

**ALL OUT  
TO KILL  
THE  
ANTI-ABORTION  
BILL**  
National  
Demonstration  
Saturday  
June 21st  
2pm  
Charing Cross  
Embankment  
**MOBILISE NOW!**

# Workers' fight

5p

No.100 — June 14th to 21st 1975

**EEC  
REFERENDUM**

**After  
the  
vote**

SINCE the Provisional IRA ceasefire at the beginning of February, 36 civilians have been assassinated in northern Ireland. Almost all of them were victims of Protestant sectarian murder gangs.

These figures are worth translating into British proportions, which means multiplying them up by about 45. In British terms, the holocaust of Catholic lives since the ceasefire alone would be roughly 1600.

It has long been known that the British army has itself carried out assassinations. Last week's *Sunday Times* exposed a major area of collaboration between the British army and the Orange sectarian murder gangs. The Orange sectarian bigots point the gun — according to the evidence provided by the *Sunday Times*, they do so after the British army has first pointed the finger at the victims.

In northern Ireland, tens of thousands of people are arrested, processed, details of their lives filed away, and then released without charge or trial. Official records of the vast numbers involved are not available. According to the *Sunday Times*, files giving details of suspected Irish Republican Army volunteers and sympathisers, and their families, have been leaked by elements in the British army to an Orange paramilitary organisation.

Some of the documents contain photos and details such as addresses and car numbers, amassed by the British Army on people neither charged, tried, nor even considered 'worthy' of internment without trial.

## Death Warrant

The *Sunday Times* published six photographs. It had the decency to black out the faces, knowing that such a photograph could be a death warrant for its subject. The British Army, having collected a massive amount of such data, has circulated it widely throughout the army. This creates a situation where a single sympathiser with the Orange forces or a member of the British army willing to us the Loyalists to eliminate people can merely pass on the dossier and thus, in many cases, a sentence of death.

Of documents in the hands of the *Sunday Times*, two list the names of hundreds of Republican detainees in the concentration camp at Long Kesh "along with the names and addresses of their friends and relatives" (our emphasis). (The Army "officially" is not supposed to have access to information about the friends and relatives who visit men detained in Long Kesh.) Another document lists the names and addresses of 60 detainees who were released on a certain date. Another has the names of more than 400 detainees with the names and addresses of their visitors at the camp.

## Leaks?

This information, which the Army is not legally entitled to have, is obviously of tremendous value to the Orange murder gangs, who do not have access to Catholic ghettos. It is virtually certain that throughout the three or more years of massive sectarian assassinations, such 'leaks' will in fact have aided the Orange murder gangs in their grisly work.

Very many of the sectarian assassinations are simply random killings of Catholics as Catholics. Very many of them are of people suspected

**THE ARMY POINTS  
THE FINGER — AND  
THE ORANGE THUGS  
POINT THEIR GUNS**

or known to have Republican sympathies. The *Sunday Times* gives us proof of a direct link between the Army and this whole segment of sectarian assassinations.

Look at the figures. Since January 1st, 1975, 61 civilians have died, other than those killed in explosions. The vast majority of the 61 were victims of Orange murder gangs. (Translated into British terms, that would mean 2700 deaths). Since 1969 almost 900 'civilians' have died (British equivalent, 40,000).

The official figure for 'civilians' includes, of course, members of the IRA killed by the British army. They were Republican soldiers fighting a war of liberation, not civilians. Of the rest, some died in explosions or various shoot-ing accidents. Others died in internal feuds either in the Loyalist or in the Republican ranks. Many more were indeed civilians shot by the army, like the 13 unarmed men shot down on Bloody Sunday.

British Army spokesmen refuse to give figures for how many among the 900 dead they are responsible for. It is certainly less than half. Of the rest the vast

majority were victims of sectarian assassination squads.

It is the policy of the Republican movement to totally oppose any attacks on Protestants as Protestants, regarding them as misguided Irish men and women to be won over, not beaten down or exterminated. Inevitably the waves of Protestant assassinations has provoked some 'freelance' Catholic sectarian retaliation; however, the absolutely overwhelming majority of sectarian murders are

the work of Orangemen, who regard the Catholics as inferior beings — to be beaten down or exterminated.

For the British Army to have a share in the slaughter is itself a refutation of the ruling class lie that its primary role is that of peace keeper. Not only did the Army allow the Orange paramilitary forces to hatch out under its wing in 1972, to create a counter balance to the IRA — we now have proof that illegally collected and

compiled information has been spread so widely by the British army that its operations have in fact acted as a net to trap future victims for Orange assassination squads.

British workers must demand an investigation by the labour movement into the way the Labour Government is allowing the army to behave in northern Ireland. The Orange forces are preparing for civil war. Recently the para military units announced

Contd. back page

# ARMY AIDS ORANGE TERROR

Benn accepts trouble shooter job, as

## WILSON MOVES IN WITH THE RIGHT

THE swapping of Wedgwood Benn for Eric Varley will be widely resented on the left. There is no one who denies that Benn's removal from his post as Secretary of State for Industry is Wilson's way of placating big business. The *Guardian* put it simply: 'Wilson gives Benn's head to the City'.

The scene now is like the end of a fox-hunt with the mounted rich leaning back laughing while their obedient and clamouring hounds, the Tory press, tear joyously into their quarry.

For months now these people — the press, the CBI, the City — have been conducting a campaign varying from the slanderous to the plain silly to get Benn out. We commented on this when last that campaign reached a crescendo in May of this year: "Where Benn differs from the

presently powerful pack of Labour right wingers — Healey, Wilson, Callaghan, Lever and others — is that he doesn't think that all the bosses can be trusted to know what's best for them.... In order to achieve his sought-after 'regeneration of British industry' he therefore wants to save the begging barons from their own congenital vices of greed, short sightedness and self-centredness ... But the capitalists are not ready to give up any part of their control of industry. They are not convinced of the judgment history has made on them, and even less of Mr Benn's. Therefore they make him the target for every string of half-witted abuse they can piece together."

For a long time Wilson did not give way to this pressure. Why now? Clearly one of the

major factors is the trouncing of the Labour left in the Common Market referendum. No doubt believing them suitably cowed and dispirited, Wilson calculated that he could remove Benn without raising too much of a storm within the Labour Party rank and file, and without the move being seen as a move against the anti-EEC campaign.

A major reason was the announcement of a serious drop in investment, as well as a loss level for the pound. This may be some sort of gesture which might raise 'business confidence' vital from the point of view of a Labour leadership serving the interests of big business before all else. (The gesture does not seem very successful: although, if the rise in share prices is anything to go by, investment will

rise, the pound has continued to fall.)

What made it possible and desirable to respond to these situations was that Wilson no longer sees Benn as crucial to the business of keeping in credit with the trade union leaders. Ironically, it is Jack Jones (who is politically very close to Benn) who has made Benn fairly irrelevant to Wilson. So long as the task of a Labour government was to draw the trade unions into a close relationship after the discredit of the 1964/70 period, Wilson had to do the bending. Now that trade union leaders like Jones are freely offering to yoke up the working class behind the "national interest" — that is, the bosses' interest — the 'Benn gesture' becomes an expensive irrelevance.

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AFTER THE big "Yes" majority in the June 5th referendum, the Labour Right wing of Jenkins, Healey, Crosland, and Williams is cock-a-hoop, while Left wingers like Benn and Hart are chastened and downgraded.

Does this mean that the referendum result was a real setback for the interests of the working class? Does it mean that *Workers Fight* was wrong to say "Don't Vote" and that we should have added our efforts to the "Vote No" campaign.

Before the referendum, we said in *Workers Fight* that any result except a huge abstention rate would be a setback. The abstention figure, at 35 per cent (compared to 43 per cent Yes and 22 per cent No) was high, but only 5 to 10 per cent higher than the norm for a general election. The large majority of the population lined up behind one or the other capitalist alternative — either being swayed by the predictions of economic chaos if Britain withdrew, or attributing the economic crisis of recent years to the EEC, and believing a separate capitalist Britain would do better.

The majority of active trade unionists probably voted 'No', because they saw that as a way to hit back against the successive capitalist attacks on the British working class. For precisely that reason — paradoxically — it is a good thing that the "Yes" majority was so large. With the "In-Out" debate so decisively settled, militant working class energies can be redirected away from that diversion. Instead of looking for solutions for British workers without thinking of, or even at the expense of, workers of other countries, the labour movement can reorientate towards recognising the EEC as a new arena for struggle and start building international trade union links.

## Side Effect

The left has been weakened and demoralised — but not in the same way as it would be by a right wing victory in a union election, or the defeat of an important strike. The basic combativity of the working class remains untouched. Indeed, conditions are arguably worse for the government to impose a wage freeze than they would be for a government emerging from the political chaos following from a "No" majority. In the latter case, the line could be pushed of "we've got our country back, now let's pull together". As it is, however, the "No" campaign will show one good side effect. Any openly right wing moves by the government will chime in with suspicions stirred up and encouraged by the "Vote No" campaigners, and will therefore be more vigorously opposed.

The Labour 'left' has had a setback, not because it stood for a working class cause which has been defeated, but because it tied itself to standing as the champion of irrational capitalist policy against the right wing's rational capitalist policy. The major setback lies not in the vote, but in having got involved in the debate at all.

It is our duty as revolutionary socialists to fight alongside the left reformists when they take any steps, however hesitant in a genuine working class cause. When their steps are in another direction, however — defence of capitalist "little England" — we have no such duty to follow them to their fate! To sacrifice basic principles of socialist internationalism to considerations of short term gain or loss would in any case be opportunist. When the short term losses or gains are not even ours, but the losses or gains of the 'lefts' who have sold the Social Contract, who have endorsed Britain's continued military occupation of northern Ireland, who have kept the Shrewsbury 2 in jail — then to adopt a policy of "opportunism by proxy" is not just wrong, but simply foolish.



DAVE SPENCER reports from Coventry

THE five week old Massey Ferguson (Coventry) strike received a severe blow last Saturday (June 7th) at 4.30pm, when 140 top management with police back-up challenged 27 pickets and managed to reoccupy the plant at Banner Lane.

The Banner Lane plant houses the giant office block which is the nerve centre of Massey Ferguson's European operations — it had been closed to management and staff because of the workers' sit-in.

The Law, as usual, gave management full backing by granting an order on the Friday against 310 named Massey Ferguson strikers to leave the premises. The workers refused to be represented in court and were waiting until the Joint Shop Stewards meeting on Monday to decide their attitude.

This waiting around was a fatal mistake! They had been advised that it would take at least four days, as with the recent Warwick University sit-in, for the court writs to come through. But the outcome of the Warwick sit-in was hardly in doubt — 4,500 workers occupying a factory is a different proposition; another Sattley picket was on the cards.

### PHONY CALLS

Many workers pointed this out and recalled the "Chrysler cowboys" bursting through fences in the middle of the night to break the Chrysler strike. The class struggle does not stick to office hours! The management did not wait for bits of legal paper — they drove backwards and forwards past the picket line and seized their opportunity. Some pickets reported later that they had received anonymous phone calls telling them not to turn up on the Saturday as the picket rota had been changed.

In the event the 27 pickets present agreed to let the management in provided talks took place before Thursday June 12th. This was agreed and the meeting will take place on Wednesday.

So far the MF workers have been offered a laughable 6 per cent, in spite of MF's record profits of £168 million — whereas Chrysler workers got £8 a week from a firm on the verge of bankruptcy. The claim is not in fact much — it does not even break the social contract. But there is of course the fact that Perkins (MF) Peterborough gained parity with Coventry MF last year after a bitter struggle. Clearly the firm do not want a leap-frogging situation and so decided to hit the Coventry workers hard. At the same time there are rumours of Measured Day Work being introduced — it was thrown

# They even put the squeeze on the beer lorries BUT... YOU NEED MORE THAN MUSCLE

out by the workers two years ago. Also, the breaking of the strike at this time could well lead to the victimisation of Trade Union activists in the plant — staff as well as shop floor — and the greater disciplining of the work force.

It is important that the breaking of the picket line is not allowed to lead to a total victory for the bosses — which would be a big set-back for all Trade Unionists in the area.

The occupation began when staff workers, who were allowed in, "scout's honour", to get their personal effects, came out with sackfuls of blueprints. One of the first things the occupying workers found was a memo between top directors, dated 4th April 1974, which calculated production targets taking into account "a likely four week strike in May 1975". The management had prepared for the strike!

But this is nothing new at Masseys — workers are used to seeing painters, decorators and builders outside ready to come in as they come out on strike. This time they had been working seven days a week and all hours, in good faith, to beat dead-lines set by management who had planned the year with a four week strike in mind!

### HOTEL SPREE

The staff workers turned up at Banner Lane every morning for briefing and to get new work. They then dispersed to hotels and private houses to do their work. Stories are told of huge bills run up in hotels by management on the spree, of 70 mph chases through country lanes by vanloads of staff trying to lose the flying pickets.

The question of insurance, of using houses as business premises, etc, could all have been the subject of embarrassing legal action. But once again the story is one of lack of Trade Union coordination. Many staff have played a good role, making collections for the strikers and refusing to work. But there have been no mass meetings to decide on a united staff Trade Union attitude to the situation.

The flying pickets did do a good job. They stopped many

hotels being used by putting the squeeze on the beer lorries. They expelled some Polish project managers at Stoneleigh by hopping through an open window and giving the inmates ten minutes to get out. The company expected to do four weeks hard work on the Polish project and new tractor cab regulations, but much of this time has been lost.

The strike has raised the question of leadership among many Massey workers, since this is the first time the shop floor workers have been united in a wage battle. The strike has been made official by the AUEW and by the NSMM, but full time officials from both

Unions, Butler (AUEW) and Pemberton (NSMM) have publicly advised the workers to end the "illegal" occupation. The TGWU still have not made the strike official! As a result there has been a lot of inter union squabbling among the men.

The local newspaper carried a battery of management lies and propaganda, together with letters from 'moderates' and 'hard-hit wives'. The Daily Mirror and the Guardian went so far as to accuse the International Socialists of sabotage. In fact there is one IS member in the plant and little evidence, unfortunately, of any revolutionary consciousness.

All the red-baiting, however, went largely unanswered, and in fact caused some pickets to be suspicious of any 'outsiders' who came to give them support. Financial support has nonetheless already come from Kent and Warwickshire miners, and from Perkins (MF) Peterborough.

Many people are watching this strike; and the weakness of trade unionism in Coventry — militancy without politics — is shown quite clearly at Massey Ferguson. In boom times, 'muscle' produced results. Now, more is needed.

### MASS MEETINGS

Elected strike committees, with maximum involvement through mass meetings, are necessary — it's no longer a matter of going home and leaving it to the stewards. The committee must be able to respond to the bosses' highly political strategy, and their red-baiting, by developing active links with other trade unionists and clearly bringing out the political significance of the struggle, especially of the use of capitalist law by the bosses. The struggle at Massey Ferguson will not have been a total defeat if at least it drives those lessons home.

Messages of support and donations still needed: to Mr P. Chilvers, 17 Holmes Drive, Eastern Green, Coventry.

## Rhodesia: rift in ANC widens as Smith's men kill 13

13 AFRICANS were killed and scores injured when Rhodesian police opened fire on crowds of Africans who were demonstrating outside a meeting of the Executive of the African National Council (ANC).



Bishop Muzorewa, the chairman of the ANC, denounced the shootings as cold blooded murder, saying that the police action had been evil and inhuman in the highest degree. Meanwhile much of the western press was blaming the killings on the Africans themselves, pointing out that fighting had broken out within the crowd between supporters of rival ANC factions, ZANU and ZAPU.

### Factions

This is a scandalous whitewash of the murders, even though the fighting between the factions was very real. It started when ZAPU members attempted to smash ZANU placards advocating 'war against the Smith regime'. This incident was a popular reflection of the division inside the Executive meeting where Joshua Nkomo, leader of ZAPU, was trying to push through in the absence of Muzorewa a line of agreeing to Smith's demand that the ANC participate in a Constitutional Conference, under Britain's chairmanship, without making any conditions about the release of Smith's political prisoners.

ZANU, supported by Frolozi, another nationalist organisation, rejected this. And it has also announced that it will boycott the ANC congress later this month. This means that the ANC is no longer a meaningful entity except as a cloak to cover ZAPU's sell-out tactics.

### Embargo

The British Labour government is meanwhile applying what pressure it can to avert the coming of black rule by means of armed struggle. It realises that this might have a radicalising effect on other African struggles. In this, Britain agrees completely with South Africa, and the joint pressure they can bring to bear on Smith will be the subject of David Ennals' meeting later this month with Vorster.

The UK's eagerness to get Vorster's support in pushing Smith to ease up slowly is no doubt one of the reasons for Britain's veto (along with France and the USA) of a mandatory UN arms embargo on South Africa designed to pressure SA into releasing South West Africa (Namibia) from its grasp.

## STEEL: TIME TO UNITE AGAINST THE SIX POINT PLAN

THE MULTI-MILLION pound conflict stopper, the new Redcar steel complex, seems to be coming to the rescue of the British Steel Corporation once again.

When it was announced in 1972 that the BSC would be building a new modern complex, which would guarantee around 8,000 jobs, every area in BSC started the fight to get it for 'their' area. This, at a time when jobs were being threatened, divided the workers in the industry as the bosses no doubt expected and stopped any chance of national action to fight redundancies. The fact is that although the complex will create some new jobs — around 3,000 — many more will be made redundant, because the complex is more efficient. The real fight was diverted in the bosses' favour.

### Lobby

Now the complex rears its head again, this time to divert attention away from the present wage negotiations in BSC. The local Evening Gazette announced the 'threat' to Cleveland from a lobby of the Welsh Labour Party in the House of Commons. This lobby was demanding that the complex be moved, or at least part of the production be

moved to Wales. When you look at the situation of the complex in Redcar you see that this is just another attempt at diversion by the bosses and the union leadership.

The complex has just completed its second stage of construction and planning permission has been received for the third and final stage, all involving millions of pounds. So, as you can see, this lobby is just a diversion.

The real fight is for a living wage and against unemployment which is precisely what the union negotiators have failed to achieve. While the attention of the workers in the North East and Wales was in arguing about something which had already been decided, the union leaders had a free hand to do as they liked. The craft unions have settled for a 22 per cent increase if you believe BSC or 35 per cent if you believe the truthful Salvationist, Tom Boyd. We believe neither of them, because of the fact that the increase does not even reach 22 per cent in money in your pocket. In fact it is 14 per cent.

Leading bandsman Boyd doesn't even seem to be in touch with reality when you hear him talking of consolidating threshold payments

which were consolidated over six months ago!

North-East and Welsh workers have been conned into accepting wage agreements which will actually lower their standard of living over the next 7 to 12 months, because they have no cost of living clause. The staff have taken the lead here by having a threshold clause in their last agreement which has increased their wages by 6 per cent since the agreement was signed. All of the unions in BSC should insist on a sliding scale of wages, tied to the real cost of living and not the RPI.

The problem of unemployment

### Squabbling

ment will not be solved by inter-region squabbling. The way to overcome unemployment is by a national struggle for work or full pay. You won't solve anything by fighting among yourselves. Remember the bosses are strong we must be stronger — unless we want to end up in the dole.

A real way to fight against unemployment would be to fight against the six point plan which is at present being

discussed at Joint Consultative Committees throughout BSC but not at union level.

The six points are:

1. Demanning in overmanned areas. But who defines which areas are overmanned?
2. No overtime. This might be all right if it went with an increased basic rate which meant that everyone had a good wage without overtime. At present, though, it will mean that lower paid workers will leave the job because they depend on overtime.
3. Less absenteeism. This makes it easier to sack anyone whose attendance record — worked out by the bosses, of course — is thought to be bad.
4. No recruiting, and
5. 'Natural wastage' to be accepted. These two points will mean a steady drain of jobs, and undermanned areas remaining undermanned.
6. More productivity. I.e., lost jobs and speed-up, again.

If the unions spent their time working out an action programme to counter these six points, rather than squabbling over the new complex, then we could start some real fight against unemployment.

LOL DUFFY  
TONY DUFFY



# THEY'RE PUTTING THE SQUEEZE ON PORTUGAL

BRUNO DA PONTE of the Portuguese Workers Co-ordinating Committee has recently returned from a visit to Portugal. We asked him for his impressions of the political scene there in the aftermath of the April elections

## Two blacks killed in US prison 'control units'

Torture was reaffirmed as British prison practice on May 22nd, when three prisoners were put in the "control unit" at Wakefield Prison.

For the first 90 days in a 'control unit', the prisoner is in solitary confinement for 23 hours a day, with one hour of exercise during which he is forbidden to speak to other prisoners. Warders do not speak to the prisoner except when absolutely necessary. After 90 days, the regime is relaxed very slightly, but if at any stage a prisoner 'offends', he is back to day one.

The 'control units' were introduced last year, but in February the Home Secretary said they were empty and no prisoners were being considered for transfer to them. The unit at Wormwood Scrubs was dismantled. The one at Wakefield has been brought back into use for 'troublemakers', it seems, because of pressure from prison officers.

A recent report from the US shows where these barbaric methods lead. Two prisoners in the Missouri State Penitentiary have died after having "behaviour modifying" drugs administered to them. Jesse Lang died three days after being transferred to a mental hospital in a catatonic state. Leon Dent was found hanged in his cell. Both had been in solitary confinement for long periods.

"They were murdered, there's no question about it", said Missouri State Representative Fred Williams at a protest meeting. And there was no accident in the fate of Lang and Dent. Both were black. Dent had been a prominent activist in militant Black politics, and Lang had been involved in a work stoppage at the prison. Lang's dosage of "behaviour modifying" (mind destroying) drugs was increased after he contributed an article on his prison experience to a magazine, in September 1974.

The world-wide examples could be multiplied: the treatment of the 'Red Army Faction' prisoners in West Germany; the dissidents in the Soviet Union sent off to mental hospitals; nearer home, the atrocious brutality of Britain's concentration camps in the north of Ireland. Generally, the labour movement has failed to recognise that these methods of torture are an important link the whole chain of methods of repression which the ruling classes and the Stalinist bureaucracies use to suppress militant action. There are just a few sections — far too few — who have made a start in active opposition, like the Building Labourers' Federation in Australia, which has "Blacked" work 'control units'

J. Stirling

Portuguese reaction and international capitalism are now going on the attack on all fronts.

Reactionaries inside and outside the armed forces had suffered a clear defeat with the failure of their attempted coup of 11th March. The April elections, largely favourable to the Socialist Party, seemed to provide the necessary ground on which to base a different sort of offensive.

The Socialist Party was willing to make capital out of the election results to try to strengthen its position, and the extreme Right gathered round to help in the operation.

## Campaign

Meanwhile other forces were applying a related economic and diplomatic pressure to boost the SP's position: the mass media launched a concerted campaign and the European social democratic parties were backed up from the right in giving assistance to their friends in Portugal. The EEC made investment in Portugal and a trade agreement conditional on political developments, and West Germany adopted a similar stance in relation to a promised loan; a Swiss bank demanded the transfer of gold reserves to Switzerland as a guarantee for negotiating financial aid; and NATO heads of state and officials spelt out the terms on which co-operation with Portugal was dependent.

But all these "friends of Portuguese democracy" had nothing to say about the round-up of several hundreds members of the Maoist MRPP group — except perhaps some private encouragement!

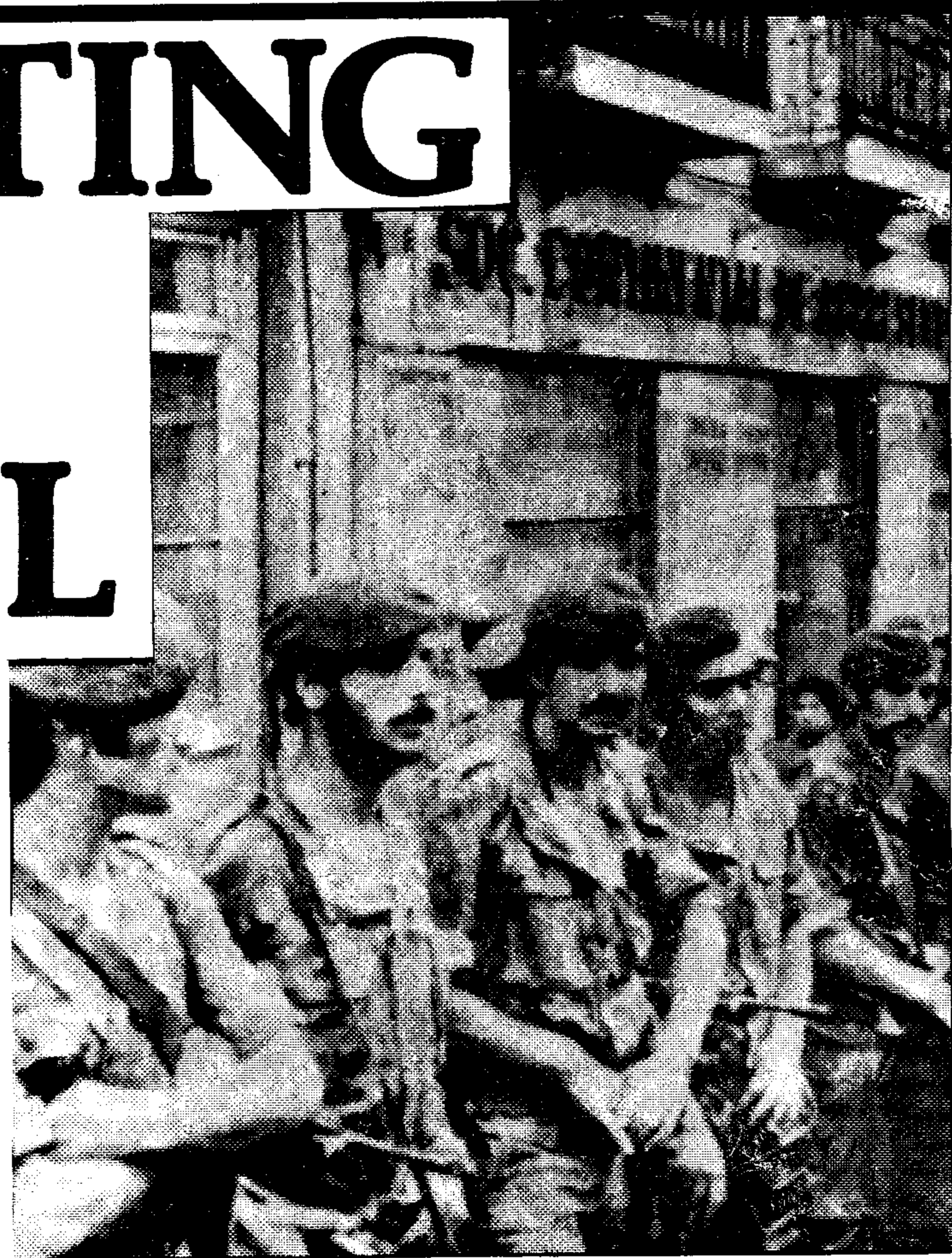
For a while it almost looked as if social democracy was the only card they were playing. But more recently, the former alternative strategy — violent direct intervention — was once again put into effect. Bombs began to explode in Lisbon. Public gatherings are disrupted by shots fired into the air. Extreme right wing parties are reported to have organised secret meetings in remote places. Right wing exiles in Spain have set up a "liberation" army.

In the backward islands of the Azores, the rich farmers came out onto the streets, forced the Governor to resign, and staged a mini-coup, taking over the airport and the local radio station. If this movement is not already backed by the US, which has a major base on the Azores, we can be sure it soon will be!

## Great tension

Above all in Angola, international capitalism and the Portuguese bourgeoisie are taking full advantage of the tense internal situation created by the divisions between the armed nationalist movements. With Angola on the brink of civil war, the Portuguese army is split on what to do, and 300,000 settlers are making a rush for Portugal — with predictable consequences on unemployment and the reinforcement of reaction.

During my visit to Portugal, the effects of all these manoeuvres were apparent. On the very day of my arrival



Soldiers outside the officers of Republica in Lisbon

a minor incident (the arrest of a member of a right wing clandestine organisation) led to great tension in the army. There were movements of troops, arrests of soldiers followed soon by their release, dissensions in some barracks, and widespread rumours. The day after, the temporary closure of the newspaper Republica caused a government crisis, daily demonstrations on the streets, and bitter inter-party confrontations.

All this takes place at a time when the economic situation is deteriorating fast. In the first three months of this year the balance of payments deficit reached dramatic proportions and it is being estimated that by October Portugal will have exhausted its reserves of foreign currency. Unemployment is expected to reach half a million in July (in a total work force of around 3 million!).

The Government is paralysed and proving unable to cope with the situation. The petty bourgeoisie is obviously

frightened and disorientated and large sections seem to be moving to the right.

In the working class, disputes over issues alien to its interests are causing deep divisions. It is becoming increasingly clear that the only way forward from the situation that has been created lies in the rapid development of working class organisations capable of taking power and implementing a programme of action in line with the interests of the class.

## Awareness

Fortunately, there are indications that large numbers of workers are aware of the problem, and are combining awareness with definite steps towards strengthening the grass roots workers' organisations. To fulfill this task and to succeed in the forthcoming confrontations, Portuguese workers will need the solidarity and full assistance of their European brothers.

# Britain backs the Shah's terror regime

by ANDREW SEYMOUR

Just as the world press is publishing confirmation of the cold blooded murder of nine Iranian political prisoners by the Shah's secret police — SAVAK — news has been leaked of a recent US-Iranian "intelligence" link-up.

The deal between the Iranian (Persian) Government and a big American defence contractor, Rockwell, provides for the building of new message intercepting and code-breaking centres. The operatives for this move are to be recruited from amongst the former agents of the USA's two most secret agencies, the National Security Agency and its Air Force subsidiary, the Air Force Security.

## CIA chief

The new arrangement will greatly increase the power of Iran in the Middle East and particularly in the area of the Arabian Gulf. And it will also no doubt be used to increase the internal security of the Iranian police state.

No doubt this unusual deal — unusual in that the US is prepared to forego all surveillance over its former agents, something unheard of before — is not unconnected with the fact that the US ambassador to Teheran is none other than former CIA chief Richard Helms.

Iran is rapidly developing into one of the world's most heavily armed states with an internal regime based on the strictest and most ruthless police terror. This is what the USA is supporting, along with

Britain, whose Labour leaders lovingly greeted the Shah to beg him for a loan.

The nine prisoners whose murder has been confirmed were all members of the so-called Jazani group. The Iranian government claims that they were shot as they were trying to escape, but this old standby hardly holds water. Reporting the findings of two French journalists who had gone to Iran only to meet an official stone-wall, the *Sunday Times* points out, for instance, that one of those shot was Mohamed Choopan-Zadeh, a 39-year old worker who had for years been a fighter for free trade unionism in Iran, had only two months to serve of a seven years' hard labour sentence. Hardly the time to try to escape! It also points out that the possibility of escaping is virtually non-existent during transfer to another jail — the time the authorities claim the 'escape bid' occurred — as prisoners are invariably handcuffed behind the back, their legs shackled and under very heavy guard. The fact that all were shot dead and none wounded is also, they say, deeply suspicious.

According to *Le Monde* the nine prisoners were originally arrested in early 1968 along with six others, after which they were held incommunicado for six months. During the course of their trial most of the prisoners complained of

torture, and those who had signed "confessions" withdrew them, stating that they had been extracted under torture.

At this, the Army interrogator switched the basis of the trial from Military Judiciary Code clause 63 (which carries a maximum sentence of ten years' jail) to Clause 317, which carries the death penalty. They were not allowed to be tried by jury — something they are supposed to be entitled to under the Iranian constitution — and could only choose as their Counsel one of three retired generals.

Eight of the defendants in this trial were convicted and sentenced to death. But an international campaign managed to pressure the government into commuting the sentences to fifteen years' hard labour.

## Torture

The fact that the authorities have refused to hand over the bodies in this case underlines the likelihood that the nine were not simply shot but died from tortures received at the hands of SAVAK. It has already been established that torture doesn't stop when prisoners are convicted.

When, at the end of April, Iranian students in London occupied their country's embassy to protest against the murders, they were arrested for "conspiracy to trespass".

Once again the infamous 'conspiracy' angle widely publicised as a result of the trial of the Shrewsbury pickets has been used to suppress political freedom.

Most of the 21 students had their passports taken and travel restrictions placed on them. A solidarity committee has been set up to campaign for charges against them to be dropped. In its leaflet it adds that the 21 have to report to the police every day "and are not allowed to return to their places of study outside London. Their houses were raided and material taken while they were in jail." (At the third hearing on 21st May these restrictions were finally lifted.) Referring to the situation in Iran they note that there are about 40,000 political prisoners there, that about 400 have been murdered in jails over the last four years and that 5,000 have been on hunger strike at Qasr Prison.

Meanwhile a student at Bradford University, Sadiq Zibakalam, has been arrested in Iran by the secret police. Harold Wilson, the Chancellor of the University, has not even replied to telegrams sent him about the case.

Iran's present power both military and economic means that the British Labour government is unlikely to displease it. In fact only this week it has been crowing at its 'success' in selling 800 Chieftain tanks to Iran at a price of about £1½ billion. The campaign to free the 21 must also demand that Britain stops all arms deals with Iran.



**STOPPING THE RISE IN UNEMPLOYMENT**

**workers' fight**

**'MILLION JOBLESS THIS YEAR'**

**DOLE QUEUE DANGER TO WORKING CLASS**

**HOW TO FIGHT IT**

**workers' fight**

**UNEMPLOYMENT**

**The big stick**

**HELP TO BUILD WORKERS' FIGHT!**

**EXPOSING THE SOCIAL CONTRACT**

**workers' fight**

**WORKERS' LIVING STANDARDS -**

**SIGNED, SEALED, & DELIVERED**

**AGAINST THE SOCIAL CONTRACT**

**FOR THE IRA**

**workers' fight**

**Smash the Social Contract**

**Strong protest from student unions, but Trade Unions silent**

**DEFENCE OF WORKING CLASS CONDITIONS**

**workers' fight**

**Support Miners, Railmen!**

**WORK OR FULL PAY!**

**LABOUR'S FAKE AMNESTY LEADS TO INTERROGATION OF IMMIGRANTS**

**workers' fight**

**LABOUR'S FAKE AMNESTY LEADS TO INTERROGATION OF IMMIGRANTS**

**DON'T SAVE BOSSES' BACON**

**workers' fight**

**No.**

IT IS NOT inappropriate that this hundredth issue of WORKERS FIGHT comes out just at the time of the EEC referendum. On that issue, we have been alone among revolutionary socialist papers in refusing to line up behind either option of 'little England' capitalism or the EEC, in resisting the temptation to fall into the general left wing anti-EEC campaign while mouthing a few internationalist pieties to cool our conscience.

A socialist paper, we believe, is useless unless it is prepared to confront prejudices, to tell bitter truths, to stand against the stream. We have done that on the Common Market issue - indeed, it was as a result of our stand on that issue that the initial group which started to publish WF was expelled from the IS group in December 1971. But the most difficult issue, perhaps, on which we have had to argue against the odds is the struggle in Ireland.

**War**

Workers Fight No.3, in February 1972, faced that problem very sharply. In retaliation for the British Army massacre of 13 civilians in Derry, the Official IRA had bombed the officers' mess at the Aldershot barracks of the Paras, accidentally killing five cleaners. Instead of digging up good 'Marxist' sounding arguments about "terrorism" (which Marxists had written about in a completely different context) we recognised this as an act of war. Ireland, we maintained, should be free and united, and we should support the people of Ireland who were fighting for that cause, by whatever means were necessary against the brutality of British imperialism.

And if British workers were not ready to understand the need to side with the Irish fighters against the British army, it was not our job to condemn the IRA for making our work more difficult. It was, and is, our job to maintain our support for the anti-imperialist struggle and strive to win British workers to support it, too.

From that date until now, we have not ceased to argue for solidarity with the Republican and socialist forces fighting British imperialism in Ireland. But our aim has never been simply to "make propaganda from Geneva". (When the first Russian Marxists settled themselves down in Switzerland to write pamphlets to send back to Russia, Marx commented: "To make propaganda, yes .... but from Geneva?!")

**Mull**

There are too many groups and individuals on the left in Britain who, while not actually removing themselves bodily to another and quieter country, effectively do so in spirit. They ponder over the "correct" positions, they mull over doubts, they talk of the necessity of "more discussion", they deplore the dangers of unthought-out activism or too hasty commitment. Perhaps they react from experience in one of the left wing organisations - IS, IMG, WRP - who fall not only into activism (one of the lesser sins for a revolutionary in periods of stormy class struggle like the present) but into periodic wild, unexplained lurches from one political position to another.

We have tried to link our efforts on the paper with effective action in the class struggle - action not in the form of mindless, un-directed chasing after the coat-tails of the working class, but linked to the development of a

We advocated the general strike weapon against Tory anti-Union law and wage freeze...

**WORKERS' FIGHT**

**GENERAL STRIKE TO SMASH THE ACT**

**SPREAD THE BLACKING!**

**WORKERS' FIGHT**

**DEFEND DOCKERS! SMASH THE ACT!**

**GENERAL STRIKE!**

**BRITISH TROOPS OUT!**

**WORKERS' FIGHT**

**Turn protest into GENERAL STRIKE**

**IS ARRESTED FOR PICKETING**

**THE CASE FOR A GENERAL STRIKE**

....and called for a massive vote to kick them out!

**workers' fight**

**Feb. 28th KICK THE TORIES OUT! SUPPORT THE MINERS**

**Build Solidarity Committees**

**M62 Explosion Army reaps what it sows**

**workers' fight**

**VOTE LABOUR**

**AND PREPARE TO FIGHT!**

**THE SICK**

**THE HARD PRESSED**

**UNEMPLOYED**

**LOW PAID**

**THE NATION AS A WHOLE**

**workers' fight**

**WHAT A VICTORY!**

**NOW BURY THE NIRC**

**Huge march in support of Chilean resistance**

**700,000 votes for Trotskyists**



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of that process of 'developing  
theory' which is so often made a  
mystery among the Marxist left.

We have tried, too, to make our  
ideas accessible — for the most  
"correct" policies are no use  
unless they are communicated,  
discussed, understood. When the  
campaign to expel us from IS  
began in October 1971, we were a  
group of less than two dozen  
people, producing the occasional  
internal discussion document.  
While fighting against our  
expulsion, we resolved to start  
producing a fortnightly paper  
once we were expelled. The two-  
way link such a paper could give  
us with the class struggle —  
enabling us to influence some  
effective action, while also  
allowing a feedback from the  
struggle in terms of regulating  
and testing our political ideas —  
was vital for any grouping  
wanting to act as serious  
communists in a period of big  
class battles.

For that reason, we stretched  
our resources to buy a small  
press and start the paper, and  
have continued to stretch our  
resources to improve its pres-  
entation and coverage. In  
September 1973 we were able to  
move to our present page size,  
over 50% bigger than our initial  
format. Four months later we  
made the improvement which has  
most affected the appearance of  
the paper, through computer type-  
setting.

## Plant

Our biggest step forward was  
the move to a weekly, in January  
1974. This started as an  
experiment, for the period of the  
Tories' three day week. We called  
for, and received in record time,  
£400 in readers' contributions to  
finance this development.

The weekly, we found, gave a  
tremendous boost to our work. It  
had a better coverage and was  
regular in appearance. We  
continued it at the end of the  
immediate crisis, and in January  
this year moved from four to six  
pages, to allow more serious  
articles with less cramming.

We have developed our  
technical equipment, with the  
help of readers' donations, so that  
we now have a self-sufficient  
printing plant. As well as  
enabling us to present the paper  
better, it has helped to make the  
production more efficient and  
facilitate producing other  
materials such as pamphlets. Our  
next step will be the production  
of a regular magazine.

## Join in

Another aspect of making our  
paper a more useful tool in the  
class struggle has been involving  
new contributors and new  
supporters. Their first hand  
reports of events and activities in  
the class struggle and within the  
labour movement are an  
invaluable part of the paper,  
helping people to relate their  
political activity to the paper and  
the paper to their activity.

We do not often end articles in  
**WORKERS FIGHT** with calls to  
"build the socialist alternative"  
or "join the party". As answers to  
the concrete political questions of  
class struggle, these are empty:  
what will the "socialist alterna-  
tive" or "the party" DO, and  
what about the struggle of the  
vast masses who have NOT yet  
joined "the party"? But it  
remains true that our answers to  
those political questions, if  
correct, cannot be made **USEFUL**  
without the active work of the  
supporters of **WORKERS FIGHT**.  
A sword may as well be used to  
spread butter if it is not in the  
hands of a warrior. And we need  
more warriors!

Standing against racism and fascism —  
and for defence of black workers

**workers' fight**  
3p

**SMASH FASCISM!**  
**STOP THE NATIONAL FRONT NOW!**

**workers' fight**  
3p

**Who's to blame for Court Line?**

**workers' fight**  
3p

**VICTIMS OF POLICE RACE HATE**

**workers' fight**  
3p

**NO FASCISTS IN THE UNIONS!**  
Clear out National Front infiltrators!

**workers' fight**  
3p

**GREEK DICTATORS STAND DOWN**  
Workers can 'seize the time'

The struggle in Ireland: Bloody Sunday; defence of Britain's prisoners of war; and the demand to get the troops out

**workers' fight**  
3p

**WORKERS FIGHT**  
**Tory murder**  
IRISH AND BRITISH WORKERS STRIKE IN PROTEST

**workers' fight**  
3p

**SAVE THE HUNGER STRIKERS**  
**NORTHERN IRELAND RACISTS TRIUMPHANT AS WILSON DITHERS**

**workers' fight**  
3p

**FIGHT JENKINS' POLICE STATE LAW!**  
**TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND!**  
How to fight it...

**workers' fight**  
3p

**Judge sums up the campaign...**

Leading in the fight for the Shrewsbury pickets

**workers' fight**  
3p

**JAN 15 — DAY OF STRIKES**  
**FREE JAILED PICKETS**  
**Unions must fight Witchunt**  
**Support Miners, Railmen!**

**workers' fight**  
3p

**Foretaste of Tories' "Firm Government"**  
**3 MORE PICKETS JAILED**  
**VOTE LABOUR — SUPPORT THE MINERS — BUILD SOLIDARITY COMMITTEES**

**workers' fight**  
3p

**FREE THE SHREWSBURY TWO!**

**workers' fight**  
3p

**BLMC RESIST SACKINGS AND SPEED-UP!**

Britain and the EEC — we stood apart from the "left" chauvinist tide

**workers' fight**  
3p

**Six months for selling a poster**  
**DON'T BACK THE UNION JACK**  
**THE JOBS FIGHT**  
**Demonstrate for Shrewsbury 2**  
**NORTH WALES CHARTER DEFENCE SHUTS UP SHOP**

**workers' fight**  
3p

**EDITORIAL STATEMENT**

**workers' fight**  
3p

**'YES' OR 'NO' — IT DOESN'T MATTER**  
**WHILE PHENIX BURNS**

**workers' fight**  
3p

**BOSSSES' MARKET BOSSSES' BRITAIN NO CHOICE DON'T VOTE!**  
**SPECIAL REFERENDUM ISSUE**

**workers' fight**  
3p

**SCOTLAND AND THE EEC**  
**NO CHOICE DON'T VOTE!**



# WORKERS FIGHT — IMG DEBATE ON THE COMMON MARKET

# FIRST THE 'GOOD' REASONS ...

# NOW FOR THE REAL REASONS

IT IS difficult to find any parallel in the history of the revolutionary socialist movement for the remarkable change in their attitude on the EEC of nearly all the British Marxist groupings over the last few years. One by one — at different times, for different stated reasons — they have shifted from a position of "in or out, the fight goes on" to one of opposing entry and, now, supporting withdrawal.

This shift has caused some debate inside some of the groups — indeed, a fight over IS's change in position on the EEC was the immediate background to the expulsion of the Trotskyist Tendency (forerunner of Workers Fight) from the International Socialism group in 1971.

But the debate on Monday 2nd June between Workers Fight and the International Marxist Group (IMG) was, as far as we know, the only public debate on the left on this issue.

## Monopolies

The two main speakers were Brian Grogan of the IMG and Andrew Hornung of WF. Brian Grogan spoke first, centering his argument around the need to approach the Common Market from the point of view of its effects on the class struggle. The EEC, he said, is not just a "market"; it is an attempt to secure for European capital the minimum economic and political conditions for competition with the US monopolies. The EEC cannot remain in its present stage, but must be transformed into a European super-state — all the more so because of the world economic crisis. This super-state could only come into existence as a 'strong state', on the basis of a defeat of the workers' movement.

The Common Market, therefore, is a weapon of the capitalist class against the working class on a world scale. Socialists should vote "no" because we are against the strengthening of the bourgeoisie. Of course socialists have a different political line from others supporting a "no" vote; but we should have a united front of working class forces while carrying on a political fight within the "no" campaign. A "no" vote will not strengthen chauvinism in the true sense, because it was a blow against the national capitalist class and such of its representatives as Wilson and Jenkins.

## Abstaining

Workers Fight's abstentionist policy, Brian Grogan said, is nationalistic — because it looks at the Common Market debate only from the angle of its relation to the British working class; and it is economic, because it looks at the Common Market only in relation to economic struggle and regards the concentration of capital merely as the working out of economic laws (ignoring in both cases the political and social aspects). WF thus, according to Grogan's argument, is abstaining on a class issue and even siding with the enemy, as when we state that "those usually thought of as the 'left' are more right wing than the right wing on this question." (WF99)

Andrew Hornung, for WF, replied. As regards the basic economic analysis of the EEC, he noted, there was little difference between WF and IMG. But after detailing the economic analysis, the IMG

effectively ignores that analysis (after all, it once formed the basis of an abstentionist line!) and proceeds to add various ad hoc reasons for the "no" vote: it little matters what reason this is — they vary from article to article, from speech to speech — just as long as some reason can be advanced for voting "no".

Andrew Hornung took up some of these reasons put forward by the IMG and argued that they were false.

## 'Strong state'

There is, he said, the 'reason' that we are against the concentration of capital. But are we? Do socialists demand the break-up of monopolies? On this issue, he said, Brian Grogan was arguing on the same lines as the CP's "anti-monopoly alliance" strategy. Then there is the 'reason', (absent from Grogan's speech but prominent in other IMG material) that the EEC is 'inextricably linked to NATO'. But then how to explain that France is outside the military framework of NATO while in the EEC, and that Portugal and Spain are outside the EEC but in NATO? There is, too, the 'reason' that the Common Market will see the rise of a European "strong state". But the IMG's pamphlet on the Market states that a 'strong state' will be on the agenda in Britain if the "No" vote wins. And presumably the tendency to a 'strong state' which the IMG perceive will also continue in mainland Europe whether Britain is in or out. So how will voting "No" stop the 'strong state'?

There is just one argument that occurs in all the IMG's propaganda for a "No" vote: and that is the argument about relating to the class struggle — for that is how they characterise the anti-Market campaign. But, Hornung pointed out, there are some mass movements against the ruling class which we cannot support, as for example the revolt of the Algerian 'colons' or the Loyalist 'general strike' in northern Ireland last year. In reality, it is here that the real reason for the IMG's position appears, as opposed to all the 'good reasons': the IMG is simply tailing the working class.

The IMG's attempt to combine a "no" vote with the 'United Socialist Europe' slogan amounts only to playing with words. If the IMG were the biggest voice in the labour movement and could set the tone of the campaign, their position would be more understandable, though still wrong. In fact, however, the IMG's voice is drowned in the general chauvinist movement. Chauvinism wasn't just an element added onto the campaign by the extreme right anti-EEC elements such as Powell and the National Front, but was an integral element.

## Kernel

Jonathan Silberman of the IMG spoke next, saying that WF misunderstood the nature of chauvinism. The material basis of chauvinism is imperialism. Since the EEC creates a more powerful bloc for the exploitation of the 'Third World', it therefore also potentially strengthens chauvinism. In any case, he claimed, the kernel of the left-Labour anti

campaign was not chauvinism, but Parliamentarism.

Jonathan Silberman then attacked WF supporters on Manchester Trades Council who abstained on a vote between an IMG proposal for a "socialist No campaign", and a CP proposal for a broad front campaign. Their abstention, he said, meant the victory of the right wing, and our abstention in general meant leaving the anti campaign in the hands of the chauvinists: if socialists intervened, however, the campaign could be turned into an internationalist one.

Simon Temple, speaking next for WF, said our

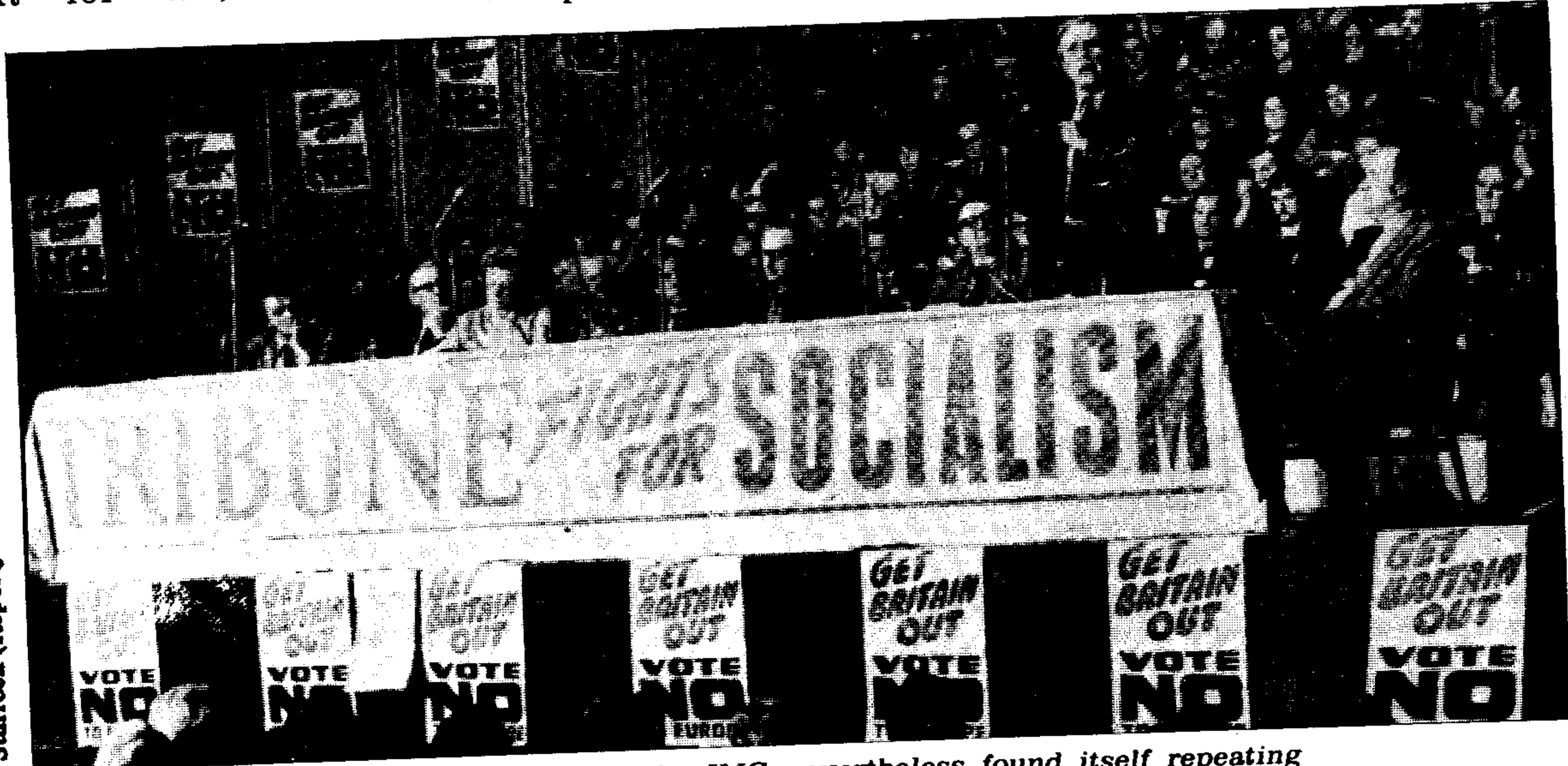
has been disoriented by the "No" campaign and more receptive to ruling class eyewash about tightening our belts "for Britain". It is true that a "No" majority would mean a massive political crisis in Britain; it is also true that those socialists who vote "No" tie their hands for intervening in that crisis.

Members of other groupings spoke in the general discussion. James Wood of the RCG endorsed our argument that the IMG separated political conclusions from economic analysis, but felt that WF had not sufficiently established the case against a 'Yes' vote. This case rested on the fact that the EEC was founded on working class defeats. Tony Whelan (RMC) took up the IMG's use of the slogan 'United Socialist Europe'. It was ludicrous, he

in EEC countries not fight to break up the EEC? Only in Britain was the FI concerned with this issue: which indicates that the FI was acting in a far from internationalist way, and that the 'interests of the international working class' was nothing but at excuse with which the IMG hoped to counteract its descent into chauvinism.

## Plausible

The final speaker was Gary Kinsella of WF. The IMG, he said, should come down from the clouds and see that the referendum is really about EEC capitalism or 'go-it-alone' capitalism. Dominating the "No" camp we find, not the Red Flag, but Rule Britannia; not pictures of Brian Grogan, but pictures of Nelson.



John Sumrock (Report)

Boasting of its 'internationalism', the IMG nevertheless found itself repeating Tribune's prejudices with "letter" language.

Manchester comrades were right to abstain in that situation. The ballot choices are, like it or not, the Common Market or Little England; and to call for a Socialist Europe while voting for Little England is hopelessly contradictory.

Simon Temple went on to take up Brian Grogan on the question of capitalist development and rationalisation. The issues can be illustrated by an example: containerisation on the docks. The Marxist response was: containers — yes, but the benefits must go to the workers. It was not to say: we

said, to see 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' as an immediate organising slogan now; yet that was how the IMG was using it — only that this goal was to be achieved in 35 countries, no less!

Pat Bain (League for Socialist Action) recalled the inconsistencies of the IMG during his nine or ten years of membership in that organisation, and referred to a 1963 article of Ernest Mandel where Mandel argued that the question of in or out of the EEC is one of inter-imperialist rivalries in which the working class should not take sides.

## Counteract

Bob Pennington (IMG) argued that socialists must fight against capitalist concentration, and said that this was no longer progressive as the material pre-requisites for socialism already existed long ago. Rich Palser (IMG) spoke of the socialist campaign the IMG were carrying out within the "No" camp and their fight to keep the extreme right wing out of it. Sean Matgamna (WF) said that socialists could not automatically side with the majority of the working class. It is necessary to stand against the stream on issues such as Ireland and, now, the Common Market. People like Benn are in fact worse than people like Jenkins on this issue; the latter at least aspire to 'progress' in bourgeois terms (which we reject), but the former argue like 19th century Tories.

If it really was paramount for the European and world working class that Britain should leave the EEC — as the IMG had been arguing — why did not the Fourth International campaign on it, and why did the European sections

The main point that came out in the debate was a confirmation of the massive degeneration of the anti-EEC arguments used by revolutionaries. The amazing notion that we should oppose capitalist mergers (when GEC took over AEI and EE, did any Marxist cry "stop the merger"; or propose a "get AEI out" campaign?); the scare mongering about a 'strong super state' which was spoken of as synonymous with the concept of strengthening of capitalism, and which exists only in more or less plausible speculations about the future (speculations contradicted by Grogan in his summing up when, in reply to Whelan, he said we could expect revolutionary workers' councils on the agenda throughout Europe in four to five years — scarcely time for a 'strong super state' to consolidate); the idea that the reformist anti-EEC campaign is not basically chauvinist; the great interest in strengthening the Labour Left against the Labour right (though, as Sean Matgamna pointed out, it is the 'left', not the right, who have sold the Social Contract) — all these arguments are new.

## Sober up

It's not just the IMG, of course, that has fallen into the chauvinist pit. IS and Socialist Worker have become more and more like Tribune, blaming unemployment, high prices and all the evils of present day capitalism on the EEC (rather than the basic mechanics of capitalism), and bemoaning the restrictions which the EEC will put on nationalisations.

When revolutionary socialists begin to sober up after the Great Debate — as surely many will — it will come in useful to have had our debate and to have it on record.



Ernest Mandel, leader of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International — he and the IMG had an 'abstentionist' position in the past. The Greek section of the USFI is currently advocating abstention from debate on whether Greece should join the EEC.

want no containers, because that is capitalist development.

The British working class would be defeated whichever way the referendum goes. A "Yes" majority will mean demoralisation for many militants. Withdrawal on the other hand would mean big attacks by the British capitalist class to make the working class pay the costs — at a time when the working class



## DISCUSSION on 'The Black Paper'

# Parading all the old illusions

Comrades - Irena Holt (WF97) on the Black Paper falls into the double trap of libertarianism and reformism - an unfortunate characteristic of 'socialist' teachers.

She starts off in true IS-ish fashion "Authority, discipline and class hierarchy, all so near to the right wing heart..." But surely Leninists are not opposed to a bit of authority and discipline! And when we get the dictatorship of the proletariat, "class hierarchy" will still be in order!

What Irena Holt ignores is the simple fact that whatever system exists, the ruling ideas

in society are the ideas of the ruling class - and the education system is one important method used by the ruling class to put these ideas across. Unpleasant as it may be to admit it, the teacher is a "cultural cop". No doubt we may prefer the soft cop, "the learning situation catalyst" to the hard cop - "take down these notes" - but this is a secondary issue to the main point that the ideas put across will still be those of the ruling class. As W.H.Auden puts it in his "Letters to Lord Byron": "Today we're so much better educated; There are no lies our children cannot read."

Precisely. Irena Holt suggests that Piagetian discovery methods are the thing over one-way imputing of knowledge - fine; but what do the children spontaneously discover? The ideal truth? No, the ideas of the ruling class! Where are the great revolutionaries from A.S.Neill's Summerhill school? They all get jobs and fit into capitalism just the same.

Irena Holt implies that the Black Paper is the thinking of the ruling class and they are attacking our comprehensive schools. Robin Pedley, Brian Simon and other 'socialists' in the 1950s saw comprehensive schools as a means of gaining socialism, of eliminating social class. But comprehensive schools have been introduced by the ruling class as a result of cost benefit analysis as a cheaper and more efficient way of selecting and brainwashing. It is an illusion to think that tinkering with the education system in itself is going to change society. Certainly comprehensive schools, raising the school leaving age, democracy in schools, Piagetian methods and other reforms give working class children a better chance and we should support them for that. But the context is still the capitalist system, and as long as capitalism needs more skilled labour, the enlightened capitalist will support these reforms.

Thus many educational reports and training boards stress the discovery methods which Irena Holt thinks so revolutionary as producing "the maximum development of every child", whatever that means. Their phraseology, however, is not flip. Their argument goes: "Technology advances rapidly - so much so that all children in schools today will change their jobs 3 or 4 times in a lifetime. They must understand basic concepts not just learn by rote - this is best done by discovery methods. In this way retraining will be less costly later on and the labour force will be more flexible." That is the thinking of the ruling class!

classic "The Road to Life" - the forerunner of Homer Lane and A.S.Neill - where Makarenko beats hell out of one of his charges with a fire shovel. Conflict never occurs in educational books, teachers never have the human emotions of anger and despair - all is sweetness and light once you've found the right method; every hoodlum has a heart of gold. Yet we live in a capitalist society in a thoroughgoing crisis!

## Alternative

Conflict is to be expected - not just daily but minute by minute. One major conflict in education is caused by the reforms already mentioned having been carried through with a worsening of teachers' wages and conditions - giant productivity deals, a 'lowering of unit costs'.

Socialists must answer the Black Paper, as Irena Holt says. But like the National Front, the Black Paper will gain support insofar as it relates to real problems. We can stomp about, get angry and demonstrate against them. No doubt this is very militant - but the only way basically they will be beaten is by an alternative explanation being put forward and fought for. Unfortunately, Irena Holt's article is not a good start since it parades all the old illusions.

Dave Spencer,  
Coventry.

## Social order

The sociology of education has moved on since Basil Bernstein said long ago: education cannot compensate for society and education is part of the maintenance of social order. These two points are ABC to a Marxist, ABC to most practising teachers and are even accepted by the Black Paper. But our libertarian and reformist friends have not grasped these points yet. They live in a world of "To Sir with Love" and "A.S.Neill utopianism, where theory in no way relates to practice. I can still remember the real horror I felt when I read in the first few pages of Makarenko's

## 'NO PLATFORM FOR FASCISTS' POLICY GAINS GROUND



AN ANTI-FASCIST picket of 50 people met the National Front's first meeting in Bracknell, on Monday June 2nd. The local Labour Party had planned to mount a protest picket of the meeting, on the Common Market, but demonstrators from Reading anti-fascist committee blockaded the door and stopped the NF from entering the main entrance.

After the National Front managed to get into the hall, through the back, a vote was taken among the 50 assembled demonstrators as to whether to go inside and disrupt the fascist meeting. A small majority favoured this policy, but confusion followed as NF heavies broke through the picket and the police tried unsuccessfully to arrest one anti fascist demonstrator.

A Bracknell anti fascist committee was then formed on the spot, on the initiative of a Labour councillor. There is still some confusion over whether the fascists should have the right of 'free speech', but the policy of No Platform for Fascists is gaining increasing support.

Cheung Siu Ming  
(Wokingham CLP)

## ASTMS workshop clarifies issues on women's equality

ON SATURDAY May 30th, ASTMS Division 15 (east London) women's advisory committee held its first workshop, with the agenda including the James White Amendment, pensions, training, job evaluation, child care, and the role of the union.

The committee reported back on a survey it had carried out in the division. Almost everywhere there was 'equal pay' - but women were without fall in the lowest grades, with the lowest pay, the least promotion prospects and fringe benefits. Insurance companies generally trained only men. Pension schemes are difficult to work out, but many were reported to discriminate against women. Maternity leave of absence is virtually non-existent and certainly does not extend to three months with pay. In only one of the 60 groups who filled in the questionnaire did any kind of nursery facilities exist.

Some of the dangers of job evaluation were brought out in the workshop. No-one really

knows who decides what the ranking order should be, how it's defined and what criteria are used to evaluate each type of job. One criterion often given as an example is that of physical strength, as opposed to manual dexterity. It's quite clear what happens to women in that situation.

The women's advisory committee which called the workshop came out of an ASTMS national workshop in 1974 - the first ever national union workshop on women. The recommendation from that workshop for a union research officer on women's issues has not, however, been carried out, and the NEC subcommittee set up after the workshop has never reported back to the membership.

But those who attended the Division 15 workshop felt they had gained from it. Having found out for ourselves about the true nature of discrimination in the workplace, we can start to make sure our demands are taken up by the Union.

ANNA CALDER

## A REPLY:

1. It is sectarian and ultimatic to sneer at reforms. The article explicitly repudiated the 'liberal myth' that educational reforms can change society.

2. If the calculating ruling class planners see educational reforms as helping to form a more flexible labour force, we don't automatically oppose that: the 1870 Education Act, which brought in universal elementary education, was motivated by capitalism's needs, but it was also a good thing in itself. All capitalist construction is done for profit: but we don't oppose capitalist progress as such.

3. Yes, of course the education system is a channel for the views of the capitalist class. But their inability to do anything about that seems to have driven too many socialist teachers into a hidey-hole of pure trade unionism, leaving doing anything about the education system until socialism solves it all.

4. The arguments for reforms: we surely want to loosen the grip of the ideological hard cop in the schools (just as bourgeois democracy is better than fascism, though both are capitalist); kids should have some rights (don't we support school kids unions, after all? Or is that libertarian?); the hard-cop system is exhausting, unpleasant and educationally self-defeating. The 'hard realities' that D.S. refers to are usually created and/or exacerbated by the hard-cop system, e.g. caning tends to brutalise. Yes, some kids are a menace. But many teachers are dull, ignorant bullies, created and sustained by the unremitting authoritarianism of the system in which teacher is right even if he's wrong so shut up and don't answer back.

5. D.S. talks as if 'it's all gone too far', as if "libertarian" changes have swept the country etc. This is the line of most educational conservatives and it is just not true.

Irena Holt

## STATEMENT BY MEDIA WOMEN:

# Oppose the James White Amendment

Very few people have heard of the James White Amendment and if they have, they probably believe it is aimed at 'tightening up' on supposed 'malpractices' and 'abuses' of the 1967 Abortion Act.

However, the reality of the matter is completely different. This Amendment will in fact take away a woman's right to control her own fertility and to decide whether she wants a child or not. If the Bill becomes law, it will mean that even if a woman is raped, is in severe financial difficulties, single or unsupported, in a job she doesn't want to leave, or

just doesn't want to have a child, she will be forced to continue her pregnancy. This Bill will cut legal abortions by 80,000 a year, sending many women to back street abortionists. It is an open attack by right wing forces to take back the little gains that women by their own efforts have fought for and won.

The issue hasn't had widespread coverage by the media, and yet the NUJ has passed the Working Women's Charter which includes the demand for readily available abortion, and other points which seek to reduce the burdens on women

in the home and enable them to play a fuller part in the Trade Union movement.

The James White Amendment will also make it illegal to publish names and experiences of women who have had abortions. This is nothing less than a blanket censorship of information and would make it practically impossible for people in the media to inform women about abortion. It would again become a dirty word clothed in secrecy as it was before 1967.

There is a real danger that this Bill will be law by Summer, and this means you won't be able to get an abortion unless you can afford to go to a private clinic and pay large sums of money. It will also seriously affect the rights of women in other countries who are also struggling for safe, legal abortions on demand and who up to now have had to come to Britain because their own laws are so backward. If the James White Amendment goes through, they won't even be able to do that.

Ironically, this year is also International Women's Year and many leading MPs and trade unionists have been making speeches about women's rights and equal opportunities, but up to now have been unwilling to tackle the subject of abortion. If the James White Amendment is passed, 1975 will be remembered as the year in which the struggle for women's rights took its biggest step backwards.

The only way this Bill can be defeated is if enough people know about it and are prepared to do something to stop it. As women in the media industry, we feel that everyone should know about the James White Amendment and how to fight it.



## MAGNESIUM ELECTRON IT'S GOT TO BE A WINNER!

AT the Magnesium Elektron occupation, at Clifton, near Manchester, morale is still high. A unanimous vote rejected management's latest offer, on 28th May. This offer - 12p per hour, rather than the previous 12 per cent offer - added a very small amount for Grade 2 workers, but actually reduced the offer for Grade 1 workers. Conditions tied to this offer included talks to stop this type of action occurring again, and discussions on the future of Shop Stewards and Convenors.

Support from other trade unionists is important. One sign on the gate tells the story of the moral and financial support of the factory next door: "Support the MEL lads" - "Thanks, Chloride". Weekly donations also come from other union branches and the local miners. They are hoping to black goods if the action continues and have already been in touch with NUR branches.

Shop steward Peter Cartwright hopes that official recognition - which is expected to come from all unions involved soon - will bring a swift conclusion. If not, it will be "a long drawn-out battle". But, he said, "It's our first battle, and a battle we can't afford to lose".

P.H.

ABOVE: wives and children of the strikers march in support of the occupation.

"A Woman's Right to Choose - A Woman's Right to Know". Public meeting for women in the media industry. 6.30pm, Wednesday 18th June, at St Brides Foundation Institute, Bride Lane, London EC4.



AS railworkers prepare for their first national strike since 1926, promises of support have been made in from most major unions. The AUEW has called on rail workshop engineers to black NUR work; the EEPFU has declared support; power workers will not allow anything to enter power stations that would normally have gone by rail; postmen have promised to black alternative forms of transport of parcels and post; TGWU general secretary Jack Jones has called on his members in the road haulage

# Give full backing to Railmen's fight

industry to give backing to the NUR; the miners have pledged full support; and the print union SOGAT says it will black any non-rail distribution of newspapers.

The Executive Committee of the National Union of Railwaymen, by a vote of 21 to 3, have thrown down the gauntlet to the Labour Government's Social Contract policy of cutting wages,

and letting prices rise. British Rail's first offer was 21.2 per cent, and this gave £1.05 'new money' to the lowest paid. The Rail Tribunal increased the offer to 27.7 per cent, making the money £2.65 for the lowest paid, plus a £4

bonus on the minimum rate. The NUR are demanding 35 per cent for those railworkers who earn a basic of less than £36, and 30 per cent for those over that level. In addition the NUR are demanding a minimum rate of £34.65.

Negotiations collapsed on Wednesday 11th June, and Area and District Committees of the NUR and now actively organising in preparation for the strike.

The pressure for industrial action is fuelled not only by the general erosion of living standards, but also by the effects of productivity deals in the industry, which have cut jobs and worsened conditions.

On the employers' side, there is still division. The Economist, a prom-

inent bosses' magazine, argues for 'smashing the railmen', but other voices argue for avoiding confrontation with the NUR and waiting till the next round of wage negotiations to take a hard line.

For the working class, however, the NUR's struggle is a vital focus of the fight to keep living standards above the rising tide of price increases. Solidarity with the railmen is crucial. The official support given by many unions must be translated into rank and file action to block any goods taken off the railways. Inside the Labour Party, the call must go up for the Government to pay the railmen's claim, and failing that for Labour Party organisations to give active assistance to the NUR's fight. Workers should refuse to load goods onto trailers or lorries that are scabbing on the railmen. Picket lines must be supported against scabs and police strong-arm units.

Without solidarity the railmen will lose. With it they will win. STEPHEN CORBISHLEY

## ICI WORKERS HIT BACK

WORKERS at ICI Wilton and Billingham, on Teesside, have taken a lead in industrial action on the company's £12.51 pay offer. 2,300 craft workers at Wilton, and 2,000 at Billingham, struck from Tuesday 10th June. They are demanding the full £16 per week claim, plus automatic cost of living increases.

7,000 production workers at Wilton are meeting on Monday to consider whether to strike for improvements in the ICI offer, which covers all 57,000 manual workers in Britain. The 169 TGWU shop stewards voted unanimously on Thursday June 12th to recommend strike action.

The 5,000 production workers at Billingham have rejected the offer, but are deciding by individual union branches what action to take.

ASTMS negotiators have rejected a similar 26 per cent offer for 6,500 ICI scientists and technicians, but are going to put it to a ballot. T.D.

## DEMONSTRATE AGAINST 'JENKINS' LAW

THE "Labour Movement and Ireland" Conference on May 24th passed an amendment calling for a demonstration against the 'Prevention of Terrorism (Emergency Provisions) Act'.

From the passing of the Act, after the Birmingham bombings, up to April 9th, 489 people had

### AUEW It's the business of the Union to make its rules

THE COURT ruling that AUEW President Hugh Scanlon acted contrary to the rules should be ignored by the engineering union.

The decision came as the result of an appeal to the court by John Weakley, a right wing convenor from Port Talbot, against the ruling at a recent rules revision conference to deprive him of his delegacy because of irregularities.

Weakley's counsel, Peter Pain, argued that Scanlon's casting vote as chairman was illegal as the rule book gives him no such right. That would mean - if the union heeded the court - that Weakley would be reinstated and that the postal ballot system which was rejected by the casting vote would still be in force in the AUEW.

The ruling should be rejected for a number of reasons. Firstly, the chairman's casting vote is custom and practice - and a good one at that. Secondly, the court passed over the irregularities in Weakley's claim to be eligible to attend that rules revision conference.

Above all, however, the court's decision should be rejected because the union's first principle in such matters should be that the state should keep its beak out of trade union affairs. The interpretation of rules is the business of the members of the union, and no-one else, least of all the state.

been detained without warrant under the Act and 40 people had been deported. Ten Labour MPs voted against its renewal last month, and a number of others sponsored the Labour Movement conference at which the resolution to organise against the Act was overwhelmingly carried. The Executive Council of the Transport and General Workers Union has voted to condemn the Act, and local Trades Councils in Hammersmith and Bletchley have campaigned successfully to defend trade unionists in their areas who had the Act used against them.

However, not one single sizeable demonstration has yet been mounted by the left against these 'draconian measures', as Home Sec-

etary Jenkins himself called them.

This demonstration - scheduled for July 5th, in London - is therefore particularly important. A growing campaign needs to be built up to ensure that the Act is dropped altogether when it next comes up for renewal at the end of the year, instead of being replaced - as Jenkins has hinted - by a permanent law. Work must start now to ensure that local branches of the Troops Out Movement (which organised the May 24th conference), Labour Party Young Socialists branches, Trade Union branches, all have their banners there on July 5th. For further details contact Alan Haslam at 129 Mercers Rd, London N19 4PY.

### TEACHERS TO THWART ARMY RECRUITING IN SCHOOLS

At the teachers' workshop held after the Troops Out Movement conference on the Labour Movement and Ireland, the ground was laid for a campaign against Army recruitment in schools. Teachers reported on their experience of Army recruiting campaigns in their own schools. It appears that where the Army knows the "good life" approach won't wash, they are quite prepared to appeal straight to the violent and chauvinist elements in children's natures, by letting them play around with visors, riot shields and assorted weaponry, and telling them they'll get a good chance to use them in northern Ireland!

It was planned to collate information about recruiting, and anti-recruiting campaigns, and to hold a conference. Reports to: Den Connelly, c/o TOM, 28 Lammas Park Rd, Ealing, London W5.

### from page one ARMY AIDS ORANGE THUGS

the creation of a united Army council. The fact that the results in terms of intelligence data of the endless raids, searches, interrogations, as well as under cover work by the British Army, are now in the hands of those who have already slaughtered so many Catholics is one more crime against the Irish people. The Catholics in northern Ireland may have to pay for it, not with hundreds dead but with tens of thousands.

The British Army is not a peace keeping force! Primarily it holds the ring for the artificial Six County state set-up which makes peace impossible.

Only in the context of a 32 County solution can peace ever come. The sooner the British Army is withdrawn from Ireland, the sooner will that become a real possibility. The Labour Movement must demand the immediate withdrawal of this army of terrorists, concentration camp guards, and finger men for sectarian assassination squads.

### NOTICES

anised by the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola, and Guine. (CFMAG is closing down on 30th June, and new addresses for information will be: Angola Solidarity Committee, 6 Bowden St, London SE11; Mozambique Information Centre, 12 Little Newport St, London WC2H 7JJ.)

End the victimisation of JOHN WARBURTON Picket County Hall (Waterloo Tube) at 2.30 Tuesday 24th June. Organised by Gay Teachers Group, to demand that the ILEA allow him to teach in London.

HARINGEY Troops Out Movement inaugural meeting: 8pm, Monday 23rd June, at Edison Hall (annexe), off Crouch End Hill, N8.

NORTH LONDON Troops Out Movement social Friday 20th June, at North London Polytechnic, Ladbroke House, Highbury Grove, N5. Tickets 30p.

A conference of socialist teachers is long overdue. As a result of an initiative at this year's NUT Conference, there is to be one held in London on July 12th. Final details have not yet been

### FROM P.1 BENN MOVE

The immediate consequence of the Cabinet reshuffle - not just Benn's move - will be a reduction of the Industry Bill to a repeat of the Tories' Industry Bill of 1972. This is shown not just in Benn's removal but by the removal in the later junior minister reshuffle of Michael Meacher, a close colleague of Benn's from the Department of Trade and Industry. Now all three of those mainly responsible for the Bill, Heffer, Benn and Meacher have been dumped. Meacher's place has been taken by Wilson's close confidant, the right-winger Gerald Kaufman. The capitulation to the demands of the CBI and the City, the bosses and the bankers, is therefore far wider in scope than just Benn's removal. The fact that Wilson has announced that there will be a second White Paper on the Industry Bill while it is in the committee stages - something completely unheard of - underlines this capitulation.

In response, the majority of the Tribune MPs supported a letter written by their chairman Syd Bidwell to Wilson, announcing that they will fight by all means at their disposal against any breaches by the Government of election manifesto policies, and against any "coalition" policies.

worked out, but information is available from Bernie Regan, 24 St Agnes Close, London E9.

### FOR A RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT

A new pamphlet from Workers Fight: "Why a Rank and File Movement". "A programme for the Rank and File", and "Lessons we have to learn".

10p plus postage from C. Whytehead, 2 Saville Place, Bristol 8.

Published by Workers Fight, 98 Gifford Street, London N.1. Printed by voluntary labour. Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.

Unfortunately, however, Tribune itself this week responds very feebly. "Of course Mr. Wilson's first duty" it says "is to preserve the Labour Government and the policies it is pursuing. ... We have no doubt that Eric Varley will do his best to carry out the crucial industrial policies contained in Labour's proposals...". Moreover, six Tribune MPs have written dissociating themselves from Bidwell's letter; and the whole Tribune group has only ever voted against the Government when such a vote was only a gesture against an assured Labour right-Tory-Liberal majority bloc.

Nevertheless, the stance the majority of left MPs have taken is still more 'militant' than their traditional subservience. They recognise that just at a time when the left in the Labour Party was stronger than ever before, in terms of Conference and trade union support, the Right is counter attacking sharply.

More important, for socialists, is the fact that the Government is taking this turn not primarily to bash the left but in order to hammer the working class - that after all is the name of the game!

### MARK 2

Healy and Crosland have already made that clear. While the various TUC leaders scurry around devising various schemes for wage restraint, they bluntly state that workers must pay the cost of the capitalist crisis. Whether through a Social Contract Mark 2 (this time appearing as a straightforward wage curb to help the bosses through the crisis, without any of the milk and honey of promised social reform); through statutory incomes policy; or through the effects of massive increases in unemployment - whichever it is, the same message comes through: big business demands the screws be put on.

The pressure will mount for left MPs to lead a fight to defend workers' living standards. And what matters then is not how many 'Lefts' are in the Cabinet. What matters is how effectively the

working class can be organised and on what programme.

Benn himself is highly unlikely to play a major part in this fight, despite his huge following and his strong ambitions. Certainly if he hopes to, he is in the wrong place to do it. When Wilson shunted him into the Energy Ministry he explicitly refused to give him any part to play in framing policy with respect to North Sea Oil, saying that it was his job "to settle the demarcation disputes and get the oil ashore as quickly as possible." In other words he is to be a trouble-shooter for the employers - and a powerless one at that! And Benn accepted...

But where Wilson hopes to use Benn's left aura most is with the miners. He hopes that with Benn as Energy Minister the miners can be headed off and a wage freeze enforced partly on that basis.

### MEASURE

Whether the Lefts fight or not, the working class itself must and will. It has no choice.

Starting with solidarity with the railmen, we must launch a fight back against the big business policies adopted by the Labour government. Instead of bowing down to the CBI and preparing plans to cut workers' living standards, we should demand that the Labour Government break with the CBI, drop all wage curbs, and implement a sliding scale of wages (automatic cost of living increases with a zero threshold). Every move to the right by the Labour Government must be opposed and denounced. Every real step by the Labour Left must be reinforced and backed up by militant rank and file action. But above all, it must be measured against a programme of working class interests totally independent of the interests of capital.

LOBBY of Islington Trades Council to protest at proposed acceptance of J. Broan, a NATIONAL FRONT member from Upper Street Post Workers branch. Organised by Islington anti-fascist Committee. 7.30pm, Wednesday 25th June.

LONDON Workers Fight meeting: "The struggle for women's liberation: what next after 21st June?". Speaker: Fran Brodie. 8.30pm, Sunday 22nd June, at the 'George', Liverpool Road, N1. Angel underground.

LIVERPOOL Workers Fight meeting. "Marxism and the Revolutionary Party". 8pm, Wednesday 25th June, at Stanley House, Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool 8.

MOZAMBIQUE Independence Day Celebration: 7.30pm, Wednesday 25th June, at Camden Town Hall, Euston Rd, London NW1. Admission £1. Org-