



CHILE: END OF PARLIAMENTARY ROAD

by Tariq Ali and Alan Jones

The Chilean army has overthrown the left-wing Popular Unity government and its President Salvador Allende.

This brutal action was carried out in the interests of the Chilean ruling class and of American imperialism.

The complete failure of the 'Chilean experiment' - the parliamentary road to socialism - is plain to see. Chile now serves as a bloody reminder to the world working class movement of one of the most fundamental teachings of Marxism - the capitalist state machine and its agents always serve the ruling class. The working class cannot 'use' this state machine in its own interests, rather it must smash the capitalist state and create new state institutions based on the armed working masses and the organisations born out of their struggles.

Allende's electoral victory three years ago took place in the context of an increasing social and economic crisis.

It produced some of the biggest mass mobilisations of the post-war years: inspired by Allende's electoral promises, workers occupied factories and peasants began to seize the great estates of wealthy landlords.

The revolutionary left continually called on the Popular Unity Government to create a militia and arm the workers and peasants in order to defend the mass movement and the Government against fascist attacks. But Allende and his partners in the Government, the Chilean Communist Party, refused to do this.

Instead of equipping the mass of the people for the struggle against counter-revolutionary forces, they denounced the revolutionary left, accus-

ing them of 'ultraleftism' and 'provocations' for pointing out the class nature of the Chilean armed forces and police and warning of the danger of counter-revolution.

The Chilean ruling class and their American imperialist allies became increasingly restless as the mass movement grew. They turned to active sabotage of Government policy and began to prepare for its overthrow. Faced with this challenge the Government chose to ally itself not with the popular movement, but with the Army! In a futile attempt to buy the support of the capitalist military, several Generals were brought into the Cabinet.

Allende repeatedly claimed that the Army would 'respect the constitution! The General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, Luis Corvalan (in an article published in the latest issue of the British Communist Party journal *Marxism Today*) talks of the 'loyalty of the armed forces and the police' and of the possibility that Chile can '...march forward to Socialism without civil war...' Rarely has the bankruptcy of a political strategy been exposed so quickly by history.

Allende is reported, before his death, to have called for the arming of the workers and peasants. This was a lesson he learned far too late. But it is a lesson which must be understood now if the workers movement in Chile and around the world is to avoid further needless tragedies.

The task of the Chilean revolutionary and workers movement today, a task in which the international working class movement must share, is to defeat the military offensive. But that can only be done by abandoning the false road on which Popular Unity set the Chilean workers and peasants - the road of class collaboration and faith in the capitalist state.

There is only one way to defeat the

forces of reaction - by mobilising and arming the mass of Chilean workers and peasants. This is the road which must be taken by all those who are dedicated to the defeat of counter-revolution. Revolutionaries will fight alongside Popular Unity in this.

Recent news reports suggest that there is continuing armed resistance coming from the workers' sections of Chile's capital city, Santiago. The struggle may well be far from over. The broadest international solidarity must be built with the struggle of the Chilean people against counter-revolution. A popular victory against the reactionary armed forces would set in motion a mass revolutionary movement that would place Chile on the only road to socialism - the armed road.

Militants call for national strike

By TERRY CRAWFORD

A national conference of rank-and-file delegates from the engineering industry has committed itself to the fight for a national strike if the employers fail to meet the current engineering workers' claim.

Over three hundred militants met last Sunday in Birmingham, at the call of the rank-and-file paper *Engineering Voice*, the main instrument of the organised left in the engineering union. The conference was attended by all the 'lefts' of the AUEW Executive Council, including President Hugh Scanlon himself, who delivered the opening address.

By far the most important question facing the conference was the fight for the engineers' claim for a £10

wage increase, 35 hour week, 4 weeks paid holiday and equal pay for women. Scanlon put the key question directly - what action is to be taken if the claim is not met? But he had no answer except a series of vague generalities, which added up to a roundabout way of saying he was in favour of local struggles.

Speakers from the floor were reluctant to clash directly with Scanlon. They talked about 'the kind of struggle the miners conducted' and 'national industrial action', rather than coming right out and saying what had to be said: nothing short of a national engineering strike can defeat the employers and the Tory government and win the claim.

Matters were only brought to a head (page 8, col 4)

IMG contingent on last Wednesday's demonstration outside the Chilean embassy



Photo: Peter Harrap (Report)

DEMONSTRATE in solidarity with the workers and peasants of CHILE: SUNDAY - 16 SEPTEMBER - 2:15 pm. Assemble SPEAKERS CORNER: march to Chilean embassy. Speakers from Labour Party and trade union movement. (sponsored by: Liberation)

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP PUBLIC MEETING: 'CHILE - LESSONS AND TASKS FOR THE BRITISH LEFT' Saturday - 15 September - 7:30 pm. - Conway Hall (Red Lion Square, Holborn) SPEAKERS: TARIQ ALI, ROBIN BLACKBURN



As the AUEW prepares for a struggle around the national claim, to be presented this month, the strike at a small tools factory in Sheffield begins to take on considerable importance.

The AUEW workers at Footprint Tools Ltd. have now been on strike for eleven weeks. The immediate cause of the dispute was the sacking of a steward, but the explicit aim of the management is to eliminate the Engineering Union as a negotiating force in the factory. They want to replace it with the General and Municipal Workers Union, which has been encouraging its members to cross the picket lines.

The strike has become an important issue at a time when the main preoccupation of the Communist Party-led AUEW District Committee is to mobilise the engineers in Sheffield around a struggle for the claim. They are faced with two problems: it is important to get workers on to the picket lines at Footprint, to prevent the scabs going in, but at the same time they want to hold back premature and ineffective local struggles, which have begun to break out over the second stage of the present agreement between the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and the

Test for AUEW in Sheffield

Engineering Employers Federation. The District Committee has, correctly, advised against action over the present agreements in order to preserve the energies of the Union for national action over the claim.

OCCUPATION

The District Committee realises that the strike must be won, but is determined to keep it under its control. However, the militants involved have begun to dispute the District Committee's tactics; it is clear to them that the next step must be to stop production, and some form of occupation is seen as the solution. At the same time the revolutionaries (IMG, IS, and SLL), although at first treated with hostility, are now in a position to discuss

Police escort scabs through picket lines the tactics of occupation.

The District Committee, on the other hand, is relying on an escalation of the picketing, following a pattern which proved successful in a similar struggle twelve months ago. But even this picketing is being done fairly cautiously, in the hope that the £15 a week strike pay will enable their members to hold out. The firm, however, is proving more tenacious than they expected.

In the next week or two the question of new tactics will be posed sharply, and it is increasingly obvious that an occupation, to stop production, will provide the best conditions for victory. The defence of such an occupation, through mass picketing and demonstrations, would help to forge unity amongst engineering workers, in preparation for the struggle around the national claim. Already new forces, often outside the influence of the CP, have been drawn on to the picket lines at Footprint. They will be an important factor in any successful struggle around the claim, to smash Phase 3, and prepare the way for a general strike to drive out the Tories.

James Wilson

This Sunday, Case Con, a left wing organisation of social workers, holds its London conference against a background of a series of struggles over the last eighteen months.

These have included initiatives against punitive and degrading treatment of homeless people (Hackney and Southwark), support of squatters (Islington, Lambeth and Tower Hamlets), defence of gypsies being run out of the borough (Waltham Forest), agitation against the Housing Finance Act (Camden and elsewhere), defence of a social worker against political victimisation (Islington), and other struggles directly or indirectly connected with the functioning of welfare services.

MAJOR WEAKNESS

In some of these struggles a high level of militancy and political awareness has been displayed. However, the fact that nearly all these struggles have remained localised remains a major weakness. This fragmentation condemns militants to struggle in isolation against this or that aspect of social service policy, while the ruling class is able to generalise its offensives through the use of the state apparatus and to centralise its attacks on the working class through the Tory Government. It is this weakness which the Case Con conference must begin to resolve this weekend.

Case Con has already shown itself capable of playing an important role in generalising one or two such struggles. When social workers took action over night-time 'standby and callout' duty last year, Case Con played an important role in the formation of an all-

Social workers fight to end isolation

London co-ordinating committee to centralise the social workers' struggle. Earlier this year, when Islington Council attempted a political sacking, an all-London meeting and demonstration initiated through Case Con strengthened the fight against the victimisation at a crucial stage.

Two main questions now face Case Con's London organisation. The most immediate is the strike by Islington social workers which started on Monday against bad working conditions. Under the Seebohm rationalisation, social work 'teams' were sent scurrying to the different localities of each borough with the idea that increased 'community contact' would mean a more economical use of resources. The lack of proper offices resulted in many social service workers being accommodated in near-derelict shops, converted scout halls, old council baths and other such run down and uncomfortable premises. The Islington social workers are quite clearly taking a lead on a question which affects the mass of social workers in London.

HOMELESSNESS

The second question, and one which has wider long-term significance for the whole of

the working class, is that of homelessness. At its last national conference Case Con recognised the need to centralise efforts on the housing question by setting up a sub-group around this issue, and the last issue of Case Con magazine publicised secret government moves to deprive homeless people of their right to a home.

Schedule 23 of the Local Government Act 1972, removes from local authorities their obligation (under the 1948 National Assistance Act) to house homeless people and legalises what is already the current practice of nearly all local authorities — the punitive and degrading treatment of the homeless. This must be fought. In Camden, a new Case Con group which has just been formed has taken this question up, producing a leaflet for circulation, not only to social service workers but to all other local government workers, as well as to trade union branches and tenants associations in the Camden area.

It is this type of initiative which can successfully be taken up at an all-London, and national level by Case Con. Such a broad and centralised initiative can do much to strengthen the hand of the militants locally, as well as helping Case Con to evolve as a coherent fighting organisation.

Jack Lewis

For further information about this Sunday's conference, phone 226 8720.

Resumed negotiations over the future of the occupied Adwest Engineering plant in Reading broke down again on Monday.

The workers occupied the factory over three weeks ago after management began to transfer production to a new plant in Sunderland. By such a move, involving massive redundancies and eventual closure of the factory, management could hope to take advantage of the soaring price of land in Reading to make a killing on the site.

Management had hurriedly called for a new round of talks after pressure from customers who rely on Adwest for power steering gears.

Talks break down at Adwest

Red Weekly Reporter

Chief among these are Lansing-Bagnall, who it is believed may have to lay off some 400 workers at their Basingstoke plant if the dispute

is not resolved within the next few days.

But on Monday Adwest still refused to give any guarantees about job security, and insisted that there should be no joint agreement covering both the Sunderland and Reading workers. They also refused to come up with any sizeable wage offer, and made speed-up and unprecedented job flexibility a condition of any wage increase.

With further pressure likely from other customers like Jensen and Jaguar, an all-out fight is clearly on the cards in which the Adwest workers will require effective solidarity action from other workers in the industry.

CURRENT ACCOUNT

STERLING - THE BALANCING ACT

The pound sterling has for a year or more been like a tight rope-walker, perilously balanced on a frayed rope and holding a balancing rod which is much heavier at one end than the other. Last week it faltered once again and the capitalist world held its breath.

Over the two weeks up to 7 September, the pound fell 2 per cent in value. On that day it fell another 2 per cent in two hours, until the Bank of England began to pour in the reserves to keep up the rate. In spite of frantic efforts to persuade capitalists and governments to keep their money in London, by means of interest rates which are higher than ever before in this country, sterling is now worth nearly 20 per cent less in comparison with all other currencies than it was at the time of the Smithsonian agreement in December 1971. In comparison with the West German mark alone it is now worth over 40 per cent less than then.

And yet, in spite of what should be a massive competitive gain for British capitalists, the balance of payments continues to worsen every month. In fact, the volume of exports has risen quite fast; the balance of payments has become so bad because the price of imports, especially of raw materials, has risen so fast. But faced with the same rise in raw material prices the German balance of payments, for instance, continues to flourish. What happens is that the potential gain which devaluation gives to exporters (who can lower their prices, or raise their profits without charging more) has been largely offset by the contrary effects of devaluation in magnifying for British producers the rise in costs coming from rising world commodity prices.

Given the catastrophic balance of payments figures, it is surprising that the devaluation of sterling has been limited to 20 per cent. Figures released last week show both how serious the situation is and exactly how the balancing act has been accomplished. For the first six months of the year the 'current balance' (the balance of trade in goods and services) showed a deficit of £512 million, and it worsened steadily throughout the period. This didn't lead to an expected decline in the reserves. In fact they increased — mainly because the nationalised industries were instructed to meet all their needs for capital expenditure not from normal borrowing on the British capital market but by borrowing in Europe and Japan. For the second quarter of the year it is now known that this foreign borrowing amounted to as much as £290 million, and was probably nearly as much in the previous quarter. It was just about enough, in other words, to balance the gigantic deficit on trade and services and so largely explains why sterling has not yet collapsed even more rapidly.

But foreign borrowing is no long term solution to the deficit, since the investment needs of the nationalised industries will decline and the borrowing itself demands a huge future outflow of currency to pay the very high rates on the loans. It was partly this fact which led the speculators to flee from sterling again in the last week. Also they feared the expiry of the dollar guarantee which the Tory government was forced to grant last year to foreign government holdings of sterling. They have now been forced to renew this guarantee.

The fact that about £3000 million worth of sterling reserves are guaranteed in this way (i.e. given a fixed rate of exchange with the US dollar) explains why recent falls in the value of the dollar have always carried sterling along with them. Now, however, with a recent improvement in the American balance of trade, and a continued worsening of the British one, sterling is the weakest of the major currencies. If it slips, Heath's precarious economic strategy will tumble with it.

Michael Price

Ever since 1969, the capitalist class in Britain has tried to bridle the organised power of the trade unions by various forms of legal compulsion. The Industrial Relations Act followed the Labour Party's 'In Place of Strife,' and this was followed in turn by the Freeze, Phase 2 and Phase 3. Attempts to remove the power to bargain followed attempts to limit the power to struggle.

This turn by the capitalist class demands a response from the trade union movement different from the pattern of struggle established in the 1950s and 1960s. To defeat a determined attack by the state, the maximum centralisation of the struggle of the working class is necessary. The experience of the struggle to free the Pentonville Five and the defeats suffered during Phase 2 show the right and the wrong way to take on the capitalist state.

The attack by the state poses the question of the collective future of the unions very sharply and demands that means are found to centralise the struggle. Those who could most easily do this are the elected officials of the trade unions. But this year's Trades Union Congress showed once again that these men are not prepared to take up the task of centralising the struggle — except in the flowery, but empty, language of their speeches.

More than ever before, the TUC is united against the Government's policy *in words*. There was little disagreement about what the central demand should be: a return to 'free collective bargaining' and an end to the Industrial Relations Act. The trade union leaders are united in the view that, for the sake of the British economy (and for the sake of themselves), a return to the situation prior to 1969 would be the best thing. In that golden era union general secretaries and presidents could by and large look after their own back gardens. The periodic wage claim could be settled, after weighing up the strength of the membership on the one hand, and what the capitalist employers would stand, on the other.

The present demands are built around the idea of a return to this period. A return to free bargaining, an end to the Industrial Relations Act, corrective action against prices, action on pensions, mortgages and rents are seen as the necessary emergency measures to wrench the ship back on course.

But the bosses know the strength of the workers movement too well, and, given the economic crisis, are only prepared to return to the old methods on *their* terms — after a decisive defeat of the workers movement.

The TUC consistently rejected the few scattered demands calling for co-ordination of the mass struggle. Referring to the construction workers' amendment seeking to give the TUC power to order unions not to appear before the Industrial Relations Court, Tom Jackson of the Post Office Workers said: 'If this is the decision of this Congress, we shall not obey.' The amendment was, of course, defeated.

The pattern of expressing 'unity in our views' whilst leaving individual unions to act as they might choose, recurred in every single major debate. The boycott of Common Market institutions was carried, in line with the policy of opposition to the Common Market. Yet individual unions are not prevented from sending delegates to the capitalist institutions of the Common Market, such as the European Coal and Steel Community on which the Miners are represented.

Even on one of the major questions facing Congress the pattern remained the same: 'opposition' to the Pay Board was unanimous, but individual unions were left to put their 'special cases' to the Board if they wished.

On the most important issue of whether to con-

TUC dreams of the past

tinue the talks with the Tory Government, the TUC has shown what it considers the best method to achieve the return to the 'golden age' not by industrial action but by negotiation, by doing a deal with the representatives of the capitalist class.

The dilemma of the TUC is that the working class has suffered defeats, but to take the steps necessary to lead it to new victories would mean that the 'golden age' of the trade union bureaucracy would never ever return: the result of a general strike this winter would be to permanently change the relationship of forces against the bureaucracy, the Government and the ruling class by giving the mass of the working class a taste of their own power.

Therefore, as the unions start to prepare their 'special case' arguments for the Pay Board under Phase 3, the trade union bureaucracy cannot but prepare further serious defeats and setbacks. Allan Sapper, leader of the Cine Technicians union, asked Congress to consider what would

happen if the Government were to offer to abandon the Industrial Relations Act and to raise pensions in return for the TUC accepting threshold agreements. 'What a situation we would be in. And this is the way these talks are leading'. In other words, the Government could offer a series of concessions which, if rejected, would turn one group of workers against another and groups such as the pensioners against the unions as a whole. The possibility of forging unity between all those suffering from Tory Government policy would be seriously set back.

The Scanlon-Jones 'left' failed to pose the basic choice facing the trade union movement this winter. Scanlon and Jones want to avoid a mass confrontation as much as other union leaders, as their stabbing in the back of the electricians at Chrysler a week before Congress dramatically showed. The Government was clearly waiting until after the Congress to announce the terms of Phase 3 — in that way

the question of what to *do* was not urgently posed. So the left failed to make even the ritual demand for a recall of Congress once the talks broke down. The lesson of Phase 2 where the recall Congress and the one day protest strike came after the unions had individually been beaten in battle, is obvious to all. Yet none of the 'left' drew it.

The working class has not managed to solve this problem of how to centralise their struggle. The Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions has sought to act as the voice of the rank and file, with a leadership which itself unites only to express its opinion but never to act. The role played by the LCDTU as a body during the Pentonville 5 explosion was minimal.

Militants now face the hardest task of all — to prepare their work mates organisationally and politically to defend whatever group of workers is under attack from the Government this winter. The TUC has provided no answers to the problem. Alf Jennings



AUEW Convenor, Ted Corbett, addresses STC strikers

STC - strike ends, struggle goes on

The strike at Standard Telephone and Cables, in which black workers fought for seven weeks against racial discrimination on the part of management and a section of the skilled white labour force, ended last week. This strike was yet another example of racism in the British trade union movement.

The dispute started when the management took a black worker off the job, following a refusal by skilled machine setters (members of the ETU) to continue training him. The ETU has fought for some years against having to train black machine operators as setters. In 1971, when the first black trainee setter was appointed, the setters demanded, and received, a special training bonus of £1.50, although they had previously trained (white) apprentices without this.

Workers Press, organ of the Socialist Labour League, on 10 September asked 'Was Racism Behind the Strike at STC?' In this article Lew Britz, ETU district official, is quoted as denying the charge of racism, but he did not explain why the ETU should take action against one black trainee setter, if, as Britz claims, the real issue was allegations made by operators that setters were restricting their pay. Nor did *Workers Press* ask him.

The SLL covers up for Britz because they

want to obscure the history of the dispute. They believe that racism, if it exists at all in the working class, can be overcome simply by calling for unity around some *other* issue.

Socialist Worker, paper of the International Socialists, admitted the racism on the part of the white workers, but regarded it as 'management inspired.' Like the *Workers Press* they ignore Cecil Gutzmore's report for the Runnymede Trust, which documented management and worker racism in the earlier disputes at STC.

Many Asians at STC were reluctant to strike, even though they too suffer discrimination in promotion, because of fear of deportation under the Immigration Act (this was actually threatened by some white workers). The Strike Committee might have won the Asians over if they had taken up the issue of the Immigration Act and explained that by fighting racism on the picket lines, the Asian workers would have been fighting for a strong Union — their best defence against racist laws. Unfortunately, the Strike Committee began thinking along these lines only at the last moment.

In fact the Strike Committee and regular picketing were set up only after several weeks and regular mass meetings were not held. As a result, strikers were left unaware of all the facts of the situation and could be easily thrown off balance by simple questions from scabs. All of this led to a fall in morale, and a steady trickle back to work.

These failures also reduced the impact the strikers were able to have on the white workers. An appeal could have been made to them on the grounds that they were allowing the management to destroy Union organisation. But the poor example of the organisation of the strike made this difficult to put over. The Strike Committee also decided, wrongly, not to organise mass picketing until they knew the results of inter-union discussions. In fact, such a mass picket could have had an impact on these discussions.

The Strike Committee correctly demanded

that those white AUEW shop stewards who scabbed on an official strike should be deprived of their credentials. If this had been done, it would have left other white workers in no doubt about the attitude of the Union to racism. But the AUEW District Committee refused to take this action.

Eventually the International Socialists put forward the view that a return to work would 'maintain unity,' and place the black workers in a better position to build bridges to the white workers. This confused the issues, since it made a false comparison between this strike and a wage dispute. The strikers' attitude should more correctly have been that if a return to work was forced on them, they would go back with a perspective not of maintaining a 'unity' which didn't exist, but in order to fight racism while at the machines rather than the gate. It is not the end of the struggle only of the strike.

This strike has shown that black workers are no longer prepared passively to accept the worst jobs. In fighting back they will come up against British workers who are imbued with racism, and who will openly line up with the management. This situation calls for a sustained struggle against racism within the working class, and for self-organisation by black workers.

In STC steps have been taken towards this, with the setting up a black caucus. Its first tasks will be to resist capitulation by the AUEW leadership in the negotiations with the ETU, and to build a campaign against racism. The caucus intends to hold discussion meetings at the factory, with outside speakers; to publish a pamphlet drawing the lessons of the strike; and to publish further material on the issue of racism. It will be a forum in which the special problems of blacks can be taken up, and demands formulated. A primary demand must be — no secret negotiations between the AUEW and ETU, so that the attitudes of the ETU can be fully exposed both at STC, and in the workers movement as a whole.

Dave Bailey

Turkey - Torture and Political Persecution

This book documents in detail the torture of political prisoners in Turkey, and the staggering brutality of the methods used.

Faced with a virtual blockade on real news from Turkey, Jane Cousins went there to interview politicians, trade unionists, academics, lawyers and many ex-prisoners.

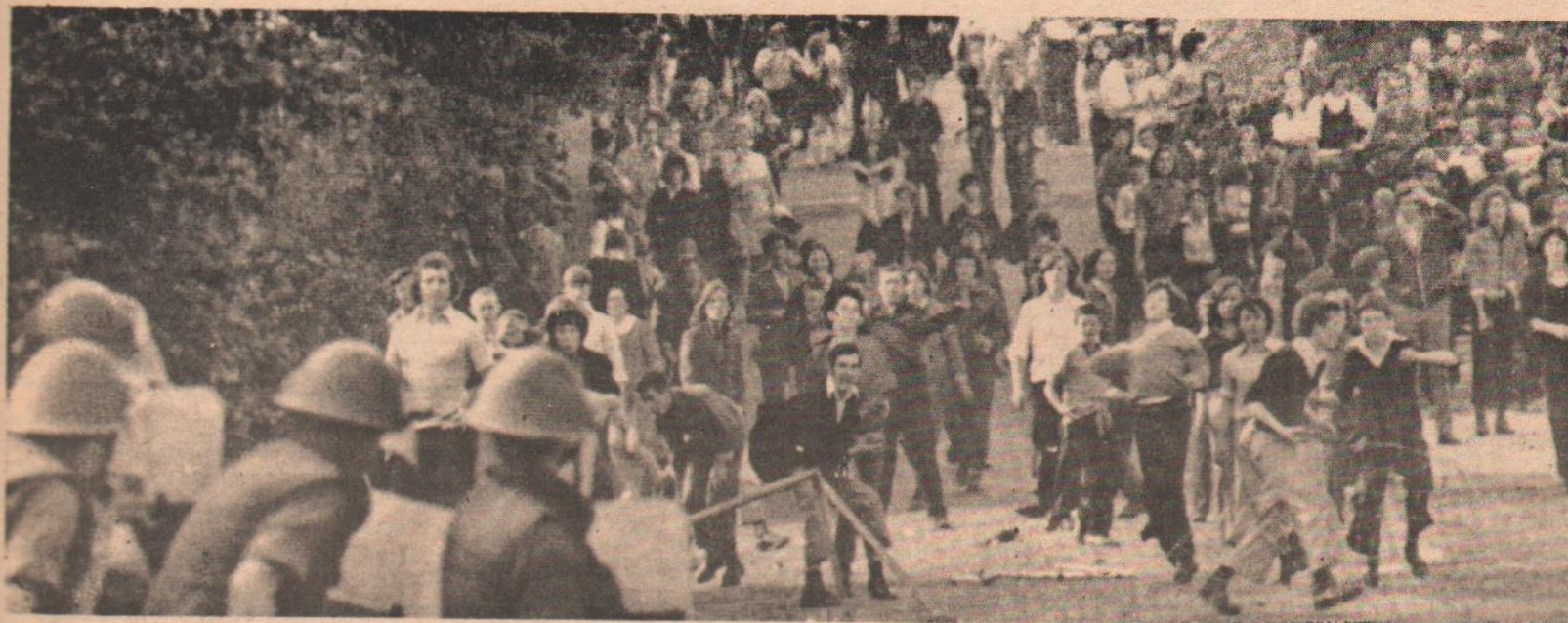
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AUGUST WAS A WICKED MONTH



During that month the solution to the Irish problem, which he has been trying to put together since October 1972, began to come to pieces again.

The key element of his strategy is to bring about the political isolation and military defeat of the Provisional IRA, so that the discontent of the Catholic minority can be re-directed through the new political structures with which he is attempting to rescue the Northern Irish state. The Assembly elections had marked a clear advance for this strategy, with the overwhelming majority of the Catholics not only participating in the election but voting for the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP). The British press could hardly contain its delight as it spoke about the 'rejection of the men of violence' and the 'return to politics' by the minority. But in August the Provisionals broke out of their isolation. Mass action on the streets challenged British rule once more, and the Provos, despite severe blows, maintained their capacity to carry on the guerrilla war.

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In the Assembly elections, the British and the SDLP temporarily cashed in on the contradictions which underly political life in the Catholic ghettos. In the era of Stormont, elections for the Catholics were never about long term political principles, they were about putting into office someone who could be relied upon to distribute patronage, and to intervene within local government and Stormont machinery on behalf of the Catholic community. A breed of street corner politicians grew up, who had little in the way of political principles, but who, through wheeling and dealing, built up a personal power base.

On the streets again

When confronted with a ballot paper the Catholics reverted to their old conditioned response, and voted for the Catholic politicians of the SDLP. This political schizophrenia, which has survived mainly because of the political inadequacy of the forces leading the anti-imperialist struggle in the North, contains immense dangers, but it does not imply the collapse of the extra-parliamentary struggle, as the period since the election has shown.

One event, more than any other, illustrates the reasons for the turn in the tide during August — the Farrell/Canavan case. The legislative lumber left over from the Unionists made it possible to jail Farrell and Canavan for a minor offence. A sectarian judge ensured that their sentences were suitably vindictive. The situation inside Crumlin

Road jail made it necessary for them to go on hunger strike for political status. Since the granting of this demand would back up criticisms of the judicial system in the North, White-law had to ignore the appeals of British Labour Party and SDLP MPs, and gamble that Farrell and Canavan would cave in; only thus could he defend an essential part of the state which he is trying to preserve.

But he finally had to capitulate when rioting in Belfast showed that the two People's Democracy comrades had won mass support. The lesson will have got home to the minority — the 'reformed' Northern Ireland will continually throw up repression which can only be adequately

met by mass action, on the streets.

Heath's visit

That the British are concerned about the situation is confirmed by Heath's visit to Belfast, and his attempt to kick the various Assembly parties into motion. The main bone of contention has been the future of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC); the Faulkner Unionists have adamantly opposed any re-organisation, while the SDLP have been angling for some kind of 'community' police force in Catholic areas. Heath has given a minor concession to the SDLP: the RUC will remain, but it will be subjected to controls through the local authori-

The struggle of the workers at Lip is a symbol of the development of working class consciousness since May 1968.

Since the May events, not only has the general level of struggle remained very high, but the lessons of 1968 have begun to be assimilated. A working class vanguard has gradually emerged, breaking, even if in a confused way, with the policies of the reformist leaderships.

This has been seen in the continual adoption of advanced methods of struggle (sit-in strikes, seizure of plant, wildcat strikes), and in the remedying of one of the weaknesses of 1968: self-organisation, the ability of the workers to take control of their own struggles out of the hands of the bureaucracy. The formation of strike committees has become increasingly common in recent struggles, provoking a big debate at the 36th Congress of the CFDT trade union federation. A whole generation of worker militants is emerging who have shown that they are capable of challenging the reformist bureaucrats for the leadership of the struggle.

LIVING EXAMPLE

In four months of struggle, the workers of Besancon have provided a living, daily example of the way in which to build up a favourable relationship of forces against the bosses. The organisation of the struggle, with commissions and a daily general assembly; the international solidarity of the Swiss watch-makers; the tremendous efforts to build support for the struggle by the workers themselves; the refusal to bow down before the requirements of capitalist legality; — these are their concrete replies to the question: how to struggle?

Before the attentive gaze of millions, the Lip workers have publicly demonstrated what the revolutionaries have been patiently explaining to a limited audience for years: yes, the workers can run the factories without the bosses; yes, they can refuse to be victims of the capitalist-law of profit; yes, a different way of organising work and different relationships between people are possible.

The theoretical debates formerly confined to small groups of militants are now suddenly being taken up all over the country through the mass media: is self-management possible under the capitalist system? What is workers

control? At Besancon, these questions have taken the form of practical problems on whose solution the future of the movement depends. The ruling class are afraid that this struggle may serve as an example to others — and with good reason. In a recent opinion poll no less than 47% replied YES to the question, 'Do you think the trade unions should develop this new form of struggle?'

TEST OF STRENGTH

With the intervention of the police to take over the factory, and the wave of solidarity and protest which it unleashed in the middle of the August holiday period, Lip has become a major test of strength between the ruling class and the working class.

The government, which had first expected the Lip struggle to peter out, was surprised when it threatened to carry over into the autumn period. It craftily decided to attack in the middle of August, counting on only a token response from the workers' movement. But this short-term gamble was blocked by the actual response.

Since then, the government has opted for a policy of straight-forward repression. The prime minister, Messmer, has taken personal responsibility for the decision to send in the police; the minister for 'industrial development,' Charbonnel, has put forward a plan taken straight from the anti-working class projects of the former owners, Ebauches-SA; and there have been threats to close down the factory completely if the letters offering re-employment to some of the workers are not taken up.

Today, as the employers' magazine *Les Echos* points out, time is against the bosses. The number of 'Lips' threatens to increase. The strikers stand firm on their demands: no redundancies, no reorganisation. So the ruling class are stuck: to raise the stakes still further would risk touching off a whole series of explosions, but equally a retreat would give a tremendous impetus to the struggles of the whole working class.

It is a sticky position for the Communist Party, too, with its reformist electoral perspectives. There are still two years to go before the next contest for the presidency, and the debate centres around how to develop wor-

ties. In the 'fringe' towns where there is a Catholic majority this gives the SDLP some say in the running of the police. The Catholic ghettos, however, are still very far from being healthy locations for an RUC uniform (whatever the religious beliefs of its wearer), and this concession will only have a meaning if the Provos are defeated.

Also in August problems cropped up for the British Government's relations with the South. The revelations about the Littlejohns have seriously embarrassed the Cosgrave administration: Heath, during his visit to Dublin, will try to recoup his losses by playing a card which the British Government has kept at the back of the pack — the so-called 'Council of Ireland'.

This can be held up by both the SDLP and the Southern Government as a concrete advance towards Irish unity; but it is no such thing. As outlined in Whitelaw's Green Paper in October 1972, a Council of Ireland would be concerned with very little except 'joint security' (i.e. IRA-bashing) and would have a built-in limit to its operation, in that the Unionists are unlikely to support it unless it is clearly *not* a step towards Irish unity.

This requires a great deal of what the capitalist press calls 'empiricism' and 'flexibility' on the part of the British and Southern Governments, and the SDLP: they must try to convince the Southern public and the Northern minority that the discussions are about Irish unity, while convincing the Unionists that they are not. Even the master conjuror Willie Whitelaw will be hard put to pull that particular rabbit out of his hat. And none of this horse trading will alter the basic outlines of Whitelaw's strategy.

Provos regroup

To carry out any of the projects now under negotiation Whitelaw must engineer the military defeat of the IRA. In the last three months a determined effort has been made to smash the command structure of the IRA, and deprive it of effective leadership. The arrest of Seamus

FOCUS OF REVOLT

workers' struggles like Lip. In many cases, the workers who protested against the intervention of the police at Lip were also expressing discontent at their own situation. Faced with the attitude of the government, a deep desire has developed to change the present order of things.

RULING CLASS IN CRISIS

This crisis comes at a time when there are growing splits inside the Gaullist 'majority'. These are particularly expressed in the backstabbing which is going on in the search for a candidate to put up against the 'Union of the Left' (coalition of the Communist Party, Socialist Party, and Left Radicals) in the presidential elections.

But the personal in-fighting conceals a rather more serious problem for the ruling class: policy divisions, lack of an opposition capitalist party, lack of a Bonaparte who can take up the role played by de Gaulle.

The systematic use of repression by the government, incapable of working out and applying a coherent policy, is a sign of these internal difficulties and the weakness of its social base. This leads it to make tremendous miscalculations as far as its own interests are concerned.

At the same time, there is a growing crisis in the institutions on which the ruling class depends for its rule. There are divisions in the police force between an increasingly fascist

MONTH FOR WILLIAM WHITELAW...

Twomey is only the latest in a string of arrests which have robbed the Provisional IRA in the North of its most experienced fighters. However, Twomey's arrest comes too late to prevent the re-organisation and re-structuring of the Provos. The new structure is a break with traditional IRA organisation. Based on small units, linked by a local command structure, and consisting of volunteers who know only the members of their own unit, this new organisation will greatly increase both security and flexibility.

The military strength of the Provisional IRA will undoubtedly suffer from the loss of trained and experienced leaders, but, as they have shown in the past, this can be rapidly overcome. The aim of the British army will be to smash the IRA before their methods can win back sufficient mass support to restore their former position of strength.

The political pressures within the Catholic ghettos could well create a disastrous situation for the British, in which the Official IRA was drawn into an offensive. Despite the reformist theories of their leadership, which have kept the Officials out of the military struggle, the Official IRA is not unimportant: it is well equipped and organised.

There is pressure within the Officials for a return to broader military action, and for closer co-operation with the Provisionals. The participation of the Official Republican Clubs in 'The Political Hostages Release Committee' - a united front with the Provisionals and other forces - was a major turn for them. The fact that relations broke down again after the demonstrations does not alter the significance of this united front.

The more the British pile on the pressure within the Catholic ghettos, the more we can expect the present artificial barriers to break down. The fact that the rank and file of the Officials now have the experience of elections North and South to show them the extremely small advances which can be gained within the electoral arena, must strengthen the hand of those who are for a return to military action.

These elements are by no means isolated ultra-lefts, but people who have been in the mainstream of the Officials since the split in the Republican Movement in 1969. Recent correspondence in the *Irish Times*, which has drawn two leading Officials (Mairin De Burca and Seamus Costello) into public disagreement on this issue, reflects the importance of the debate now going on within the Officials.

Repression in the South

Even if the Officials do not go back into military action the events of the last month can give cold comfort to the British. Despite press denunciations of the 'mindless' violence of the Provisional IRA, and the widespread belief that the Provisionals have no political perspectives (a view even held by many on the British left), their military strategy is based on very precise political perspectives. They believe that they do not have to drive the British Army off the streets in order to defeat it. If they can keep up the guerrilla war, they feel that the contradictions within the South and in Britain will make it increasingly difficult for the British to carry on with their strategy, and sooner or later a British Government will have to concede on peace terms which will drastically undermine British political and economic domination of Ireland. This would destroy for all time the Protestant ascendancy in the North.

In the South there have been few significant developments since the arrest of Sean Mac Stiofain at the end of last year. The Coalition government has been reluctant to launch a major wave of repression. Nevertheless the trend towards repression continues, and when Heath visits Southern Prime Minister Cosgrave he will press for its speeding up. Despite the embarrassment of the Littlejohn affair, the British Government will be reluctant to give up such a proven method of spurring the Southern government into action, as the use of spies and agents

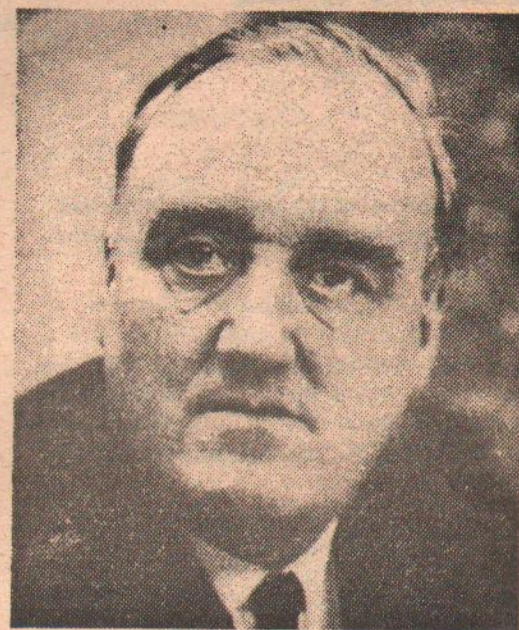
provocateurs. The key in the South remains the preparation of mass resistance to repression, and to the Government's collaboration with British imperialism.

Tasks in Britain

In Britain the development of a movement demanding the withdrawal of the British troops is the most urgent task. The fact Heath took time out, in a speech at an obscure meeting, to insist that the 'British people' (i.e. the British Government) would not be pressurised into withdrawing the troops by a bombing campaign in Britain, confirms that this issue is central. The failure to destroy the Provos, and the increasing unlikelihood of the Assembly achieving any progress, implies a major crisis of policy for British imperialism. Such a crisis would greatly increase popular support for the withdrawal of the troops.

As yet the effects of the recent spate of bombings on the development of such a movement cannot be accurately gauged. A sustained campaign of this kind, combined with the continuation of the war in the North of Ireland, might in the long run increase support for a quick end to the war. It is very unlikely, however, that the Provos (or anyone else) could keep up such a campaign for long enough. The effects of a short term campaign would probably be quite the opposite: to polarise public opinion back behind the British Army in the North and hinder the growth of a Troops Out movement in this country.

A major part of the preparation of a Troops Out movement must consist of consistent propaganda against British Army repression, so as to develop a current of opposition to the repression, especially within the trade union and labour movements. Without such propaganda the demand for the withdrawal of the troops will find its main support amongst those who put it forward for reactionary reasons. This will limit its ability to draw in trade unionists and would make the campaign dependent on elements who could easily be swayed by



reactionary propaganda and minor tactical shifts by the Government.

This does not mean that the British left and the Irish solidarity movement should be inactive. On the contrary, the likely negative effects of the bombings demand a stepping up of our efforts to prepare the way for such a movement. At the same time the bombings will be used as an excuse for increased repression, and a broadly based and closely co-ordinated series of defence campaigns will be called for. The failure of Whitelaw to push through his strategy in the summer months means that important opportunities remain open for a decisive intervention in the British political scene. We cannot count on a period of dramatic events or spectacular gains being before us, but if serious and consistent work is done we can help to dig the grave of British imperialism, which was sunk a few inches deeper during the month of August.

Bob Purdie

The struggle at LIP promises to spark off a whole series of social explosions, as this article, taken from *Rouge* (formerly published by the Communist League), explains.

current and a developing democratic opposition. Open resistance is increasing in the army, occasionally involving the mass of conscripts, as over the recent death of two soldiers on exercises at Fontainebleau. The magistrates, who always used to be at the beck and call of the regime, are now taking an independent line and some are even challenging the class nature of justice itself. In the church, which has always played a very conservative role, a scandal has been caused by the opposition of clergymen to the nuclear tests. Several weeks ago, a priest even gave up his pulpit to a trade unionist so that he could explain the significance of the strike. And so one could go on ...

These cracks in the machinery which the ruling class uses to maintain its control, show that the government's difficulties involve much more than just coming up with a few new faces.

Despite setbacks earlier this year, the willingness of the working class to struggle is clearly

on the increase. One sign of this was the outbreak of wildcat strikes on the railways in the middle of the summer.

At the same time, the economic outlook in the major capitalist countries is extremely gloomy. For a brief period France appeared to be a haven of relative prosperity. But today the economic expansion encouraged by runaway inflation seems about to give way to a generalised recession in the main advanced capitalist countries. The anarchy of the international monetary system, its inability to give any stable expression to the real relationship of forces among the capitalist countries, threatens to provoke a swift downturn in international trade.

These prospects are shaping up at a time when the government does not have the political means to impose a traditional policy of 'austerity', and is faced with a working class increasingly determined not to carry the can

for the capitalist muddle.

TASKS OF THE LEFT

In this situation, the whole left must discuss the tasks before it today. They are clear:

To draw for the mass of workers the lessons of Lip concerning: How to struggle? How to prepare within the struggle of today for the society of tomorrow? How to build support for a movement? What is proletarian internationalism?

To work towards the absolutely necessary political clarification of the questions posed by the strike for the working class vanguard: self-management, expropriation, workers control, etc.

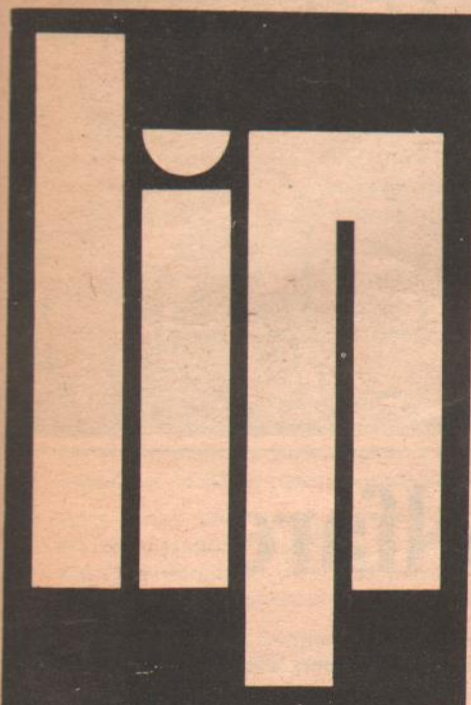
To defend unity of all forces without exception in working for victory at Lip: hence the demand by *Rouge* and *Workers Struggle* to take part in the joint meeting of the trade unions and parties of the left in support of Lip.

To put forward proposals which can create the best possible relationship of forces against the government:

- a 24-hour general strike;
- the creation of Lip support committees everywhere, uniting all forces without exception;
- in sympathy strikes, the putting forward in each factory of the workers' own demands;
- preparation now of a planned counter-offensive by the whole working class against inflation and unemployment;
- a sliding scale of wages;
- refusal to carry the can for the capitalist muddle.

To spread and popularise all initiatives of workers control concerned with promoting what can help the strike and preventing what can injure it: such as the example of the printers of *Free Parisian*, who forced it to publish a trade union statement by going on strike; the proposals of the 'ORTF Red Mole' to give time on television to the Lip workers during the broadcasting strike; etc.

To ruthlessly expose this government which, under pretence of defending 'public order' (i.e. the bosses' order), thinks nothing of dissolving the Communist League one day and sending in the police at Lip the next



Trotsky on British Labour

Leon Trotsky on Britain; Introduced by George Novack. (Pathfinder Press, £1.45)/Tony Southall

The publication of this book is an important event for working class militants in this country.

Written in the years leading up to and immediately following the greatest struggle of the British working class movement thus far in the 20th century – the General Strike of 1926 – these writings are full of the brilliant insights and perceptive Marxist analysis for which Trotsky was famous.

This collection contains the great 1925 work 'Where is Britain Going' (which, at the time of its publication in Britain in February 1926, was greeted with praise from the leadership of the British Communist Party), and a collection of articles published immediately after the General Strike under the title 'Where is Britain Going, Part II.' Much of this material appears here for the first time in English, and it includes a number of replies to English critics of 'Where is Britain Going.' The third part of the collection consists of a series of items written between 1926 and 1928, never published in the Soviet Union, attacking the then leaders of the Soviet Communist Party and the Communist International – Tomsky, Bukharin and Stalin – for their policy during the General Strike.

GLOBAL VIEW

By taking a global view of the world capitalist economy Trotsky was able to analyse with great accuracy the decline of British imperialism compared with its competitors in Europe, Japan and, in particular, the USA. Long before any of the theorists of the social-democratic wing of the British labour movement, he saw this as the fundamental factor shaping political developments in Britain. Already by the 1920s the relative backwardness of British heavy industry was producing chronic unemployment. The outdated equipment and organisation of the coal industry was the cause of the continual crises in mining which played such an important part in the events leading up to the General Strike. There is no doubt that the desperate attempts of government after government to shackle the trade union movement resulted from the growing economic crisis which the decline of British imperialism produced.

POLITICAL TRENDS

Trotsky always insisted on the necessity for British revolutionaries to be absolutely clear about the nature of the various political trends within the labour movement. Much to the indignation of his social-democratic critics –

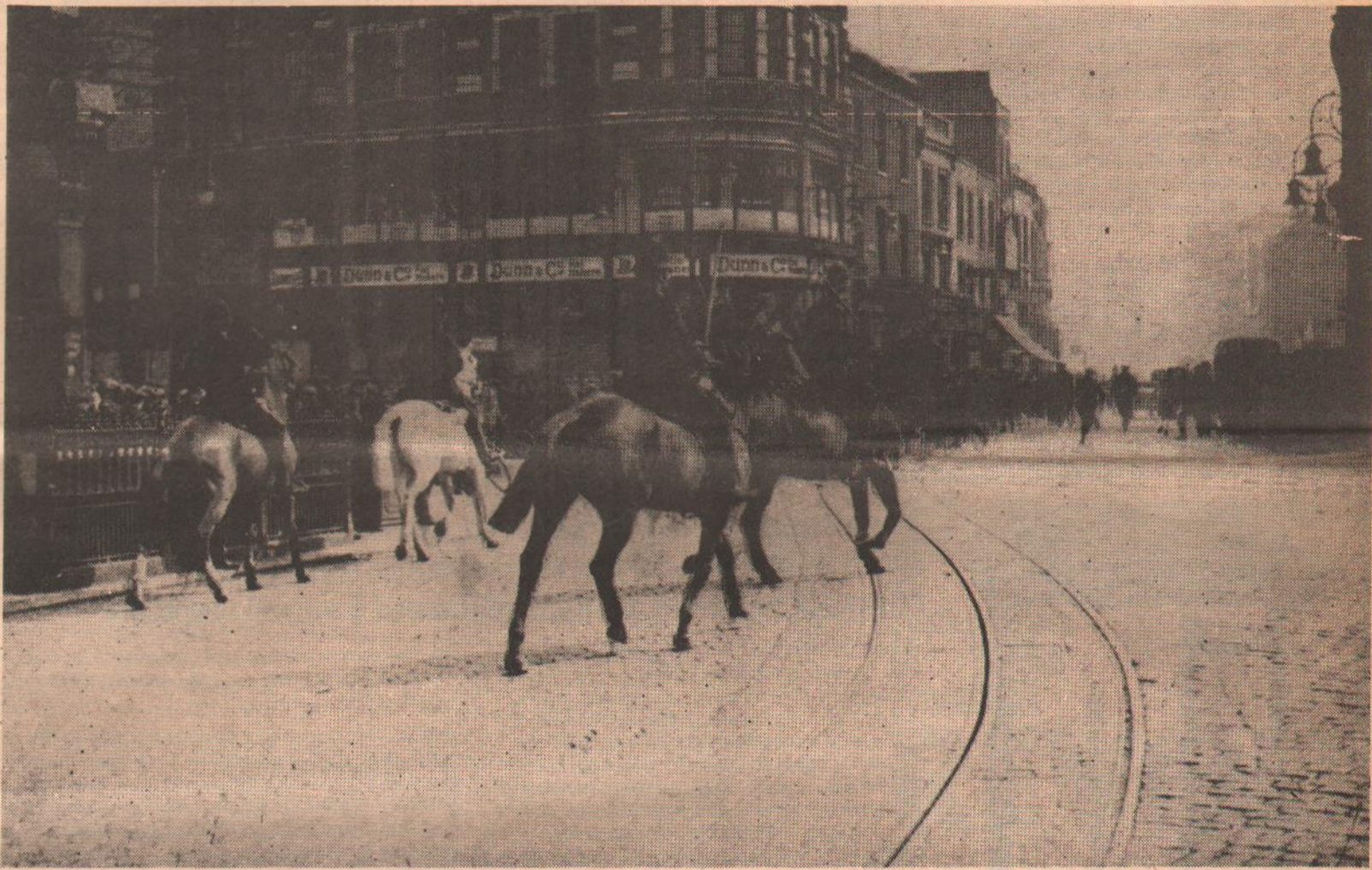
like H.N. Brailsford and George Lansbury – Trotsky exposed all the fallacies and hypocrisy which marked the pacifism and 'Christian Socialism' of Labour Party leader Ramsay MacDonald and his followers. Nor did he water down his criticisms of the trade union 'lefts' – men like miners' leader A.J. Cook and A.A. Purcell – whose left-wing stance on certain questions he saw as simply a mask hiding the fact that they would never be prepared for a head-on confrontation with the ruling class and the capitalist state.

What Trotsky had to say then about the trade union 'left' could be said equally well of their present-day counterparts, the Joneses, Scanlons and Heffers of the labour movement. 'The left criticises the government within such limits as do not interfere with its role as exploiter and robber. The left gives expression to the dissatisfaction of the masses within these limits, so as to restrain them from revolutionary action.'

ANGLO-RUSSIAN TRADE UNION COMMITTEE

Immediately after the betrayal of the 1926 General Strike by the TUC leadership, the question of Britain became a central issue in the debate between the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Communist Party and the emerging Left Opposition. The Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee – on which the class traitors

Mounted police disperse strikers at the Elephant & Castle during the General Strike of 1926



Poverty and Equality in Britain by J. C. Kincaid (Penguin Books 60p.)/Phil Lee

This book is a goldmine of information. It reveals how certain crucial aspects of the British 'welfare state' actually operate at the expense of the working class and in the interests of the capitalist class.

For example, the author traces the history of the Supplementary Benefits Commission's 'subsistence level' and shows how inadequate this is as a means of drawing the 'poverty line'. He then documents cases in which families below even this inadequate level are still subject to tax on their meagre incomes.

Much interesting material is brought together on the 'poverty trap' – where increased wages can result in such drastic cut backs in social benefits that families suffer a net loss in income. For example, a man with four children earning £20 a week who gets a wage rise of £1 a week will end up 30p a week worse off after his social benefits have been reduced to take account of his wage rise!

MYTHS

Much of this information is already well-known, but it is available here in a handy form. However the book's major aim is to attack the pro-capitalist myths that surround the operation of the 'welfare state'.

The most common of these argues that the welfare system operates like a giant funnel

redistributing income and wealth from the rich to the poor. But, as Kincaid is able to show through countless examples, this is not the case. The employer's contribution to the costs of social security is passed on to the wage earner through higher prices, and the employee's contribution operates as another tax whose burden falls most heavily on the low paid. The tax system is far too mild in its effects on the upper income brackets to have much effect. Where there is any serious redistribution – as with the Housing Finance Act – it is from the lower middle class and the better-off sections of the working class to the poorest sections of the working class. The rich remain relatively untouched.

Kincaid is at his best when he steps 'inside the heads' of the party policy makers, especially those of the Labour Party, and retraces the machinations of their thinking about welfare policy. Especially worth reading is his description of how the Labour Party chopped around Richard Crossman's original 1957 earnings related pension scheme, once they realised the extent to which it would involve them in a serious measure of income redistribution (see Chapter 7).

APPLES DO FALL

There are many useful and interesting anecdotes, case studies and facts in the book. But at the end the reader is left with far more questions than answers.

The reason for this is that Kincaid never gets down to the guts of the matter. Why did the

Reviews

of the TUC sat alongside the leaders of the Russian trade union movement – was kept going by the Stalinists all during the General Strike. It was not until September 1927 that this body collapsed – and then only because the British members, having got what they wanted, now found the Committee an embarrassment and walked out.

Trotsky conducted an insistent campaign against the Anglo-Russian Committee after May 1926 because, like the Stalinist policy of forcing the Chinese Communist Party to collaborate with the capitalist Kuomintang party of Chiang Kai-shek, he saw it as a case of placing the supposed diplomatic needs of the Russian state before the cause of the international revolutionary movement. Ultimately this policy was to produce disaster after disaster both for the Soviet Union itself and for the world proletariat.

In the British case Trotsky argued that this policy politically disarmed a relatively weak British Communist Party striving to gain ground inside the most reformist labour movement in Europe. With complete accuracy he predicted that this collaborationist line would hamstring

the work of the Communist Party inside the mass rank-and-file trade union organisation, the Minority Movement (which at that time had one million affiliated members) and lead to the collapse of that body.

TEST OF TIME

The reviewers whose writings are reprinted in this book complained loudly of Trotsky's ignorance of British conditions and of the peculiarities of the British labour movement. While it is possible to find certain factual inaccuracies in his writings, and even one or two errors of prediction, it is clear that Trotsky's mastery of the Marxist method enabled him to make analyses which were far superior and more accurate than anything which came from the pens of his critics.

His writings have stood the test of time. Despite many important differences, the problems facing the working class movement today have much in common with those of the period in which Trotsky was writing. For that reason we have much to learn from his analyses, and his writings are essential reading for all those concerned with the struggle of the working class in present day Britain.

The state of welfare

capitalist state get into the business of social welfare in the first place? How has this affected the operation of capitalist society today? Not only are these questions never answered, but it appears that the author doesn't even regard them as important. There is no serious discussion, for example, of the way in which social welfare spending has fitted into the post-war 'Keynesian' economic policies of the capitalist state – the use of welfare spending to manipulate the level of demand in the capitalist economy and cushion it against the crises of overproduction which are an inevitable part of the capitalist system.

The author only resorts to the use of the scientific term 'capitalism' on three occasions, elsewhere preferring thoroughly confused and confusing phrases like 'a society organised on a deeply competitive basis'. This serves to make his lack of theoretical clarity even worse. Kincaid ends up demonstrating conclusively that apples do fall, but we are left no nearer to the law of gravity.

'MOVING TOWARDS SOCIALISM'

This is all the more serious when one takes into account the fact that Kincaid is not just a run-of-the-mill empiricist academic, but a militant in a revolutionary organisation – the International

Socialists. Statements like one he makes on page 23 to the effect that a society that increases the proportion of its national resources devoted to social security is moving 'in the direction of a socialist society' thus have a serious political importance. This is a dangerous reformist conception. As Ernest Mandel has said, a society can no more be a 'little bit socialist' than a woman can be 'a little bit pregnant'.

As articles in recent issues of *Red Weekly* have pointed out, social democratic parties can make all kinds of 'left' turns in a period of growing capitalist crisis. An important part of such manoeuvres would be increased social welfare expenditure. Anyone who goes around telling the working class that this is a move 'in the direction of a socialist society' is sowing a very dangerous conception that can only serve to confuse the working class movement about the meaning of social democracy.

The job of making a serious Marxist analysis of the 'welfare state' and its relationship to capitalist social and economic strategy still remains to be done. It will have to be carried out in very different terms from those of this present book if it is to successfully arm the working class against social democracy and aid in the struggle for a socialist society.

PAKISTAN FLOODS ADD TO UNREST

The damage inflicted by the floods which recently struck the Pakistan provinces of Punjab and Sind has been enormous.

Needless to add, it is the peasants in the countryside who have suffered the most and who, not unnaturally, hold the Bhutto regime responsible. This government, elected on the basis of its socialist rhetoric, has proved to be as politically bankrupt and even more repressive than the military dictatorships of Ayub and Yahya which preceded it.

There was ample warning from the meteorological experts that the monsoons this year would be exceptional. These warnings were simply ignored by the government. It reacted to the floods only after tens of thousands of workers and peasants had been rendered homeless. Because of its blatantly capitalist nature, the government was incapable of preventing the hoarding of essential foodstuffs or black-marketing. The latter rose to new heights as the floods exacted their heavy toll.

DISCONTENT

The inability of the Peoples Party (PPP) government to deal with the floods has added to the unrest and discontent which has existed in the country ever since the establishment of Bangladesh. Bhutto's men were elected to office in the Punjab and Sind. In the remaining

two provinces of the North West Frontier and Baluchistan it was the National Awami Party (a petty-bourgeois nationalist organisation containing a number of pro-Moscow 'communists') which emerged as the largest party and formed governments in coalition with a 'progressive' religious party. Unwilling to tolerate non-PPP governments, the central government earlier this year dismissed the NAP governments in the two provinces. An important factor in this was the attitude of the neighbouring regime of the Shah of Iran. The latter was unwilling to tolerate a nationalist Baluchi government, as he feared that the upsurge could extend to that part of Baluchistan which is now in Iran and where nationalist unrest has existed for many years.

The result of the dismissal of the Baluchistan government has been the emergence of armed struggle in the provinces. Two thousand armed supporters of the NAP fled to the Baluchi hills, from where they continue to resist the four army divisions which have been sent to wipe out and destroy them. While Baluchistan, because of its sparse population, cannot develop into a new Bangladesh, the actions of the army have nonetheless created a great deal of disquiet in other parts of the country (and particularly in the North West Frontier province) as well as in the army.

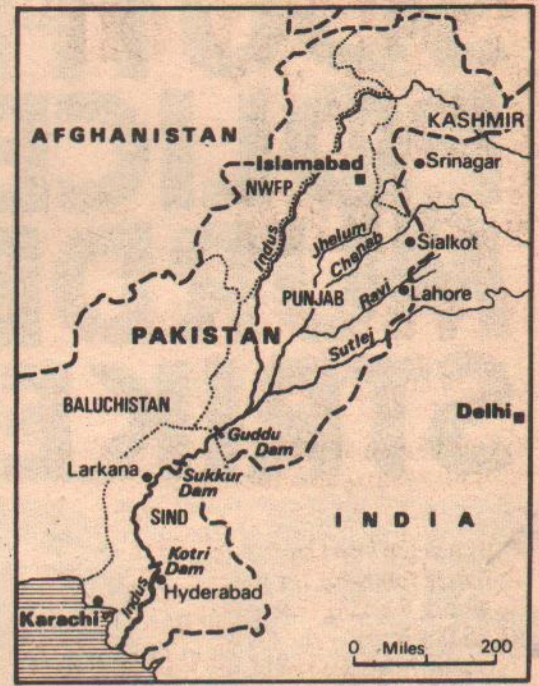
From JAVED HUSSEIN

Also, it is clear that the Baluchi nationalist guerrillas could hold out for a considerable period, thus adding to the instability not merely of the Bhutto regime, but of the Pakistani state. It is this latter factor which has led to the Iranian intervention in the form of helicopters and numerous 'civilian advisers,' who can be seen in the streets of Quetta, the Baluchi capital. The Shah's gestapo, *Savak*, the most notorious secret police force in Asia, is also training units of the newly formed 'Federal Security Force' in the art of repression. The torture of political prisoners in Pakistan today has reached new heights.

FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS

The intense political, social and economic crisis which grips the country has created very favourable conditions for revolutionary work in the towns and the countryside. The lack of a revolutionary party is the most serious problem confronting the masses. While the small pockets of *organised* militancy (such as the leadership of the revolutionary United Workers Federation in Karachi) are the object of severe repression, the right-wing political parties have launched a virulent anti-Bhutto campaign (identifying Bhutto with 'socialism') and are making some headway.

The fact that they are making some headway is a telling indictment of both the NAP and the pro-Maoist groupings in the country. Elements



in the army talk openly of a new coup if the situation deteriorates, and the Shah of Iran declares that in case of a social upheaval his armies would not hesitate to intervene. Thus the main thrust of imperialism in preventing any further disintegration in South Asia is a deal between Bhutto and Indira Gandhi.

This is today a likely prospect, but it will no more create stability in the Indian sub-continent than did the previous US-supported alliances. Neither the US nor China and the USSR will be able to maintain the *status quo* for long, provided that South Asian revolutionaries break out of the impasse of Maoism and Stalinism.

Argentina remembers Trelew massacre

One year after the massacre of sixteen Argentine guerrillas in Trelew on 22 August, 1972, commemorative rallies and demonstrations were staged throughout the country. While the Peronists tried to use the occasion to rally support for the presidential candidacy of Juan Peron in the election scheduled for 23 September, other forces demanded that those responsible for the massacre be uncovered and punished.

Minister of the Interior Benito Llambi instructed the country's governors to authorise the memorial meetings, providing they were held in areas that could be tightly controlled.

Even before government authorisation was officially granted, however, a number of meetings were held. One, in Rosario, was attended by the three survivors of the massacre.

On the eve of the commemorations, the Peronist-led coalition, the Movimiento Nacional Justicialista (Justicialist National Movement), officially joined in with a statement rendering 'respectful and emotion-filled homage to all the Argentines who, whatever their beliefs or affiliation, paid with their blood for their faith in a better Argentina.'

The Peronists, who have been seeking to isolate and put an end to guerrilla activity, attempted to 'balance' the rallies by commemorating not only the Trelew massacre, but also the decision of Eva Peron in 1951 to give up the vice-presidency — a decision she had made on 22 August. 'Both dates,' stated Rodolfo Puigros of the University of Buenos Aires, explaining the institution's decision to declare 22 August a day of mourning, 'constitute some of the highest expressions of the will of the people to struggle, which is today directed

toward achieving national liberation and reconstruction.'

A further indication of the Peronist movement's determination to co-opt the date for its own political purposes was the fact that the large Buenos Aires rally called by the Peronist Youth was conceived of as a frankly pro-Peron campaign rally. The Peronist Youth described the rally in the Atlanta stadium as one of 'active support to the candidacy of General Peron: an emotional homage to all those who have fallen during eighteen years of struggle, and an indelible remembrance of Companera Evita on the new anniversary of her resignation.' The slogan for the rally was 'Fatherland, Yes. Colony, No.' The Peronist Youth statement concluded with the thought: 'They died so that the Fatherland could live. Evita lives. Peron for President.'

But while the Peronists tried to focus the actions on Peron's bid for election, others recalled that despite several months of a Peronist regime, no serious attempt has been made to discover and punish the authors of the Trelew massacre.

The main slogan for the meeting called by the Federacion Universitaria de Buenos Aires (FUBA — University Student Federation of Buenos Aires), for instance, was 'Do not forget, and struggle relentlessly until all those guilty of the Trelew massacre are uncovered and punished.' The student group called for the creation of a parliamentary commission 'to investigate the crimes of the military dictatorship.'

The call for an investigation of the massacre was also a demand of a Buenos Aires rally in Plaza Congreso called by various leftist groups. According to the Buenos Aires daily, *La Opinion*, the rally, which reportedly drew some 10,000, was held 'under heavy police guard' and 'in an atmosphere of great emotional tension.'

The Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that following the rally, some 2,000 demonstrators attempted to march to the government palace to demand an investigation into 'the massacre. 'But the march was interrupted by police, who used tear-gas grenades, to which the demonstrators responded with Molotov cocktails and fire bombs.' According to *La Opinion*: 'After a period of charges and various incidents, security forces gained control of the situation and arrested about 100 persons.' [ICP]

Soviet press attacks dissident

For two weeks now, the Soviet press has been conducting a huge attack on Dr Andrei Sakharov. *Pravda* has been submerged with 'letters' not only from academicians, writers and musicians but also now from workers, war veterans, collective farmers, etc. All attack him for allowing himself to be used as 'an instrument of hostile propaganda against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries', and for inviting the West 'to follow its cold war policy'.

Why are such enormous resources being marshalled to crush dissidents like Sakharov? To whom do a few oppositionist intellectuals pose such a threat? Posturing as defenders of communism, the party bosses declare Sakharov to be a threat to socialism in Russia; but at the same time they also declare that 'Sakharov speaks for nobody but himself', or, as Georges Marchais of the French Communist Party put it, 'dissent in the Soviet Union is limited to a hundred at most'.

The answer is that what Sakharov *does* threaten is the travesty of socialism championed by the Soviet bureaucracy itself. The Stalinist destruction of workers democracy and soviet power is such an open denial of the communism of Lenin that even the weak and confused voices of a handful of intellectuals, totally isolated from the working masses, makes Brezhnev turn to emergency measures of repression.

After all, what is very significant about all the 'letters' in *Pravda* is that they do not in any way try to deny the realities of Soviet life as depicted by Sakharov. Their only concern is that Sakharov should *issue* statements — that can be used by the West. They do not rebuke him for the *content* of these statements.

The real threat to socialism comes from the people who have helped Nixon off the hook in Indochina, who practise class-collaboration throughout the world, who preach Chile type 'peaceful roads' to socialism, and who defend bureaucratic power and privilege in Russia. For this reason, genuine communists resolutely oppose every action by the Kremlin bureaucrats to preserve their power through crushing democratic oppositions.

Sakharov himself is by no means a Marxist, and displays a wealth of illusions, particularly about the capitalist West. He is quoted recently, for example, as saying: 'I have always held and still hold that the only way to solve world problems is mutual rapprochement, or convergence, between the capitalist and socialist system.' (*Sunday Times*, 9 September) Socialist militants can only oppose such sentiments: but ironically enough, they *do* summarise the whole thrust of the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy over the past period.

The non-socialist criticisms made by dissidents like Sakharov are used by CP leaders in the West to avoid making genuine communist criticisms of the Soviet bureaucracy. But the reason why the opposition in Russia is at present led by men like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn is precisely because no genuine socialist, communist struggle against the world policies of the Soviet bureaucracy has been led by the mass workers parties in the West. That, of course, would have involved struggling against their own traditions of class collaboration and betrayal. The task therefore falls on the shoulders of the revolutionary marxists, weak as they still are.

FIGHTING FUND NEEDS BOOST

The *Red Weekly* Fighting Fund is lagging slightly behind schedule so far this month: one-third of the way through the month and we have received £75 towards our £300 target. We ended up over £70 short last month — so it is especially urgent that we raise all £300 in September. We are confident that, with four full weeks of publication this month, our readers will come across with the necessary support.

International Marxist Group (British Section of the Fourth International)



I would like more information about the IMG and its activities

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SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE MURDER STRIKERS

Eleven dead and scores injured: that was the toll after South African police opened fire on striking black mine-workers on Wednesday. This was the worst massacre by the South African government since Sharpeville in 1960, when 67 Africans were killed and 186 wounded in demonstrations against the introduction of the Pass Laws for black workers.

The workers at the Western Deep Levels Mine, owned by the Anglo-American Corporation, had struck last week in support of a pay demand. Demonstrations began when management refused to grant their demands, and these intensified when the hated police were sent in to

break them up. Company property was attacked, and then the police opened fire.

After Sharpeville, thousands of 'ring-leaders' were arrested and imprisoned in an attempt to stamp out the flames of revolt. This time, too, police and mine officials are now concentrating on rounding up the 'ring-leaders' who 'must have been behind it.'

The white ruling class in South Africa were shaken last winter by the strikes involving 30,000 black workers in the Durban area. They are terrified, that now there will be a new upsurge by black workers, hence this latest barbarity of the Vorster regime.



Police guards at the Carletonville mine

RED NOTES

Another Trades Council, this time in Stirling, has decided to take action against British Army recruitment. Its first action was to distribute a leaflet at a 'beating of the retreat' through the town by the Argylls. It is planned to distribute a further leaflet, modelled on that produced by South Shields Trades Union Council, to school leavers at Christmas.

Women post office workers in Birmingham have decided to take the Union of Post Office Workers (UPW) to the NIRC after eight years of fighting inside the union for classification as permanent labour. Such classification would enable the women, some of whom have worked in the GPO for as long as 20 years, to get equal promotion rights etc. with male workers. But the UPW bureaucracy, claiming that the union is 'a male establishment,' have fought tooth and nail against this — blocking letters sent through union channels, overruling a decision by the AGM of the Birmingham UPW to classify the women as permanent labour, and whipping up male chauvinism among the male workers to strengthen their hand against the women.

Taking the case to the NIRC, however, will not solve the problem. It is not some 'neutral referee,' but a vicious agent of the ruling class which has not hesitated even to jail working class militants during the short period of its existence. Such a move can only create confusion about its role and allow the employers to take advantage of the divisions inside the working class movement.

The responsibility for this situation lies with the bureaucracy, and it is they who must be fought — but in a struggle inside the working class movement. If a movement for union democracy in the UPW can be built around such incidents as this, then the working class movement can actually emerge strengthened, instead of weakened (however unintentionally) as threatens to be the case.

CONFERENCE TO DEFEND SHREWSBURY 24

On 3 October, 6 of the North Wales building workers charged with criminal offenses because of their picketing activities in last year's building strike will go on trial in Shrewsbury.

Over the past few months support for these victims of the state offen-

sive against the trade union movement has been growing. A recent conference organised by the Edinburgh Trades Council drew more than 100 delegates from all sections of the local trade union movement.

This coming Saturday — 22 September — the Liverpool Trades Council is organising a national conf-

ference to discuss the next moves in the defence of the Shrewsbury 24. Delegations are being elected from all across the country for this conference. A large contingent will be attending from Scotland, and many building sites in London will be sending delegates.

It is important that as many trade

union bodies as possible, including all local Shrewsbury Defence Committees, are represented in Liverpool next Saturday.

For further information or credentials contact:
Simon Fraser, Secretary, Liverpool Trades Council, 33 Hatton Gardens, Liverpool L3 2A. Tel. 051-236-1778.

Defend the Belfast 10

JOINT FORUM

Central London AIL and Belfast Ten Defence Committee

'The Trial of the Belfast Ten and the British Conspiracy Laws'

Speakers invited include: Eamonn McCann and Brian Rose-Smith.

Friday, 14 September, at 8.00 p.m. in the General Picton, Caledonian Road, N.1.

Under the watchful eye of police marksmen, the trial of the Belfast Ten has begun at Winchester. The judge has urged the jury not to be prejudiced by the security operations surrounding the trial — a rare flash of humour.

The fact that the trial is taking place in Winchester at all, is calculated to be prejudicial to the defendants. It was at Winchester that Noel Jenkinson was given 30 years following the Aldershot bombing. And no one can seriously imagine that twelve respectable citizens of Winchester are going to be unaffected by the press hysteria around the current bombings.

It is precisely at this time that the demand from reactionary Tories for anti-Irish legislation has been given maximum publicity. Robert Carr is giving a good imitation of a man who is unmoved by the clamour for the hanging of 'bombers' or restrictions

on Irish people in Britain. But at the same time he is preparing more effective means of stepping up repression against the left and the Irish movement in this country. The maximum effort is required for the defence of the Belfast Ten, and other victims of the current witchhunts, in order to fight this repression.

A demonstration in solidarity with the Belfast 10 has been called for this Sunday — 16 September — 3 pm — Charing Cross Embankment (to rally at Speaker's Corner).

Protests planned against events in Chile and South Africa may conflict, however, and postponement of the Belfast 10 demonstration is being considered. At the time of going to press no decision had been reached on this. Readers interested in obtaining final details should phone the defence committee at 01-800-9392.

ENGINEERS' CONFERENCE

(from page 1)

when a delegate from Sheffield moved a resolution calling upon militants to fight for the recall National Committee of the AUEW (which will meet after the employers' reply to the claim) to call a national engineering strike in the event of the claim not being met. Scanlon opposed this move fiercely, arguing that it would be wrong to be committed to this kind of action at the present time. But, despite his objections, the resolution was passed unanimously.

The adoption of this resolution is a major step forward in the campaign to ensure that the struggle over the engineering claim is fought with everything the engineering workers have got. The leading militants who make up Scanlon's base inside the AUEW are now committed to the fight for a full-scale national strike to

back up the claim. All militants in the industry should follow the lead given by this conference and get similar resolutions through their branches, shop stewards committees, and District Committees.

This development brings a national engineering strike one step closer. Rank-and-file militants throughout the industry must begin preparations for this eventuality. Plans must be made immediately for special shop stewards quarterlies and a national conference of engineering shop stewards delegates to map out a strategy and take over the running of a national strike if it should be called.

Militants in other industries must make immediate preparations for the organisation of mass solidarity with any industrial action taken by the engineers in pursuit of their claim.

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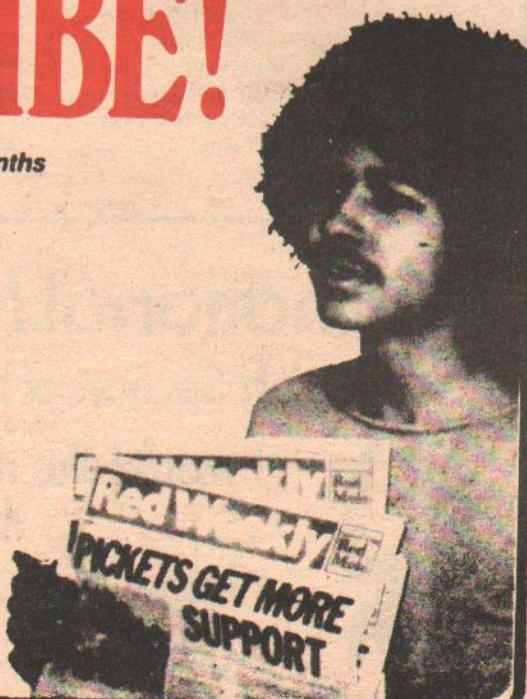
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WHAT'S ON

'THE ENGINEERS PAY CLAIM and the fight against the Tory Government': Edinburgh IMG public meeting, Sunday 23 September, 7.30 p.m. in the Trade Union Centre, Picardy Place (top of Leith Walk). Speaker: Ron Thompson (AUEW).

NEWCASTLE IMG RED FORUMS: Wednesday, 19 September — 'France since May '68'; Wednesday, 26 September — 'The Fight against Phase 3 and the Tories,' 8.00 p.m., Bridge Hotel, Newcastle.

NEWCASTLE PUBLIC MEETING: 'Defend the Shrewsbury 24; hands off pickets,' Tuesday, 9 October, 8.00 p.m. Speaker: Jim Kemp (London Joint Sites Committee). Chairman: Jim Murray (Chairman, Vickers-Newcastle Shop Stewards Committee). At Newcastle Labour Club, 45 Leazes Park Road. Meeting sponsored by Gateshead UCATT No. 2 branch, Vickers-Elswick Works Committee, etc.

COLCHESTER Shrewsbury 24 Defence Committee public meeting: Thursday, 20 September, at 7.30 p.m. in the Liberal Hall, St. Isaacs Walk, Head Street, Colchester. Speakers from UCATT, SOGAT, and G&MWU.

IMG RED FORUM: Series of introductory discussions for those in the London area on the politics of the Fourth International. Every Tuesday at 8.00 p.m. in the General Picton pub, Caledonian Road (5 mins. Kings Cross tube).

BIRMINGHAM IMG STUDY CLASSES: Introductory series of lectures on the politics of the IMG. Every Wednesday, 7.30 p.m. at the Wellington pub, Bristol Road.

MERSEYSIDE IMG DISCUSSION GROUP: A series of introductory discussions organised by Merseyside IMG on the politics of the Fourth International. Starts Monday, 8 October. For details phone John, 051-638 8081, or write to MDG, 52 Cullen Street, Liverpool, 8.

PHOENIX CLUB: First series of meetings on: The two nations theory (13 September); Ireland and the EEC (27 September); Orangeism (11 October); Ireland and the Permanent Revolution (25 October); Ireland and the British left (8 November); Revolutionary perspectives for Ireland (22 November). Thursdays at the General Picton, Caledonian Road, at 8.00 p.m. Further information from Workers Fight, 98 Gifford Street, London N.1.

WORKERS FIGHT public meeting: 'Labour's role in the fight against the Tories.' Speaker: Andrew Hornung (Editorial Board, 'Workers Fight'). Golden Lion, Kings Cross Road, N.1. on Sunday 16 September at 8.00 p.m.