

Workers' fight

5p

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ARMY TERROR IN CHILE

THE COUP WHICH SMASHED THE POPULAR UNITY Government of Salvador Allende is turning Chile into a bloodbath.

Reports coming out of Chile tell of instant executions without trial; of people shot on sight if found out after the curfew; of house to house searches for arms, which end in the killing of everyone present if arms are found; and of houses being burned to force out anti-Junta snipers.

The huge football stadium in Santiago, the capital, is crammed with prisoners taken by the Army dictatorship; political exiles from Paraguay, Brazil and Bolivia who found refuge from the military terror regimes there (it's been estimated they number 30,000) have been sent back to face certain death or torture.

For all its supposedly 'neutral' traditions, the Chilean Army junta is making no attempt to dress up its action as a 'neutral policing' of Right and Left. The new regime has taken the Patria y Libertad armed fascist gangs under its wing and is quite openly in hot pursuit of "the cancer of Marxism" and what it calls "all its consequences".

Concepcion which were the strongholds of the revolutionary organisation MIR have now been occupied by the armed forces. Their names, Campaneto Lenin and Campaneto Fidel Castro, have been forcibly changed to honour heroes of the right wing.

Much of the fight back has been spontaneous, with supporters of the Popular Unity dug in in factories, offices and homes. The greatest centres of resistance have been the shanty towns around the large cities.

It is admitted by the Army that, notwithstanding the ruthlessness of their assault on the resistance, they still do not control the whole country.

Despite the lack of an overall control of Chile by the milit-



ary, moves are already afoot to undo the valuable reforms carried out by the Popular Unity government. The Junta has already invited back the American copper companies whose mines were confiscated. A \$40 million loan from the Inter-American Bank to the Junta is no doubt only the first of many signs of the eagerness with which international capitalism, and particularly American imperialism, viewed the coup.

Among those murdered at the start of the bloodbath were

Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party; and Carlos Altamirano, Secretary of the Socialist Party. Of Corvalan, it can be said that he partly dug his own grave - his Party being actively opposed to workers arming in preparation for a right-wing onslaught.

Altamirano, however, had a clear idea of what was coming, and his words of warning sound more than prophetic now - "The best way to bring about a confrontation and make it even bloodier is to turn your back on it."

Pay Board warning on Phase 3

AS SPECULATION mounts over the Government's coming Phase 3 announcement, the first report of the PAY BOARD is the best argument yet for union leaders to STOP TALKING TO THE TORIES NOW.

The report is geared to trapping the trade unions within the framework of the Government's Phase 3 wage freeze policy. And it gives a horrifying glimpse into the Tories' plans for government interference in the wages struggle - quite apart from the more obvious fact of the laws to keep wages down.

What the report sets out to do is to remove some of the foreseeable anomalies in the wage-freeze policy so as to take the steam out of the struggle of those sections who believe they have been 'unjustly' treated in relation to other workers.

If that is what a union thinks it can claim an increase to bring it into line with a union with which it has a traditional link, like linked collective bargaining procedures. But, says the Report, "where a link is claimed, the parties should follow not only the increase but also the duration and other relevant details of the earlier settlement."

Basically this is a way of playing follow the leader - backwards! The Tories know that where, in such 'linked' cases, one section settled quickly, that is because it settled for various 'strings' and penalties together with the money. Thus, anyone claiming a link with such a claim must take the strings that the weaker section, that settled first, allowed itself to be tied up with.

The report makes this quite explicit with its talk of "cases where productivity agreements would have been made, or restructuring carried out, but for the standstill."

So, far from the Pay Board heralding a new "fair deal", all it is doing is making sure that productivity agreements and restructuring don't get delayed any longer by the wage freeze!

But in fact, there isn't even much pretence at "fairness" in the Pay Board report on anomalies. Large sections of workers who got caught in the freeze (eg Post Office and gas workers) are left out, and those who are recognised as 'deserving cases' are offered nothing in backdated compensation.

As to the amount that can be claimed, Sir Frank Figures, the Pay Board chief, didn't pull any punches: "The total cost of correcting anomalies in Stage 3 should not exceed about £145 millions, or less than 0.4% of the national wage and salary bill for 1973/4. ... The number of employees to benefit would on our estimate not be more than 1 1/2 millions and might be considerably less."

Worse still - and this danger cannot be overestimated - the whole scheme is based on the

Continued back page

Books burned

All newspapers but 2 right wing ones are closed. Books, magazines and pamphlets in any way connected with Allende's government are being collected up and burned.

The Chilean right wing paper "Mercurio" has printed the ridiculous lie that Allende had been preparing a "pro-Moscow Czechoslovak-type coup in which the army leaders and 15,000 other people were to be killed." It has also approvingly printed the new regime's ludicrous statements that all resistance is being carried out by "foreigners".

The terror being unleashed against those workers, peasants and other socialists who want to protect the gains made under Allende's regime (and indeed the gains of decades of working class struggle) shows no signs of abating. "Mercurio" has published long lists of those who are to be denounced, and already the official machinery for this has been set up with offices and telephone lines for making "confidential denunciations" of fellow citizens.

IRISH INTERNEES SUPPORT SHREWSBURY 24

DELEGATES AT THE Liverpool conference in support of the Shrewsbury 24 (22nd Sept.) gave a big cheer when a Manchester delegate sent up £5 to the collection, in the name of the internees in Long Kesh Camp in Northern Ireland. And the Conference sent back a unanimous resolution of solidarity to Heath's Irish prisoners.

Earlier the Conference, called by Liverpool Trades Council, decided to intensify the campaign to free the 24 building workers who come up for trial on 3rd October on charges arising out of picketing in last year's builders' strike.

Even now the Government's prosecutor is adding new charges - on top of the previous 210, they have now added "unlawful assembly", a dangerously vague charge.

A resolution submitted by WORKERS FIGHT, calling for stoppages in the event that any of the 24 are penalised, was referred to the Executive Committee of the Trades Council.

ORDER THIS 8-page WORKERS' FIGHT Supplement on the North Wales 24. Single copies 5p & postage; 10 copies or more, post free; bulk order rates - 25 copies for £1.00, 50 copies for £1.75, 100 copies for £3.00. Order from 20, Colindale Avenue, London N9.

DEFEND THE NORTH WALES 24!



Defend the right to picket

WORKERS FIGHT SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT 5p

Russian Dissidents ONLY THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG

"IF THEY BEAT ME I will say anything. I know that from my former experience in the camps. But you will know it will not be the real me speaking... If I commit suicide, that means they have murdered me, and if I confess, that means they tortured me."

These words were spoken by Pyotr Yakir before his arrest on June 21st 1972. They are a clear indication as to how we should interpret the 'confessions' made by himself and Viktor Krasin at their recent trial in Moscow.

Without romance, with brutal realism, Yakir predicted the miserable, tragic outcome of his fourteen month pre-trial interrogation. (Soviet law in fact specifies a maximum of nine months.)

Show trial

The trial itself, with the accused confessing to being 'enemy agents' and later giving a well rehearsed press conference, was chillingly reminiscent of the notorious Moscow show-trials that Stalin staged in 1936-38. All the more so in that Yakir's own father was a prominent purge victim and Pyotr Yakir himself, then still a child, was sent off to prison camps for 17 years.

This time he, with Viktor Krasin, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and three years in exile. Not for serving "Hitler, the Mikado and Trotsky" as his father was said to have done, but allegedly for being an agent of an organisation called NTS ('Popular Labour Alliance', an anti-Communist group based in Frankfurt, Germany).

The only 'evidence' that Yakir and Krasin did have contact with

NTS comes from the extorted fake confessions.

But Yakir and Krasin are enemies of the ruling bureaucracy in Russia not because of any foreign links they confess to having (what about Brezhnev's links with Nixon and his Kissinger of Death...) but because of their concern with civil rights in Russia.

They were both instrumental in setting up the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in 1969, which entered into the struggle against a reversal of the anyway extremely limited trend of "de-Stalinisation".

Most of the one-time members of Initiative Group are now in Soviet mental "hospitals", along with other opponents of Stalinist terror and the perversion of communism that is the 'Soviet' system. One of these is Major General Grigorenko, a staunch Marxist and war hero, whose wife said in a letter to Mr. Brezhnev, "When I asked precisely when my husband had lost his sanity, since I had never noticed it, I was told by the investigators that my husband's political views and his dissemination of them rendered him socially dangerous."

While the repressions against Marxists like Yakir, Krasin and Grigorenko continue, non-Marxist democratic oppositionists are also being increasingly hounded. Recently Alexander Solzhenitsyn the novelist stated "If I am declared killed or suddenly mysteriously dead, the world can conclude that I have been killed with the approval of the KGB (the Russian political police) or by it."

The latest victim of the kind of harassment that Solzhenitsyn has endured for years now is Academician Andrei Sakharov,



"...If I confess, that means they tortured me." Yakir and Krasin on show to the press after their trial.

who has been 'linked' with Yakir and Krasin in their 'confessions'.

The clamp-down on all these oppositionists of different political views, (the re-sentencing of Grigorenko and Andrei Amalrik, and the deprivation of citizenship from Zhores Medvedev are

part of this) seems to have tightened with the development of Brezhnev's "West-politik".

It is as if his message, particularly to those writers and technocrats who seem to think that economic relations with "the West" will bring some lib-

eralisation with it, is that they're very wrong.

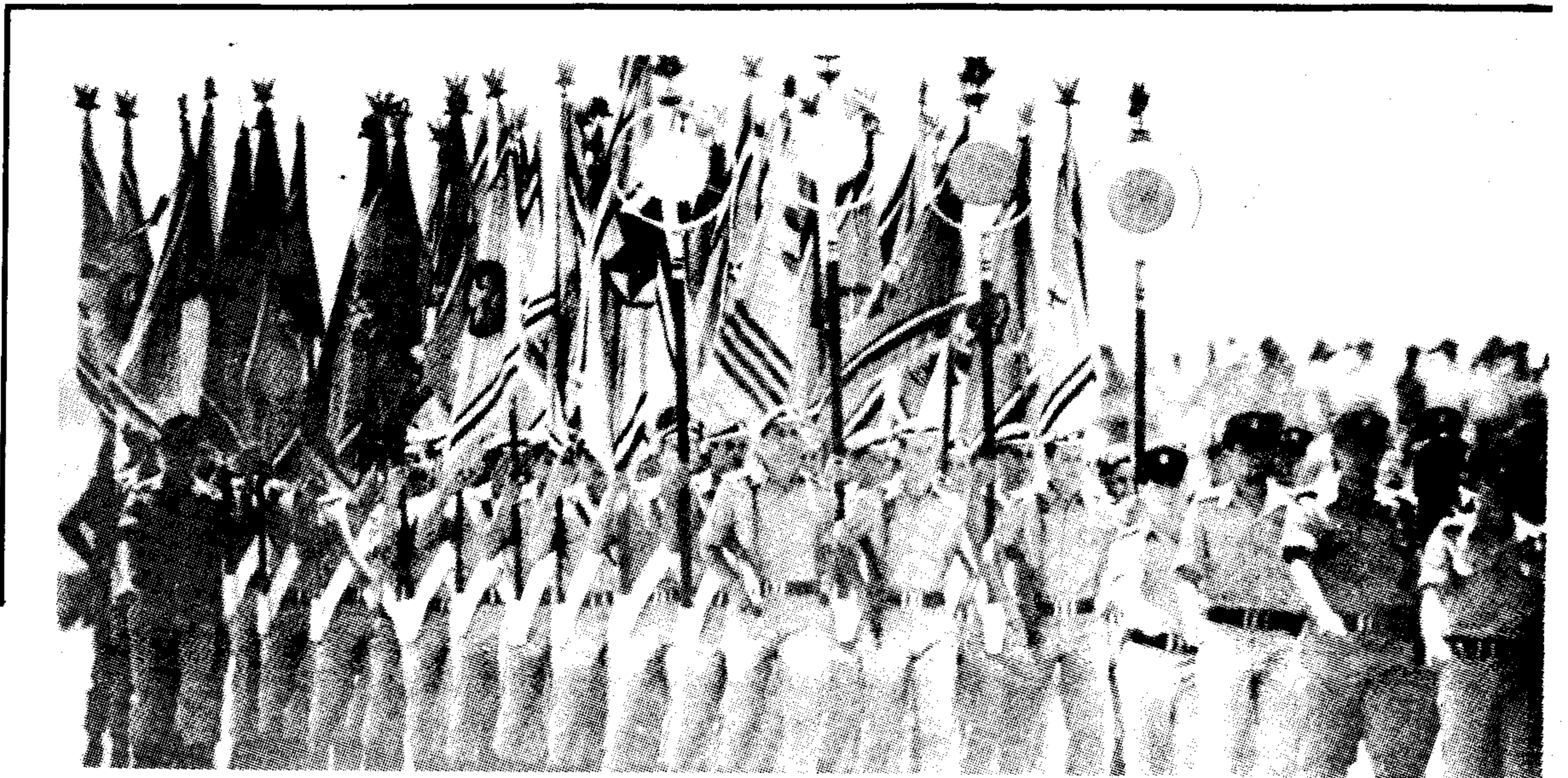
The fact is that what they are most wrong about — and Sakharov is a case in point here — is their totally false idea that "the West" 's diplomats and politicians care one bit about liberalisation in Russia. They far prefer to use the spectre of a totalitarian ice-age to make the dung-heap that is capitalism seem attractive by comparison.

Unknown

And yet, for these writers and scientists, the terror is lighter than that faced by any working class dissidents. Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov stay alive tenuously because they are famous; Yakir and Krasin stay alive — albeit in jail — because of their confessions.

But those who are unknown are sentenced unknown, jailed unknown and murdered unknown. Certainly the figure of one million in prison camps (which is claimed by the dissidents' Chronicle of Current Events) can't be made up only of novelists and nuclear physicists.

And this figure does everything to undermine the vile Stalinist lie that dissidence is a disease of the relatively privileged mind, whilst absolute loyalty and contentment is the condition of the proletariat.



Israeli Army cadets: yesterday's victims, today's oppressors

JEW'S ORGANISE AGAINST THE "LET MY PEOPLE GO" CAMPAIGN

THERE ARE TWO reasons why the capitalist press makes little effort to distinguish between those Russian dissidents (see above) who are fighting for democracy in Russia, and those who, no less oppressed, want to leave Russia to its fate and go to Israel.

One reason is that the Western press has no genuine interest in seeing a democratic communism. They know that such a development would spell doom for their own society.

The other reason is that they see nothing wrong in the prospect of thousands or even millions of people from Russia emigrating to Israel.

2 million evicted

But there is something wrong with that. For Israel exists on land from which 2 million Palestinians have been forcibly evicted. It exists as a bastion of imperialism against the aspirations of the Arab people for progress free from the plunder of its oil wealth by the US.

Every so often in the course of that existence it expands, evicting ever more Palestinians into refugee camps, whilst those who remain are subject to the draconian laws suffered by a defeated and occupied people.

The last such occasion took place in 1967, when massive tracts of fertile and well-populated land were overrun — and then kept. The only thing that

troubles the victorious Zionists and gives them any qualms about this robbery is that they don't like having so many Arabs within the borders of a state which they never intended to be multi-racial.

The leading Zionist politicians are still divided on what to do about the occupied Palestine territory. So far, no private settlement or land purchase has been permitted, though dozens of military style settlements have been built.

In a recent political shuffle though, those in favour of opening the door to wholesale and uncontrolled private settlement — the Dayan faction — strengthened their hand considerably.

This is where the Russian Jews come in. If really large numbers leave Russia and settle in Israel, they will tip the "population balance" in favour of an assured Jewish, Zionist majority, even with the West Bank and other occupied areas permanently incorporated into the Zionist system.

They could in fact quite seriously affect the balance of power in the Middle East, and its political realities, in favour of Israel.

Any vast influx of Russian Jews (who get automatic citizenship despite having no connection with the place and some not even wanting to stay once they get there) would be a terrible blow to the dispossessed and homeless Palestinians.

Zionist organisations around the world have loudly campaigned for this to happen, playing on the real oppression of Jews in

Russia (real, but relatively minor compared with the sufferings of the Palestinians), and playing also on the well-remembered horrors of the Nazi holocaust. They invariably get all the publicity they could wish for from an indulgent western press, which loves Israel — a model of youthful, vigorous capitalism — and also loves having a stick to beat Russia with.

Statement

Already this campaign, which has rich and powerful backers in the USA, has helped to bring some thousands of Russian Jews to Israel, where some have now joined the ultra-right Zionist terror organisations that organise the murder of Arab militants around the world.

A group of British Jews have now come together to form a counter-campaign against the "Let my people go" hysteria. They are called the MIDDLE EAST RESEARCH AND ACTION GROUP (MERAG) and their aims (summarised in their statement below) and their campaign are well worth the support of all socialists and anti-imperialists.

Their statement, which they want signed by "as many Jews as possible", will be published with the names of its signatories in November, to coincide

"ON THE 56th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, we people of a Jewish background declare our opposition to the State of Israel and the World Zionist Organisation. Although most of us do not consider

ourselves Jews in the religious or national sense, we are all Jews in the sense that, having Jewish parentage, we are expected to support the continual criminal policies pursued by the State of Israel. These are, among others:

- * The dispossession of the bulk of the Palestinian-Arab people, confiscation of their lands, destruction of their homes and their mass eviction.

- * Encouraging Jews to immigrate to the country and further colonise it, guaranteeing Jewish new immigrants automatic citizenship (the Law of Return), whilst denying the Palestinian-Arab exiles their right to return to their homeland.

- * Pursuing policies of territorial expansion and occupation, waging the 1956 war in support of Anglo-French imperialist policies in the area, and the 1967 war in what the former commander of the Israeli Air Force termed as "pursuit of national interests" rather than survival.

- * Pursuit of a reactionary foreign policy, which in practice includes, or has included, supporting the US in Vietnam, France in Algeria, Portugal in Africa as well as continuing close links with South Africa.

- * Being anti-Zionist does not mean being anti-Jewish. Indeed it is the anti-semites who have often lent support to Zionism. Zionist political ideology has resulted in Jews, yesterday's victims, becoming today's oppressors.

WE agree that people be allowed the freedom to live where they wish, but we insist that in the present circumstances immigration of Jews to Israel is not based upon sharing equally the resources of the country, but on dispossession, colonisation and occupation, and under these circumstances must be opposed.

* Systematically violating the elementary human and political rights of the Palestinian-Arab people under Israeli occupation.

* Pursuing policies of territorial expansion and occupation, waging the 1956 war in support of Anglo-French imperialist policies in the area, and the 1967 war in what the former commander of the Israeli Air Force termed as "pursuit of national interests" rather than survival.

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MERAG can be contacted at 5 Caledonian Road, London N.1

STOP THE T.U.C. DELEGATION TO SOUTH AFRICA!

THE T.U.C. IS PLANNING TO SEND A DELEGATION TO SOUTH AFRICA!

Of course the TUC condemns Apartheid, but it wants to 'find out the facts'. Can't they read the papers? Do they think that 14 workers were not murdered — or do they want to open up the coffins just to make sure...

Such visits to South Africa are greeted with rapturous joy by the South African press and do nothing but lend respectability to the racist regime.

Defending the decision to send the delegation, Jack Jones said in his international report to the TUC

Conference that they were hardly likely to let themselves be hoodwinked. But they must have been hoodwinked already or they wouldn't be going!

They certainly will not meet the genuine African trade union leaders. The South African Congress of Trade Unions, which is illegal, says that it will not risk arrest in order to meet the delegation, and has appealed to the TUC to call it off.

British trade unionists should do everything to make sure that it is stopped immediately.

Winchester — no chance of a fair trial

BEFORE THEY ever came to trial by jury, the ten people accused of planting bombs in London last March were tried by the British press.

"You've got our Girl Bombers" headlined one London newspaper, supposedly quoting the Provisional IRA. The 'quote' was put about by the Police, who said it came from a statement received by The Times. In fact, it didn't come from any statement, and the Police later had to say they 'had made a mistake'.

The prison authorities also assumed them guilty from the start. A letter from Brixton Prison, in reply to an enquiry, was headlined "IRA Prisoners"! Not "Alleged IRA Prisoners" — no, Brixton Prison had not heard of matters being sub-judice, nor of prisoners who are innocent until proved guilty.

The Ten were accordingly treated to harassment, with rel-

atives and other visitors being prevented access though some had come all the way from Belfast.

But worst of all has been the hysteria whipped up around the trial, with elaborate and well-publicised "security" measures designed to emphasise how 'dangerous' the defendants are..

Lynch-mob

Meanwhile, right-wing Tory MPs are agitating for the reintroduction of the Death Penalty for 'bombers': excluding, of course, those of the Littlejohn variety, who do bombings and assassinations at the bidding of the British Special Branch of the Police, precisely to help whip up such right wing agitation.

The BELFAST 10 DEFENCE COMMITTEE issued a

statement before the trial began, which emphasised the danger to the Defendants from outside the Courtroom:

"It is inconceivable" they said "that it will be a fair trial.

The present hysterical atmosphere in the wake of the new spate of bombings rules that out. That the trial is taking place in the garrison town of Winchester, before a jury which has been subjected to a vast anti-Irish propaganda campaign to reinforce the normal prejudices of the citizens of such a place, also makes it impossible.

Proof of what the Ten can expect in the present atmosphere is provided by the recent verdict of the Coroner's jury in London which brought in a verdict of "willful murder" on the unfortunate middle aged man who died of a weak heart some hours after the Old Bailey explosion — a verdict which flew in the face of



Sir Peter Rawlinson — leads a team of titled prosecutors

the medical evidence"

They go on to say that they remain "convinced that those on trial in Winchester are victims of a frame-up. Unless the British labour movement, and all those concerned at Tory Government

attacks on civil rights and civil liberties here in Britain itself intervene and expose the frame-up, then these ten young people will be railroaded to jail for long terms of imprisonment."

The strong possibility of a frame-up, and of a verdict of Guilty based on flimsy evidence and powerful persuasion, is one good reason to defend the Belfast Ten. And we also remain convinced of this.

But even if they had done it, they should be supported by all people who fight and oppose the Tories and their system. For it is that system of exploitation and oppression which the ruling class's Army is in Ireland to preserve. That Army has brutally occupied Northern Ireland for four years now, casually dealing out death, destruction, torture and arbitrary and limitless imprisonment without charge or trial.

Their victims have been deprived of almost every right. All the more should we defend the one right which, above all others, they have need of — the right to fight back.

FROM SHARPEVILLE TO CARLETONVILLE

THE LIVES of 14 African miners were last week added to the bloody toll of South Africa's Apartheid state and its financial collaborators in Britain and America.

In South Africa, where strikes for blacks are effectively illegal and bona fide union leaders are perpetually hunted and imprisoned, bullets come as a logical extension to the tear gas and baton charges which constitute the normal run of 'industrial relations'.

The massacre occurred at the gold mines of Western Deep Levels near Johannesburg, following a demonstration by African workers in support of demands for higher wages. According to the reports the wage demand was sparked off by a narrowing of differentials between machine operators and other mine workers, and some newspapers have sought to use this to portray the struggle as one between Africans. This sort of trickery we know well enough when it is attempted here. But when it is applied to the South African mines, where the differential that matters is the ratio of 20 to 1 between wages of white and black workers, and where a massively oppressive state machine maintains the super-exploitation of black workers, then it becomes ludicrous.

Gold

The attempted excusing of the police, that they fired in self-defence, will be familiar to anyone who remembers the Sharpeville massacre, when 67 African demonstrators were shot in the back by police "defending themselves".

If the exact details of this particular wage demand and the ensuing police bullets are not clear, then the underlying reasons for the brutal state repression of African miners are clear enough.

Gold production is the central pillar of South Africa's rich economy. It accounts for 11% of the gross national product and 50% of exports. Resting as it does on a system of cheap African labour, which is the heart of Apartheid,

the gold mining industry gives South Africa a monopoly of world production, with sales of 1,500 million dollars a year.

The South African state has two related policies for keeping the mass of African miners on bare subsistence wages of £5 or £6 a week.

First of all, there is the straightforward repression of what we in this country would consider normal trade union activity. With the exception of white stooge unions such as those affiliated to the South African TUC (TUCSA), union organisation is illegal — genuine trade union leaders are either in prison or in hiding.

Despite recent changes in the law, which were put through merely as a public relations exercise and which received wide publicity in the British press, strikes are illegal.

The second part of the super-exploitation strategy is to obliterate completely the normal 'labour market' relations, so that an African worker cannot work or go where he wants and where he might get better pay, but rather African labour is provided to employers, ready regimented and disciplined, by the state.

The gold miners are amongst the worst paid African workers, wages averaging about half the norm for manufacturing industries. So in order to increase the supply of labour to the mines without at the same time increas-



One of the Carletonville murderers



A mine hostel

ing miners' wages to attract more labour, the notorious pass laws prevent any free movement of workers into urban areas.

The labour reserves or 'Bantustans' function as labour stockpiles, to provide the needs of the mines and plantations, the African workers being treated no different from the drums of oil or planks of wood that you see in railway goods yards.

For those living on the reserves, poverty or debt incurred by taxation forces them onto the labour "market". But, denied by the pass laws any access to jobs in urban areas, the mines and the plantations become the only way out of the reserves. By this mechanism the African worker is reduced to a status half way between slavery and wage labour.

Migrant

Even so, the South African mines have to import more than two thirds of their labour force from the Portuguese occupied territories of Mozambique and Angola, from Malawi, from South African-occupied Namibia and from nominally independent Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho. The migrant workers are contracted to work for a definite period and there are severe penalties for breaking the contract.

Having gained a captive labour force the mining companies have little interest in the conditions in which they work. The miners live in cramped barracks which 'house' 12 or more men; sometimes these barracks do not even have beds. The men are separated from their families for the duration of the contract.

If they are immigrant workers then their families are not allowed into South Africa; if they are South Africans then their famil-

ies must remain on the labour reserves, supposedly scratching a living from patches of exhausted land. When the contract is finished then the worker must return to the Bantustan until he is allocated a new contract.

As long as labour is provided and regulated in this way by the state, then it is regarded as purely expendable by the mining companies; the intensity and conditions of work at the mines would vie with the worst excesses of the industrial revolution for a place in the chamber of horrors.

'Accidents' are commonplace — between 1936 and 1966, 19,000 miners have been killed: 93% of them black.

The miners spend sixty hours a week underground and there is no paid leave. Occupational diseases such as deafness and silicosis of the lungs are widespread. The conditions in the mines and in the reserves are such that tuberculosis has reached epidemic proportions of 25% in some areas.

Between 1889 and 1969, African miners' wages did not increase by even one cent in real terms. Then last April a 26% rise brought wages at Anglo-American up to the grand sum of £4.50 a week.

Revolts

Today, the African wages bill in the mines amounts to only 9% of total costs, and the employers have no interest in protecting or maintaining that 9% of their expenditure. When death comes violently down the mine, slowly from disease or, as last week, from police bullets, the owners know that the 'labour' will be replaced easily enough.

Their sole interest is to get as much as they can out of the

worker in the shortest time possible.

Against this super-exploitation there are sporadic revolts — inevitably sporadic since the degree of repression makes co-ordinated action ten times more difficult. It was just such a revolt which resulted in the murder of 14 workers in a hail of bullets.

However, this revolt comes after a massive wave of strikes in Durban last February and the general strike of Ovambo workers in Namibia last year. It is possible in these circumstances that the police bullets will inspire more anger and action than fear, and if this happens then the 14 will not have died for nothing.

Action

In any case, in this country the massacre must serve as a further reminder to trade unionists of the plight of their South African brothers, and of the need for industrial action to force, at the very least, the granting of elementary trade union rights in South Africa.

The African National Congress's statement on the killings says that "The naked use of force and arbitrary killing of a defenceless people ... proves beyond doubt that armed resistance is the only effective method by which our people can defend themselves..."

And it is also the only way in which this terrible system will ever be finally defeated. So, while trade unionists here will probably be quicker to act on the question of trade union rights, it would be myopic and insular to fail to go on to give material assistance to the armed liberation movement of South Africa, of the Portuguese colonies that border it, and of Smith's Apartheid Rhodesia.

CHILE

PARLIAMENTARY ROAD TO A BLOODBATH

By Bas Hardy & Sean Matgamna

UNLIKE MOST Latin American armies, that of Chile had a record of keeping out of politics. For many decades it had been an army of "professionals", loyal to "the law" and "the constitutional government".

The bloody coup last Tuesday proved — again — that the armies of capitalist states stay out of politics only for so long as the bourgeoisie feel that their rule and the stability of their system is not threatened.

Chilean President Salvador Allende, a socialist who considered himself a Marxist, placed his trust in the vaunted neutrality of the army and the Chilean state to allow him to carry through a programme of serious reforms. But when the bourgeoisie hurled their "professionals" at his regime, Allende proved no match for the armed might of the army of the Chilean capitalists; and neither Chile's Constitution nor the Army's "tradition" protected Allende or his government.

Least of all did they protect the Chilean working class, which now bears the main brunt of the repression.

Almost to the end, as the last

phase in the 3-year life of the "Popular Unity" (U.P.) government drew to a brutal and murderous close, Allende continued to trust in 'loyal sections' of the armed forces. Barely two hours before he finally donned a steel helmet and picked up a machine gun he still expressed the hope that the armed forces, "faithful to their tradition", would come to the rescue of the "legitimately constituted government."

Too late

When the news broke of the latest attempt at a coup he immediately appealed to the workers to remain in their factories, and rely on the "loyal section of the armed forces". But there was no longer any 'loyal' section of the armed forces. Faithful not to "the Constitution" but to the ruling class and its interests, the armed forces had united to sweep Allende aside, together with his dream of a peaceful Chilean road to socialism.

When he finally did call upon the workers to take up arms and

fight for the life of his government, it was too late.

The rubble which was once Allende's presidential palace in Santiago, and within which his body lay last Tuesday, testifies in blood — the blood of hundreds of workers as well as that of Allende himself — that socialism, working class rule in society, will never be achieved peacefully but only through mass armed working class action to disarm the capitalists, their armies and their police forces and to break their state apparatus.

For the Chilean bourgeoisie the coup against the U.P. Government was the culmination of a series of attempted coups and waves of concerted sabotage.

Their target was not so much Allende as the workers and peasants, whose hopes the election of the Popular Front government, headed by Allende, stirred into uncontrolled — and unsatisfied — ferment, leading to land seizures by peasants and growing working class militancy.

The Popular Unity government had in fact come to power on a wave of radicalisation amongst workers, peasants and students which swept the country in 1970

"The reformists systematically implant in the minds of the worker

and increased throughout the 3 years — partly because many of its hopes and demands went unsatisfied as the Allende government attempted to steer a middle course between reform and revolution.

The previous government had tried to placate the people with limited reforms. But unlike that government, the Popular Unity, dependent as it was on the active support of the masses, was under their intense and direct pressure to grant demands for higher wages, land reforms, and socialist nationalisations.

The U.P. was buffeted between mass pressure and the increasing resistance and sabotage by the ruling class. Allende attempted gradual transformation, but only at a pace agreeable to the ruling class, and therefore he acted as a brake on the revolutionary drives and mobilisation of the working masses. Thus the government undermined its own strength.

But while Allende's 'middle course' disorganised and held back his own popular support and the masses generally, it also strengthened reaction and the Right, especially by frightening the ruling class and American Imperialism, whose copper and telephone interests were nationalised. (The ITT Corporation tried to organise a coup in 1970 to prevent Allende even assum-

Salvador Allende



ing power; and last week, before embarking on their coup, the Chilean military informed the overlord of Latin America — the US State Department.)

All this was in line with the classic pattern of a left reformist 'Popular Front' government which rouses the workers to expectations that it can't satisfy, and succeeds only in terrifying the ruling class into striking back savagely.

Allende attempted to channel the discontent of the masses into "constitutional" paths — to achieve 'socialism' smoothly and not by a mass working class and poor peasants' eruption to overwhelm the bourgeoisie and their armed defenders. In reality he only gave the ruling class and Imperialism time to mount the coup that smashed his government.

'Parole'

Business strikes, bourgeois mobilisations and attempted coups by small sections of the army heralded the end of the Allende government. But instead of turning to the masses and rallying the workers and poor peasants to prepare to wage a life and death struggle, Allende tried to deal with the growing rightist offensive by compromise after compromise, in an attempt to avoid the inevitable confrontation.

Last October he included military leaders in his cabinet to gain capitalist confidence for his government and induce transport owners to call off an anti-government strike. In effect he was seeking security and stability by putting the 'socialist' government into the 'parole' of the army.

Presumably, relying on the 'lefts' in the army like General Carlos Prats, Allende was trying to make Chile safe for his brand of Socialism.

But the army and the officer corps as a whole, like all such armies, was and is in business to make and keep Chile safe for capitalism and the capitalists.

ALLENDE'S

1970

4 September. Salvador Allende (socialist) does not get an absolute majority, but wins the presidential election with 36.3% of votes for the Popular Unity against 34.98% for Jorge Alessandri, conservative, and 27.84% for Radomiro Tomic, Christian Democrat.

24 October. Congress ratifies Allende's election, the Christian Democratic party having decided to vote for him after gaining 'democratic guarantees'.

4 November. Salvador Allende officially succeeds Eduardo Frei (C.D.) as head of state, and installs himself in the Moneda

the Revolutionary Left) criticises the 'reformist' of the government for the first time.

11 July. Parliament votes unanimously for the nationalisation of copper. The government had already, on 6 July, taken control of dealings in all the copper produced in the country.

20 July. The government loses control of the two assemblies of Congress.

13 August. The United States cuts off certain lines of credit to Chile, basing itself on a broad interpretation of the Hickenlooper amendment.

28 September. According to the government, the total of the

compensation due to American companies would be less than the total of the 'excess profits' made since the beginning of their involvement.

1 & 2 December. Violent demonstrations in Santiago. The women of the wealthy districts pro-

test against the shortage of food supplies. State of emergency in Santiago.

9 December. The government suspends convertibility of the currency and stock dealings. The foreign debt rises to over \$3000 million.

22 December. Congress adopts a constitutional reform providing that the government henceforth can nationalise enterprises only "by means of a law studied and approved by Parliament".

1972

7 January. Allende reshuffles his government, a constitutional impeachment having been brought against Jose Toha, Minister of the Interior, by the opposition.

3 February. The United States link the problem of copper to the negotiations on the Chilean foreign debt.

21 March. The American columnist Jack Anderson reveals that



presidential palace.

12 November. The government decrees an amnesty for the militants of the revolutionary left (clandestine under the Frei government).

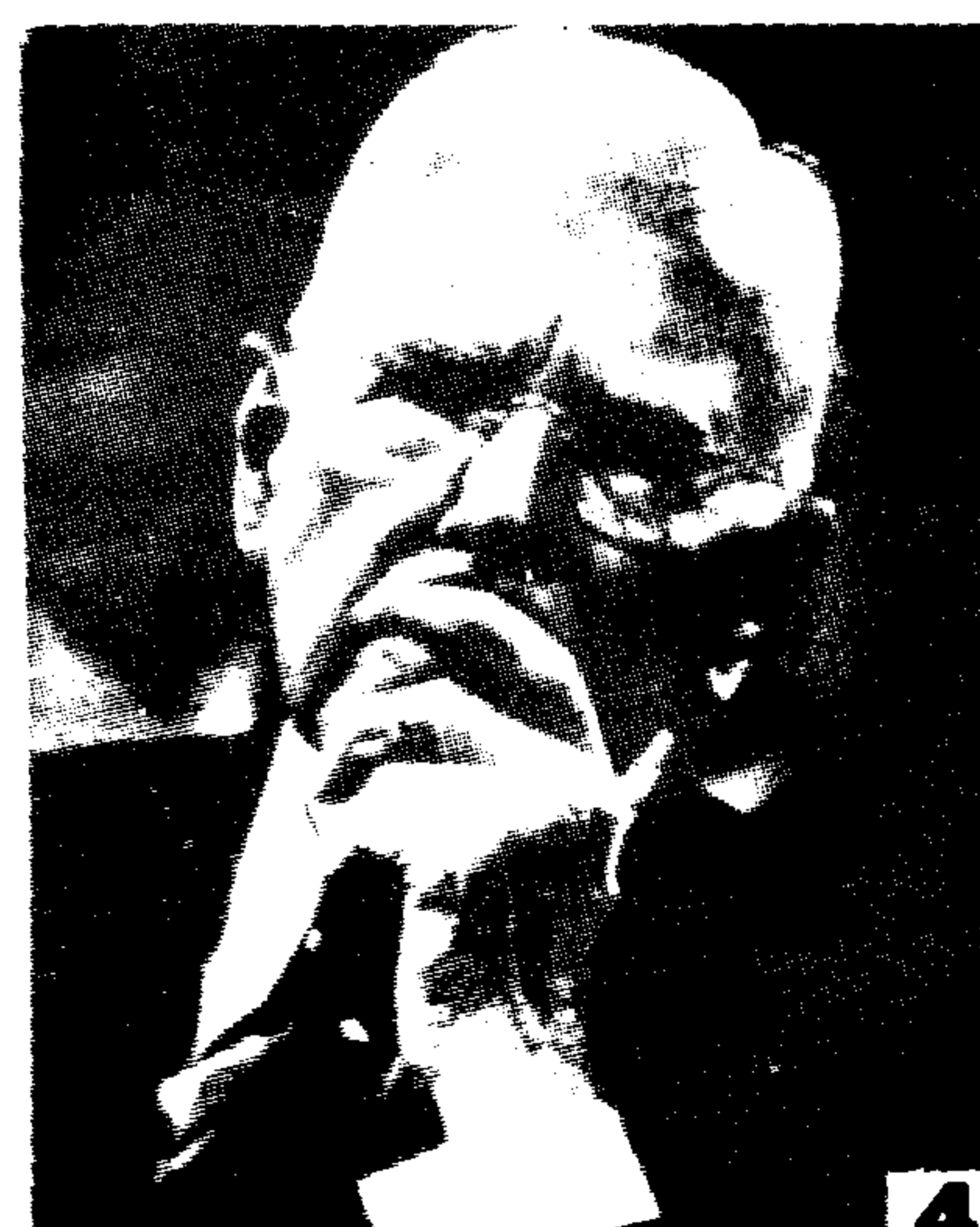
2 December. First expropriations of large estates, in line with the agrarian reform law.

1971

7 January. Chile and China decide to establish diplomatic relations.

4 April. In the municipal elections, the Popular Unity get 49.75% of the votes cast.

18 May. The MIR 'Movement of



the notion that the sacredness of democracy is best guaranteed when the bourgeoisie is armed to the teeth and the workers are unarmed"

Leon Trotsky

The recent second strike of transport owners, shopkeepers and professional associations prompted Allende into what was to be a last attempt at compromise. The Christian Democrats, with a majority in the legislature, demanded a "Cabinet of National Security" including the heads of the army, navy and air force. Allende agreed.

But it proved a fragile solution. As the workers, despite Allende, began to mobilise and prepare armed groups for self defence, Allende ceased to be acceptable to the capitalists as head of state on any terms — even in the custody of the service chiefs.

After less than a fortnight, General Prats resigned for the second time, "to preserve the

unity of the army", after the wives of army officers demonstrated outside his house demanding his resignation.

The State

And General Ruiz, the Air Force chief, lasted only 9 days as a minister. He became alarmed by Allende's first timid moves to make adjustments in the armed forces. Allende had a strictly social democratic conception of the state. This view fails to see that the state institutions — as a whole and as such — are organs of the ruling class. It does, however, note that within these (supposedly neutral) institutions various individuals

display class bias. So, change a few individuals — and there will be no problem... Allende planned to retire forcibly 7 generals, 4 admirals and 2 airforce commanders. In reaction to this Ruiz resigned as Minister of Transport — and was dismissed as Air Force chief. And the Forces, the 'neutral' state machine, closed ranks for the death blow.

As an ironic postscript to Allende's social democratic illusions in the nature of the state, General Gustavo Leigh Guzman, whom he appointed to replace Ruiz, is now a leading member of the counter-revolutionary junta!

In this unstable situation Chilean society became increas-

ingly polarised. On the Right fascist terrorism increased and army officers — and no doubt the CIA — plotted. On the left, workers began to arm. The military was concerned above all by "the constant increase of para-military groups" of workers including supporters of the U.P. government.

The Government, especially the so-called Communist Party (which formed the right wing of the Government) remained to the last consistently hostile to the development of a workers' defence force. Allende referred to such a development as a case of "the ultra-left linking up with the ultra-right". And the General Secretary of the Communist Party stated "They (the Right) are claiming that we have an orientation of replacing the professional army. No sir, we continue to support keeping our armed institutions strictly professional!"

Another Communist Party leader had this to say of the Armed Forces: "The armed forces, observing their status of a professional institution, take no part in political debate, and submit to the lawfully constituted civilian power. Bonds of co-operation and mutual respect have evolved between the Army and the working class in the name of the patriotic goal of shaping Chile into a free, advanced and democratic land." (Banchemo, quoted in the current issue of World Marxist Review)

But groups of workers, understanding the reality of power in society better than Allende and the Communist Party wanted to, continued to arm. Since last October "Cordon Industriales" have been formed in most major centres: workers' councils, run by militant workers, organised armed detachments to meet the right wing threat.

Arms control laws were passed to curb these organisations, and frequent army raids on factories would seize arms. Nevertheless it was these Cordon Industriales that put up the main resistance to the army in the industrial belts of Maipo and Los

Cerrillos around Santiago. But, though the military situation is still not clear at the time of writing, reports indicate that the Army has achieved full control.

For the Chilean workers now organising a counter-offensive, it is vital that in the coming struggle the leaders of the Popular Unity parties — who prepared this tragic defeat for the Chilean masses, disabling and attempting to disarm them (both politically and physically) in face of the long threatened and quite inevitable bourgeois offensive — must never again be allowed to mislead the working class.

Allende

No socialist will rejoice at Allende's defeat and death. But the lesson must be drawn — that there is no peaceful road to socialism, by permission of the capitalists and under the protection of armed forces and a state machine designed only to protect the capitalists.

It applies no less to Britain, a country, like Chile, with a long "democratic" tradition in internal politics, and with apparently neutral armed forces.

The Chilean tragedy is above all an indictment of all those, like the British Communist Party, who preach the idiotic and traitorous nonsense that the capitalists will ever surrender power peacefully.

As for Salvador Allende, history's epitaph for him will be that he was a democrat and a sincere socialist — but a bad would-be revolutionary who ignored the dearly won lessons of working class struggle, such as the experience of the Popular Front government in Spain in the period leading up to Franco's army revolt of June 1936, which was in many ways similar to Chile's last three years. Allende has paid for this with his own life and with the lives of many hundreds, perhaps thousands, of brave Chilean workers.

Those who survive will learn from the experience. So must we.

Chilean peasants seized land — those below belong to the "Arnoldo Rios Settlement" (named after a revolutionary activist shot by members of the Chilean Communist Party when he tried to prevent them from removing revolutionary posters from a wall. The CP tried to keep workers and peasants from arming).



3 YEARS

the ITT and the CIA conspired in 1970 and 1971 to overthrow the government.

29 June. The negotiations broached at the beginning of the month with the Christian Democracy are broken off.

21/22 August. Beginning of a tradesmen's strike and street demonstrations. State of emergency declared in Santiago.

11 October. Following violent clashes during a lorry-owners' strike, a state of emergency is proclaimed in 24 provinces out of 25. The tradesmen go on strike in their turn.

30 October. While the lorry-drivers' strike hardens, the opposition launches a constitutional impeachment procedure against four ministers.

2 November. Formation of a new government after the old one resigns en bloc on 31 October. Three military figures enter the government. General Carlos Prats, commander in

chief of the army, becomes minister of the interior.

5 November. End of the lorry-drivers' strike.

20 December. Negotiations are opened in Washington on the compensation of the nationalised copper companies.

1973

1 March. Legislative elections. The Popular Unity carries 43.9% of the vote, which is considered as a success for president Allende. The bloc of opposition parties (CODE) gains 54.7% of the vote.

28 March. The military leave the government.

15 May. The strike of the El Teniente copper miners, which has lasted three weeks, aggravates the political crisis.

27 June. A state of emergency is declared in Santiago following an assassination attempt against general Carlos Prats. It was lifted on Wednesday 4 July.

28 June. An armoured car regiment rebels and attacks presidential palace. The revolt is subdued in three hours. Allende claims full powers, but is refused them by the Parliament.

3 July. End of the El Teniente copper miners' strike. The Chilean state has lost more than \$40 million through the strike.

5 July. Formation of a new government, without military participation.

25 July. The lorry drivers launch a national strike. They will be followed on August 2nd by the public transport drivers.

27 July. The army, under the command of General Prats, attacks the headquarters of the Communist Party.

Marin, is assassinated. The extreme right and the far left accuse each other of the murder.

3 August. The Christian Democrats, who had entered a dialogue with the government to try to end the crisis, pose severe conditions which put the negotiations in stalemate.

9 August. A new cabinet, the sixth since the arrival in power of the Popular Unity, takes the Oath. It includes the commanders of the three armed services.

12 August. General Ruiz resigns from his functions as minister of public works and the command of the Air Force.

24 August. Generals Guillermo Pickering and Mario Sepulveda resign. The first was the director of all the military institutes in the country, the second was commander of the Santiago garrison. They, like General Prats, were considered Allende supporters.

27 August. Admiral Raoul Montero, Commander in Chief of the Chilean navy, submits his resignation as minister of Finance.

28 August. Formation of a new government, including four military figures.

4 September. Between 700,000 and 800,000 people join a five-hour demonstration in the streets of Santiago to celebrate the third anniversary of Allende's election to the presidency.

5 September. Tens of thousands of women demonstrate in the streets of Santiago for the resignation of president Allende.

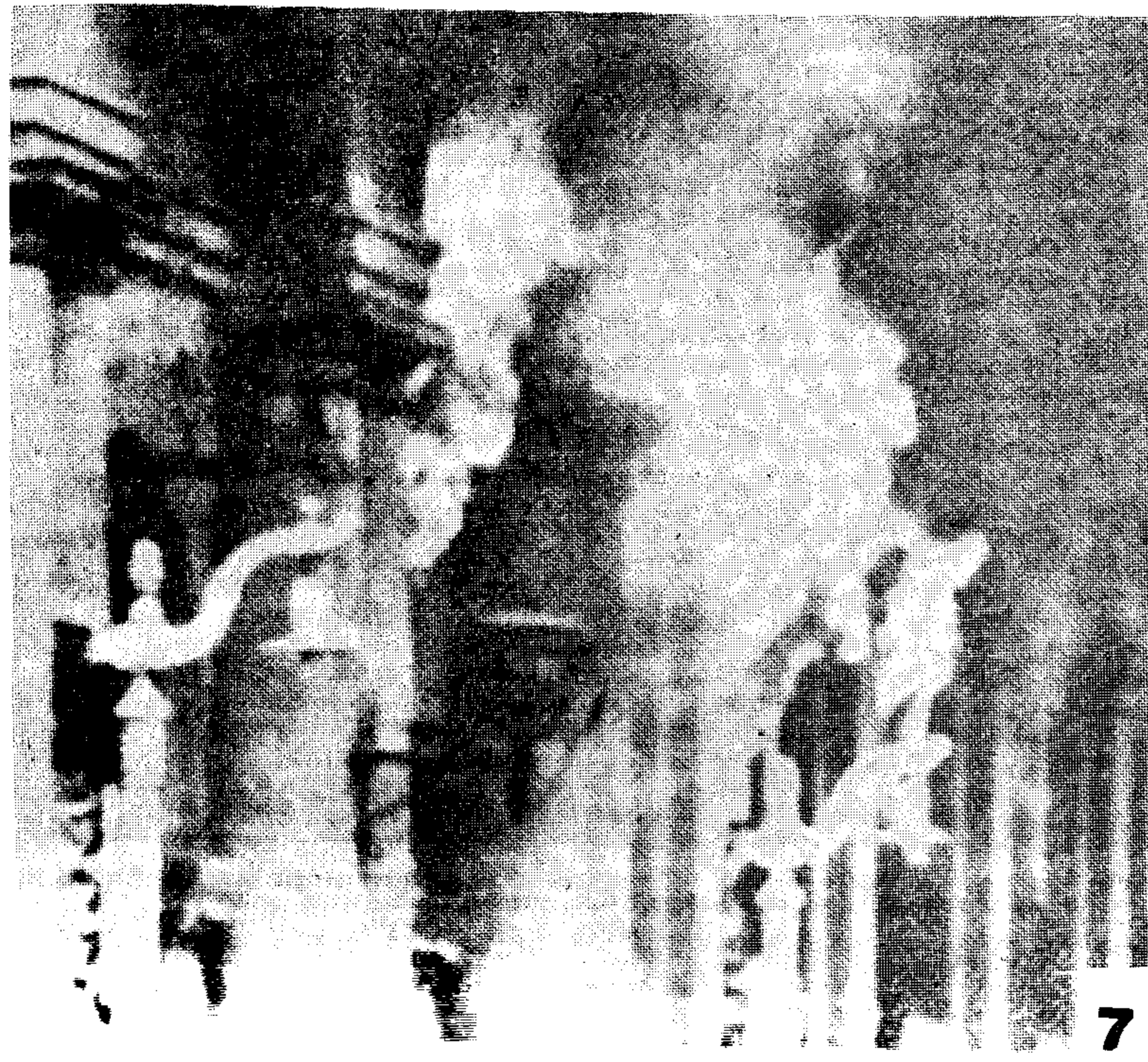
7 September. President Allende proposes a plebiscite and a re-continuation of the dialogue with the Christian Democracy.

Illustrations

1. Allende's inauguration — watched by generals. 2. Peasants occupying land. 3. Right wing demonstration: fascist thugs and, behind them, middle class women. 4. John McCone, former CIA Director and now with ITT. 5. General Carlos Prats. 6. Part of pro-Allende mobilisation. 7. Allende's HQ burns



6



7



5

BOMBS AND BOMBAST

The Socialist Labour League discovers the Irish Question

"WORKERS PRESS", daily paper of the Socialist Labour League, which was once a Trotskyist organisation, has over the last 3 weeks carried a large number of articles in a campaign against the International Marxist Group and, in particular, against one Gery Lawless.

Lawless, a free-lance journalist (and prominent member of the IMG) says he received a statement at the outbreak of the bombing in Britain from the Irish Republican movement admitting responsibility for the bombing.

He passed it on to the press and police. Later, with his solicitor, he reported to Scotland Yard "to guard against possible charges as an accessory after the fact". Then when the statement was denounced as a "hoax" by the Provisional IRA he still insisted, in the press and on TV, that it was genuine. He is still the only "evidence" definitely linking republicans with the bombings.

WORKERS PRESS has seized on the Lawless incident, and

upon the mystery still surrounding the bombings, and has gone very close to openly calling Lawless a police provocateur. It and the SLL pose as the defenders of the republicans against Lawless and the IMG, whom they accuse of acting as 'finger-men' against the republican movement and of betraying the Irish struggle. The SLL itself condemns the bombings, insists that it is all and only the work of British agents, and that even to suggest otherwise is to play the Tories' game.

Now, WORKERS' FIGHT has serious differences with the IMG: on Ireland, its so-called "Permanent Revolution" perspective (that the present national struggle in Northern Ireland can go over to or trigger off a 'process' of revolution that will end in workers' power) is romantic, 'third-worldist' nonsense, which can only have crippling implications for revolutionary work in Ireland itself.

But in Britain the IMG has a

fine record of solidarity with the fight of the IRA against the British Army. And that is the acid test for genuine revolutionaries in Britain now. Revolutionaries as opposed to windbags.

Thus the SLL windbags have boycotted every single solidarity action in support of the IRA. While they were ready enough to shout for the victory of the 'Vietcong' fighting another imperialism thousands of miles away, they have never shouted or even whispered for the victory of the IRA against 'their own' imperialism in a war on Britain's doorstep.

SLL evade issue

The SLL has failed every test. They opposed British troops being actively used in Ireland in 1969 — but only on a basis of lying in their press about the deep divisions in the Northern Ireland working class, and pretending that the troops were quelling a workers' revolution! They have consistently run away from explicitly supporting the military action of the IRA, which is actually leading the Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry in 1972, Aldershot military barracks was bombed by the Official IRA, the SLL publicly attacked this legitimate act of war and justice as ... terrorism!

The political essence of their current line boils down to the statement that they "condemn the bombings, whoever is responsible". Instead of the Marxist position of first and foremost defending in principle the right of an oppressed people to fight their oppressors in any way they feel they need to, and also their right to take the struggle into the home country of their oppressors — the SLL evade the issue by refusing to even consider that the bombings could be the work of some section of Irish freedom fighters.

But what if they are, and what if the IRA carries out the threat made recently by Provisional leader David O'Connell to take the war to English cities? The SLL's insistence now that it can't be the republicans, and must be provocateurs is, for all the noise and bluster, a preparation, an 'alibi' to avoid clashing with the British state if that happens.

These 'revolutionaries' specialise in bombast, especially in quiet and peaceful times; — and prepare to run for cover when things become serious.

All the fuss about Lawless and the IMG is a smokescreen in preparation for one more display of despicable political cow-



Lawless as pictured in the Daily Mail last month

ardice by the leaders of the SLL. In contrast the IMG defend, in principle, as we do, the right of the Irish republicans to bring the war across the Irish Sea if they think it necessary, while expressing their own opinion (and we concur) that a bombing campaign in Britain is a gross tactical error and will be counterproductive.

Lawless himself, and his conduct on this matter, are another question. Since 1970 he has worked consistently for the solidarity movement in Britain. His record of activity on Ireland contrasts damningly with that of the SLL. To deny his sincere devotion to the Irish struggle is ignorant, impudent nonsense — he fought to make the Irish question an issue on the British left long before the current struggles made it obvious and unavoidable (so did we).

But there is more to it. When the Dublin Republican leaders said the statement was a hoax, he had no business to continue publicly insisting on the genuineness of the statement he received and passed on. If he is only a journalist he could reasonably insist on the priority — for him — of defending and maintaining his credibility as an informed commentator.

Leading spokesman

But he is primarily a political militant, one of the IMG's leading spokesmen on Ireland.

At the very least it is probable that some of the explosions are the work of provocateurs, and revolutionaries must remind the working class of such possibilities and explain the meaning and implications of such things as the Littlejohn affair.

Lawless's activities made this difficult, and for the IMG impossible. Lawless effectively committed the IMG to

identifying the bombers as the IRA, thus forming a perfect parallel to the SLL's hysterical cop-out insistence that it couldn't be other than provocateurs.

This is only the latest act of gross irresponsibility and disruptive behaviour by Lawless. For example the "Workers Press" raked up a notorious scandal of two years ago, when Lawless gave information — including names — about alleged members of the Angry Brigade to a french journalist, and himself published easily identifiable descriptions of others "Red Mole", precursor of the IMG paper "Red Weekly". This was in the form of a friendly warning to the Angry Brigade against police agents!

Dormant commission

At the time, WORKERS' FIGHT got a resolution through the then Irish Solidarity campaign dissociating it from Lawless on the Angry Brigade issue.

The IMG set up a commission to investigate the affair; it remains dormant, never, we understand, did any investigating, and was only a means of burying the affair. Pertinent questions therefore remain unanswered.

The panic-stricken opportunists of the SLL use Lawless, and old episodes like that of the Angry Brigade, to obscure and hide the principled questions on which the IMG is entirely right against them. This, of course, is only possible because the IMG has chosen to give him a 'home' and its political 'protection' since 1970.

That said, we repeat: for three years Lawless has worked as part of the IMG, on the basis of a clear position of solidarity with the IRA (his previous record in association with IS's leadership is another matter), while the SLL has boycotted every action and slithered from one opportunist evasion to another.

On this side of the question even Lawless is a model of principled politics compared with the slanderers and liars who lead the SLL.



□ CAPITALISM is inseparable from the exploitation by the bourgeoisie of the working class 'at home' and (since 'advanced' capitalism became imperialist) of the workers and peasants in the colonies and neo-colonies abroad.

It is a vicious system geared to buttressing the strong against the weak, to serving the handful of capitalists against the millions of workers, and to keeping many millions in poverty so that a few may prosper. Capitalism exalts property and degrades life. It is at the root of the racialism which poisons and divides worker against worker. It is a system of massive waste and social disorganisation, at the same time as it forces the working class to fight every inch of the way to better or even maintain its wages and conditions.

Having once been progressive, in that it at least developed, in the only way then possible the productive resources of mankind, it is now a totally reactionary force in history. Its expansion after World War 2 gave it merely the appearance of health: in reality the boom was like the flush on a sick man's face. Already economic expansion has given way to creeping stagnation.

□ TODAY the ruling class can keep their system going only at the cost of large scale unemployment and attempts to cut the living standards of workers in the 'rich' parts of the world, of massive starvation and bloodshed in the 'poor' two thirds of the world, and of the ever-present threat of the destruction of humanity through nuclear war.

□ THE ONLY WAY OUT is for the working class to take power and to bring the resources of the modern economy under a rational working class plan, in place of the present unplanned and blind private profit system. Having overthrown capitalism and established social ownership of the means of production, the working class will build towards a truly communist society, in which at last the principle will be "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

□ The working class has created political parties for this purpose — LABOUR PARTIES, COMMUNIST PARTIES, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. But in country after country these parties have joined capitalist governments and managed capitalism. They have betrayed the socialist aspirations of their working class supporters, tied the labour movement to the bosses' state, interest and ideology, and destroyed the political independence of the working class.

□ The task is therefore to build a socialist party which will stand firmly for the interests of the working class. WORKERS' FIGHT is a group of revolutionary socialists, aiming to build that party: a party which is democratically controlled by an active working class membership, which preserves its political independence and fights the ideological domination of the ruling class.

□ The basis of our activity is the scientific theory of MARXISM, the only theory which gives a clear understanding of present day society and of the necessity of revolutionary change.

□ Although they cannot organise the struggle for workers' power, THE TRADE UNIONS are indispensable for the defence of workers' interests. We fight for the independence of the unions from all state control, and within the unions for militant policies and for democracy. We see the trade union bureaucracy as a distinct stratum which acts as a broker between workers and bosses. Its life and work-situation is quite different from that of the working class. Lacking a direct, necessary allegiance to working class interests, or any fundamental historical interests of its own, its general tendency is to work with the bosses and their state against the working class.

Only a mass national rank and file movement, linking up the different industries and guided by the ideas of revolutionary Marxism can, in this period, turn the trade unions into reliable instruments of working class interests, independent of the bosses' state.

□ We fight against the INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ACT, against any incomes policy under capitalism, and against any legal restrictions on trade unionism.

□ We fight against 'EMPLOYMENT'; for a national minimum wage; for work or full pay, against productivity bargaining.

□ We fight to extend the power of workers to control the details of their own lives in industry here and now. We stand for the fight for WORKERS' CONTROL with the understanding that it can be made a serious reality only in a workers' state. We are against any workers' 'participation' in managing their own exploitation under capitalism.

□ We believe that the 'PARLIAMENTARY ROAD TO SOCIALISM' is a crippling illusion. The capitalist class will not leave the stage peacefully; no ruling class ever has. Socialism can be built only by smashing the capitalist state machine (army, police, civil service) which is the ultimate defence of the bosses' power in society, and replacing it with a state based on democratic Workers' Councils.

□ We fight for full and equal rights for WOMEN, for female emancipation from the male domination which has co-existed throughout history with class society and which has its roots in such society. We fight, in particular, for the emancipation of women of our own class, suffering a double and triple exploitation, who have been most accurately described as the "slaves of the slaves".

□ We fight against RACIALISM and against immigration controls. We fight for the integration of immigrant workers into the labour movement and for a united front against capitalism, whilst supporting the right of black minorities in Britain to form defence leagues or independent political organisations.

□ We give unconditional support to the struggles of oppressed peoples everywhere fighting against IMPERIALISM, and to their organisations leading the fight.

□ British workers have — fundamentally — more in common with every single worker throughout the globe, irrespective of race, religion, or colour, than with the whole of the British ruling class. We see the fight for socialism as a world-wide struggle, necessitating the creation of a world revolutionary party, such as Leon Trotsky founded the Fourth International, in 1938, to become. We consider that the mainstream of Trotskyism surviving from the 1938 Fourth International is the United Secretariat of the Fourth International but that this organisation in some of its theories and much of its practice (for example that of the British section) represents a degenerate form of Trotskyism. We fight for the regeneration of the Fourth International.

□ We stand for a political revolution of the working class against the bureaucracies of THE U.S.S.R. and the other countries called 'communist' which we consider to be degenerated and deformed workers' states. The social regime of the different bureaucracies has nothing in common with socialism, let alone with real communism. At the same time, we defend the nationalised economy in these countries against capitalism and imperialism, unconditionally: that is, irrespective of the selfish, usually anti-working-class and anti-revolutionary policies of the ruling bureaucrats, and against those policies.

We denounce cover-up

THE LAWLESS AFFAIR

Split

The Lawless affair: We demand answers

Gery Lawless 'explains' his actions

ALEX MITCHELL COMMENTS

THE SOCIALIST Labour League unequivocally denounces the activities of Mr Gery Lawless, member of the International Marxist Group, operating with Scotland Yard and the capital during the Lawless affair in 'Red Week'.

PAGE 12 Workers Press, Saturday August 25

Some headlines from the Workers' Press campaign

The explosions in Britain:

WHAT SHOULD SOCIALISTS SAY?

EDITORIAL STATEMENT

THE SOURCE, OR SOURCES, of the bombs that have been exploding in English cities for a month now still remains unknown.

Generally Irish Republicans, or their sympathisers, are held responsible. If they are — then what should the attitude of socialists in Britain be?

This newspaper believes that Britain's bosses have no right to interfere in the affairs of the people of Ireland. Throughout the centuries that they have bled Ireland, their only 'right' in that country has rested on naked terror, force, fraud, and murder.

Wrongs

The catholic revolt starting in 1968 was long maturing. The bitter wrongs of centuries, and of the last half-century in particular, have ensured its continuation. Having once started to move, the republican catholics became convinced that it was better to choke on CS gas and to risk losing their lives against a powerful, well-trained, and superbly equipped army, than ever again to subside into sullen resignation.

Justice in this war has been entirely on the side of the republicans. Talk of the democratic rights of the protestant Irish minority (the 6 County majority) is irrelevant and hypocritical nonsense. The Six County state was an artificial creation of British imperialism. Its 'rights' are the 'rights' of British imperialism — in active opposition to the right of the Irish people to self-determination.

Explain

If we support the right of the Irish people to self-determination, then we must support their right to fight for it; and if we support their fight, then we must support them using any means necessary — including extending the war into Britain.

Even if we believe that a tactical error is being made, it is the job of socialists to patiently and insistently explain to the working class that if youths from Belfast plant bombs in British railway bars, then they have been conditioned for this work by the British Army, through years of terror, of seeing their homes wrecked and their friends interned, jailed, and killed, while the mass of the

British people looked on placidly.

If there were no British troops in Ireland, then there would not be bombs in British cities — whether those bombs are planted by republicans or by agents of the British government as part of their war to isolate the IRA from sympathy in Britain.

It is not a question of terrorism as Marxists understand the word. Military action isolated from a mass base in Britain it certainly is, if republicans are planting the bombs. But the crucial criterion is the relation to the mass base in Ireland.

A military campaign in Britain would, however, increasingly take on the character of isolated, indiscriminate and thus futile acts of violence which would have only one effect — to help create mass support in England for Government action in Ireland. It would act against the still feeble 'Troops Out' movement. It would begin to 'make sense' to have the troops rooting out the 'terrorists' at their base.

"Ruins"

Not too many of the large body of British working class opinion which would gladly see Edward Heath strung up on the yard arm of his yacht see the IRA as fellow-fighters against one other aspect of Government and ruling class policy. But some have already done so; more can be made to do so; that is the job of revolutionaries in Britain. While we have no right to demand that the beleaguered republicans in Northern Ireland make that job easy — we do have the right to argue with them that a campaign of bombing in England will be counter-productive.

Unlike the economic-warfare bombing in Northern Ireland it will stand no chance of being on such a scale as to be a major factor in the situation. It will primarily hit at ordinary people, and thus primarily help the government.

When Sean MacStiofain said recently, in the course of denying responsibility for the bombs, that the IRA could easily reduce London "to ruins", then the degree of miscalculation is hardly less than that which led to the 1939 campaign in English cities — a campaign which was disastrous for the IRA.

Precisely because of the likely effect of a bombing camp-

aign, it is still likely that some if not all of the explosions are the work of the same people who set off bombs in Dublin last December — bombs which helped to push anti-IRA measures through the Dail, and were almost certainly planted by British agents.

If we assume, on the other

hand, that it is some faction of republicans, it would probably indicate not so much strength as weakness. Weakness partly caused by the lack of active solidarity in Britain with the IRA. We must change that!

The 'natural' instinct to direct hostility and resentment against the bombers and not at

the Government is going to be the best ally the government has. Socialists must insist, especially during a bombing campaign, that the anger should be turned at the government which is responsible directly for the terror in Northern Ireland — and therefore also for the bombs in Britain.

Women's fight

Resist this tide of "Women's Jobs"!

WHATEVER IS SAID about the advances brought by the women's movement, the fact is that in many respects the oppression of women is getting worse.

One of the reasons is the Equal Pay Act. Giving employers five years in which to bring women's pay into line with men's gave them, in fact, five years in which to restructure and re-grade thousands of jobs to avoid comparability.

So there has been an actual growth of 'women's jobs', and more and more women have found that they walk out of one 'women's job' at home and into another at work.

This has become so blatant that the Tory government has now published its Green Paper on job discrimination, which is, we are told, to herald a new era of equal chances for any job. It says little, unfortunately, about preparation for such jobs, and leaves single-sex schools intact, so that vast numbers of girls will not have had the education needed for, say, many apprenticeships.

And, of course, it has no teeth. So if there is to be any stand against the tide of new 'women's jobs', let alone any inroads into 'men's jobs', it will have to be made by women themselves. And they will need to equip themselves with demands that adequately serve the struggle and take it forward.

Not long ago a set of demands was put to one management relating to their proposal to take on women workers, and these demands could well prove useful in future struggles — the fact they were put by men and accepted by the male workers also indicates that women are not necessarily limited to their own industrial bargaining power in defending their interests.

At Stanton and Stavelly Iron Works near Ilkeston, the workers on the 'spud plant' told the management that they could not prod-

uce at 100% efficiency because of lack of manpower. The management could not find any men to take the jobs and so suggested that the plant should employ women workers.

Was this a cue for lower wages, and hard jobs for the women?

After putting the suggestion forward to the Shop Stewards Committee one shop steward, Geordie Barclay (proposed a list of demands and brought them before the Shop Stewards' com-

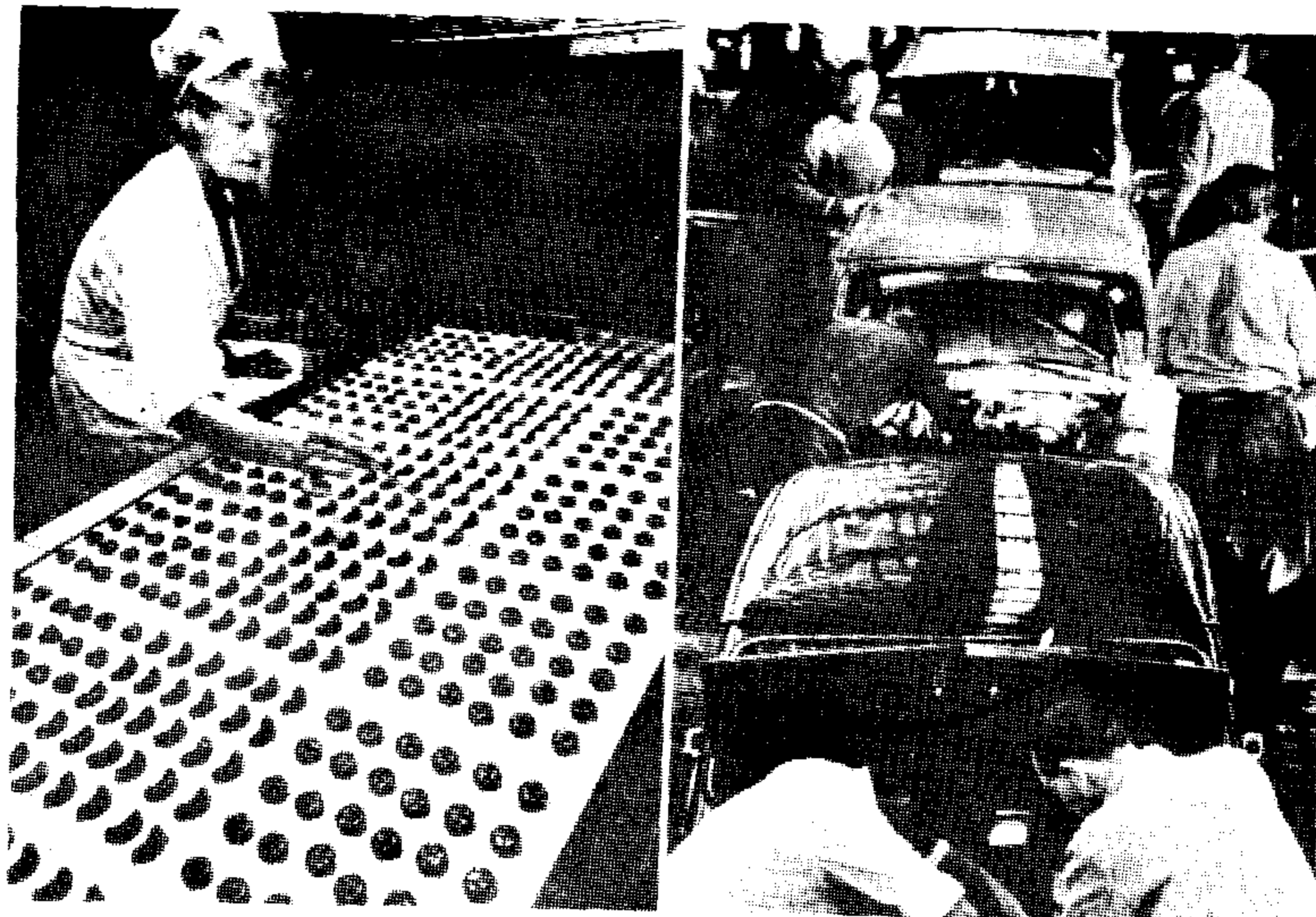
4. The women should contribute the same union rates as the men so that they received the same benefits.

5. Time allowances should be made for women with family responsibilities fully paid by management.

6. Shower facilities and toilets to be installed for the women.

7. The management should provide a fully staffed 24 hour nursery for the children of the women as this was a shift job.

The shop stewards committee



Women's jobs ...

... and men's?

mittee for discussion. The demands were as follows:

1. Immediate equal pay for the women with the men. As the men on the shop floor had parity of wages this meant that the women would be earning a basic wage of over £30 a week.

2. No man was to be moved from his job for a woman. This meant that there would be no jobs which could be classed as women's jobs.

3. That women were to be graded in the same way as the men on the shop floor. The jobs were already graded by the strength of the worker so that if a worker could not manage a heavy one then he would be moved on to a lighter job.

agreed to put forward these demands. All of them were accepted by the management with the exception of the demand for the nursery.

Stanton and Stavelly happens to have a strong union, and Geordie Barclay, a member of Workers' Fight, is a revolutionary. Nevertheless, the economic pressures on the Stanton management are not particularly unusual, and the fact that they could be pressured into accepting most of these demands is a good sign of what can be done in industry generally towards the furtherance of the principles of the women's movement.

SUE LEIGH

March against Fascism!

NOTTINGHAM: The National Front is trying to march again! This time, they are planning a regional scale effort in Nottingham, on Saturday, September 29th.

Anyone who can, should get to Nottingham to join the counter-demonstration organised by the Nottingham SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE AGAINST RACIALISM.

SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 29TH: Meet 2.15 at MINERVA HOUSE, SPANIEL ROAD, NORRINGHAM

LONDON WORKERS FIGHT

MARXISM AND TERRORISM

Speaker: Sean Matgamna

Sunday Sept. 30th at 8pm. at the Golden Lion, Kings Cross Road, N1

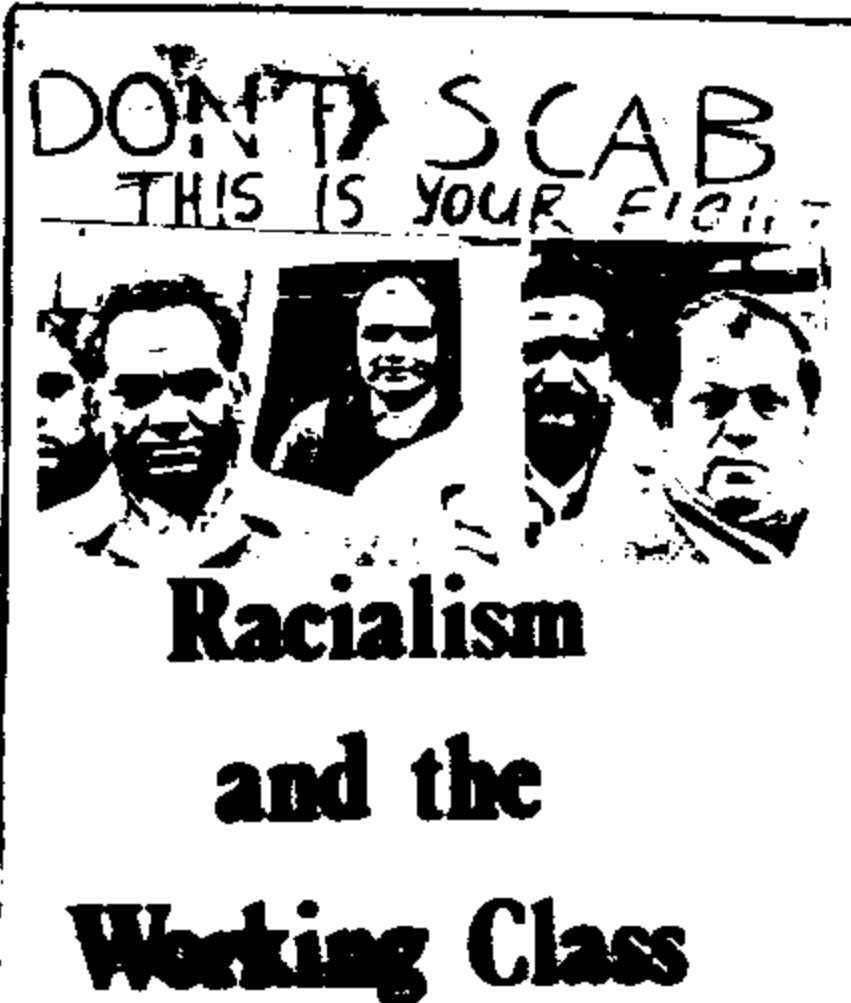
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Unfortunately we have to apologise again for our lateness. The installation of new printing equipment caused more upheaval than we expected and, with bringing out an 8-page supplement to this issue last week on the Shrewsbury 24, we could not keep to the schedule announced in the last issue.

Two Pamphlets from WORKERS' FIGHT



Produced to help in the campaign against racism, this 20 page pamphlet takes up the 'reasonable-sounding' racist arguments and traces the history of working class racism. Single copies 10p & postage. Bulk: 50p for 6; 80p for 12.

11 important articles from Workers' Fight, with introduction & appendix. An invaluable collection on the history, experience and theory of the General Strike. 20p plus 5p post. From 98 Gifford St., London N.1

The Industrial Relations Act and the fight for a GENERAL STRIKE



DOCKS

STEWARDS DISCUSS NATIONAL WAGE FIGHT

by Tom Ramsey

THE MEETING OF the National Ports Shop Stewards Committee last Saturday in Preston decided to carry forward the fight against containers being worked by 'non-registered labour'. The delegates, from Hull, Manchester, Liverpool Glasgow and Preston outlined some of the problems in the present campaign.

The Liverpool delegates pointed out how when they started to black containers from 'cowboy' depots, they had 40 piled up in one day. But the number fell off very quickly as the employers used other companies as fronts for their cowboy containers.

Hull described their plan to force 5 local groupage container firms to pay comparable wages or employ registered dockers. Their present plan is to strip and then re-stuff all 'cowboy' containers coming onto the docks!

Strategy

Basically the NPSSC is trying in its present campaign to enforce the Jones-Aldington agreement, which - in words - gave the registered docker some right to container groupage work. The dockers are having now to fight to get the concessions promised by Jones and Aldington less than a year ago.

The meeting also planned to send a delegation to meet Jack Jones and Tim O'Leary to get the Union's (T&GWU) position officially clear.

Hull proposed a national fight for an £8 claim, and this was referred to individual ports for discussion. Hull already plan a series of one-day strikes to press this claim - but it is vital that a unified national strategy is worked out to fight for it, otherwise the employers will play the port-against-port trick again.

It is also important to include a call for a shorter working week of 30 hours - possibly a unifying demand which will help to rally dockers to defend the National Dock Labour Scheme and fight to reverse the setbacks suffered since the last national strike.

Since that time the Jones-Aldington severance payment helped to undermine the dockers' organisation, and the introduction of temporaries made this worse. The employers with the Government have striven to isolate the dockers from the main class struggles; then the report of the National Ports Council, the collapse of the London dockers in face of Phase 2, and the 500 temporaries now working in Liverpool have all helped to increase this isolation.

The weakness of the National Stewards Committee is in fact only an indication of the present weakness of dockers. Thus a concerted national fight for a national wage claim will be a major step forward, but it must also be linked with the defence of the NDLS - for the last year has shown just how much the encroachments on the NDLS have weakened the dockers themselves.

So the comment of Bro. Docherty at the Liverpool report back meeting on the 16th that the NPSSC is "just a talking shop, and is not operating effectively" is only partly right. The lack of a clear policy on the NDLS and over the key issues of the Register have certainly made the NPSSC ineffective. But Bro. Docherty is mistaken if he thinks the NPSSC has lost its power to lead - if only by default.

In face of the hostility of the T&GWU leadership to the interests of the dockers, the NPSSC is still the dockers' only hope. ■

AUEW Claim

Put more stress on hours!

THIS YEAR, as in previous years, the claim put in by the engineering unions' joint body, the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, contains a basic paradox.

The claim - for a £35 minimum for skilled men (£10 per week increase), pro-rata increases for other grades, equal pay for women, a thirty-five hour week and an extra week's holiday in a 12 month no-strings agreement - will give very little money to the roughly half of the industry that is on about or above that rate.

For the approximately 1,400,000 workers who get well below the average earnings level the claim, if won, would mean a big pay advance.

But that is the paradox: those who are strongly organised and can fight won't gain; while those who do stand to gain are weak and in a bad position to fight for it.

This paradox would be solved if the unions were serious about the hours part of the claim - if they had put in a claim of £35 for 35 hours with the accent on the hours. But the record of even Scanlon's dealings in the last year's fiasco of a "struggle" shows that he is not prepared to wage a serious fight on the potentially unifying issue of hours.

The left has been strengthened. But precisely what it will do this time is as yet unknown. One thing augurs very badly, though. In the past, with Jim Conway editing the AUEW journal with all the fighting spirit of a jack-rabbit, the members' own claim would receive very little publicity, and little was done to galvanise them for a fight.

German strikes shake Brandt

by Bruce Robinson

THE WAVE OF unofficial strikes which has hit the car, metal and engineering industries in the Ruhr district has confirmed the expectation that West Germany is in for a "hot Autumn".

The strikes generally started as spontaneous protests against the effects of inflation on wages. They arose from a contract (which like all others in Germany is legally binding) signed by the metalworkers' union, I.G. Metall, which gave the workers a rise of 8.5% for 1973. Meanwhile, prices have risen by nearly 8%.

The strikes are therefore being

seen as the first serious challenge to the Government's "anti-inflation" policy: Brandt's view is little different from Heath's - "in the interests of stability workers should be willing to take some stagnation in real income levels."

Although the press has tried to blame 'outside agitators' and especially the Maoist KPD for stirring up trouble, the strikes were remarkable for the speed with which they sprang up and spread around the country.

The result was that the firms involved offered house agreements giving lump-sum increases of about £40, to 'compensate' for the rise in

the cost of living since the original contracts were negotiated.

Volkswagen didn't even wait for a strike, but paid such increases straight away to keep production going. Now the Government naturally fears that such payments will encourage many more groups of workers to follow the strikers' example.

Immigrants lead

The centre of the strikes has been the Ford plant in Cologne, where the dispute began over the sacking of 300 Turkish workers who returned late from their holidays. Then came the demands for wage increases. Altogether three Ford plants were closed before the management secured a return to work with an offer of £47. The threat of sacking still hangs over the 300 Turkish workers; but their militant attempts to prevent a return to work already show that the 2½ million strong immigrant labour force in Germany, intended by the ruling class to be a cheap and docile labour force, are beginning to find their feet in the struggle.

The participation and indeed the vanguard role of the foreign workers is closely linked with the second major grievance behind the strikes. Not only inflation has brought the workers out, but also the work conditions, particularly in assembly-line plants.

The often first-generation industrial workers from Southern Europe and Turkey have been the quickest to revolt against the gnawing tyranny of constant speed-ups on the assembly line. The late holiday return of Ford's Turkish workers

may have been an unconscious rebellion against this modern slavery. Certainly many of the strikes and the demands reveal a big concern about speed-up, Measured Day Work, job evaluation, etc.

The strike wave is significant for a number of reasons. First, the mere fact that unofficial strikes take place on any scale is a sign of the development of the self-activity of the German working class. The legal framework developed after the War makes contracts legally binding, with official strikes permissible only after a long process of negotiation has been unsuccessful.

This means that any unofficial action poses a far greater threat to the 'stability' which Brandt wants than they do in a country like Britain, where they have long been a fact of life that the bourgeoisie has to live with.

The economic problems facing the coalition government make it likely that, if the strikes continue, the State will try to play a far greater role in collective bargaining which, so far, Brandt has been reluctant to do. The pressure for him to do so has certainly been increasing over the past few weeks.

At present the whole situation hangs in the air, as the leaders of I.G. Metall, who have been forced to act, have broken off all talks with the employers' federation as they claim that no serious offer has been made to their demands for better holiday pay and other improvements in the new contracts, and for regional instead of national negotiations. Although a new meeting is expected, new strikes have already broken out and the initiative now rests with the workers in the factories. ■



Conway and Scanlon - no rallying call

During Conway's illness, Scanlon has been doing jack-rabbit Jim's job... and still there is no real rallying call on the question of the claim.

Once again it will be the rank and file, in particular the stewards' organisations, that will have to do all the fighting, and all the publicising.

Given the pasting the engineers received last time round, the Tories will be looking for a chance to introduce Phase 3 through the hole they intend to smash in the Confed claim. This makes this struggle more than at any other time a struggle for the whole of the working class.

If the Tories are beaten on this claim, the road will be open for a thorough trouncing of the Tories and an end to their government.

It is therefore essential that other workers don't just stand by staring or laying odds. We have all got to join the struggle of the engineers and make sure they win. In particular, if they learn the lessons of the miners' strike and the building workers' strike and use the flying picket, we have to be there helping out physically. ■

from page one

PHASE 3

idea of there being a fixed amount that can be paid out. As a result, the more one section of workers takes out, the less there is for others - if we play their game. This could produce either massive inter-union squabbling, or TUC vetting of individual union and plant agreements, and in either case it gives the union leaders the biggest cop-out of their lives.

Either way, any union co-operation with this plan spells a massive collaborationist betrayal.

This betrayal has already started. Indeed, only one union official has said a word about possible industrial action against Pay Board decisions (Gillman of the Society of Civil Servants) - and it may be that that was inspired more by the fact that the 100,000 GNSA members' civil servants are in his area than by any other reason. Even an

award which amounts to half the kitty already!

But what is really important is to smash the whole assumption of the Pay Board of the 'deserving poor' being 'granted' a small dole-out, and concentrate on using workers' collective industrial strength to get everything we can.

The best outlook for those workers whose wages and living standards have been pushed right down by the Government is not the same Government's Pay Board, but the fight that they and other (perhaps stronger) sections could put up for a decent size claim - the miners' £8-£13 claim, the claim for £8 now being discussed by dockers, and the Engineers' £10 claim (though there are problems there - see p.8).

It is these claims, which promise to sweep through Phase 3, and also through the begging bowl approach which the Pay Board and its authors assume. ■