

**Irish Labour Party:** BRENDAN CORISH, BRENDAN HALLIGAN, CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN

**Italian Social Democratic Party:** MAURO FERRI, ANTONIO CARIGLIA, GIAMPIERO ROLANDI

**Luxembourg Socialist Labour Party:** ANTOINE WEHENKEL

**Netherlands—Labour Party:** JOOP DEN UYL, MAX VAN DER STOEL

**Norwegian Labour Party:** KNUT FRYDENLUND

**Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party:** OLOF PALME, BERNT CARLSSON

**Swiss Social Democratic Party:** ARTHUR SCHMID

**Socialist International:** BRUNO PITTMANN, HANS JANITSCHKE, RODNEY BALCOMB

**EEC Socialist Bureau:** LUCIEN RADOUX

crisis, and then stated that the introduction of internment by the Northern Ireland Government in collusion with the British Conservative Government had produced a serious deterioration in the situation. Speaking of the British troops in Northern Ireland, he said that their withdrawal would almost certainly lead to the massacre of tens of thousands of Catholics by Protestant extremists.

After a short report by the General Secretary of the British Labour Party, Sir Harry Nicholas, on the recent talks in London between the four Labour parties of Britain and Ireland (see page 192), the Bureau unanimously adopted the following statement:-

*The Bureau of the Socialist International congratulates the Labour Parties of Britain and Ireland for their constructive attempts to find a just and peaceful solution to the problems of Northern Ireland.*

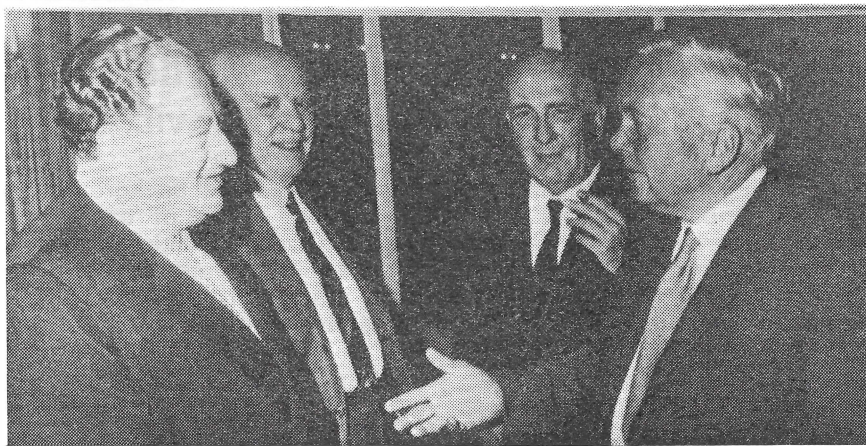
*The Bureau calls for the immediate ending of internment without trial in Northern Ireland and for the early opening of talks involving representatives of the Northern Ireland minority as well as the majority;*

*supports the 12-point programme recently put forward by Harold Wilson as a basis for constructive political action;*

*calls also on all socialists, both in the Republic and Northern Ireland to resist the present drift towards increasing violence and civil war, and in particular to repudiate clearly the different forms of sectarianism, bigotry and ultra-nationalism now being whipped up in their respective communities, and already threatening in the first instance the lives and livelihoods of working people and their families.*

The main business of the first day of the Bureau meeting was a discussion of the strategy to be adopted by the Socialist International towards the many progressive democratic parties in the Third World which do not have membership of the International at the present time. It was agreed that a special Third World Working Party should be established to make detailed proposals before the next Congress of the International in Vienna in June 1972 on the extension of membership to new parties in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Other aspects of the first day's session were a report on the first meeting of the Socialist International Study Group on the Middle East which had taken place in London the day before, and a strong condemnation of the reported arrest by the Dominican Republic authorities of the President



**Harold Wilson (right) explains a point to Bruno Kreisky in Salzburg. In the background: Josse Van Eynde and Jan Luyten of Belgium.**

## **S.I. Bureau on Pakistan and Northern Ireland**

Two important statements, one on the Pakistan crisis and the other on Northern Ireland, were adopted by the Bureau of the Socialist International at a regular two-day meeting in London on 11-12 September. The text of the Pakistan statement, adopted unanimously on 11 September following a first-hand report on the situation from Relus ter Beek (Netherlands), read:

*The Bureau of the Socialist International expresses its profound concern at the terrible human tragedy which has resulted from the political crisis in Pakistan. The stream of refugees from East Pakistan into India, which continues unabated, is placing a tremendous burden on the Government of India.*

*The Bureau of the International declares that there must be a political solution in order to end this tragedy and condemns this violation of human rights by the Pakistan military régime.*

*The Bureau of the Socialist International calls for:*

- 1. An immediate end to military repression in East Pakistan;*
- 2. The immediate and unconditional release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman*

*and other democratically elected representatives of East Pakistan.*

*The Bureau of the Socialist International believes that the situation in the Indian sub-continent constitutes a threat to peace as defined by the UN Charter. The Socialist International deeply regrets that the world community has not responded with sufficient urgency to this crisis and urges:*

- 1. That the UN should involve itself directly in working for a political solution which is in accordance with the will of the people of East Pakistan;*

- 2. That the UN should assume full responsibility for the refugee aid programme through a UN-administered Disaster Relief Agency, and in the meantime calls on all Governments to share the burden presently being carried by India alone;*

- 3. All countries, and in particular the members of the Pakistan Aid Consortium to refuse economic and military aid to Pakistan until a satisfactory political solution has been agreed.*

The situation in Northern Ireland was discussed by the Bureau on 12 September, which first heard an introductory report by Conor Cruise O'Brien, Foreign Affairs Spokesman of the Irish Labour Party, who attended the Bureau meeting as a special guest. Mr. O'Brien gave a brief survey of the historical build-up to the present

of the International Union of Socialist Youth, Rafael Alberquerque, and six of his comrades in the Dominican Revolutionary Party Youth. The latter news was given by the new General Secretary of IUSY, Jerry Svensson, who added that the Dominican police were reported to have beaten the arrested men. The Bureau issued a statement protesting against the arrests and expressing solidarity with the Dominican Revolutionary Party.

European questions dominated the proceedings of the second day. The Chairman of the International, Dr. Bruno Pittermann, gave a short report on the Salzburg European Party Leaders Conference (see page 174), which he said had been a most valuable and worthwhile meeting. The issue of European security was also discussed, with special reference to the recent announcement of a Berlin agreement. The latter development was generally considered to have been a major step towards the staging of a conference on European security in the near future.

The Sunday session was also notable for a report by the Portuguese exiled socialist leader, Mario Soares. Senhor Soares described the increasing persecution of Portuguese trade unionists in recent months and called upon the parties of the Socialist International to support the struggle of the Portuguese democrats. After hearing this report the Bureau decided to establish a sub-committee on Portugal to report on developments in that country to the Bureau.

Consideration of the Greek question resulted in a decision that the Chairman and General Secretary should send a letter to the President of the United States condemning in the strongest possible terms the continued backing which the Athens fascist régime is receiving from the American Government.

Towards the end of its session the Bureau heard reports from the General Secretary of IUSY on the re-establishment of this organisation and from the Chairman of the International Council of Social Democratic Women, Anna Rudling, on the ICSDW Seminar to be held in Singapore this autumn.

AJD

## Bureau Attendance

Austria KARL CZERNETZ, Finland KALEVI SORSA, PAAVO LIPPONEN, France ROBERT PONTILLON, Germany HANS-EBERHARD DINGELS, Great Britain, JOE GORMLEY, HARRY NICHOLAS, GWYN MORGAN, TOM MCNALLY, Israel MICHAEL HARISH,

ZVI HARMOR, Italy (PSI) PAOLO VITTORELLI, PIERO VIGORELLI, GINO BIANCO; Italy (PSDI) ALDO GAROSCI, GIAMPIERO ROLANDI, Netherlands MAX VAN DER STOEL, RELUS TER BEEK; Socialist International BRUNO PITTERMANN, HANS JANITSCHKEK, RODNEY BALCOMB, ALAN J. DAY; EEC

Socialist Bureau LUCIEN RADOUX; International Union of Socialist Youth JERRY SVENSSON; International Council of Social Democratic Women ANNA RUDLING, MARY WALKER. Guests: CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN (Ireland), MARIO SOARES (Portugal), BERNT CARLSSON (Sweden).

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## SOCIALISM AND SOCIETY

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# Workers Take Control on the Clyde

DAVID KEMP

**David Kemp of the British Labour Party probes the background to the great industrial crisis in the shipbuilding yards of the Upper Clyde. The crisis, which has resulted in the workers taking over and running the yards, has given the British Labour movement timely inspiration, highlighting as it does both the reactionary character of the Heath Government and the brutal inhumanity of latter-day capitalism.**

On the morning of Friday, 30 July, a shipbuilding union official approached the security man on guard at the main gate of John Brown's, which is Glasgow's most famous shipyard, where the *Queen Mary*, *Queen Elizabeth* and *QE2* were built. 'By the authority of the shop stewards' committee and the co-ordinating committee of the trade union movement of the Upper Clyde shipyards, the workers hereby take over this yard', he said. 'You will now take orders from the shop stewards only.'

It was an emotional moment. Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, of which Brown's was part, had just been forced into bankruptcy by the refusal of further financial aid by Britain's rigidly doctrinaire Conservative Government. And the previous evening, amidst scenes of uproar and intense anger in the House of Commons in London, John Davies, the Conservative Trade and Industry Minister, had announced his plans for the dismemberment of the group. These plans meant the closure of two out of the three UCS shipyards—including Brown's—and the eventual redundancy of 6,000 of Upper Clyde's 8,500 workers. Now, in taking over the yards, the Clydeside workers were asserting their right to work.

At the time of writing, some eight weeks later, the UCS occupation can already be counted as a political success. The courage, dignity and organisation of the UCS workers have inspired the whole of the British Labour movement at a time when such inspiration was never needed more desperately. The Government has very

probably been forced to modify its draconian proposals for closures and redundancies, though the final solution for Clydeside is as yet unclear. And for the first time in Britain, quantifying the real social cost of industrial closures has become the subject of widespread research and public debate. One of the most important by-products of the 'work-in' has been the establishment of a committee of inquiry by the Scottish Trades Union Congress to examine the effect on people and industry in West-Central Scotland of 6,000 workers becoming redundant.

UCS have lit a beacon for the British working class that, it is arguable, could have been lit nowhere else in Britain. For the shipyards' collapse occurred in the context of a severe recession in the Scottish economy that was the direct result of Conservative policies. The Conservatives, for instance, had abolished regional investment grants, which shattered industrial confidence. They had also cut back spending in the nationalised industries, which had a particularly severe effect in Scotland.

The cumulative result was that by August there were 135,000 unemployed in Scotland, 40% more than in the same month in 1970. Scottish unemployment was much worse than in Britain as a whole — 6.3% (males 8.2%) of the working population compared with 3.7%. In Glasgow the position was even worse. By April there were already 30,000 men out of work, exactly one-third of total Scottish male unemployment. The spectre of mass unemployment had returned