victory', and retaining control.

What and where is the working class in Britain?

In their writings Marx and Engels describe a capitalism which in many respects is as recognisable today as it was when they began their critique over 160 years ago.

HELEN CHRISTOPHER investigates whether or not the working class in Britain today is capable of making a revolution and overthrowing capitalism.

THE COMMUNIST Manifesto (1), one of Marx and Engels' earliest works, is dense with strands of analysis which would be expanded on in their later writings.

In it they describe a world which is shrinking due to the development of technology; a world which is becoming more homogenised and globalised and in which material worth and individualism dominate our values and consciousness.

The distinctions between nations, between town and country, between the sexes are all diminishing.

Human relationships; family relationships are "reduced … to a mere money relation". (2) and the only freedom is "free trade" (3).

Nothing else is respected or valued. These trends exposed with ferocious passion by the young Marx and Engels are the ones which dominate our world today.

Despite this amazing analysis of the destructive power and anti-human nature of capitalism, nevertheless 160 years later it is still the dominant force in the world.

The opposing power of the socialist world, socialist and progressive movements, the anti-imperialist forces and the non-aligned movement no longer represents the challenge that it did in the 70-odd years from 1917 to 1989.

The major capitalist powers have become thoroughly reactionary with shrinking or vanishing communist parties. Social democracy has virtually disappeared in Britain and is being attacked and eroded elsewhere.

Liberation movements in Ireland, Palestine and South Africa find it difficult to manoeuvre to maintain progress towards their goals. Religious fundamentalism fills the ideological vacuum


Manifest
der
Kommunistischen Partei.
Herausgegeben im Februar 1848.
Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt euch.
London.

for many of the oppressed.

Only in Latin America, with Cuba still as a beacon of the possible, is there some semblance of a movement making progress. Maybe with the war in Iraq and Afghanistan and Iran to worry about, Uncle Sam has taken his eye off the ball in its own back yard.

Yet the Communist Manifesto seemed to offer not only the analysis, but also pointed to the solution to the evils of capitalism.

Class antagonisms were at last laid bare and simplified as the world divided more clearly into the capitalists owning and controlling the means of production and the exploited working class, owning only their ability to work, which by necessity they had to sell to the capitalists.

The working class is portrayed as a growing, impoverished mass and in later works as one which is increasingly intensively exploited as technology advances.

As Marx and Engels watched the growth of factories and cities in Europe, this description was very real, however, did it stay like that for long? It certainly hasn't in Britain.

The decline in the working class here does not mean that it is declining in numbers in absolute terms on a world scale, however, it is clear that with the advance of technology smaller numbers of workers are required to produce goods which not too long ago would have required shed-loads of proletarians.

Of course more goods are also being produced. In advanced capitalist countries this has manifested itself in widespread conspicuous and vacuous consumption, a phenomenon once the preserve of the wealthy. What evidence we have tells us that the consumer society is not improving the quality of people's lives.

Along side the decline in numbers of the working class in Britain, there has also been a growth in middle class and ancillary strata servicing capitalism, so that naked class divisions do not appear in the stark way set out in the Communist Manifesto.

The decline in the number of workers required to produce the same amount of goods is an absolute trend in capitalism, which is acutely realised in Britain, the United States and other old established capitalist countries. This has been a continuing and accelerating trend.

What are the implications of this for the vision of the working-class as the revolutionary class? It is seen in Marxism as the class that prefigures socialism as it is socially organised to

produce wealth, is alienated from the product of its labour and lives together in communities.

Workers and working-class communities rely on collective solidarity as a natural part of their day-to-day lives and that solidarity can be essential at times for survival itself.

Where can we recognise this image in Britain today except in isolated pockets or occasional instances? Even our collectivism is moulded and made synthetic by the media from "mass out-pourings of grief" to participation in voting people in or out of reality TV programmes.

Individuals are increasingly blamed for failings which are the products of their environments; being fat, smoking, having too big a carbon footprint etc. Self-help is extolled to change you rather than collective action to change your circumstances.

There are workers in Britain but can it be said that there is a working-class - "*a class against capital*" never mind "*a class for itself*" (4)

In Britain the corruption, fragmentation and disappearance of the working-class has been a complex process with many layers to it. Some of these are:

- Corruption through material wealth, fulfilment of personal aspirations to improve life chances through education and other forms of welfare-statism.
- Consumerism and debt.
- Dispersal of the working-class to live in more atomised accommodation such as housing schemes and new towns.
- Division of the class through the promotion of racism, xenophobia and other forms of prejudice.
- Promotion of addictions and quick fixes which undermine the health and culture of the working-class.
- Development of production so that much smaller numbers and concentrations of workers are required to produce goods.
- Sub-contracting and changing patterns of work which fracture the collective nature of production.
- Destruction of industry and hence the destruction of working-class occupations.

Whilst some of these are arenas for struggle others are structural changes which could not be resisted or were changes that the movement fought for like better housing and education.

Capitalism has become adept at undermining the development of the working class as a revolutionary class, not only through its conscious and unconscious actions, but also in the nature of its own development.

In Britain it has de-mobbed its gravediggers. If, then, as capitalism develops the working class at a point begins to become less powerful, what does that say about the concept of the working class as the revolutionary class born within capitalism to overthrow it?

If the processes we have seen in the advanced capitalist countries in the 20th century are an inherent part of capitalism then the working class will inevitably be corrupted and degraded. What is to stop the working classes of Brazil, India and China going the way of the British working class?

The development of production and use of new technologies and ITC will mean that the potential to decrease the concentration of workers and fragment production will be an increasing trend. So how will we get socialism?

> **"... for a REVOLUTION to take place it is ESSENTIAL that the EXPLOITERS should not be able to live and RULE in the OLD WAY."**
>
> V I Lenin

Perhaps it is useful at this point to reflect on the great revolutions of the 20th century; the Russian, Chinese and Cuban. As has been extensively commentated on, these all happened in countries with a weak industrial base and relatively new and under-developed working-classes compared to the other class forces around them.

They all had larger peasantries than working classes. Since these are the most successful examples that we have then perhaps, with the wisdom of hindsight, we should regard them as the rule rather than the exception. The achievement of socialism appears most likely where the working class is newer and capitalism is more brutal in its exploitation.

In conclusion it is worth re-visiting the conditions for achieving socialism. Historical Materialism tells us that change from one class system to another occurs because the existing ruling class and sets of class relationships have become a break on the forces of production and the new emerging ruling-class to be is developing new forces and relations of production.

There is strong evidence that capitalism has not yet reached that point as witnessed by the development of Infomation and Communications Technology and other new technologies as a productive force in the latter half of the 20th and the start of the 21st century. Profit and competition are incredibly powerful motivational forces.

We also need to think about the point of revolutionary crisis. As Lenin said: "*..for a revolution to take place it is not enough for the exploited and oppressed masses to realise the impossibility of living in the old way, and demand changes; for a revolution to take place it is essential that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule in the old way. …revolution is impossible without a nationwide crisis (affecting both the exploited and exploiters).*

"It follows that for a revolution to take place, it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers or at least a majority of the class-conscious, thinking and politically active workers, should fully realise that revolution is necessary, and that they should be prepared to die for it; second that the ruling classes should be going through a governmental crisis, which draws even the most backwards masses into politics (symptomatic of any genuine revolution is a rapid tenfold and even hundredfold increase in the size of the working class and oppressed masses - hitherto apathetic - who are capable of waging the political struggle), weakens the government and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to overthrow it." (5)

This has been analysed as crises of over-production with inter-imperialist rivalries leading to war. It may be that future crises will take these forms, however, other factors are emerging which present inherent problems for capitalism, which it may be unable to manage, for example national and personal indebtedness and the destruction of the environment that we rely on to support our life on this planet as resources are gobbled up in the pursuit of profit.

We know that socialism can be achieved, because it has been achieved. However, to be successful revolutionaries we need to try to be objective about capitalism's strengths and weaknesses, the forces that we have at our disposal and how best to attack capitalism's weak points.

FOOTNOTES:

1.The Manifesto of the Communist Party - Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels 1848 in Selected Works, Lawrence and Wishart. 1968

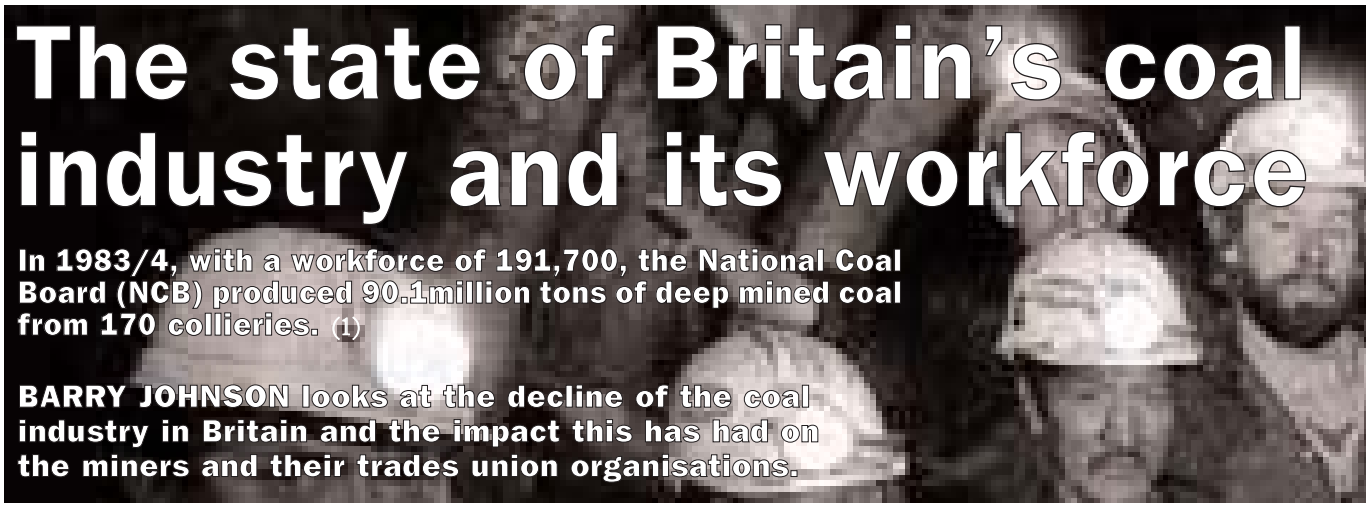
2. ibid p.38

3. ibid p.38

4. The Poverty of Philosophy. Karl Marx Progress Publishers 1975

5. "Left-Wing" Communism an Infantile Disorder - V I Lenin 1920 in Selected Works, Progress Publishers 1977

The state of Britain's coal industry and its workforce



In 1983/4, with a workforce of 191,700, the National Coal Board (NCB) produced 90.1million tons of deep mined coal from 170 collieries. (1)

BARRY JOHNSON looks at the decline of the coal industry in Britain and the impact this has had on the miners and their trades union organisations.

THE GREAT miners' strike occurred in 1985. In the year immediately preceding the denationalisation of the industry (1992/3) 31,700 workers turned out 61.8 million tons from 17 collieries.(2) (See tables opposite)

Since 1984 there has been a constant overall decline of employment in the industry matched by an equally constant increase in the rate of exploitation as measured by output per man shift (opms).

There are some indications that this decline might be slowing down, or even reversing. A number of collieries including Harworth (Nottinghamshire) are kept on a care and maintenance regime while Hatfield, in South Yorkshire has been taken out of 'care and maintenance' following an injection of £50 million from the Russian VTB Bank Europe after the Russian coal producer Kuzbbassrazrezugal (KRU) had taken a 51% interest in Hatfield's owner, Power Fuel. (4)

A new drift mine under development in the Neath Valley is now extracting 'development coal' with economic production anticipated in early 2008; it is estimated that the mine will be capable of 1 million tons per year and plans are afoot to open more pits in Wales. (5)

At the end of May Alex Salmond, Scotland's First Minister, gave his backing to 'clean coal technology' which is being introduced to that country's two coal fired power stations as well as a bid to open a new deep coal mine at Canonbie in Dumfriesshire which has reserves of 400 million tonnes, sufficient to run Longannet power station for 80 years.

Salmond further said that clean coal technologies mean that '…coal, from being environmentally unacceptable, is becoming environmentally attractive. What people forget is that we have roughly 10 per cent of Europe's reserves.' Of course Salmond's prognosis could just be opportunism on his part but the argument is sound. (6)

However, because coal mining is an extractive industry, all collieries eventually run out of accessible coal and die. Thus Tower Colliery near Hirwaun in Glamorgan is scheduled for closure within the next year or so. Tower was subject to an employees' buyout in 1995.

The latest available deep mining figures (2006/7) show 8.2 million tons extracted by 3,600 miners working 19 collieries (3):

Locality	No of collieries	Employees	Output (tons)
Derbyshire	1	29	735
Doncaster	2	253	57,482
Gloucestershire	2	5	180
Kirklees	1	14	18,565
N. Yorks.	1	755	1,908,031
Nottinghamshire	3	1,088	2,642,313
Rotherham	1	485	828,661
Warwickshire	1	704	2,247,238
Neath/Port Talbot	4	122	11,235
Rhondda	1	304	423,122
Torfan	2	11	5,362
Totals	**19**	**3189**	**7,710,583**

Opencast mining now produces more coal than deep mining:

Locality	No of sites	Employees	Output (tons)
Dumfries & Galloway	1	93	232,852
E. Ayshire	7	477	3,257,094
Falkirk	1	22	5,183
Fife	1	129	1,046,351
Midlothian	1	30	246,307
S. Lanarkshire	4	204	860,104
W. Lothian	1	88	494,839
Carmarthenshire	1	14	32,221
Neath/Port Talbot	5	194	807,311
Powys	1	96	412,205
Totals	**33**	**1,801**	**8,412,670**

FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

A slogan from the past was, 'coal is too valuable to burn;' that was in the days of mainly inefficient burning. Modern technologies have meant that coal can be 'cooked' rather than burned, thereby enabling greater thermal efficiency from the raw material while, as oil and gas prices soar, coal could again provide feedstocks for the chemical and allied industries. Both South Africa (30%) and China are producing diesel oil from coal while the process is being investigated in Wales.

TRADE UNIONS

Engineered by elements within the Thatcher government, the UDM (Union of Democratic Mineworkers) formally broke away from the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) in 1985 though the split had been appar-


Orgreave 1985

ent from mid 1984. The courts ensured that all the assets of the Nottinghamshire Area NUM were taken over by the scab union, and Nottinghamshire has remained the concentration point for the UDM membership, though it also has a grip at the country's largest and most productive colliery, Daw Mill in Warwickshire. Whilst the UDM has attempted to move into other industries it has failed to make much progress. Both organisations are concentrated in the deep mines, squabbling over less than 4,000 workers, while the former TGWU, now UNITE, is the main player in opencasting.

THE NUM

From the founding, in 1889, of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (MFGB) the main miners' union has retained strong elements of federalism; even now, with so few members, federalism still beggars the NUM with the anachronistic 'Areas' still retaining significant funds and independence.

The Derbyshire Area for example, with only one small drift mine, at Eckington, within the county boundary, still has two paid agents whilst paying the former general secretary an undisclosed consultancy retainer. The two agents' main functions are to provide some welfare, benefit and representation services to their retired members; one agent is paid by the National Union and the second from the accumulated funds of the Area.

Some years ago the former general secretary expressed his objective to retain sufficient funds to ensure that the last pound be spent on the day that the last pensioner died!

Following the great strike some other Areas, such as Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, opted to merge into the National Union. Other Areas chose the same route as Derbyshire by retaining their affiliation to the NUM whilst upholding their parochial 'independence.'

The NUM General Secretary, Steve Kemp, has recently announced that he will not be seeking re-election for his post though he is eligible so to do.

He told the NEC that for him 'to seek re-election… would entail a long period of uncertainty for the Union that would give the appearance of unseemly manoeuvre and manipulation that could do nothing but harm and would inevitably poison relationships in the long term making the job much more difficult to do,' and continued, that no national official should, ever be '…placed in this impossible position again.'

It appears that John Walsh, an avid right winger who, twice unsuccessfully contested the Presidency against Arthur Scargill, is co-ordinating the campaign against the left.

MIGRANTS

Russian labour is being introduced at Hatfield while in Nottinghamshire Polish miners are working at Thoresby. In the latter case at least, this has led to the introduction of the 'butty,' system which has close similarities to that of the gangmasters.

One member of a team is appointed as the butty who receives the aggregated wages of the whole team to divide it out as he sees fit; it is likely that he also has the best knowledge of English.

It is a system that operated in several coalfields before nationalisation and the butties were the mainstay of George Spencer's breakaway union after the 1926 lockout. Mining is still a highly dangerous occupation in which clear communication between miners is crucial but neither the state nor the owners are prepared to fund courses in 'English for Speakers of Other Languages' (ESOL), a demand made by the NUM. Daw Mill has seen two men killed in the last year

Chronic obstructive pulmonary disease is widespread amongst former underground workers and has occupied the unions in compensation claims against the Department of Trade and Industry which has taken over the responsibilities of the, now defunct, National Coal Board and its equally defunct successor, British Coal.

Because claims have to be made following strict legal conditions, solicitors are essential; the National Audit Office (NAO) has recently reported almost 300,000 men have been affected who have received less in compensation than it cost the Government to administer the claims!

The NAO reports that the 'top ten' solicitors' firms 'have already received £636 million…' in fees. One of these companies, Ventside, seems to be wholly owned by the UDM and received £31.6 million. The 'financial relationship between the UDM and solicitors'

firms handling coal health claims is a matter that is now the subject of a Serious Fraud Office investigation.' (7)

The development of clean coal technology has been at the forefront of the NUM's campaigning since before the 1984 strike and, together with carbon capture, is now becoming a major issue in the struggle against global warming. It is a technology that could see a revitalisation of the British coal industry and, just possibly, of the NUM; just don't hold your breath!

The other unions in the industry are supervisory. NACODS (National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shotfirers) organises first line managers, being another federation based on locality which, in the past couple of decades, has been subject to splitting activities often encouraged by the UDM.

Continued on page 11

Mandela's Continuing Walk to Freedom[1]

In 1999 Nelson Mandela stepped down as South Africa's first democratically elected President after one term in office, and moved, apparently, into a well-deserved retirement.

VERNE HARRIS[2] (pictured with Mandela) tells the story of the Mandela Archive.

THE APPEARANCE of Nelson Mandela's withdrawal from public life did not last long. He quickly founded the Nelson Mandela Foundation (NMF), which joined the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund he had established five years earlier as a charity designed to continue his work. (3)

Soon after his retirement, he acknowledged publicly his regret at not having acted sooner in relation to the HIV/AIDS pandemic ravaging the country - not surprisingly HIV became a focus of his energies after 1999. This led to the NMF setting up an HIV/AIDS programme and to the launching of the 46664 campaign. (4)

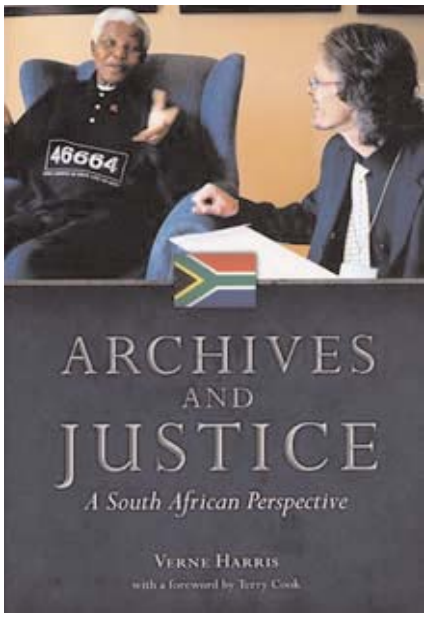
His interests in education and young people resulted in the NMF setting up an education programme, initially dedicated to building schools with money raised by him but soon broadening its focus. In 2003 Mr Mandela founded The Mandela-Rhodes Foundation, built around a scholarship programme but aiming more broadly to promote leadership in Africa. (5)

I could go on detailing the work Mr Mandela has presided over since 1999, but I think I've made my point. For him the long walk to freedom is a continuing walk. To quote the final sentences of his 1994 autobiography:

"I have walked that long road to freedom. I have tried not to falter; I have made missteps along the way. But I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb.

"I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I can rest only for a moment, for with freedom come responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk is not yet ended." (6)

It remains a question, of course, as to whether any walk to freedom - in principle - can end. As we are finding in South Africa, freedom is not something one ever possesses. And the moment one stops working to nurture it and to grow it, it seems to start shrivelling. I know from many conversations with Mr Mandela that he feels intensely both the growing pains of our democracy and the call of justice to keep walking.



Nonetheless, for individuals, the ravaging of time ultimately slows the walk to a shuffle. In 2004 Mr Mandela called a press conference and announced that he would be "retiring from retirement". As he elaborated - "don't call me, I'll call you." (7) That moment inaugurated a long period of review and reflection within the NMF, culminating in the 2006 decision by our Board of Trustees to recast the Foundation as a memory and dialogue non-governmental organisation (NGO) with its core business undertaken by the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Dialogue. Here I want to tell a story about this nascent Centre. It's not the story - just a story. It's a story about stories and storytelling. A story about Mr Mandela's engagement with us and with the concept of an institution convened around his stories. And it's a story of the questions we've been asking ourselves as we've conceptualised the Centre.

In truth, the questions are legion. What I want to focus on here are the questions we regard as critical to our institutional space at this particular juncture in the process:

1. What is "the Mandela Archive"?
2. How do we convene (or constitute, or construct) this archive?
3. What do we do with this archive?

Now these are blunt questions, in their bluntness begging other questions. For example - what are we doing with this archive? What should we be doing with it? What could we be doing with it? Moreover, within each of these questions dance at least two implicit questions of power - first, to whom does the Mandela Archive belong? Second, who has the authority to answer these questions?

The story I am about to tell may seem to avoid this complexity. That is not my intention. But in the interests of completing the story before readers run out of patience, I am going to favour the shallows rather than the depths.

THE MANDELA ARCHIVE

So what is the Mandela Archive? Well, whatever it is, it is vast and shattered, and it can reach you everywhere. (8) We have begun to document the bigger, more obvious fragments, and already we are understanding that, in principle, it is infinite.

Its chronology can, more or less violently, be stabilised. But it remains open-ended, moving forward, moving

back. How far back do we go? How far do we reach into the histories of family, clan, kingdom, nation and land? How far forward can we reach into the future tellings and re-tellings of story? How do we hold that extraordinary spacing of archive that is Thembuland, the place of Nelson Mandela's birth?

The communities living there today have inherited many generations of storytelling about Madiba - Nelson Rolihlahla Dalibhunga Mandela.(9) They continue to engage the landscapes and the cultures which shaped him. And they absorb, from "outside", the new accounts in school curricula and from the media. An open-ended archive.

Wherever we choose to view the Mandela Archive, we find open-endedness. Open in time, in medium, and in geography. Let me briefly, by way of illustration, trace an outline of the Mandela Archive in Glasgow. A superficial enquiry reveals the following:

- Mr Mandela was awarded the Freedom of the City of Glasgow on 4 August 1981.
- Students at the University of Glasgow elected Winnie Madikizela Mandela as rector while Mr Mandela was still in prison.
- The archives of Glasgow Caledonian University has a poster advertising a rally on 9 October 1993 where Mr Mandela was present to receive the freedom of nine British cities including Glasgow.
- On 16 June 1986 St George's Place was renamed Nelson Mandela Place.
- In 1988 the Freedom At 70 Campaign kicked off in Glasgow with a march from the city to London.
- A Freedom At 70 concert was held on Glasgow Green.
- The first office of the Scottish Committee was established at 266 Clyde Street in the mid-1970s and in 1976 it was formally established as the Scottish Committee of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.
- The last meeting of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Scotland was held on 3 December 1994 in Glasgow. Its assets were transferred to the Scottish Committee of Action for Southern Africa (ACTSA).
- In 1996 Mr Mandela was awarded an Honorary Doctorate by the Glasgow Caledonian University.
- Blair Douglas composed the tune Nelson Mandela's Welcome to Glasgow, which is featured on the album "Brave Hearts: New Scots Music".
- A portrait of Mr Mandela by Anne Macintosh hangs in the Govan Mbeki Building at the Caledonian University. Postcards of the portrait are included in a collection of political postcards at the university.
- In January 2000 Hugh Henry of the Scottish Parliament welcomed the establishment of a website to record tributes to Mr Mandela.
- In 2002 Mr Mandela visited Glasgow's Barlinnie Prison in relation to the Lockerbie bombing.
- A Glasgow schoolgirl was selected to meet Mr Mandela in London at the Make Poverty History Campaign launch in 2005.
- The Centre for Political Songs at Glasgow Caledonian University includes South African freedom songs.

Let me stop there. My superficial enquiry reveals but a few strands in a richly layered tapestry. (10) Just think of the records generated by each of these strands - documents, photographs, film footage, newspaper articles, diary entries … But think also of the stories generated by each one. Stories which gather new layers over time. And think also of the myriad memories, some of them "archived", some of them not. Some of them given life in sharing; some of them doomed to erasure. Think of the endless layers of context we could place around each memory, story and record. (11)

Viewed in Glasgow, then, the Mandela Archive, in principle, is infinite. And it is dynamic. Viewed anywhere, the Mandela Archive is infinite and dynamic. We can, and we must, bound and stabilise it through the range of conventional archival interventions - selecting, collecting, safekeeping, cataloguing, restoring, digitising, and so on.

But always the archive will dance beyond our capacity to keep it within bounds. Even the most bounded and stabilised documentary record, for instance Mr Mandela's official prison record, is broken open by its potential for an infinite layering of context - not least the continuing narratives being told by this record's many interpreters.(12)

And how does one keep within bounds that archive without archive - the shared memories and stories of any collectivity? Be that collectivity in Thembuland or in Glasgow. Be it large or small. Of course, we can choose to exclude from the category "archive" anything not recorded on the exterior surfaces of our choosing.

We can choose to exclude the exterior surface constituted by the psychic apparatuses of a collectivity. But that would be to ignore indigenous ways of knowing archive in Mr Mandela's part of the world. That would be to deny orality its status and its authority as archive. It would be to privilege the tape recorder over the ear. (13)

I know I haven't answered the question "What is the Mandela Archive?" In truth, I don't believe there can be a definitive answer. What is clear is that it is vast and shattered, and it can reach you everywhere.

CONVENING THE MANDELA ARCHIVE

How do we convene (or constitute, or construct) such an archive? To be more specific, how does the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Dialogue propose to convene it? How do we do the impossible? Whose stories do we tell? Whose stories do we not tell? Which stories are we listening for? What audiences do we privilege? How do we resist the pull of every archive to authorise and to sanitise and to inflate? Readers will appreciate that Mr Mandela's international icon status makes that pull extraordinary in the case of the Mandela Archive. How does the Centre resist the temptation to hagiography?

At this point I wish to move more firmly into the realm of narrative, or, more precisely, anecdote. For three years now we have been conceptualising and negotiating the Centre of Memory and Dialogue. This has spanned a range of formal studies and a continuing more or less formal consultation with stakeholders.

But our primary adviser has been Mr Mandela himself. We have consulted him all along the way, more informally than formally, and have listened carefully to his directions. What has emerged is what I regard as a set of founding values for our endeavour, and for any other memory initiative in the name of Nelson Mandela. There are six of them, and I propose simply naming them, and then sharing a story to illustrate the construction of each.

1) The Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Dialogue should not be all about Nelson Mandela. He was always part of a col-

lective leadership. Many individuals around him made important contributions. (In August 2005 Mac Maharaj, Tim Couzens and I interviewed Mr Mandela. At one point Mac asked him to explain his journey to embracing equal rights for women. Mr Mandela's answer was in two movements - firstly, he and his comrades' readings during the prison years; and secondly, his reflections on leadership roles assumed by his female forebears. Both movements foregrounded others.) (14)

2) We don't have to protect Mr Mandela by sanitising his history. (In early 2006 our exhibitions team was conceptualising the exhibition "Madiba: Public and Private", and we realised that the significant number of intimate images of Winnie might provoke sensitivities unreasonably. I discussed the exhibition concept with Mr Mandela and showed him the images we proposed using. He smiled and said: "That's fine. It's history.")

3) Work with; don't compete with other institutions. (On 21 September 2004 Mr Mandela said the following of what was then the Centre of Memory Project: "We want it to be part of what we have called the processes of restoration and reconciliation … We want it to work closely with the many other institutions which make up the South African archival system. (15) Five months later, at a ceremony in Mthatha, Mr Mandela donated his presidential gifts and awards to the South African state. The Deed of Donation specified the Nelson Mandela Museum in Mthatha as the institutional custodian.)

4) The Centre should invite contestation, ie. not simply represent an orthodoxy. (After a memorial function for the late Anthony Sampson at Mandela House in 2005, Mr Mandela said to James Sanders and John Matshikiza: "Yes, you young people, you must keep troubling us." (16) And it is no accident that the foreword to arguably the most controversial book to be published in South Africa in the last decade - the Mac Maharaj/Padraig O'Malley (auto)biography Shades of Difference - was written by Mr Mandela.)

5) Memory is not an end in itself. It must not be allowed to lie inert. It is a resource for action, and should provoke action. (In 2005 I was showing Mr Mandela and a visiting dignitary around an exhibition at Mandela House. We were discussing South African music, and the name of Gibson Kente came up. Kente was desperately ill with full-blown AIDS. Mr Mandela told his personal assistant to cancel his remaining appointments for the day, and a short time later he was visiting Kente in Soweto. Just weeks later Kente was dead.)

6) The Centre must have place for mischief and humour. (Mr Mandela is renowned for his sense of humour. According to him, this is something he has cultivated as a means of helping people to feel at ease. In his words: "We have a sense of humour because we feel it is our duty." (17) But, in my view, there is a mischief which rises from wells deeper than duty. I remember well a function at Mandela House attended by the world's media where Mr Mandela entered the auditorium and immediately spotted his old friend Mac Maharaj sitting in the front row. At the time Mac was in the throes of giving up smoking cigarettes. Mr Mandela asked him if he was still not smoking, and Mac replied affirmatively. "Ah, but I know you," Mr Mandela responded, "now you're smoking dagga.")

For us at the Centre these founding values, these founding injunctions, are best expressed in the concept of "memory for justice".

Listen to Mr Mandela speaking about the Centre on 21 September 2004: "Most importantly, we want the Centre to dedicate itself to the recovery of memories and stories suppressed by power. That is the call of justice. The call which must be the project's most important shaping influence." (18)

WHAT DO WE DO WITH THE MANDELA ARCHIVE?

The call of justice to memory - memory for justice. This concept suggests the beginning of an answer to the question "what do we do with this archive?" Whatever else we do with it, whatever else we do, our memory resources must be a resource in the making of a just society.

But what might this mean for an organisation like the Nelson Mandela Foundation? What might it mean, practically? Well, at one level it is easy to catalogue implications:

- It means institutionalising the core values given us by Mr Mandela.
- It means understanding the power we wield as authorised Mandela storytellers.
- It means privileging the weak and the poor.

And I could go on cataloguing. But at a higher level of analysis, we have answered the question "what do we do with this archive?" with a single word - "dialogue". We have identified "dialogue" as the means for making memory work in society. And we came to dialogue from at least three vantage points:

- Conceptually. We would argue that memory is dialogue. In our indigenous traditions in South Africa, memory is not something that the individual possesses, or owns. And even an individual sitting in a garden on her own remembering her childhood is entering into a dialogue with herself.
- In terms of legacy. Mr Mandela's life has been about finding solutions to intractable social problems through processes of dialogue.
- The needs of our country. Robust analysis of South Africa reveals the extent to which we are still speaking past each other. It is only now becoming apparent the extent to which our social fabric was torn during the apartheid era and continued to be ripped through the transition period.

The challenge posed by social cohesion is immense. In the words of author Mmatshilo Motsei: "Having returned from political exile, the nation is faced with an act of inner exile referred to by Wole Soyinka as 'internal severance'. Society's moral fibre is in shreds …" (19)

Clearly, the concept "dialogue", and the word "dialogue", need to be opened to deconstruction. This article is not the place for such an exercise, so let me simply mark a space before moving to a conclusion.

At the Foundation we are in the middle of an extensive study designed to answer the question "What, precisely, has the life and work of Nelson Mandela taught us about dialogue?" (20)

As you can see, we do not have more than preliminary answers to questions. And we question whether final answers are ever possible.

What do we propose to do with the Mandela Archive? In summary, we propose to:

- Dialogue with this archive;
- Interrogate this archive;
- Open ourselves to interrogation by it;

■ Intervene on critical social issues with it; and,

■ Create space for dialogue with it.

Finally, we understand that the legacy of Nelson Mandela is not something to be preserved. To be kept. Like every great legacy, it has life only as it is made and re-made.

In the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Dialogue we do not

aspire to be custodians of legacy. Keepers. We aspire rather to be makers of a living legacy. And our aspiration is inspired by Mr Mandela himself: **"But I can rest only for a moment, for with freedom come responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk is not yet ended."** (21)

FOOTNOTES:

(1) This article is based on a public lecture presented under the same title at the University of Glasgow on 24 July 2007. It was the keynote address for the University's conference "The Cultural Value of Oral History".

(2) Verne Harris is a programme manager for the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Dialogue at the Nelson Mandela Foundation and an honorary research associate at the University of the Witwatersrand. He participated in a range of structures which transformed South Africa's apartheid public records system - amongst others, the African National Congress's Archives Committee, the Arts and Culture Task Group, the Consultative Forum which drafted the National Archives of South Africa Act, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and the South African History Archive. Widely published, he is best known for the books *Exploring Archives: An Introduction to Archival Ideas and Practice in South Africa* (1997, 2000 and 2004), *Refiguring the Archive* (2002), *A Prisoner in the Garden: Opening Nelson Mandela's Prison Archive* (2005), and *Archives and Justice* (2007). He is also the author of two novels, both of which were short-listed for South Africa's M-Net Book Prize.

(3) See www.nelsonmandela.org and www.nelsonmandelachildrensfund.com.

(4) See www.46664.com.

(5) See www.mandelarhodes.org.

(6) Nelson Mandela, Long Walk to Freedom (Macdonald Purnell, London, 1994), p.617.

(7) Mandela House, Johannesburg, June 2004.

(8) With acknowledgement to Leonard Cohen, for an echoing of lines in his song *"Heart With No Companion"*, Various Positions (Columbia, 1984).

(9) "Madiba" is Nelson Mandela's clan name. "Rolihlahla" was the name given him at birth; "Nelson" the name given him on his first day at school; and "Dalibhunga" his circumcision name.

(10) Two members of the audience approached me after I had delivered the lecture on which this article is based. One had performed on the *"Brave Hearts"* album mentioned above, and shared a musician's stories with me. The other informed me that the Chief Executive of the Nelson Mandela Foundation, Achmat Dangor, had married his wife Audrey in a ceremony at the University of Glasgow.

(11) And, as Jacques Derrida has argued, "the finiteness of a context is never secured or simple, there is an indefinite opening of every context, an essential non-totalization." Limited Inc. (Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1988), p.137.

(12) See Nelson Mandela Foundation, A Prisoner in the Garden: Opening Nelson Mandela's Prison Archive (Penguin, Johannesburg, 2005).

(13) For a more fulsome account of the archival status of "the oral", see Jacques Derrida, "Archive Fever in South Africa", in Carolyn Hamilton et al (eds), Refiguring the Archive (David Philip, Cape Town, 2002).

(14) See Nelson Mandela: The Authorised Portrait (Wild Dog Press, Johannesburg, 2006), pp.338-343.

(15) A Prisoner in the Garden, p.98.

(16) Authorised Portrait, p.340.

(17) Authorised Portrait, p.337.

(18) A Prisoner in the Garden, p.98.

(19) Mail and Guardian, 3-9 August 2007.

(20) The Foundation is working with an external consultant to interrogate this question through the primary means of interviews and focus groups. Results are anticipated by the end of 2007.

(21) Long Walk, p.617.

Continued from page 7

The state of Britain's coal industry and its workforce

Senior managers are organised into BACM -TEAM (British Association of Colliery Managers - Technical, Energy, Administrative staff and Management members (TEAM).

It is an overtly class collaborationist body as expressed in the opening paragraph of its website: "The Association is an independent trade union that has no political affiliations. Its purpose is to improve the interests of members by bringing a constructive approach to the employment relationship, which recognises that both sides of industry must work together to strengthen corporate enterprises and individual wealth"! (8)

Nationally the UDM is recorded as having 1,293 members at the end of 2005 of whom 836 are in the Nottingham section. (9) The returns of the NUM show a membership of 6,154 (10) - higher than the number of miners in the country. This is because the union offers 'half membership,' without voting rights, to retired members.

With new technologies of extraction and a rising demand for clean coal the future for miners could be promising but while ever the UDM exists there is little possibility the two organisations could work together while working conditions will continue to deteriorate.

As with the Spencer Union between the two world wars the UDM will continue to be manipulated by the employers and the unholy alliance between the UDM and the coalowners is the major barrier to any improvement in the working conditions of British miners.

There is nothing wrong with the membership of the UDM; their interests are the same as those of NUM members and, from time to time, this common interest flares up into common action.

The danger is that another shoddy compromise such as that of 1937, which placed Spencer and his cronies into influential sinecures, is unlikely to create the unity that the near future demands.

FOOTNOTES

(1) 'Production and manpower returns for 12 months period April 2006-March 2007,' 27 April 2007 http://www.coal.gov.uk.

(2) Collieries employing less than 30 were excluded.

(3) 'Production and manpower returns… April 2006 - March 2007.'

(4) Independent, 13 Aug, 2007.

(5) Robin Turner, Western Mail, [15] Aug 2007

(6) http://scotsman.com, 29 May 2007

(7) Times, 18 July 2007.

(8) www.bacmteam.org.uk/home.

(9) Certification Office for Trade Unions and Employers' Associations, form AR21 Annual Return for Union of Democratic Miners (National); Certification Office… (Nottingham Section).

(10) Certification Office… National Union of Mineworkers.

Breaking the silence over the “Miami Five”

In July 2007 Gina Nicholson paid a visit to Cuba for her daughter Rachel’s wedding and in the process learned of yet another US violation against socialist Cuba.

Gina tells the story of her visit and of Cuba’s fight to free the “Miami Five” imprisoned by the US government on spurious charges. www.freethefive.org

WE WERE sailing round the Cuban coast off Havana. With the wind in my hair and the sun at my back, I asked Sesun, "What are those black flags, there?"

I had seen them before from the window of my hotel room. The Hotel Nacional is a national monument. It has a 1930s charm combined with a very Cuban, socialist warmth.

High on one of its walls is a huge poster: "Viva La Patria!" Near the hotel, right on the coast, is the American Embassy.

Sesun was the boat's entertainer. She was teaching my granddaughter to dance in the Cuban manner. "Use your shoulders!" A cross hung round her neck and I guessed she was not a wholehearted supporter of Fidel's government. But she knew all about the black flags.

"They are for the five heroes. You do not know about our five heroes?" She was talking about the Miami Five, arrested by the US government nine years ago and imprisoned on spurious charges and after a flawed trial.

"And their children have not seen their fathers for nine years. And what they are accused of - that is not true. So we built the black flags in front of the American Embassy and we have went there - gone there - and made a spectacle, you know, a show - "

"A demonstration?"

"Si, a demonstration, many, many of us, to say we support our heroes and we do not agree with the Americans."

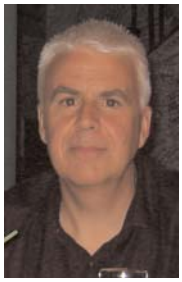
The next day I went to photograph the black flags. A Cuban soldier guarded the American Embassy and some boys jostled along the pavement, laughing and joking.

The soldier reprimanded them for impolite behaviour in front of a tourist.

In the hotel is a large poster headed "FREE THE FIVE" and below the pictures of their families and the short text is the slogan: "ROMPIENDO EL SILENCIO - BREAKING THE SILENCE".

We were in Cuba for six days to cel-

A poster dedicated to the FIVE HEROES inside the foyer of the Hotel Nacional in Havana.

Rachel Young and Gareth Chick

ebrate my daughter Rachel Young's wedding to Gareth Chick. Her father, Mike, had worked in a scientific capacity for ICIDCA, the Cuban Institute for Investigations into Sugar Derivatives, which had been set up by Che Guevara in May 1963.

Mike had gone to Cuba in the mid sixties and stayed there till his death in 1979. Rachel had visited him during most of that time and through a large part of her growing up she developed an attachment to Cuba and its way of life. She had witnessed how her father and his colleagues worked very hard in difficult circumstances, selflessly, to support socialism.

She contacted ICIDCA and a couple of her father's colleagues came to the wedding, and invited us to the Institute.

Dr Amauray Alvarez

The day we visited the Institute was very hot. They sent a car for us, gave us a wonderful lunch provided by the Institute's canteen, and Amaury (Dr Amaury Alvarez, subdirector in charge of investigations) talked a little about his dead colleague whom he remembered with great affection, and a lot about the work they had done and were still doing.

He told us there was a policy not to use sugar itself for anything but food. "Feeding the people is the priority," he explained. Thus, Cuban rum is made, not from sugar but from molasses. And Cuba now makes plastic from bagasse, the fibrous material left after the sugar has been extracted from sugar cane.

Amaury talked about the connections the Institute has with many Latin American and South American countries, and I remembered how the Cubans had sent their young soldiers to fight and die alongside the Angolans, in the days before the defeat of apartheid in South Africa.

Now they give their discoveries, scientific and particularly medical, to the whole world, but they are a tiny country and the United States looms menacingly on their doorstep. One can't help but be afraid for them.

It was a strange and unforgettable visit, part family reunion and part formal international contact. They gave my daughter and her husband a bottle of their best, unimaginably precious rum, and told her how they remembered her as a child.

Another day, on our way to the Habana Libre Hotel to buy souvenirs, we were accosted by purposeful women in uniforms, handing out leaflets. The women were obviously in possession of the high moral ground. Their leaflets were addressed to drivers: "Respect the traffic lights. Respect the rights of pedestrians. Remember the speed limits . . ."

They have a way to go, as Cubans' natural tendency is to drive like maniacs. That tendency is somewhat hampered by the ageing car population - Ladas represent almost one third of the cars on the road by my count, most of them lovingly cared for and painted in bright jewel-like colours - and by the strict enforcement of the traffic laws.

The same day, returning from the Habana Libre with our Cuban cigars and Che Guevara t-shirts and salsa CDs, we walked right into a street party. There were clowns and dancing, and policemen on motor bikes who performed manoeuvres, like a fly-past on wheels.

On our very last day one of our party was mugged. The hotel staff were shocked and apologetic, one almost in tears. "For this to happen - and you were so happy...." We were still happy.

A mugging can happen anywhere, and our unfortunate was expertly cared for, his broken collar bone strapped up and his arm in a sling. He declined to stay an extra day to help catch the thief.

Of course, with the increase in tourism, which Cuba badly needs, there has been an increase in crime. Even so, it is better to be in the world than shut away from it, and Cuba's example, its people's warmth and dedication, must count for something against the stark abomination of US imperialism that is Guantanamo Bay.

Miami Five: US political prisoners

THE CUBAN Five - Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, Fernando González and René González - are serving four life sentences and 75 years collectively after being wrongly convicted in a US federal court in Miami.

The Five were falsely accused by the US government of committing espionage conspiracy against the US, and other related charges.

In fact, they were involved in monitoring Miami-based terrorist groups to prevent terrorist attacks on Cuba.

The Five's actions were never directed at the US government. They never harmed anyone nor ever possessed nor used any weapons while in the United States. Their mission was to stop terrorism

For more than 40 years, anti-Cuba terrorist organizations based in Miami have engaged in countless terrorist activities against Cuba. More than 3,000 Cubans have died as a result of these terrorists' attacks. Terrorist groups operate with complete impunity from within the US with the knowledge and support of the FBI and CIA.

Cuba made the careful and necessary decision to send the Five to Miami to monitor the terrorists. Instead of arresting the terrorists, the FBI arrested the Cuban Five. In a blow to justice they were convicted in a witchhunt atmosphere in Miami on June 8, 2001.

On 9 August 2005 after seven years of imprisonment, the Five won an unprecedented victory on appeal. A three-judge panel of the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals overturned their convictions and ordered a new trial outside of Miami. However, in an unexpected reversal, the 11th Circuit Court overturned the three-judge's ruling and granted a hearing before 12 judges who voted 10 to 2 to deny the Five a new trial. This case is a political case and the Cuban Five are political prisoners.

Their freedom will depend on the arduous work of their defence team and just as importantly on public support. Over 250 'Free The Five' committees have been established in the US and around the world and support has come from hundreds of parliamentarians in Britain, Italy, and the European and Latin American Parliaments.

The UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detentions ruled there were irregularities in the Five's trial and arrest, denying them a fair trial and calls on the US to remedy this injustice. In the US, the National Committee to Free the Cuban Five is working hard to build broad support for these anti-terrorist heroes.

www.freethefive.org

INDIA: Divide and Rule Britannia

2007 is the 60th anniversary of Indian Independence and the 150th anniversary of the Indian Mutiny. Both of these events were of great significance and continue to have resonance today.

We mark both of these historic events by reproducing articles and writings by Marx and leading Marxists at the time they took place.

THE INDIAN Mutiny was one of the most significant rebellions against British Imperial rule. Its significance is indicated by the fact that two Commissions, more than twenty years apart, reviewed the causes of the mutiny and the lessons to be learned in order to retain British control of India.

Karl Marx as a correspondent for the New York Tribune wrote an article, The Indian Revolt, published in 1857, in the year of the Mutiny (defined as 'Mutiny' by the British Imperialists: see Commentary, page 3). We are re-printing this article as it is still apposite today. Marx began the article, "The Roman Divide et empera was the great rule by which Great Britain, for about one hundred and fifty years, continued to retain the tenure of her Indian empire.…"

Marx's article captures beautifully his insight into the politics and practices of Imperialism and shows the continuing relevance of the writings of Marx.

The lessons of the Indian Mutiny were well drawn and applied militarily and politically by British Imperialism and not just in India. These lessons are spelled out in the article, "Imperialism and the Indian Army", by Neil Stewart published by The Labour Monthly in May 1947. The mass of evidence taken by the Commissions "showed how the Mutiny had been made easy by the fact that caste and religious differences in the old Bengal Army had been smoothed away".

British military leader after British military leader explicitly underlined the need to "divide and rule" in order to keep the Indian army "safe". It also shows the attraction to British Imperialism of the use of communalism, which led to the deaths of some 500,000 people and the displacement of tens of millions with the Partition of India at the time of independence.

The extracts from "End of British Rule in India" are taken from R Palme Dutt's, Crisis of Britain and the British Empire and give a brief, but comprehensive insight into the struggle for Indian independence; and the problems created by Partition.

The piece, Pakistan in Crisis, explains much of the present situation in Pakistan, which to this day continues to be manipulated and, to suffer, under American domination.

The Labour Monthly extracts and R Palme Dutt's writing, are all from some 50 years ago. We believe that readers, who have not come across The Labour Monthly will learn from the insights contained in these articles, which are still pertinent today. Those who know of The Labour Monthly will know the quality of that journal and we are certain they will appreciate our re-printing them at this time. These readers will also be encouraged to learn that The Labour Monthly is one of the inspirations of The Socialist Correspondent. Karl Marx and his work is another inspiration for this journal.

KARL MARX: The Revolt in the Indian Army
New York Tribune - July 15, 1857

THE ROMAN Divide et impera was the great rule by which Great Britain, for about one hundred and fifty years, contrived to retain the tenure of her Indian empire.

The antagonism of the various races, tribes, castes, creeds and sovereignties, the aggregate of which forms the geographical unity of what is called India, continued to be the vital principle of British supremacy. In later times, however, the conditions of that supremacy have undergone a change. With the conquest of Scinde and the Punjaub, the Anglo-Indian empire had not only reached its natural limits, but it had trampled out the last vestiges of independent Indian States.

All warlike native tribes were subdued, all serious internal conflicts were at an end, and the late incorporation of Oude proved satisfactorily that the remnants of the so-called independent Indian principalities exist on sufferance only. Hence a great change in the position of the East Indian Company. It no longer attacked one part of India by the help of another part, but found itself placed at the head, and the whole of India at its feet. No longer conquering, it had become the conqueror.

The armies at its disposition no longer had to extend its dominion, but only to maintain it. From soldiers they were converted into policemen; 200,000,000 natives being curbed by a native army of 200,000 men, officered by Englishmen, and that native army, in its turn, being kept in check by an

English army numbering 40,000 only.

On first view, it is evident that the allegiance of the Indian people rests on the fidelity of the native army, in creating which the British rule simultaneously organised the first general centre of resistance which the Indian people was ever possessed of. How far that native army may be relied upon is clearly shown by its recent mutinies, breaking out as soon as the war with Persia had almost denuded the Presidency of Bengal of its European soldiers.

Before this there had been mutinies in the Indian army, but the present revolt is distinguished by characteristic and fatal features. It is the first time that sepoy regiments have murdered their European officers; that Musssulmans and Hindoos, renouncing their mutual antipathies, have combined against their common masters; that "disturbances beginning with the Hindoos, have actually ended in placing on the throne of Delhi a Mohammedan Emperor;" that the mutiny has not been confined to a few localities; and lastly, that the revolt in the Anglo-Indian army has coincided with a general disaffection exhibited against English supremacy on the part of the great Asiatic nations, the revolt of the Bengal army being, beyond doubt intimately connected with the Persian and Chinese wars.

The alleged cause of the dissatisfaction which began to spread four months ago in the Bengal army was the apprehension on the part of the natives lest the Government should interfere with their religion. The serving out of cartridges, the paper of which was said to have been created with the fat of bullocks and pigs, and the compulsory biting of which was, therefore, considered by the natives as an infringement of their religious prescriptions, gave the signal for local disturbances.

On the 22nd of January an incendiary fire broke out in cantonments a short distance from Calcutta.

On the 25th of February the 19th native regiment mutinied at Berhampore the men objecting to the cartridges served out to them. On the 31st of March that regiment, stationed at Barrackpore, allowed one of its men to advance with a loaded musket upon the parade-ground in front of the line, and, after having called his comrades to mutiny, he was permitted to attack and wound the Adjutant and Sergeant-Major of his regiment.

During the hand-to-hand conflict, that ensued, hundreds of sepoys looked passively on, while others participated in the struggle, and attacked the officers with the butt end of their muskets. Subsequently that regiment was also disbanded.

The month of April was signalised by incendiary fires in several cantonments of the Bengal army at Allahabad, Agra, Umballah, by a mutiny of the 3d regiment of light cavalry at Meerut, and by similar appearances of disaffection in the Madras and Bombay armies.

At the beginning of May an emeute was preparing at Lucknow, the capital of Oude, which was, however, prevented by the promptitude of Sir H Lawrence. On the 9th May the mutineers of the 3rd light cavalry of Meerut were marched off to jail, to undergo the various terms of imprisonment to which they were sentenced.

On the evening of the following day the troopers of the 3d cavalry, together with the two native regiments, the 11th and 20th, assembled upon the parade-ground, killed the officers endeavouring to pacify them, set fire to the cantonments, and slew all the Englishmen they were able to lay hands on.

Although the British part of the brigade mustered a regiment of infantry, another of cavalry, and an overwhelming force of horse and foot artillery, they were not able to move until nightfall. Having inflicted but little harm on the mutineers, they allowed them to betake themselves to the open field and to throw themselves into Delhi, some forty miles distant from Meerut.

There they were joined by the native garrison, consisting of the 38th, 54th and 74th regiments of infantry, and a company of native artillery.

The British officers were attacked, all Englishmen within reach of the rebels were murdered, and the heir of the late Mogul of Delhi proclaimed King of India.

Of the troops sent to the rescue of Meerut, where order had been re-established, six companies of native sapers and miners, who arrived on the 15th of May, murdered their commanding officer, Major Fraser, and made at once for the open country, pursued by troops of horse artillery and several of the 6th dragoon guards. Fifty or sixty of the mutineers were shot, but the rest contrived to escape to Delhi.

At Ferozepore, in the Punjaub, the 57th and 45th native infantry regiments mutinied, but were put down by force. Private letters from Lahore state the whole of the native troops to be in an undisguised state of mutiny. On the 19th of May, unsuccessful efforts were made by the sepoys stationed at Calcutta to get possession of Fort St. William. Three regiments arrived from Bushire at Bombay were at once dispatched to Calcutta.

In reviewing these events, one is startled by the conduct of the British commander at Meerut his late appearance on the field of battle being still less incomprehensible than the weak manner in which he pursued the mutineers.

As Delhi is situated on the right and Meerut on the left bank of the Jumna - the two banks being joined at Delhi by one bridge only - nothing could have been easier than to cut off the retreat of the fugitives.

Meanwhile, martial law has been proclaimed in all the disaffected districts; forces, consisting of natives mainly, are concentrating against Delhi from the north, the east and the south; the neighbouring princes are said to have pronounced for the English; letters have been sent to Ceylon to stop Lord Elgin and General Ashburnham's forces, on their way to China; and finally, 14,000 British troops were to be dispatched from England to India in about a fortnight.

Whatever obstacles the climate of India at the present season, and the total want of means of transportation, may oppose to the movement of the British forces, the rebels at Delhi are very likely to succumb without any prolonged resistance. Yet even then, it is only the prologue of a most terrible tragedy that will have to be enacted.

NEIL STEWART: Imperialism and the Indian Army

The Labour Monthly - May 1947

EUROPEAN DOMINATION over India has been in the past maintained more by the use of Indian troops than British.

In the wars of conquest of the 18th century, the frontier wars against the Sikhs and the Afghans, in the Mutiny, in the conquest of Burma and in the innumerable little struggles in and near India, it has been the Indian Army, rather than the European troops of the Honourable Company, or the Regiments of the Line, which has been the predominating factor.

This was frankly expressed by Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, in 1832: "Our Eastern Empire has been acquired, and must be maintained, by the sword. It has no foundation, and is not capable of having any, that can divest it of that character; and if the local army of India, but above all the native branch, is not preserved in a condition which, while it maintains its efficiency, preserves its attachment, no commercial fiscal or judicial systems we may improve or introduce, can be of permanent benefit". (Quoted in the Eden Report, 1884).

The task of the military and civil leader, therefore, was to maintain the loyalty of the army. The Mutiny was a terrible lesson; it was taken to heart and minutely analysed by the Peel Commission of 1859, and twenty years later by the Eden Commission.

The mass of evidence taken by these commissions showed how the Mutiny had been made easy by the fact that caste and religious differences in the old Bengal Army had been smoothed away.

A pro-British Moslem commentator on the Mutiny recorded as follows what had taken place: "Government certainly did put the two antagonistic races in the same regiments, but consistent intercourse had done its work, and the two races in regiments had become one.

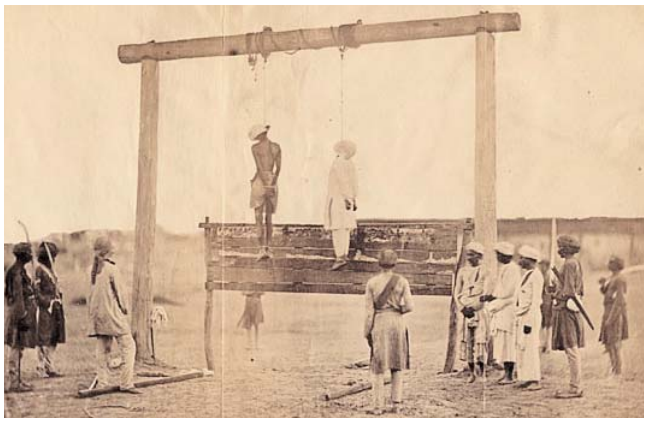
"It is but natural and to be expected that a feeling of fellowship and brotherhood must spring up between men of a regiment, constantly brought together as they are.

"They consider themselves as one body, and thus it was that the differences which exist between Hindus and Mohammedans had, in these regiments, been almost entirely smoothed away.

"If a portion of a regiment engaged in anything, all the rest joined. If separate regimens of Hindus and separate regiments of Mohammedans had been raised, this feeling of brotherhood would not have arisen." (The Causes of the Indian Revolts". Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Calcutta, 1873).

There were many who saw that British rule depended upon maintaining the existing divisions amongst the Indians. One of the most brilliant and able British soldiers in India, General Sir Charles Napier, wrote only a few years before the Mutiny: "The moment these brave and able natives learn how to combine they will rush on us simultaneously and the game will be up". ("Life of General Sir Charles Napier." W.N. Bruce. London 1885).

The opinions of a number of personalities famous in British-Indian history were offered to the Peel Commission with a view to demonstrating that communal divisions were the basis of British safety in India.



Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, wrote in a Minute (14th May 1859) presented to the Commission: "But suppose that whole native troops to be formed into one grand army, the component parts of each regiment being as heterogeneous as possible, and suppose some cause of discontent to arise which affects all castes alike, the danger would undoubtedly be far greater than that which overtook us last year. I have along ago considered this subject, and I am convinced that the exact converse of this policy of assimilation is our only safe military policy in India. 'Divide et impera' was the old Roman motto and it should be ours."

With a near simile Lord Elphinstone compared the policy of ruling India with the watertight compartments of a boat: "The safety of the great iron steamers which are adding so much to our military power and which are probably destined to add still more to our commercial superiority, is greatly increased by building them in compartments. I would insure the safety of our Indian Empire by constituting our native army on the same principle; for this purpose I would avail myself of those divisions of race and language which we find ready to hand."

The military leaders were in complete accord with this point of view. A memorandum by an old Sepoy officer, Major-General Sir H. T. Tucker, also envisaged the encouragement of caste and religious differences as the most hopeful solution: "The strong necessity which exists for so dividing and separating into distinct bodies the 'different nationalities and castes,' the rulers in our Eastern Dominions may deem it safe to entertain in our armies, so as to render them as little dangerous as possible to the state…. "The introduction of other elements would be advisable … anything, in short, to divide and so neutralise the strength of the 'castes and nationalities' which compose our armies in the East."

A Minute by the Chief of Staff in India, Sir W., R. Mansfield advocated not merely communal division, but communal antagonism as the main contribution to better control:

"I am strongly of the opinion that Mussalmans should not be in the same company or troop with Hindoos or Sikhs, and that the two latter should not be mingled together. I would maintain even in the same regiment all differences of faith with the greatest care. There might be rivalry or even hatred between two companies or troops.

"The discipline of a native regiment, instead of being impaired would gain by it, as regards the greater question of the obedience of the whole to the commanding officer. The motto of the regimental commander in chief must be for the future 'Divide et impera'."

"Divide and rule" was the policy freely and openly accepted by the leading military and civil personalities in India.

The Earl of Ellenborough, Governor

General of India for 1841 to 1844, also advocated this policy in a Minute to the Peel Commission: "The fewer elements of combination there are in the native army the better; and therefore the more nationalities and castes and religions, the more secure we shall be."

The evidence before the Peel Commission echoed the report of the Punjab Committee of 1858, which was composed by three men famous in the history of British India, Sir John Lawrence, Sir Neville Chamberlain and Sir Herbert Edwardes. It said: "As we cannot do without a large native army in India, our main object is to make that army safe; and next to the grand counterpoise of a sufficient European force comes the counterpoise of Natives against Natives.

"It is found that different races mixed together do not long preserve their distinctiveness; their corners and angles and feelings and prejudices get rubbed off, until at last they assimilate and the object of their association to a considerable extent is lost.

"To preserve the distinctiveness which is so valuable and which, while it lasts, makes the Muhammedan of one country despise, fear or dislike the Muhammedan of another, corps should in future be provincial, and adhere to the geographical limits within which differences and rivalries are strongly marked.

"By the system thus indicated two great evils are avoided; firstly that community of feeling throughout the native army, and that mischievous political activity and intrigue which results from association with other races and travel in Indian provinces."

A more clear and frank case for the encouragement of communal strife could hardly be made out.

The result of the Peel Commission was that the balance between Indian and British troops, and between the various races in India, was in future carefully kept. There were 60,000 British to 140,000 Indian troops. All scientific arms and personnel of arsenals and depots were British.

A number of Gurkhas were recruited whose antagonism towards the Indians was known. Brigades were formed with two British, one Indian and one Gurkha battalion, thus ensuring that the number of fighting troops (including the artillery, the predominant arm of the 19th century battlefield) were British or Gurkha.

The recruiting of Gurkhas had been advocated before the Mutiny by General Sir Charles Napier, when Commander-in-Chief. He wrote: "The Gurkha will be faithful, and for low pay we can enlist a large body of troops whom our best officers consider equal in courage to European troops. Even as a matter of economy this will be good; but the great advantage of enlisting these hill-men will be that with 30,000 or 40,000 Gurkhas added to the 30,000 Europeans, the possession of India will not 'depend on opinion,' but on an army able with ease to overthrow any combination among Hindoos or Mohammedians or both." ("Life of General Sir Charles Napier." W. N. Bruce. London, 1885).

The next examination of Indian Army organisation was by the Eden Committee, which met in 1879, and whose report was published in 1884. It approved the continuance of the caste and religious divisions of the

Army: "Our desire is to maintain the great national divisions of the army…. The armies of India should be divided into four complete and distinct bodies, to be called army corps, so distributed that they shall be deprived, as far as possible, of community of national sentiment and interests, and so organised, recruited and constituted as to act in time of excitement and disturbance as checks each upon the other." (p.30).

This policy had already been borne out by the Mutiny, when the armies of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, helped by the irregulars from the Punjab, which had all previously kept separate from each other, fought against the mutineers.

The Commission came to the conclusion that in the Bengal Army the policy of "divide and rule" was not being correctly put into practice: "At the present time the Sikh and the Poorbia, the Mussalman from the Punjab and of Oudh, serve side by side in all parts of the vast and ill-defined tract called by the Bengal Presidency…

"The natural consequences are that the distinctive characteristics of the soldiers, both in creed and nationality, tend to amalgamate, and thus a common feeling is formulated which might dangerously unite them to a common end" (p.32).

The advice of the Commission was to divide the Bengal Army into two halves, each separate and distinct, so as to prevent any possible recurrence of the Mutiny: "In working out the deals of the propose division of the army, our main object has been to define the territorial formation of the Army of India with due regard to the great principle of 'divide et impera.'" (p.33).

The Moslems had been considered the most savagely anti-British element in the Mutiny, while the Hindus were considered the least seditious. Therefore, while there were a few all-Hindu units, there were no all-Moslem units, and the majority of infantry battalions and cavalry regiments were made up of the different religions.

An infantry battalion might have one Punjabi Moslem, one Sikh and two Hindu companies. The Hindus would usually be of different castes or races, such as Jats, Dogras, Brahmins, Kumaons or Rajputs. A Number of Pathans and other Moslems from the North West Frontier Province and the Tribal Areas were also recruited as an offset to the Moslems from the Punjab.

The Indian Army, though extremely efficient as a fighting force, if not in its higher administration, was a body of separate little communities, each having little contact with the other, and the whole welded together by British officers.

Urdu was the common language in which orders were given. As Urdu, or some similar language, is spoken by the majority of Indians, the language problem did not present any difficulty.

The organisation of the Indian Army upon communal lines was not just a phase of 19th century politics. It was carried on up to the present day, except when emergency or necessity enforced a change. It is noticeable that where caste or religious barriers are not recognised, as in the Royal Indian Navy, the situation that led to the Indian Mutiny arose once more and Moslem and Hindu united.

Communal distinction in the army is, in fact, a reflection of the consistent policy which has been applied to the whole of India and which has successfully held it under European rule for close on two hundred years.

The encouragement of communal distinction in the army has been paralleled by the encouragement of communal distinction among civilians; this is "the great system of 'divide et impera'" whose result has been the present political deadlock and the terrible massacres of Bengal, Bihar and the Punjab.

R PALME DUTT: End of British Rule in India

The Crisis of Britain and the British Empire - 1957

IN 1947 British colonial rule in India ended, and British armed forces were withdrawn. Governmental responsibility was transferred to the leadership of the National Congress in India and of the Moslem League in the newly-created State of Pakistan.

This transference is commonly presented in British official and semi-official expression, including in Labour imperialist propaganda, as a voluntary and magnanimous "gift" of independence to India.

The generations of struggle of the Indian people for national independence, during which heavy repression was exercised against the national movement (including the imprisonment of 60,000 Indian patriots by the second Labour Government) are lightly passed over and ignored in order to concentrate attention on the final outcome of the national struggle.

The historical conditions of the transfer, however, do not bear out this picture.

A fuller examination of the evidence would abundantly show that the retreat of imperialism in India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma was not so "voluntary" as is sometimes suggested.

In the view of competent and well-informed British observers on the subject, the political measures adopted in this region were compelled by the depth of the crisis and the popular upsurge following the war reaching to the armed forces, and were regarded as the only means to avert or postpone a revolution: "India in the opinion of many was on the verge of a revolution before the British Cabinet Mission arrived. The Cabinet Mission has at least postponed if not eliminated the danger." (P.J. Griffiths, leader of the European Group in the Indian Central Legislative Assembly, speech to the East India Association in London, June 24, 1946.)

In his Mission with Mountbatten (1951) Alan Campbell-Johnson reproduces the verdict of Lord Ismay, who was Mountbatten's Chief of Staff in India, when he sought to justify the settlement against critics: "India in March, 1947, was a ship on fire in mid-ocean with ammunition in the hold. By then it was a question of putting out the fire before it reached the ammunition. There was, in fact, no option before us

but to do what we did."

Even the then Editor of the Daily Mail admitted that if the Government had wanted to stay in India "it would have needed an occupation force of 500,000 men" - and no such force was available or could have been made available in view of Britain's other military commitments.

Similarly, in the case of Burma, The Times Rangoon correspondence recorded on March 28, 1947: "The mood of the British officials I have talked to is one of resignation. They have been unanimous in declaring that British policy in Burma has been the only one that our resources permit, and that the Anglo-Burmese Agreement was the only alternative to a widespread rebellion with which we could not have coped."

Sir Stafford Cripps, in the Parliamentary debate on March 5, 1947, stated on behalf of the British Government in justification of the policy pursued: "What, then, were the alternatives which faced us? These alternatives were fundamentally two, though both, of course, might be subject to minor variations. First, we could attempt to strengthen British control in India on the basis of an expanded personnel in the Secretary of State's service and a considerable reinforcement of British troops, both of which would have been required, so that we should be in a position to maintain for as long as might be necessary our administrative responsibility while awaiting an agreement amongst the Indian communities.

"Such a policy would entail a definite decision that we should remain in India for at least fifteen to twenty years, because for any substantially shorter period we should not be able to reorganise the Services on a stable and sound basis.

"… The second alternative was we could accept the fact that the first alternative was not possible… One thing that was, I think, quite obviously impossible was to decide to continue our responsibility indefinitely and, indeed, against our wishes - into a period when we had not the power to carry it out."

Thus of the "fundamentally two alternatives" envisaged by the Government, (1) to maintain British direct power in India by "a considerable reinforcement of troops" or (2) to make the political transfer on the lines of the 1947 settlement, the first was judged by the Government to be "impossible…we had not the power to carry it out." The simple reader might be excused for concluding that the "two alternatives" were only one. Behind all the complicated parliamentary phraseology the supposed "two alternatives" boil down into one - in other words, there was no choice.

In the same way the Manchester Guardian commented in an editorial on October 11, 1947: "Public opinion has preened itself on British virtue in withdrawing voluntarily from India: but posterity may dwell rather on the hustle with which the withdrawal was carried out… It may be hard to disentangle whether the British action was based on high principle or on a less glorious desire to retreat to shelter before the storm broke."

The political settlement of 1947 was thus no magnanimous voluntary gift of freedom by imperialism, but a retreat extorted and dictated by conditions of crisis which had outstripped the power of the rulers to control it by superior force, and which rendered it impossible for the ruling power to continue to maintain its rule in the old fashion.

This retreat, however, was accompanied by considerable political manoeuvring to salvage the maximum extent possible of imperialist interests in India and Southern Asia in the new conditions.

The settlement of 1947, negotiated by Lord Mountbatten with the leadership of the National Congress and the Moslem League, followed by the corresponding settlements in Ceylon and Burma, bore a two-sided character.

On the one hand it expressed the retreat of Britain from endeavouring to continue the old colonial rule. On the other hand it represented a compromise between imperialism and the dominant upper-class leadership of the national movement and landlord and big capitalist interests in India, against the menace of a victorious popular revolution, such as would have swept aside, not only the basis of imperialism, but also the old feudal and monopolist interests that had been associated with imperialism.

Just as the naval revolt at the beginning of 1946, which had revealed the collapse of the foundations of British rule in India and led to the decision to despatch the Cripps Mission, announced the day after the outbreak of the naval revolt, had been equally opposed by the imperialist rulers and by the leadership of the National Congress and the Moslem League, so the Mountbatten Settlement represented also a certain compromise alliance against the mass movement.

Part of the price of this compromise was the partition of India into the two states of India and Pakistan, with extremely artificial frontiers of demarcation, leading to mass shifts of population, bloodshed, communal slaughter, and wholesale flight of refugees.

Just as the retreat from Ireland in 1921, after all attempts to crush the national revolt had failed, was accompanied by partition, whose consequences still bedevil the relations of the two parts of Ireland and hamper progressive Irish development, so the retreat from India in 1947 was accompanied by partition. The resulting tension and issues of conflict between the two states weakened both, and facilitated subsequent imperialist attempts at intervention.

The British rulers, with their long experience of political manoeuvre, undoubtedly hoped through the Mountbatten Settlement to draw the new governments in India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma into close association in practice with imperialism, despite the change in political sovereignty, and to carry forward a new type of political and military partnership which would continue to protect essential imperialist interests, and which would be counterpart of the already close association of the biggest monopoly interests in three countries with monopoly interests in Britain.

In the initial phases the continuing economic, trading, political and military ties with Britain were still very close. India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma continued to be a very profitable base of exploitation by British capital. Strategic control, dispositions and training continued to be very closely integrated with the British military authorities.

Even in the case of Burma, whose independence outside the Empire was proclaimed by the Treaty of 1947, similar close links were maintained in practice.

The Treaty of 1947 between Britain and Burma, which established the new state and was ratified by the British Parliament in December, 1947, saddled the new state with a crushing debt burden equivalent to £120 million, protected the rights of the British monopolies domination Burmese economy, and provided for a British Military Mission to Burma with British training and equipment for a Burmese Army, and British strategic rights to use Burmese ports and airfields as imperial basis.

Not without reason the Labour MP, Woodrow Wyatt, could claim in this speech in the House of Commons on November 5, 1947: "Although the Treaty takes Burma out of the Commonwealth, in fact it leaves her practically in the Commonwealth. It leaves her so closely allied with the Commonwealth that it is true to say that we are in a very special relationship with Burma, one that we are not in with any other foreign Power.

"The agreement to accept military missions only from this country and not from any other country than this virtually does imply a military alliance.

So, also do the provisions that provide that Burma will afford all facilities necessary in Burma for the British whenever we wish to bring help to any part of the British Commonwealth. The solidarity of the Defence Agreement … has ensured that there is, in fact, no gap whatever in Commonwealth Defence…"

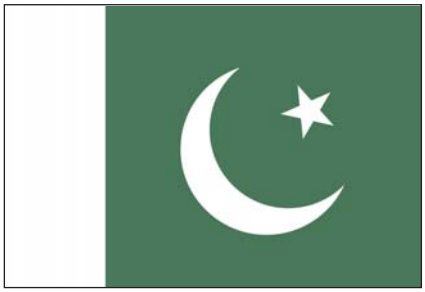
R PALME DUTT: Pakistan in Crisis

The Crisis of Britain and the British Empire - 1957

THE COURSE of events in Pakistan showed a marked diversion from the experience of India during the initial years of sharpening new alignments and deepening crisis after the settlement of 1947.

In India the more advanced development had made possible a relatively stronger basis for the new government. In Pakistan, with its relatively more backward economical development and dominant role of a handful of powerful feudal families, reaction and repression were extreme from the outset.

The divisions between West Pakistan, with a population of 33 millions, or a minority of the population of Pakistan, but the seat of the main ruling forces, and East Pakistan, with a population of



42 millions or 57 per cent , of the total, was further accentuated by the divisions within West Pakistan between the ruling elements in the Punjab and in other provinces.

The Moslem League had no such deep roots in the masses of the people as the Congress in India. The regime bore from the outset a deeply corrupt character, with palace intrigues on top and sudden coups replacing the more stable political advancement in India.

The explosive character of the situation was already shown by the large scale "conspiracy" trial launched in 1951, against leading left-wing representatives and military personalities, and ending, after a prolonged secret trial in heavy sentences.

The Communist Party was banned.

In April 1953, the Premier Nazimuddin was dismissed by the Governor-General Ghulam Mohammed, and replaced by the then ambassador in Washington, Mohammed Ali. This coup had no relation to any electoral or parliamentary verdict.

It marked the replacement of the previous dominant British influence by American domination in Pakistan. Lavish grants and loans followed from the United States Government to Pakistan, and the new Government proceeded to negotiate a military pact with the United States, by which the United States would supply arms and military instructors and assist Pakistan in the development of military air bases.

Premier Nehru issued a very sharp warning in January 1954, on the significance of such a United States-Pakistan Military Pact. It would mean, he said, that "freedom recedes in Asia and the currents of history are reversed … Pakistan becomes potentially a war area, and progressively her policies are controlled by others." The truth of this warning was rapidly demonstrated in the events of the following months.

In March 1954, a general election on the basis of universal suffrage was held in East Pakistan - the first election since the formation of Pakistan. The Moslem League was routed, obtaining only eight of the 309 seats.

Victory went to the United Front, a coalition of democratic parties which won 97 per cent of the votes on the basis of a progressive democratic programme. On May 19 the United States-Pakistan Military Pact was finally signed. Within less than a fortnight of its signature, on May 30, the United Front ministry in East Pakistan was dismissed by the Governor-General, parliamentary rule suspended, and Governor's rule or dictatorship established, with General Mirza in control. Wholesale arrests followed of all democratic leaders.

By October 1954, the crisis extended to the whole of Pakistan. The Governor-General proclaimed a State of Emergency and suspended the Constituent Assembly. While Mohammed Ali remained the titular Prime Minister, effective dictatorship was vested in the hands of General Mirza as Minister of the Interior (later Governor-General).

It is worthy of note that these successive arbitrary anti-democratic coups by the Governor-General, Ghulam Mohammed, an old Indian Civil Service official, were openly based on Section 92a of the 1935 Government of India Act, the Act passed by the Baldwin Conservative Government for a subject India, and proclaimed to be still valid in Pakistan seven years after the supposed establishment of "freedom" in 1947.

General Mirza made no concealment of his hostility to democracy. Pakistan, he declared, was "not yet ripe for the processes of democracy" and needed to be "run in the British way." "To an Englishman… The Times reported on December 2, 1954, "it is extremely like the administration of one of the bigger colonies."

The Turkey-Pakistan Pact signed in April, 1954, drew Pakistan closely into the chain of United States military alliance in the Middle East, while the adhesion of Pakistan to the South-east Asia Pact later in the year aligned Pakistan with the chain of United States military allies in Eastern Asia.

The linking with the series of imperialist-inspired military pacts in the Middle East was further carried forward by adhesion to the Baghdad Pact of Britain, Iraq, Turkey and Iran in 1955.

These measures of subjection of Pakistan to the economic and political domination and military plans of Western, and especially American imperialism, by no means corresponded to the national feeling of the Pakistan people. "It is generally agreed," reported The Times correspondent from Dacca on December 6, 1954, "that if fresh elections are held the United Front party would win a second sweeping victory."

In the autumn of 1955, the pressure of popular dissatisfaction led to further political changes, with the establishment of a new Coalition Government based on the Moslem League and a section of the former United Front, the release of a number of political prisoners, and preparations for new elections.

The stormy events and successive sharp changes in Pakistan during these years have demonstrated the instability of the regime. While the rulers of Pakistan during this period turned the country into a satellite of the United States, there can be no doubt that the crisis will further develop.

Whatever the ordeals and struggles through which they will have to pass, there can be no doubt that the people of Pakistan, no less than the people of India, will find their way forward to a progressive future along the path of liberation in common with the other nations of Asia.