

Socialist Worker

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Scots' jobs fight spreads



Workers at the Plessey factory in Alexandria, Scotland, seen publicly burning redundancy notices last week. Full report: back page

DON'T SELL UCS TO SCRAP MAN

OCCUPATION ONLY WAY TO STOP CLOSURE

GLASGOW:- The 'work-in' at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders has been overshadowed this week by the negotiations with millionaire scrap-dealer Archy Kelly, who has offered to buy the yards.

Jimmy Reid, chairman of the UCS shop stewards' co-ordinating committee, said last week that the stewards would discuss with anybody 'on the basis of our industry not being butchered and the four yards remaining and no contract-ions.'

But at a stewards' meeting on Tuesday, there was considerable opposition to the plan to allow Kelly to acquire the yards.

Kelly is regarded by most workers with deep suspicion. They think that if he gets his hands on the yards, he will butcher them for his

own gain. He is famous for the abominable conditions in his Liffy yard in Dublin where the only running water comes through the roof when it rains.

When Kelly first showed an interest in buying the Clydebank yard, convenor Jimmy Airlie said there was no question of any deal

PROBLEMS

'We are not interested in talking to him or anyone else about dismantling this industry,' Jimmy Airlie said on 20 August.

Yet talks have now been going on with Kelly for days, even though he has said there would have to be redundancies if he bought the yards.

167 men have been declared redundant so far. The policy of the stewards' committee is that the sacked men should continue to turn up for work.

But some men have failed to do

so and have taken their redundancy pay. Those who remain at work face the possibility of industrial accidents without insurance cover.

The 'work-in' policy produces problems for the workers but solves many for the government's liquidator. There is little feeling that 8500 workers are struggling for their jobs against the vicious Tory government. The discipline of work under capitalism reigns supreme, but criticism from the workers is starting to be voiced.

All dealings with scrap-man Kelly must stop now and a real occupation started as the only way to force the Tories to drop their plans to close the yards

The demands should be:-

1. No work for the liquidator—the occupation must start now.
2. Daily mass meetings to decide all policy.
3. Nationalise UCS under full workers' control.

22 Labour MPs support inquiry into internment

by PAUL FOOT

TWENTY-TWO LABOUR MPs and several prominent trade unionists have responded to the campaign launched by the Labour Committee Against Internment. The MPs include three members of Labour's National Executive and Willie Hamilton, vice-chairman of the parliamentary Labour Party.

'I am certainly in favour of the statement and the demands made,' writes veteran Welsh MP S O Davies. And Tom Driberg says: 'Please add my name to those of the supporters of the Labour Committee Against Internment.'

A big effort is needed now to win the signatures of many more active trade unionists, MPs and others in the labour movement. We urge Labour Party members to table emergency motions for the party conference in October in support of the Committee's demands.

A provisional steering committee is being set up to direct the campaign. Copies of the committee's statement are available from LCAI, c/o 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

The five demands of the LCAI are:-

1. Immediate publication of the names of those being held without trial in Northern Ireland.
2. A statement of the reasons for the arrest in every case.
3. An independent enquiry by MPs and trade unionists into allegations of brutality against prisoners.
4. Inspection of places of confinement with right of access to all detainees by British MPs.
5. Release of detainees or right of trial for all not released.

Our comrades in Ireland are in urgent need of this support. Please do your best to help them.

The signatories to date are:

Frank Allaun, MP, Labour Party NEC
Sid Bidwell, MP
Lord Brockway
Richard Clements, Editor Tribune
Larry Connolly, Deputy Convenor (AUEW) Joseph Lucas, Birmingham.
Don Cook, Convenor (AUEW) British Transport Acton Works
S O Davies, MP
J Dempsey, MP
Bernadette Devlin, MP
Eddie Daggert, Stevedores and Dockers Union Executive
Tom Driberg, MP, Labour Party NEC
Bob Edwards, MP, General Secretary, Chemical Workers Union
Bowes Egan
Tom Ellis, MP
Ted Fletcher, MP
Vincent Flynn, General Secretary SOGAT Div A (in personal capacity)
Paul Foot
Will Griffiths, MP.
Duncan Hallas, National Secretary International Socialists
W W Hamilton, MP, Vice-Chairman Parliamentary Labour Party
William Hamling, MP
Chris Harman, Editor International Socialism
Eric Heffer, MP
Jim Higgins, Post Office Engineering Union Executive (in personal capacity)
Beryl Huffingley, Secretary Leeds Trades Council

turn to back page

GEORGE JACKSON

WITH the shooting down of George Jackson in San Quentin prison last weekend, American capitalism has murdered yet one more of its opponents.

According to the official story Jackson died while trying to shoot his way out of prison with a gun that had been smuggled into him. But San Quentin prison is not the sort of place anybody can carry a gun into. All visitors are closely searched.

Even if there is any truth in the story that Jackson had a gun, the likelihood is that the authorities deliberately set up the incident in order to have an excuse for murdering one of their most bitter and relentless opponents.



San Quentin is notorious for the systematic brutality exercised by the wardens against the inmates. Jackson had been imprisoned for 10 years, although his initial conviction was for stealing less than £30 from a petrol station.

In those years he became aware that his fate could not be separated from the wider suffering of black people in America, nor from the nature of American capitalism itself.

His revolutionary attitude became a focus for resistance within the prison and he was accordingly hated by those who run California's machinery of repression. With his death they have exacted their bloody revenge.

Socialists and trade unionists should make known their abhorrence at the murder and their solidarity with those of Jackson's comrades—such as Angela Davis—who still face imprisonment and trial. Messages should be sent to Soledad Brothers Defence Committee, PO Box 68, Berkeley, California 94701

Friends of Soledad Committee has organised a protest rally for this Monday, 30 August, in Trafalgar Square at 2pm.

N Ireland: release all prisoners, withdraw the troops

Socialist Worker

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Orange: Tories show their true colour

ENOCH POWELL must be a sad man these days. Once upon a time (before the Labour government fell from office) political pundits and experts described Powell as the leading right-winger in the Tory Party and painted Edward Heath as the last word in moderation and caution. Our Ted, it seemed, was the logical extension of that strange political animal known as a 'Butskellite', a breed formed by merging the identities of the two main parties.

But now Ted is Prime Minister and the same pundits and experts are saying that the present government is the most right-wing we have had this century. Enoch is out in the cold as Heath pursues policies even more appalling than such notable predecessors as Lloyd George, Baldwin, MacDonald and Churchill.

Just how right wing the government is can be seen from Heath's astonishing reply to Ireland's Prime Minister Jack Lynch. Forced to mouth a few plaintive words about the plight of the Catholics in Northern Ireland, Lynch received a long, vituperative telegram from Heath written in terms drawn straight from an Orange Order propaganda sheet.

So after 14 months of Tory government we find Heath lining up with the Orange thugs and bigots of Northern Ireland, unemployment has been boosted to near the million mark, laws designed to cripple effective shop-floor trade union activity are on the statute book and the welfare state is being turned rapidly into the means test state.

Even children do not escape the Tory attack. The abolition of free school milk and the rising price of school meals are affecting the health of millions of youngsters. Doctors are alarmed at the re-emergence of serious nutritional deficiencies such as rickets.

And Mrs Thatcher, who is believed to pray each night for the protection of grammar schools and the prosperity of the middle class, is enraging even local Tory education authorities in her haste to butcher the mildest attempts at comprehensive education.

Yet, in spite of this short but dreadful record of vicious attacks and callous disregard for the interests of working people, Butskellism is not dead. The beast has just developed some rather nasty fangs.

The deep-rooted problems facing the British capitalist system have forced both parties to launch an offensive on the living and working conditions of the mass of ordinary people. Governments that do not challenge the right of 2 per cent of the population to own 80 per cent of the wealth always end up dancing to the tune played by that 2 per cent—the ruling class.

They need to invest more to compete more effectively with their world rivals in order to boost their profits. Labour and Tories follow the demands of the ruling class and the result has been savage cuts in the living standards of working people. Productivity bargaining and rising unemployment are twin weapons in the campaign to force those at work to accept worsening conditions and wages.

There is mounting anger at the policies of the Tory government. The danger is that the anger will be channelled into a passive vote for the Labour Party when the next election rolls around. That danger can be avoided if a campaign is launched to commit a future Labour government to:

1. Unconditional repeal of the Industrial Relations Act and all anti-union laws.
2. No incomes policy under capitalism.
3. Restoration of welfare cuts. No welfare charges, no means tests.
4. An end to unemployment. Work or full maintenance at trade union rates.
5. Repeal of all racist legislation, including the Aliens Bill.
6. Renationalisation without compensation of all sectors of industry returned to private hands.

Labour, like the Tories, is committed to defend the big business system. Only revolutionary socialist politics can challenge that system. The refusal by a Labour government to accept demands supported by many thousands of trade unionists and militants would be an important step in the struggle to destroy the illusions in Labour and reformism.

And every defeat for reformism creates new possibilities for building a revolutionary party that will settle the working class's score with capitalism and its attendant evils of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

INDEPENDENT INQUIRY

'THERE HAVE NOT been many complaints,' was the ludicrous comment by General Tuzo in reply to questions about allegations of brutality by the British army in Ireland. As a speaker said at last Saturday's meeting called by the Labour Committee Against Internment, 'The SS probably had a similar lack of complaints.'

If you have been beaten by baton-wielding Tommies, forced to walk barefoot across broken glass, bitten by dogs, dropped from a helicopter and had your head kept in a sack for several days, it is likely that you might feel the army was not the best or most impartial body to approach for an inquiry.

The army is acting on instructions from the Orange regime at Stormont. It must be completely ruled out as far as an inquiry is concerned. That is why the campaign of the Labour Committee Against Internment is so important. Labour MPs and trade union leaders must be pressurised into supporting the call for a full and independent investigation of the conditions in the Northern Ireland concentration camps and the immediate release of all those interned without trial.

The British press, with only a few exceptions, is whitewashing the role of the army and censoring the stories about the atrocities committed by the troops. But even the press barons would find it hard to ignore the findings of an inquiry headed by MPs and union leaders. We urge all our readers to actively win signatures for the LCAI demands.

THEIR WEEK ON NIXON'S CRISIS

NIXON IS DESPERATE for an American boom. Last week he unwrapped the hugest ever lollipop for business—\$6.2 billion dollars in tax relief. The lollipop was so huge it had to have TWO sticks: one—a wage (plus price) freeze meant to frighten workers into not grabbing any part of the 6.2 billion; the other—import protection (plus dollar devaluation) to keep foreign capitalists from trying to do the same. His trouble is that the sticks are not strong and the lollipop might easily end on the ground.

THE LOLLIPOP is made of income tax relief, an investment subsidy and the abolition of purchase tax on new cars. In theory most of it will be paid for by a reduction in government spending (\$4½ billion), which means that in theory government employment will be run down to pay for more private jobs. Whatever that does for profits it's not going to do much for the unemployed.

The theory is probably a ruse to silence the new muttering of Nixon's small-business 'silent majority'. In practice the extra billions will come out of a larger government deficit, which will

keep inflation rolling along even faster than it is now. The 'silent majority' is not going to like that; nor will anyone else.

THE LOLLIPOP'S INGREDIENTS are not likely to satisfy business' profits-hunger either. Cheaper cars, more money in people's pockets and, if true, less government spending won't feed America's Lockheeds—the arms and innovation contractors whose only market is the government. They will continue to crumble and depress the whole American economy until and unless the military budget grows—but that was not part of the lollipop this time.

THEIR WEEK can agree for once with Milton Friedman, the apostle of competitive capitalism. In his words, 'the wage-price freeze . . . is a purely cosmetic measure that will have little effect on the prices actually charged and the wages actually paid. Do not underestimate the ingenuity of millions of Americans in finding ways to alter actual prices and actual wages without altering stated prices and stated wages.'

NIXON'S TRADE WAR is also not much of a crutch although it can cause a few bruises here and there. He fired two shots: one—a tax on imports—was to help US business fight off foreign competition at home; two—the devaluation of the dollar—was to help US business fight foreign competition abroad by making American exports cheaper for the rest of the world to buy and the rest of the world's exports to the US more expensive.

The rest of western capitalism will come to accept the second as a price for getting rid of the first. They might even come to accept both and erect some trade barriers of their own in a general tightening of restrictionist screws. But Nixon will gain little comfort from it for the major exporter to the US is the US corporation abroad. If he presses the rest of the West too hard, he'll squeeze the pips out of his own business base either as a direct result of the measures he takes or because US capital abroad will be used as a target for retaliation.

NIXON IS BLOCKED. There is only one more lollipop for him or his successor to unwrap—massive rearmament.

RANK AND FILE WORKERS PUSH LEADERS TO FIGHT PRESIDENT'S PLAN

Unions defy move to freeze wages and ban strikes

by Laurie Landy

THE wage-price freeze, along with the 'voluntary' end to strikes that are part of President Nixon's 'economic revolution', has produced a sensational and hostile response from America's organised labour movement.

Among the proposals is a 90 day wage-price freeze which for this period puts the cap on all wage, price and rent increases, with fines up to \$5000 (£2000) for each violation. On the other hand, interest rates and corporate dividends are not affected.

In the words of Treasury Secretary Connally (Nixon's chief economic mouthpiece): 'Profits were not frozen because the profits of American business have declined over the years to unacceptable levels.' Just what will happen after the 90 day freeze runs out on 12 November is not clear but sentiment from Washington is that some form of wage restraint will be continued.

Back down

The law used by Nixon to impose the wage freeze also gives him authority to ban strikes. But the strong response of organised labour has forced the administration to back down and it is now stressing the 'voluntary' nature of the request.

Agitation for an incomes policy in the United States has mounted constantly in the past year until the advocates, who represent the entire spectrum of the political scene from right to left as well as business and labour leaders, were virtually beating down the White House door. As recently as five days before the Nixon move, 14 Republican Senators held a press conference to state that they would introduce legislation for wage-price control measures.

The Democrats, considered the more 'liberal' wing of the ruling class (and the party which captures most working-class votes) have been advocating incomes policy for months.

There were signs that Nixon's 'leave-it-to-market forces' approach was losing ground.

Over the past year many hints were dropped that the president felt that part of the solution to his economic woes must be to put the screws on labour. Earlier in the year he introduced legislation which outlawed strikes in the transport industry and submitted disagreements to compulsory arbitration.

Hostile reaction

Four days before the Nixon revelation, Housing Secretary Romney talked of the economy's need to find ways to discipline wage-price action. Finally leaks from Washington indicated that the President will use the Taft-Hartley law against 15,000 striking West Coast dockers to send them back to work for 80 days.

The reason the law has not been used so far is that the East and Gulf Coast dockers' contract runs out on 30 September and if Taft-Hartley is used too early all of the nation's docks would be tied up.

The response of the American labour leaders to Nixon's measures has been almost unanimously hostile, with the exception of the Teamster's Union. George Meany, President of the 15 million AFL-CIO (equivalent to the TUC) who only yesterday was strongly advocating an incomes policy, has said flatly that the labour movement will not co-operate with Nixon. He advised striking unions to ignore the President's plea to call off their strikes, and accused the Nixon economic



NIXON: put the screws on labour

proposals of being a 'tax bonanza' for business.

Leonard Woodcock, President of the United Auto Workers, called the package the 'gravest threat to the freedom and effectiveness of the American labour movement in a generation'. He threatened to end any contracts affected by the wage freeze if it is extended past 90 days. The autoworkers' second year wage rise negotiated with the car manufacturers last year falls due on 22 November and the cost-of-living rise on 6 December.

Nixon's attempt to get workers to end their strikes has been totally ineffective. There are at present 150,000 striking workers representing 363 walk-outs. So far workers at only two places, representing a mere 771 strikers have agreed to go back to work.

Harry Bridges, President of the West Coast Longshoremen, said he has no intention of ending the dockers' strike. In New York City, 23 union branch presidents of the Communications Workers, representing almost 40,000 workers voted unanimously not to go back to work, reaffirming their vote five days previously to reject the national settlement. And 17 striking Teamster branches in Northern California served notice that they would continue their strike and push wage demands, despite the fact that the Teamster national leadership has agreed to co-operate with the President.

During the 90 day wage freeze, contracts expire for Atlantic and Gulf Coast dockers, 200,000 steelworkers, 80,000 miners, as well as the hard-hit aerospace industry. None of these unions will agree to the 90 day no-strike pledge. Union bureaucrats have even been making sounds of general strike action.

The Nixon measures are a grave threat to the labour movement. Without the power to strike, even temporarily, and with the White House making it clear that stringent wage guidelines and aggressive government intervention in collective bargaining and strikes are the order of the

day, organised labour will be severely hampered.

Although the tendency towards increased government interference and restriction of the labour movement has been a clear trend over the last decade by both the Democratic and Republican administrations, the Nixon measures represent a major change. But the strength of the American labour leaders' response to Nixon, a leadership that has shown that it is quite adept at swallowing bitter pills in the past, is directly tied to the enormous rank and file upsurge which took place over these measures.

An official of the United Steel Workers at California's Kaiser Aluminium, where the contract runs out on 1 October, said, 'There is a wild reaction to the whole Nixon thing, the guys are on fire.' And John Augustyn of the Chicago International Association of Machinists, where workers have been on strike since 14 June said: 'I think they'll probably tell the President to go to hell and continue to strike.'

Growing militancy

The mood of discontent and militancy among American workers has grown with astounding speed over the last few years. In 1970 workers engaged in more strike activity and more man-hours were lost than any other year in the last decade.

The growing militancy comes in a period when real wages have been falling (for 1970 the average increase in wages for all workers was 4 per cent which is well below the 5.7 per cent inflation rate) and unemployment has risen from 3.4 per cent when Nixon took office three years ago to just around 6 per cent.

American workers cannot allow their leaders to dither and wheel and deal with the Nixon administration.

The time for action is now and not after the 90 day waiting period. Unions must go on record as rejecting the no-strike pledge and any attempt to hold down wages. National work stoppages by organised labour would have enormous repercussions on the American scene.

Any attempt by the Nixon administration to interfere with the right to strike, by Taft-Hartley or any other means, must be met by a unified answer of the entire labour movement. The American working class has the strength and the power to beat Nixon but only by rank and file organisation can it put the pressure on its leaders to put some substance into its high-sounding threats of militancy.

We regret that letters and some other regular features have had to be held over this week because of pressure on space.

Tory 'gunboat' diplomacy' - by a Labour government...

by IAN BIRCHALL

Twenty years ago this summer the post-war Labour government was coming to the end of the road. Its majority had been reduced to six, it was following blindly in the footsteps of American foreign policy and by introducing Health Service charges it was already chopping to pieces its own modest social reforms. But when it was faced with a clear choice—a big capitalist company on the one side, the oppressed people of the Middle East on the other—it was still capable of taking a firm stand.

This was made clear by the crisis in Iran (formerly known as Persia). British interests in Iran had a long history. Before the Second World War Iran was the major oil-producer in the Middle East, and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (later to become British Petroleum) was extracting handsome profits from it.

In August 1941 British and Russian troops invaded neutral Iran to ensure military supply routes. At the end of the war it was agreed that all occupying troops would move out at the same time. When the Russians tried to win oil rights in Northern Iran they were driven out by Western pressure and Iranian troops. From this time on American influence increased alongside that of Britain.

Though Iran had so-called political independence, it was bled white by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. For example, in 1947 the company had total profits of more than £40 million. Of this, nearly £15 million was paid in taxes to the British government and only £7 million to the Persian government.

And, of course, little of this reached the Iranian people, because of massive corruption and inequality. 90 per cent of the population was illiterate, and the infant mortality rate was 500 deaths for every 1000 live births. Two per cent of the population owned 70 per cent of the land.

Set back

In the post-war period social struggles developed on a wide scale. In 1945 and 1946 strikes of oil workers demanding better conditions and wages involved up to 100,000 workers.

But the oil company was able to beat them by use of Arab tribesmen. From 1947 onwards trade unionism in the oil fields suffered a heavy set-back. The only coherent political force in the country remained the pro-Russian Tudeh, more or less an orthodox Communist Party.

In the late 1940s support grew rapidly for the National Front, an alliance of nationalist groups including some extreme right-wing ones. Its leader was Doctor Mossadegh.

In March 1951 the Prime Minister General Razmara, who had failed to



Morrison: wanted 'sharp action'

carry out a reform programme, was assassinated. When he was replaced by the British-educated (Westminster School and the Inner Temple) Hossein Ala, a wave of anti-British feeling erupted. A strike broke out at the oil-port of Bandar Mashur and spread throughout the oil-fields.

The British Labour government at once ordered the frigates Flamingo and Wild Goose to nearby Abadan at the top of the Persian Gulf. When railway workers came out in sympathy, troops fired on the strikers.

Dr Mossadegh appealed to striking workers to return to work. In late April the strike ended and the company announced a 35 per cent bonus for blackleg workers. A few days later Dr Mossadegh became Prime Minister.

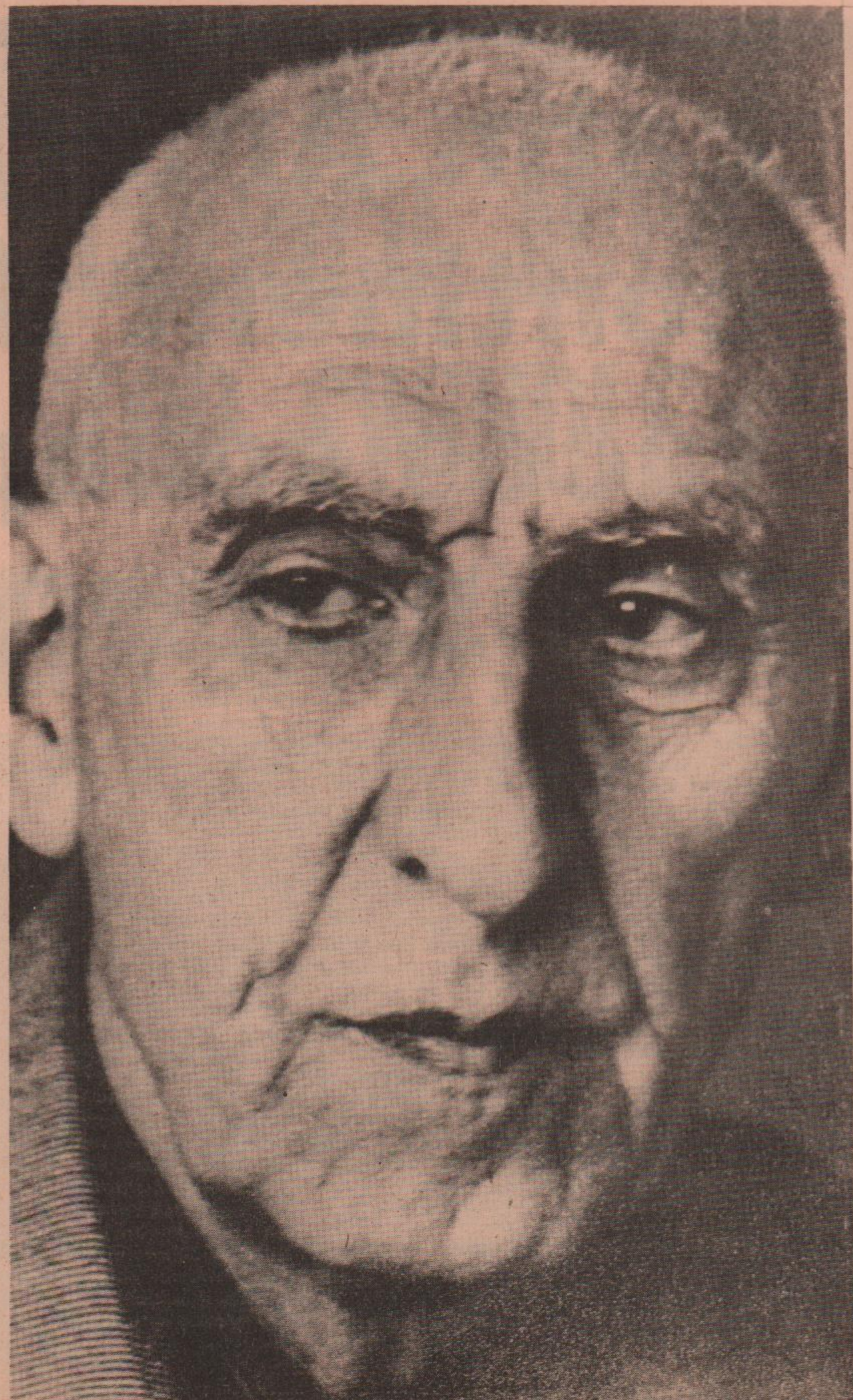
Demands for nationalisation of the oil company had been growing throughout this period and on 15 March the National Assembly passed a law to nationalise the oil industry. Labour's Foreign Secretary, Herbert Morrison, had replaced Ernest Bevin only a week earlier. His reaction, as recorded in his autobiography, was very much that of an old-style Tory protector of the Empire, though balanced by a realisation that Britain was no longer in a position to play gunboat politics:

'My own view was that there was much to be said for sharp and forceful action. The Cabinet was, however, left in little doubt that mounting an effective attacking force would take a lot of time and might therefore be a failure. In the end we had to abandon any military project, with the exception that we would have used force if British nationals had been attacked.'

Intimidate

In fact, while recognising that an all-out confrontation was not on, the Labour government attempted to intimidate the Iranian government. On 14 May a Parachute Brigade group was 'brought to a state of readiness', and left for Cyprus on the 25th. On 19 May the government informed Iran that a refusal to negotiate 'would have the most serious consequences'. In June, following the failure of negotiations, another British

Mossadegh: nationalised British oil firm to the anger of a 'socialist' government



cruiser was sent to the Persian Gulf.

The attempts of the Labour government to play at old-style Tory imperialism were all the more pathetic since they were futile. In September Britain started to use the much more effective means of economic pressure by withdrawing trade and financial facilities. When Iran expelled the remaining British employees of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company a full oil blockade was imposed.

The replacement of Labour by the Tories at the end of October made little difference. A few fly-by-night tankers shipped Iranian oil to Italy and Japan but the only vessel of any size to break the ban was seized by the British at Aden and its cargo confiscated.

Iran was faced with an oil-less economy. Those groups in society who had depended on oil revenues—the court, absentee landlords, the civil service and the military staff—began to turn against Mossadegh.

Mossadegh was, in fact, almost powerless in face of the carve-up of the world between Russia and the US. The Soviet Union gave Mossadegh little or no assistance, and even refused to return eleven tons of gold seized during the war.

The role of the United States was more complex. The US was anxious to support Mossadegh as an alternative to a possible Communist take-over, but at the same time wanted to edge Britain out of

Iran. So during the first stage of the crisis the US tried to play a moderating role.

But in 1953, when Mossadegh's support was crumbling, he was overthrown by a CIA-planned coup. The US role in this was admitted to Congress in 1954 by the Director of the US Office of Military Assistance of the Department of Defence.

Denounced

'We provided the army immediately on an emergency basis... The guns that they had in their hands, the trucks that they rode in, the armoured cars that they drove through the streets, and the radio communications that permitted this control, were all furnished through the military defence programme.' The CIA chief who managed the coup became a vice-president of Gulf Oil in 1960.

The happy ending came in 1954 when a new oil agreement was negotiated, giving BP (formerly Anglo-Iranian) a 40 per cent share in a new group of companies and 40 per cent to a number of US companies.

In 1956, when Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal, the Tory government replied with military intervention. Labour, safely in opposition, denounced this vigorously.

Yet the Tories were doing no more than following the same path that Labour had walked some five years earlier.

Scientists condemn use of CS gas and rubber bullets in N Ireland

THE CAMPAIGN of terror being waged by the British army in Northern Ireland is backed by the use of modern and allegedly harmless methods of 'riot' control such as rubber bullets and CS gas.

When the RUC waded into the Derry Bogside in 1969 there was an outcry at the effects of CS gas. As a result, the government set up the Himsforth inquiry but, two years later, it has not managed to produce a report. The use of CS gas by Britain is in breach of the Geneva agreement that prohibits such gases.

In July, the army introduced a new CS gas canister that fires pellets over a wide area and spreads the gas even more widely. This development persuaded the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science to demand an end to what it calls this 'technological escalation'.

Hit the sick

Writing in the magazine *New Scientist*, two leading members of the BSSRS, Jonathan Rosenhead and Dr Peter J Smith, outlined the reasons for the society's disquiet.

Such weapons as CS gas, they say, are indiscriminate, affecting not only participants but bystanders. It may not cause any

lasting distress to able-bodied men but can affect seriously the elderly, the sick and the young.

They add: 'The timing of the introduction of new weapons suggests that their use is dictated less by the immediate requirements of riot control than by the wish to discourage people from exercising their democratic rights of peaceful demonstration.'

'As scientists we deplore the continuing use of technology for such negative ends. There are many areas of human life where urgent technological needs are neglected. We believe that our limited scientific and technological resources should be devoted to positive, not negative, developments.'

Rosenhead and Smith visited Belfast and saw the army in action. An interesting

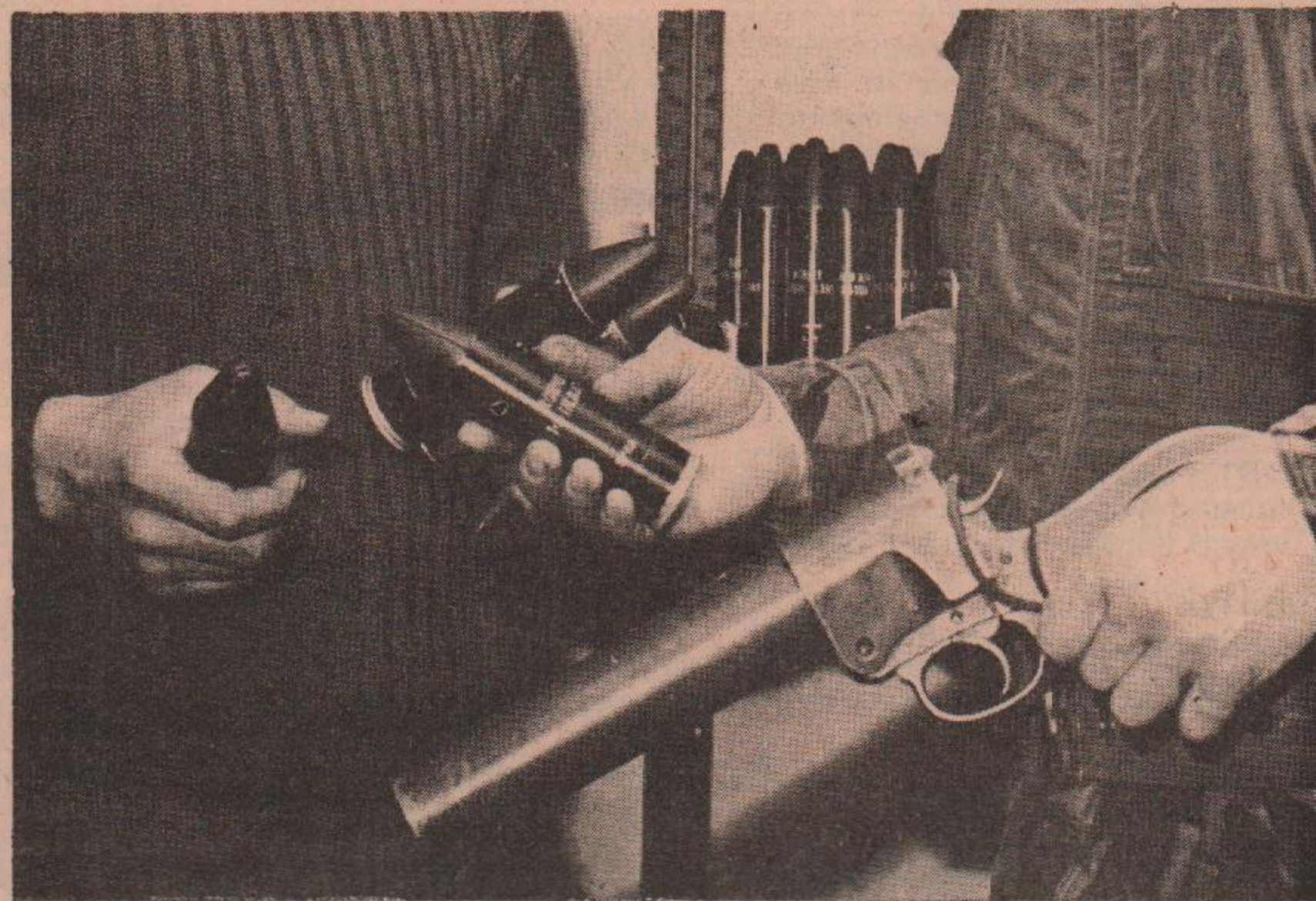
view expressed by the troops was that indiscriminate weapons are acceptable because there 'are few if any, truly innocent bystanders'.

The army's activities in recent weeks underline this attitude. Anyone who moves—including priests and deaf mutes—are targets for the marksmen.

Serious injury

The scientists stress that the sick and the weak are particularly susceptible to the effects of crowd control agents. A higher-velocity rubber bullet has just been brought into use by the army. Fired at random, especially when deliberately ricocheted off the road, the six-inch-long bullets could inflict serious injury to someone of small build or a pregnant woman.

The writers also argue that the govern-



Rubber bullets: can inflict serious injuries

ments of Britain and Northern Ireland have now given up all pretence at political reform in the Six Counties and are leaving it to the army to find a military solution to a political problem.

It is a savage indictment of a self-confessed 'democratic' country like Britain that it harnesses modern science not to alleviate the problems of hardship and

sickness but to develop weapons that attempt to intimidate and terrorise people fighting for their basic civil liberties.

The crisis such policies are creating is reflected in the concern being shown by a growing number of scientists.

David East

Latin America: continent that faces collapse

Latin America, the backyard of the United States, is facing a collapse of its social order. It is a continent of chronic hunger, unemployment, illiteracy and military dictatorship.

by Juan McIver

In many countries, the working class forms a sizeable section of the masses, as in Chile, Mexico and in Argentina, where it is in the majority. The growth of towns and the move from the countryside has increased enormously the urban areas.

Brazil concentrates a seventh of its total population of 92½ million into just five major cities. Sao Paulo is a modern metropolis of six million people, with a gigantic nucleus of industrial workers.

Santiago, the capital city of Chile, contains a third of the country's population of 10 million. One half of the inhabitants of Santiago are workers in industrial complexes and state and clerical employees.

Cordoba, the Detroit of Argentina, is populated by 900,000 people, many of them car workers and their families and thousands of related industrial workers. Argentina, with 23 million people, is 70 per cent urban.

More and more, the industrial workers will become the leading force in Latin American politics. It is no longer the case to see Latin America as a group of peasant societies doomed for ever to be ruled by dictators riding on the backs of ignorant rural masses.

Argentina, Bolivia and Chile are neighbours in South America. But their histories are so different and the whole of their national life so cut off from one another that in some respects they are three different worlds.

An occasional series of articles on current events in Latin America will analyse the upheavals in the various countries. The wide differences between each state in the continent strengthens the need to build a workers' international that would, in Latin America, link up the various struggles while taking into account the varying levels of social, political and economic development.



BLOOD AND T

REGI GUAT

THERE IS ferocious political repression in Guatemala, the small Central American republic. The present dictatorship of President Carlos Arana, 'elected' in 1970 (against no left opposition) has started a bloodbath that has wiped out thousands of trade union leaders, workers, university teachers, students, peasants and anybody who even mildly opposed his grovelling to the US and the local ruling clique.

Guatemala is a country with a five million population and its neighbours are Mexico, British Honduras, Honduras and El Salvador. Its main products are bananas, coffee, cotton, maize and other agricultural goods.

Huge American corporations such as United Fruit and the Electric Bond and Share own the best land and the major communications networks. Guatemala faces similar problems as its small Central American neighbours which have suffered for generations the direct interference of American companies, the US Marines and an appalling backwardness and poverty upon which a degenerate and bloodthirsty ruling class thrives.

VITAL CRY

Since the late 40s and early 50s, the Guatemalan masses have attempted to put an end to this state of affairs. The majority of the population lives off the land, and the cry for land reform is extremely vital to any mobilisation of the peasantry.

But in Guatemala all efforts at land reform have been done from above, dating from the presidency of Arevalo (1945) to the Arbenz regime, which was overthrown in 1954 by the American Central Intelligence Agency and Arbenz's own refusal to arm the masses. Arevalo had tried to institute an agrarian reform against the 22 landlord families that control 50 per cent of the arable land. He also tried to create a strong trade union movement controlled by a nationalist state.

In 1951, his successor, Arbenz, attempted to continue this policy but confronted United Front directly. He decided to take over unused United Fruit land, with full compensation, and create a land-holding peasant class.

The American companies and Guatemalan landlords decided to use the CIA to overthrow Arbenz in 1954. But it wasn't only because of the land. After the coup, United Fruit sold some of it to Colonel Castillo Armas' regime, the reactionary officer who led the coup. What had bothered the American government was the influence of the Guatemalan Communist Party and its front organisations in Central America during the Cold War.

So the peasants never got the land. The nationalist regimes of Arevalo and Arbenz got a lot of support from the peasantry and the agricultural workers in the banana plantations. But the workers never had the chance to arm themselves and create their own lead-



erships and independent mass organisations.

Since 1954, each regime has been more murderous than the previous one. Since 1962, guerrilla movements led by Yon Sosa and Turcios Lima grew sufficiently to pose a serious threat to 'law and order'.

The government began a campaign of terror in the countryside. Arana, the present dictator, gained the nickname 'The Butcher of Zapaca' for his massacres in that rural region in 1968. The CIA and the US government helped the Guatemalan army to exterminate thousands of peasants by napalming them and destroying their crops in 1966-68.

The guerrillas were incapable of developing a base in the countryside due, essentially, to the impossibility of finding a sanctuary in the neighbouring countries (border Mexican and Honduras patrols killed them or returned them to sure death (and the utter reign of terror against the villages launched by the government in what is relatively a small territory).

But the guerrillas still exist and the

fierce repression in driven many of them. Composed in many ed intellectuals and have executed two f and a few military American Embassy.

The poverty of three-quarters of the 25 US cents a day 60 US cents a day, the capital), rules ment of stable, class class organisations. ulation is out of we population growth

The lack of peasant political owed Arana to his opponents with th punity. To ensur regime, he has b forces.

Between 1945 Military Assistance Guatemala 15 millio US AID made al 23 The present usec Guatemala are com

WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



out the world.

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

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

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

For 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards. Against anti-trade union laws and any curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

Against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the

demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

THERE ARE 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

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Grimsby/Huddersfield/Hull/Leeds
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NORTH WEST
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Bolton/Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan

Potteries

MIDLANDS
Birmingham/Coventry/Leamington/
Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham/
Northampton/Redditch/Telford

WALES and SOUTH WEST
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Gloucester/Mid-Devon/Plymouth/
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Hemel Hempstead/Hornsey/Ilford/
Kilburn/Kingston/Lambeth/
Lewisham/Merton/Newham/Notting
Hill/Reading/Richmond/Stoke
Newington/Slough/South Ealing/
Tottenham/Walthamstow/
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I would like more information about the International Socialists

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Send to: IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

NEXT: THE STRUG
IN THE ARGENTIN



Police rounding up victims in Guatemala City

TERROR TIME IN GUATEMALA



National Police	5,000
Judicial Police	500
Border Patrol	1,165
Military	6,000
Total	12,665

Chichicastenango, an indian village of around 47,000 has no doctor, but keeps a local police force of eight cops. It's the same in all villages in Guatemala. The army must swallow up nearly 50 per cent of the national budget. Arana's presidential income itself is 48,000 dollars a month.

The extermination of all the oppositionists began 10 months ago, when Arana declared Guatemala in a state of seige. Arch-reactionary secret organisations, supported by the Catholic church hierarchy, the CIA and the army, have systematically tortured, castrated, mutilated and killed hundreds of people.

Between November 1970 and February 1971, 600 people were murdered by these reactionary thugs. The army admitted that in November 70 persons were being arrested daily. In some rural areas, 10 peasants were killed a day.

Bodies are tortured and thrown into the Pacific Ocean from planes. They are washed ashore torn by sharks

BANKRUPT

In January, 2000 people were in jail. Many others simply disappeared. Even to inquire about lost relatives is dangerous.

The killings will continue in Guatemala. Arana's regime has not solved any of Guatemala's economic problems, and the 'law and order' campaign was started to divert attention from its utter bankruptcy.

It has immersed the country in the most repulsive barbarism and anarchy that can be imagined. The Guatemalan ruling class itself is feeling Arana's wrath to the extent that a reversal to a future 'democratic' regime might find Guatemala with a completely terrified and demoralised ruling class, many of its own political leaders having been liquidated mercilessly.

What is happening in Guatemala demonstrates the extent of the brutality that is used by the American imperialists and its puppets when confronted with social unrest. In Central America all the regimes are similarly murderous. At present the Guatemalan army leads the reactionary offensive which has been taken up gleefully by the Mexican gangster, Echeverria.

All to keep the profits rolling for the American corporations and their international partners.

As unemployment climbs towards the million mark, BRIAN EBBATSON shows how action by the trade union movement can win for the jobless their rightful Social Security benefits

TRADES COUNCIL MOVES TO STOP SWINDLE OF UNEMPLOYED YOUTH

ATTEMPTS to deprive unemployed youngsters in South Shields of dole money and other benefits have been thwarted by the local Trades Council and the Claimants' Union.

Together they have succeeded in forcing Social Security officers to reverse arbitrary decisions to stop payments and have won support for a re-interpretation of parts of the Social Security Act that are particularly vital to young people out of work.

Trades Council secretary Jack Grassby told me: 'What we have established is that unemployed people can continue to draw unemployment and supplementary benefits while attending college courses—WITHIN the 1966 Act. This is contrary to general public opinion and the firm belief of many Social Security officers.'

Previously young people on the dole have been caught in a neat bureaucratic cleft stick. Social Security has ruled that if a person is taking a course at a further education or technical college, he is not 'available for employment'—even if he is willing to give up the course to take a job—and therefore loses his benefits.

PITTANCE

So the choice today facing many school-leavers is: Either you walk the streets doing nothing and accept at least a poverty-line pittance from the Social Security, or you go to college to improve your qualifications in the hope perhaps of getting a job... and starve.

The 1966 Social Security Act states: 'A person attending a school or receiving full-time instruction of a kind given in schools shall not be entitled to benefit.' It follows that a person attending a college course that is either 'part-time' or not 'of a kind given in schools' IS entitled to receive benefits.

The South Shields cases have established that a whole series of college courses fall into these categories. These cover part-time courses (up to 2½ days a week), full-time courses of short duration (block release courses up to 13 weeks), and full-time courses (up to a year) not available in schools. Other courses may be added as further cases are taken up.

A person claiming benefit while on a course must be 'available for employment'. In effect this means that he must be registered as unemployed and signing on the dole.

ASSURANCE

This implies, says a Trades Council statement, 'that the person would take a "suitable" job if one was offered. It may be that a person will be asked to give an assurance that he would give up the college course if suitable employment is offered. But in areas of high unemployment this is not a likely contingency and does not present a serious obstacle to undertaking a course.'

'If he is offered a dead-end job,' said Jack Grassby, 'he can refuse. He must insist on a suitable job, appropriate to his experience, which includes that gained on the course, and qualifications.'

'If benefits are refused, because the claimant is on a course, he must appeal. Our experience is that to register intention to appeal is often enough to reverse the local officer's decision. If this is insufficient, the help of the local Claimants' Union should be sought to present the case.'

GRUDGING

Resistance to the implications of these decisions can be expected. In a debate in parliament in March, the Under-secretary of State for Health and Social Security, Mr Paul Dean, was very grudging in his endorsement of the new interpretation of the Act. He spoke of 'opening the gates' so wide that we reach a position where either supplementary benefit or unemployment benefit becomes available for conditions for which it was not intended.

He meant that the meagre provisions of the social security system should not become too easily or too widely available so that the usefulness to the employers and government of a large pool of unemployed is undermined. Already in South Shields school-leavers who attended a summer induction course at the Technical College have been refused their rightful benefits.

Social Security and Youth Employment Officers are incorrectly and deliberately claiming that colleges require a written assurance from students that they will finish the course—which would make them unable to take up a job. But this is very rarely the case with Technical Colleges.

So far the job of publicising the South Shields decisions has been left



No money, no jobs—the grim prospect for young workers on Teesside

Picture by IAN IMRIE South Shields Claimants' Union

to the small resources of the Trades Council and Claimants' Unions that were set up to help unemployed and those on social security. The TUC, despite requests from South Shields, has taken no action.

The North-east division of the ATTI (the technical college teachers' union) is producing a leaflet outlining the position to its members so they can advise any unemployed persons enrolling on college courses of their rights.

It is important that other trade union and political bodies assist in spreading this information. It is a small but important part of the fight against unemployment that all its victims are able to take full advantage

of the available welfare state provisions.

The South Shields actions have also seen important organisational precedents in the struggle against unemployment. The Claimants' Union and ATTI are represented on the Trades Council.

Jack Grassby concluded: 'Claimants' Unions should be seen as an important part of the working-class movement. Trade unionists have always sought some way of allowing representation to the unemployed on an organised basis. The Claimants' Unions provide this.'

The TUC should invite the National Federation of Claimants' and Unemployed Workers Unions to affiliate. Meanwhile local trades councils

can help by setting up Claimants' Unions and encouraging them to be represented at meetings.

Particularly for the young unemployed—the school leavers—the activity in the Claimants' Union can be a real political education—showing them how the system operates and how to fight for their rights in it.

'We are breeding a generation of future revolutionaries, who will make an important impact on the trade union movement.'

Copies of the South Shields Trades Council statement are available from either the council at Ede House, Westoe Rd., South Shields or Tyneside Claimants' Union, South Shields Branch, 58 Stanhope Rd., South Shields, Co Durham.

An important introduction to the ideas of revolutionary socialism

The meaning of marxism

by Duncan Hallas

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Wife of interned PD leader calls for release of prisoners

'The labour movement must act now—our situation is desperate'

IN AN IMPASSIONED appeal to the British labour movement, Orla Farrell told a packed meeting in central London on Saturday: 'You must act—or you can never hold your heads up again.'

The wife of Michael Farrell, the interned People's Democracy leader, said that the policy of the Faulkner government in Northern Ireland was to pick off all the leaders of the opposition to the Orange Regime. Immediate action by the working class in Britain was even more vital now because of the arrests.

'Our ranks have been sadly depleted. Our situation is desperate,' she told the meeting organised by the Labour Committee Against Internment and the International Socialists.

Adding that there was anger, fear and bitterness in her heart, Orla Farrell said that her husband, a so-called citizen of the United Kingdom, had lost his democratic rights in just two minutes when the troops arrested him on 9 August. She had been allowed to see him for 15 minutes last week and told the audience how he had described his treatment:

'He was made to run over barbed wire and broken glass between rows of soldiers wielding batons. Then an alsatian dog was turned on him.'

Gleeful RUC

Prisoners had been forced by the troops to sit in the same position for hours on end, sometimes with their arms behind their heads or raised in the air. Failure to carry out the soldiers' demands brought further batoning, watched by gleeful members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

Orla said that internees had told of being kicked by the soldiers, of having lights flashed in their eyes when they tried to sleep, of being forced to drink from muddy puddles and of being urinated on by soldiers and dogs.

One man was suspended by a rope from a ceiling. Two more had been kept with their heads in sacks for several days.

'Is this bringing peace to Northern Ireland?' she asked. 'The Tories and Faulkner expect us to live in these conditions, but we cannot. There must be a political solution.'

Six demands

She listed six demands and urged the audience to fight for them in Britain:

1. Immediate release of all internees.
2. Immediate withdrawal of troops to barracks pending their withdrawal from the country.
3. Abolition of Stormont and its replacement by a transitional period of an alternative assembly elected by proportional representation.
4. Total de-sectarianism of the Northern state.
5. Full implementation of the Civil Rights' programme and repeal of the Special Powers Act.
6. Total amnesty of all political prisoners.

Orla Farrell went on: 'When the first period of internment ends on 8 September, Faulkner will probably release a few prisoners. Even if he is one of those released, my husband will not accept that. None of us will accept that.'

ECCLES: AN APOLOGY

In our issue of 24 July we reproduced a cartoon by Eccles (Frank Brown) of the Morning Star. Unfortunately the original caption to the cartoon was omitted and our comment appeared as though it were part of the original cartoon. We accept that the alteration completely misrepresents the meaning of the cartoon and in the circumstances we apologise to Mr Brown.

JIM SCOTT, a member of Camden No 3 branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, told Saturday's meeting that the branch had decided to 'adopt' two of the internees: Michael Farrell and John McGuffin. They would send them food and cigarettes and campaign for their release. He urged other trade unionists to similarly adopt internees.

'Liberals have deplored the situation in South Africa and other countries, but here on their own doorstep British liberals cannot issue one statement deploring imprisonment without trial.

'And parliament cannot interrupt Heath's sailing holiday to discuss the shooting and arrest of what they claim are "British citizens".'

Planned violence

He said there were 'evil and wicked men' at work in Northern Ireland—the British Cabinet and the Stormont government. 'The men responsible for the deaths are the Tories and their Orange friends. They planned the violence. And the Labour leaders have helped to cover up the oppression.'

John Palmer stressed that the precedent of internment without trial

To prolonged applause, she declared: 'We demand the total release of all prisoners. We urge you to organise demonstrations and pickets on 8 September.'

John Palmer of the International Socialists said the Northern Ireland crisis proved two things: that the British 'liberal conscience' was dead and that 'parliamentary democracy' was interred.



ORLA FARRELL: 'Is this bringing peace to Northern Ireland?'

came at a time when the Tories were moving more cautiously in the same direction against the British labour movement. The Industrial Relations Act was connected with the internment policy: both showed that the ruling class is prepared to use repression.

Appealing for support for the campaign launched by the Labour Committee Against Internment, he urged the audience to put pressure on every left Labour MP and left trade union leader to call for the release of the internees and an investigation of conditions in the camps.

'Union leaders like Jones and Scanlon, who have condemned the

erosion of freedom in Britain, must not be allowed to avoid their responsibilities in Ireland,' he said.

'Our class duty is to say, our allies are on the streets and behind the barricades, together with those demanding positive action in the South. The British labour movement can only gain from supporting those struggling in Ireland.'

'We must mobilise workers here against the real gunmen supported by the British government.'

A collection to aid the Irish struggle raised £105. Donations should be sent to: People's Democracy Dependants' Fund, c/o Hibernian Bank, Dundalk, Ireland.

IDEAS IN SOCIETY

by
DUNCAN
HALLAS

Workers' control cannot be divorced from politics

THE STRUGGLE of the UCS workers has made workers' control of production a live issue again for many militants. It is an idea with a very long history in the British labour movement. Attempts to set up self-governing workshops (producer co-operatives) were made from the early decades of the 19th century onwards. They were, now and then, successful for a time and there are a few in existence today. But they were never more than tiny islands in the sea of capitalist production.

The difficulty with 'socialism in a single factory' is that the factory has to compete in the market with the capitalist variety. It has to struggle to accumulate capital to expand its operations and keep up with advances in techniques of production. In other words the capitalist surroundings force the co-operative to behave like a capitalist or go under.

Add to this the immensely greater resources of the capitalists and it is surprising that producer co-operatives have ever been able to exist at all. They have, but only in the nooks and crannies of the system.

The statement drafted by Marx for the International Working Men's Association in 1866 puts the position in a nutshell. 'We acknowledge the co-operative movement as one of the transforming forces of the present society based on class antagonisms. Its great merit is to show practically that the present pauperising and despotic system of the subordination of labour to capital can be superseded by the republican and beneficent system of the association of free and equal producers.'

'Restricted, however, to the dwarfish forms into which individual wage slaves can elaborate it by their private efforts, the co-operative system will never transform capitalist society. To convert social production into one large and harmonious system of free and co-operative labour general social changes are wanted, changes of the general conditions of society, never to be realised save by the transfer of the organised forces of society, namely the state power, from the capitalists and landlords to the producers themselves.'

Marx was thinking mainly of producer co-operatives. Consumer co-operatives could and did develop far beyond 'dwarfish forms'. The movement today has something like 12 million members. But its workers are not 'free and equal

producers'. They are wage workers, although working for a consumers' collective rather than a capitalist concern. They do not determine the conditions which rule their working lives, except to the degree that trade union organisation gives them, like other organised workers, some element of control.

The socialists and syndicalists who took up the slogan of workers' control in the years from 1906 onwards understood all this very clearly. They also understood that the state is not a neutral machine that can be made to serve labour as easily as it serves capital and that the 'transfer of state power' from the capitalists to the workers means much more than the election of a majority of Labour MPs.

Their aim was a militant industrial unionism that would go far beyond the limited aims of reformist trade unionism. The task was 'to build the new society within the shell of the old' by ceaseless agitation, by 'no peace with the employers', by the use of strikes and boycotts to develop 'unity of action and sameness of inspiration which will make them (the organised workers) think and act as a class, for the direct and forcible expropriation of the capitalists.'

The fight for workers' control of production and the fight for state power were seen as essentially the same thing. 'In the light of this principle of industrial unionism,' wrote James Connolly, 'every fresh shop or factory organised under its banner is a fort wrenched from the control of the capitalist class and manned with the soldiers of the revolution to be held by them for the workers. On the day that the political and economic forces of labour finally break with capitalist society and proclaim the Workers' Republic, these shops and factories so manned by industrial unionists will be taken charge of by the workers there employed, and force and effectiveness be thus given to that proclamation. Then and thus,

the new society will spring into existence, ready equipped to perform all the useful functions of its predecessor.'

These revolutionary ideas revitalised the movement and played an important part in making possible the great strike wave of 1910 to 1914. Total trade union membership jumped from less than two million in 1905 to more than four million in 1913. The militants were successful in pushing through a number of important amalgamations against the obstruction of the right wing officials, notably the formation of the NUR. They laid the basis for the subsequent shop stewards' movement and later many of them helped to found the Communist Party.

The strength of industrial unionist and syndicalist ideas lay in their understanding that workers' control of production is impossible, on any scale, without workers' power. Their weakness lay in their over-emphasis on the industrial at the expense of the political struggle. They rightly saw that piecemeal parliamentary reformism could never abolish capitalism.

They failed, generally speaking, to see the need for a revolutionary party. They either rejected political action altogether (the syndicalists) or, in the case of most industrial unionists, saw a party as just a propaganda group which was useful in making socialists but had no real connection with the struggle in industry.

These mistakes made them less effective than they might have been. But they had the root of the matter in them. Unlike some present day advocates of 'workers' control' by permission of the government, capitalists or the trade union bureaucracy, they knew, as one of the greatest of them, Tom Mann, said: 'Political and industrial direct action must at all times be inspired by revolutionary principles . . . Anything less than this means continued domination by the capitalist class.'

OUSTED TORRES FINDS REFUGE BUT NO HIDING FOR MASSES IN BOLIVIA

From a special correspondent

THE FORMER PRESIDENT of Bolivia, General Juan Torres and his government took refuge in foreign embassies when they were ousted from power on Sunday by a right-wing military coup.

But a whole class cannot take refuge, even in 50 embassies. That is the tragedy of Bolivia's working population—they cannot leave the country now that a reign of terror is drowning the best militants in a sea of blood.

The right wing were successful in isolating Torres and toppling his regime in a matter of days. Cities like Santa Cruz and Cochabamba were taken by the rebels without a shot.

Yet for months the plotting of the right wing had been open knowledge as they attempted abortive coups.

Torres thought he could stand above the different classes and arbitrate between them. He came to power last October after smashing another right-wing military coup.

In doing so he won the unconditional support of the students, workers and peasants. He promised to safeguard Bolivia's honour and integrity against US imperialism. He expected the trade union centre (the COB), the peasant militias and the

ically, only to release them later.

He even banned the opening of the Popular Assembly in July on the pretext of a 'national emergency'. At no point did he give the miners and peasants the arms they needed to stand up against a united army.

In January 10,000 miners staged a march in La Paz, the capital, and asked for weapons to defend Torres.

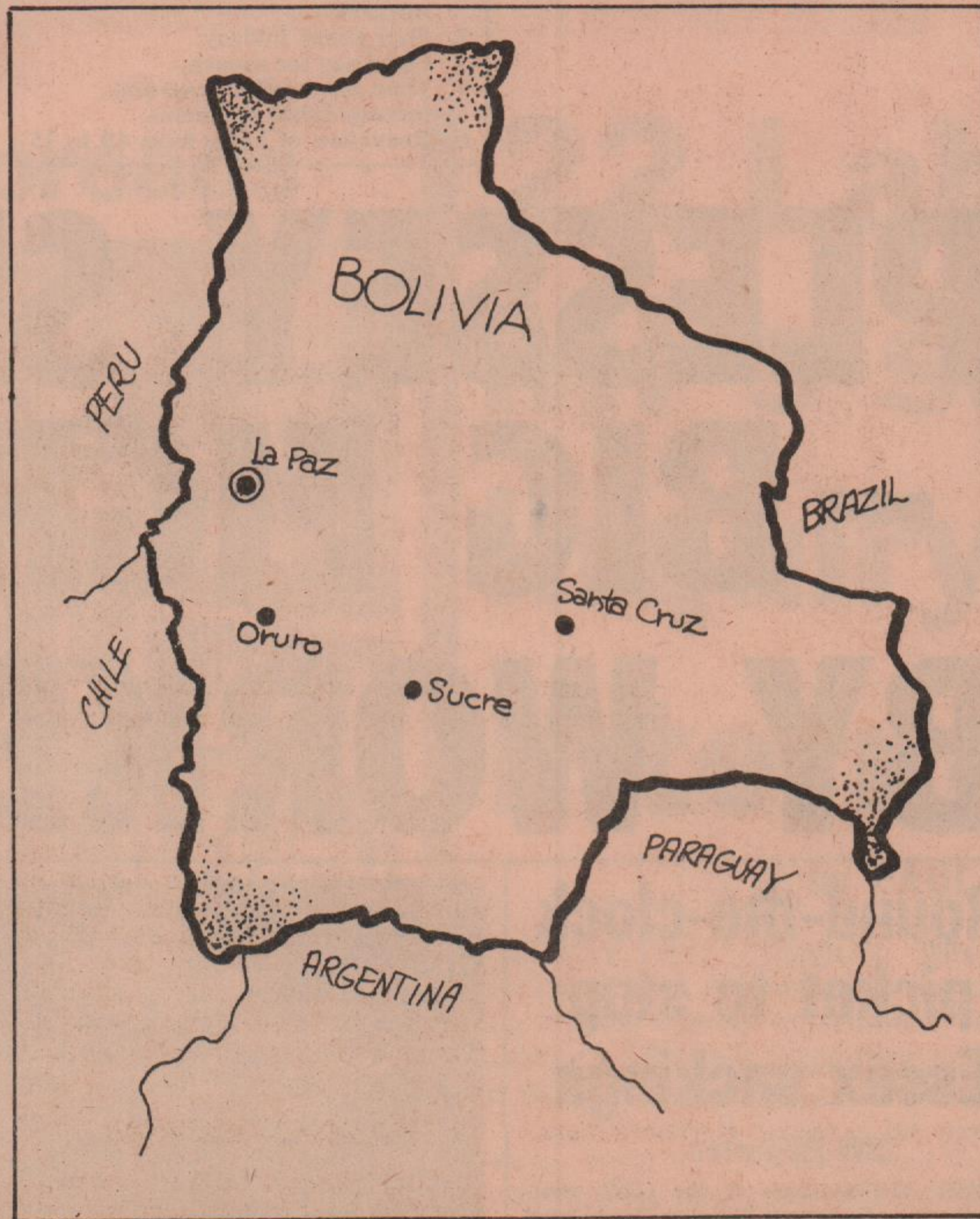
He wavered and deflected their demands with luke-warm rantings. The Popular Assembly played his game and gave him a 'left' cover.

INCAPABLE

The Bolivian tragedy is that the traditional organisations of the workers and peasants joined politically into an unprincipled coalition with the government of Torres, which was completely incapable of fighting for them against the right wing. Instead of exposing his bankruptcy, they joined in a wave of collective national hysteria.

The result was 11 months of 'wait and see'. In that time the right wing was able to recover, get CIA help, regain confidence and win over the major army units and the air force, until it has swung the balance fully in its favour.

The workers and peasants are defending themselves against planes and tanks in the most heroic manner, because that is the only way they can fight when pushed against the wall.



Hundreds are dying in the mining regions where the army has decided to stage a showdown.

Fascist thugs are murdering Communists, Trotskyists and anybody else who supported the old government.

The police force Torres used is now employed in crushing his supporters. The trade unions will be 'cleansed', the political organisations of the Left decimated, and it will take the Bolivian working class years to recover its lost leadership.



TORRES: refused to punish butchers

students to support him against the right win in the army in return.

These groups organised a Popular Assembly in May, which gave support to Torres while trying to bargain with and put pressure on his regime. Torres accepted the demands that he thought useful to his popularity—for example the expulsion of the Peace Corps.

REFUSED

But when it came to nationalisation of industry, he wavered, sometimes promising to pay compensation in full and sometimes threatening the American firms in order to placate the Left.

Above all, he refused to punish or prosecute the most ferocious butchers in the army, people who had massacred thousands of miners and peasants under the previous regime. He even kept some of them in his government.

When right-wing officers began to regroup and start plotting in the eastern provinces, Torres did little more than clamp down on them sporad-

COTTONS COLUMN

VARIOUS WIRES are getting crossed in Northern Ireland. Who is in charge of army policy—Westminster or Stormont?

Maudling and Heath claim responsibility for signing the order to start internment, but army brass hats are preaching a different tale. A reporter on a British national paper, puzzled as to why members of People's Democracy are being arrested when they argue for a socialist not a military solution to the Irish problem, approached army second in command General Tickell.

'The thing to remember is this,' said the General. 'We have no intelligence [you can say that again!]. It is supplied by the RUC. The Stormont government wants PD out of the way as it regards Free Citizen [the PD paper] as subversive.' Free Citizen's main crime, in the General's opinion, was that it campaigned against army atrocities.

So there we have it straight from the top that the RUC decides who should be interned and that 'terrorist' covers a multitude of sins, including publishing a socialist paper.

A FATHER whose son was convicted of shooting people with an air rifle



ROBENS: At last—the awful truth

said last week that he didn't want the boy back home as he couldn't control him. 'The only thing to do with him,' he said, 'is to put him in the army.'

Heal thyself

DOCTORS in Belfast are worried that people injured by the army may be dying through loss of blood, thanks to a clause in the Special Powers Act, the police-state laws so admired in South Africa.

The regulation states that doctors must report any incident of gunshot wounds to the police or the army. Penalties for contravening the regulation are imprisonment for up to six months or a fine of up to £50 or both.

Injured people, terrified that a report from a doctor will result in a visit from the 'impartial' army or RUC, either treat themselves or go over the border to the nearest hospital.

TRADE UNION PAROCHIALISM: reporting the explosion at the Mirror's Belfast plant in July, Print, the paper of the National Graphical Association, headlined its report:

'Bomb drama—lucky escape for NGA man.' NATSOPA, SOGAT and NUJ members who similarly escaped are ignored by their NGA 'brothers'.

One man's meat...

A PROGRAMME on productivity bargaining on BBC Radio 4 last Friday included an interview with our own Tony Cliff, who outlined the theme of his book that prod deals weaken shop-floor power and that the 'sugar on the pill' in the form of a wage increase is quickly melted by inflation.

Poo-pooing this theme, the programme's presenter said it didn't seem to hold true in one factory—Sainsbury's meat plant in south London. He introduced a shop steward who went on for some time about the delights of a productivity deal that had brought him £70 a week and much personal joy. Only slight snag: the factory is being moved to the country and most of the workers made redundant.

We understand that Cliff is not planning to rewrite his book as a result of this startling 'refutation'.

JUST in case you missed it, the least amazing headline of the year in the Mirror last week: ROBENS: I AM NO SOCIALIST.

Counterpoint

A POSTCARD to our business manager from a subscriber this week asked that his copies should be sent to his new address as the Post Office was not forwarding them from his former abode. He added: 'One can't expect the Post Office workers to re-direct mail if they aren't paid a decent wage.'

A different hand had noted in the corner: 'He's right mate.'



YOU CAN roughly distinguish two types among TV thrillers: the glossy type depending in varying degrees upon violence, sex, luxurious penthouses and fast cars. The Avengers and To Catch A Thief fall into this category.

Secondly there is the good-guy defender of the law type—Dixon of Dock Green and A Man Called Ironside. The Name of the Game combines a bit of each type with some superficial liberalism.

Public Eye (ITV, Wednesday, 9pm) has amazed the critics with its great popularity, unearned by a false projection of glamour. Public Eye exploits the way in which an investigator is allowed in a plot to look into the lives of the people concerned in a case. We, the audience, can get to the heart of the matter much quicker than in an ordinary play.

For the 'good-guy' programmes this has little advantage, because people are too crudely shown as good and bad. The glossies don't go much beyond telling you about the hero's toughness and charm.

Dingy office

But Frank Marker of Public Eye is a 'discreet' investigator. From his dingy office he charges moderate fees for often helping the wealthy and fairly wealthy sort out the not so respectable part of their lives. Marker often makes ironic little remarks that manage to annoy the more affluent or pompous people he encounters by reminding them that they are not what they appear to be on the surface.

His attitude is different to more sympathetic people. He is understanding and decent without being holy.

So many TV programmes practically hit you over the head with it when the hero makes a moral point. This is because they underrate our intelligence and suspect this morality is not ours.

Marker's behaviour and values, on the contrary, are very much like the personal ideals of the ordinary working man at the present time, even if Marker is self-employed and has more chance to practise these ideals. Marker is not in constant rebellion against his richer clients but keeps his integrity and independence. In this sense Marker is truer to life than the seemingly more realistic Coronation Street.

Main reason

I am not saying that Marker was necessarily created with these ideas in mind, but this is the main reason why Public Eye is popular.

Marker also engages our sympathy as an unlucky ex-convict and a loner like Callan of Callan's Saga. Callan likewise does the dirty work for his higher-ups. But super-tough Callan follows orders, even if under protest. Marker, however, is very much his own master about what work he accepts.

We also go along with Marker because of the impressive acting of Alfred Burke who unceasingly brings Marker to life, even when he is doing something very unimportant. Burke achieves this in spite of some of the scripts being bitty and not unified.

Marker too often ends up encountering a random selection of characters and the plot is too much held together by just presenting Marker in action for another week.

More emphasis should be put on exploring the kinds of people and situations that exist in the world. This is possible because by having made Marker a well-constructed and interesting character, the way is open to see other characters through his eyes.

Phil Hall

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS' AUTUMN WEEKEND RALLY

Derbyshire Miners' Holiday Centre, Skegness
15, 16, 17 October

Sessions include:

Perspectives for Western Capitalism: John Palmer
Towards a Revolutionary Socialist Party: Duncan Hallas
The International Movement: Tony Cliff
Entertainment by Alex Glasgow and others
Adults £4.50. Reduced rates for children

Write to: Jenny Davison, 6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN

Socialist Worker

'Link up with UCS' is Fife GEC call

SW Reporter

THE FIGHT against redundancies, closures and rising unemployment in Scotland has spread to Fife. In Glenrothes, GEC boss Arnold Weinstock is threatening to throw 158 on the dole by closing the GEC semi-conductors factory (Elliot Automation) in October.

Two ASTMS shop stewards in the factory, Eddie Street and Brian Young, spoke of the fight to stop the closure and save 158 jobs.

They are hoping first to convince Sir Jack Scamp of GEC that the Glenrothes factory is viable. They are convinced that they have an unanswerable case.

'All we are asking at this stage,' said Eddie Street, 'is that Scamp listens to our case. However, if he does not listen, or does not accept our argument, then we are prepared to fight him and the whole of the GEC organisation. We will stage a UCS-style work-in if GEC refuse to keep the factory open.'

Scamp was due to attend a conference in Glenrothes on Thursday. Shop stewards and the Glenrothes Trades Council have organised a demonstration to lobby him and show him the strength of feeling over the closure. They have called on all GEC factories in the area to support them, in particular the AEI Telecoms factory in Glenrothes.

'Full occupation'

Glenrothes Trades Council executive member Colin Cameron told me: 'The fight is starting in Fife. Workers are being forced by Tory policy to stand up and fight back. The lead given by the UCS workers is having its effect throughout the country.'

'I welcome the news that the GEC workers are prepared to stage a work-in, but I think to be successful they will have to go for a full occupation, otherwise they will simply be doing GEC's work for nothing.'

He added: 'Scamp, Weinstock and the Tories are tough. We will have to be even tougher. Last week in Glenrothes 600 people were queuing for one job.'

'The GEC workers must not be allowed to fight in isolation. I would like to see an immediate conference called of shop stewards from all factories threatened with redundancies and closures. As a first step, the UCS shop stewards should meet with the GEC stewards and the stewards from Plessey's in Alexandria.'

At a meeting in the town on Monday, Joe Black, an ETU member from UCS, called for the Glasgow and Glenrothes struggles to link up. He pledged support for the GEC workers.

Another speaker was loudly applauded when he called for nationalisation of GEC under full workers' control.

Messages of support to: Eddie Street, 14 Laverock Terrace, Glenrothes, Fife.

Engineers face tough battle

A CLAIM presented to the Engineering Employers this week by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions is certain to result in bitter clashes before an agreement is reached.

Some of the main demands in the claim are:-

1. Substantial wage increases for all workers.
2. Four weeks' holiday
3. Equal pay for women.
4. Time and a half for overtime.
5. Increased shift premiums.
6. Reduction of hours from 40 to 35 a week.

At the end of the last agreement in October 1968, Engineering Union president Hugh Scanlon said that shop stewards could get more money from local management in half an hour than the employers would offer after 12 months of national talks.

Scanlon will face stiffer opposition from the employers this time. They have been preparing for battle for 18 months and are straining at the leash to put into effect the Tory offensive against the unions by refusing any concessions.

Scanlon knows of the bosses' plans—and he knows, too, that they can be defeated only by mobilising the members to take militant action.

The union leaders should organise mass meetings and rallies now to rouse the members. Shop stewards should call factory meetings and demand that their officials explain the claim and its implications.

Only a fighting strategy involving every engineering worker can defeat the employers and the Tories. The claim must be won.

PLESSEY SHUTDOWN — BIG FIGHT BY WORKERS

by Socialist Worker Reporter

THE PLANNED CLOSURE of Plessey's works at Alexandria in Scotland is meeting tough resistance from the workers. Last Friday, after they were given redundancy notices, more than 300 of the 500-strong workforce marched from the factory and burnt their notices in front of the main gates.

Since the first sackings were announced early in May, the workers have organised demonstrations and a sit-down in the town centre. The factory is a former government-owned torpedo works.

Eddie McLafferty, the AUEW shop steward, said: 'We've fought this campaign to save the factory from the beginning. We will not accept redundancy. We're not interested in redundancy payments. If the management offers us a million weeks' ex-gratia payments we'll tell them that they're not on.'

It is now clear that Plessey has never intended to develop the Alexandria works since they bought it from the government in January. At a meeting between the shop stewards and Tory Under Secretary for Defence Ian Gilmour, it was disclosed that Plessey acquired the factory for the knock-down price of £650,000.

TRANSFER

Before the take-over a new 'clean area' for the production of the Mk 24 torpedo was built at a cost of £1½m. The contents of the metal store alone were estimated by the government to be worth £250,000.

Plessey now have the contract for the Mk 24 torpedo but intend to build it in Ilford, Essex. To do this the company will have to transfer the machinery at Alexandria to their Ilford factory.

According to Ilford shop stewards, the firm began clearing space for these machines as early as last October.

DECEPTION

The systematic plan to close the Alexandria works has been accompanied by conscious deception on the part of the management. In their public relations campaign before the take-over they promised 2000 jobs by next year.

If Plessey's is closed, the estimated unemployment rate in Alexandria, 20 miles north of Glasgow, will be about 16 per cent. But the workers are intent on keeping the factory open.

'We are determined to resist this closure,' says Eddie McLafferty. 'We have supported the UCS workers and are not going to lie down and accept being thrown on the scrapheap by Plessey's.'

'We're going to fight them every inch of the way.'

NOTICES

ALL 15 BRANCHES—URGENT. Please attempt to secure signatures of local MPs and prominent trade unionists for appeal of Labour Committee Against Internment. Forward to Duncan Hallas, 6 Cottons Gdns London E2 8DN.

LONDON IS branch secretaries' meeting, Sunday 5 September, 2.30pm, 6 Cottons Gdns. All secretaries must attend.

DON'T forget Nigerian Socialist Shanty Town Library. Send pamphlets and books to 28 Manor Road, London N16.

IRISH CITIZEN FORUM. Current situation in Ireland: speaker Alan Morrison. General Picton, Caledonian Road, Friday 27 August, 8pm.

WANDSWORTH IS public meeting: Ireland, the reign of terror. Speaker John Gray, People's Democracy, Thursday 2 September, 8pm, The Spotted Dog, 72 Garrett Lane, nr Wandsworth Town Hall.

IS BOOKSHOP will be closed Saturday 28 August and Monday 30 August. Open again Tuesday 31 August.

SWANSEA IS: Brian Trench on Ireland. Thursday 2 September, Red Cow pub, High Street, 7.30pm.

IS POSTAL WORKERS meeting. Sunday 29 August, 11am Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham.

Round-the-clock picket to stop Essex sackings

SW Reporter

SOME 320 workers at the GEC semi-conductors factory at Witham, Essex, have been told that the plant is to close and they must go before the end of November.

The workers—members of the AUEW, DATA and ASTMS—are hitting back by mounting a 24 hour picket to stop goods being moved out. They have decided that GEC boss Weinstock's 'painless surgery' stops here in Witham and that they will fight to:-

1. To keep the factory open at all costs.
2. To spread the struggle to other GEC factories where redundancies and closures are announced.

The workers are being backed by DATA members at GEC's Marconi works in Chelmsford. A mass protest march was staged in Witham on Thursday.

Labour

from page one

Hugh Jenkins, MP
Richard Kelly, MP
Arthur Latham, MP
Joan Lester, MP, Labour Party NEC
Jim Light, Secretary 1/6 TGWU (Docks)
Albert Luck, SOGAT Div A Executive
John McIntosh, Deputy Convenor (ASW) UCS Linthouse
Con McSweeney, Convenor (TGWU)
Joseph Lucas, Birmingham
Michael Meacher, MP
Roger Protz, Editor Socialist Worker
Colin Ross, Chairman T Wallis Shop Steward Cttee
Geoffrey Rhodes, MP
J Sillars, MP
A E Stallard, MP
Bill MacGregor, NEC National Union of Journalists (in personal capacity)
Laurie Pavitt, MP
Jack Woddiss, Communist Party EC

Jobless workers picket

BRISTOL:—For the last two Saturdays, redundant workers and supporters, including some of the present shop stewards, have picketed the Bristol engineering firm of Strachan and Henshaw, part of the giant Dickinson Robinson group.



RALLY AGAINST UNION ACT

Hackney Trades Council in East London staged a public protest rally on Sunday in Victoria Park against the Industrial Relations Act. Pictures shows a speaker at the open-air meeting.

AIR CUTBACKS THREATEN JOBS IN SOUTH WEST

SW Reporter

BRISTOL:—Militants at the British Aircraft Corporation's Filton factory expect a first wave of redundancies to begin within the next month. The financial background and management re-organisation indicate that redundancies of about 15 per cent to 20 per cent are in the long run possible.

Ever since the Concorde project started to escalate in price, the BAC bosses have been under pressure to reduce costs. Now that Concorde has a doubtful future and the Tories have refused to back the BAC-311 Airbus, the squeeze is getting worse.

The only project in the offing is a short take-off airliner called QS TOL, which has an uncertain future in the present world airline crisis, and will need heavy government backing to have a chance of survival.

CONVINCE

The corporation is owned by Weinstock's GEC-AEI, along with Vickers and a Rolls-Royce holding company. The bosses intend to avoid a second Rolls-type fiasco. As Chief Executive Ferguson Smith said: 'We don't want another UCS and we intend to remain masters in our own house even if it means 20 per cent sackings'. The plan to rationalise and increase profits is aimed at convincing the government of the competence of BAC to use more public money.

The first set of redundancies will mainly affect the staff unions as the design and development sections have little work now Concorde is approaching production stage. It is likely that the redundancies will be self-financing: savings from the first sackings will go to provide the redundancy pay for the next stage of sackings.

With nearly 10,000 unemployed in

Bristol and a massive cut back in industry redundancy, as one militant said, 'is not a three weeks' holiday, several hundred pounds and a new job. It means a severe cut in living standards, the dole and an indefinite time looking for work.'

The fight back from the staff has been led by militants in ASTMS and in DATA. ASTMS has begun a ban on overtime, while DATA has strongly urged members to stick to 37 hours. An important step forward was the setting up of a Joint Trade Union Committee of staff and shop floor unions that will be the sole body to negotiate on redundancies. Mass meetings have given their backing to this move.

The fight against redundancy needs a complete overtime ban throughout the factory, and full support for the Joint Trade Union Committee through mass meetings. With the aircraft industry facing a world-wide crisis of over production due to the madness of the capitalist system, the fight against redundancies must take on the perspective of workers controlling the industry.

Support UCS—fight unemployment

Glasgow International Socialists
Public Meeting
Hear TONY CLIFF
Saturday 28 August 11am.
McLellan Galleries
Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow

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