

Workers' fight

3p

No.59 - 15th June to 22nd June 1974

MARCH AGAINST FASCISM

The National Front are on the march
Counter demo

ASSEMBLE: 2.30, Charing X
Sat. June 15

The great social con-trick

The TUC is a little less funny than its performing seal of a leader, Len Murray. Give him a left-wing audience and he jokes "Social compact? Never heard of it. Is that something invented by Helena Rubinstein?"

Now, however, with the statement of the TUC Economic Committee that it will "oppose any scramble for wages when Phase 3 ends", Murray declares "that's what the Social Compact is".

The TUC tries to cover its

spineless collusion with Labour to run British capitalism by referring to the need to make "priorities", in particular to "help the lower paid."

Heath's very words! Every rotten Tory wages swindle was justified on the same basis!

Is there any reason to believe the TUC any more than Heath? If they had a record of fighting for the low paid, there might be. But they don't. If they were pulling out all the stops for the nurses right now, there might be. But

they're not. If they were supporting the London weighting claim of NALGO of that of the teachers, there might be. But again, they're not.

Inflation

The TUC's document puts the blame for inflation on the working class, not on capitalism. It is a document designed to make the working class pay not only for rises in pay for the lower paid — if indeed there are any — but for

rises in profits for the employers too.

Trying to hide behind the progressive slogan of a minimum wage will not work either. First, the one they demand is too small by far at £25; there are only 4 million workers below that, and many above it are in desperate need, too. Then, they don't extend it to everyone: it should include pensioners, the sick and others on state 'benefits'. But most important, there is no reason why we shouldn't fight for

a national minimum wage as well as fighting to improve the living standards of those workers whose struggles are above that minimum.

For many unions, the attitude is unfortunately likely to be that the Social Compact is alright for everyone except themselves. It is necessary that trade unionists realise that it is good for nobody but the bosses and the present administrators of the bosses' system: the Labour Party and the TUC.

ONE OF the biggest sit-ins since UCS has started at the Plessey factory in Beeston, Nottingham.

The 6,000 workers, from every section, have occupied the plant in protest at the employers' decision to put a ceiling of £1.60 on their threshold deal.

The sit-in was the response of the factory stewards to the lockout notice the management gave out on Friday June 7th, 15 minutes before shop floor workers were due to clock off. It was no coincidence that the notice came 15 minutes after the white collar staff had left, and they were excluded from the lockout notice.

This crude attempt to divide the workers failed. Since Monday, both staff and manual workers have maintained the sit-in on a rota basis.

A mass meeting called on Tuesday June 11th agreed to keep up the sit-in, and will meet again on Friday June 14th to decide on the results of the negotiations.

Morale is high, all the picket lines are being manned, and already a call has been made for the management to be thrown out and the gates closed on them.

The pay dispute began when the Beeston workers walked out for one day in protest at the management's refusal to raise the ceiling of £1.60 which they have imposed on the threshold

agreement. But Plessey workers know that such is the present rate of inflation that the Phase 3 threshold agreement could end up paying out £6.40 before it ends in November. The bosses' own experts calculate that they can expect to have to pay out another £5.20 on top of the £1.20 already paid out. That is why they are jumping in now to put a ceiling on it just beyond the present payout.

The present Plessey offer will only give an extra 40p.

They plead, amongst other things, lack of money. But leaflets produced by Plessey's 'Rank and File' grouping point out that in 1973 the company increased its profits by 50% on 1972, to £31 million; and in the 9 months up to 31st March 1974, they have stepped up their profits

on 1973 by 30% for the same period — despite 3-day working!

But even if Plessey's could prove with their figures their poverty, it is of no concern to the Plessey workers. They face a choice between winning a big enough increase to pay for the huge jumps in the cost of living, or else watching living standards drain away drastically in the next few months.

The Beeston sit-in is the biggest blow struck so far against the refusal of many employers to pay out the thresholds in full. But there are other actions: workers at Wickmans, Coventry were recently on strike, APEX has called for national action to get threshold cover for 80,000 of its members, and several car plants have taken or are planning action to get

unrestricted threshold clauses in their agreements.

Nationally, the potential pay-out is £600 million on a full year. The Times suggested in an editorial a couple of weeks ago that "immediate legislative action" might be required. The bosses, their spokesmen and the Labour government are all very worried. The bosses' militants, the Engineering Employers Federation, have a national policy of trying to impose a ceiling of £1.60, and if member firms are forced to retreat, they have been advised to drag their feet in negotiating over every rise in the Retail Price Index which would lead to an extra payout.

Pay Board

And the Labour Government is doing its bit, too. While Shirley Williams noisily negotiates a few pennies off a week's groceries, Harold Wilson has ordered, through the PayBoard, that workers will only receive cost of living rises for the period after they have signed threshold clauses. Those signing after June 21st will lose the right to claim the £1.20 which is supposed to compensate for a massive 10% rise in their living costs.

The Phase 3 threshold clause, which only came into operation after living costs had risen by 7%, does not pay for the fall in our living standards since Phase 1. But without it, workers will be crucified by the end of this year.

That is why the Plessey sit-in is so crucial.

Stephen Corbishley

COST-OF-LIVING SIT-IN BY 6,000



Photo Workers Press



These are the men who are supposed to have bullied and terrified scabbing 'Lump' building workers! They are, (l. to. r.) Brian Williams, Arthur Murray and Mike Fierce. Their real crime was just playing their part in one of the many militant flying pickets mounted during the 1972 builders' strike — a type of picketing that terrifies the bosses. If they are criminals, then so are thousands of other trade unionists. After four months in jail for their 'crime' they were freed last week — unfortunately not by the power of mass working class action, but because the lack of such action meant that the bosses' jailors were able to exact their full revenge.

ONE who went along to the conference last weekend (June 8th) called by the Clay Cross Labour Party expecting it to express the fighting spirit of Clay Cross must have been sadly disappointed. So, too, were members of Clay Cross Labour Party itself and some of the Councillors. Dave Nuttall, one of the surcharged and disbarred original eleven, declared bitterly that the Conference had been taken over and manipulated by the MILITANT tendency — the 'New Right' in the Labour Party.

SINK

John Dunn, one of the two people charged with organising the Conference (he is the Secretary of Clay Cross Labour Party) wrote in last week's *Militant*: "The main reason for organising this conference at this time is not at all to 'rock the boat' for the new Labour Government but just the opposite: to make sure that the power of Big Business doesn't sink it."

And it was precisely this approach, one never intended by those who called the Conference in the first place, that sank the conference last Saturday as if a great leaden bread pudding had been tied around its neck.

Many resolutions had been sent from Labour Party organisations and trade union branches with specific proposals for action. But the only resolution that the delegates were presented with and permitted to vote on contained only demands on the Government and no

proposals for action. This resolution (which appeared to have been drafted by *Militant* adherents) was printed on the official order paper — yet it had never been put to the Clay Cross Labour Party, and prominent members of the Clay Cross CLP saw it for the first time when they arrived at the conference!

The resolution made three demands of the Labour Government:

Lift all fines and surcharges, and the bans from holding office, imposed on the Clay Cross councillors;

Release the Shrewsbury pickets and cancel all outstanding legal charges against the Shrewsbury building workers. Repeal immediately the 1875 Conspiracy law. (*This last is foolish and ignorant: the section of the 1875 Act which refers to Conspiracy actually abolishes a whole area of the idea of conspiracy.*)

The Government and trade unions to black "all work which assists the bloody Chilean regime".

BROMIDE

All definite action now, however, all attempts to relate these and other demands to a practical and co-ordinated struggle by the delegates throughout the Labour Party and the trade union; — these were all smothered by the bromide of "Only a full Socialist programme — the nationalisation, with minimum compensation on the basis of proven need, of the 250 monopolies under workers' control and management — can prepare the way for a planned Socialist society."

As the Conference went on

Clay Cross conference sunk in verbiage

it sank deeper and deeper into unreality and ended with the fitting finale of a rowdy debate on the most trivial issue of the day: whether one should call for an emergency Labour Party Conference or not. (Lambeth Trades Council amendment — the only one out of 16 amendments to be taken.)

While such a call is certainly not the burning panacea that its movers claimed, the vehemence with which it was opposed by *Militant* supporters says a great deal about that paper's

relationship these days with the Labour Party establishment. This lapdog actually pays for its own licence!

The Chairman, Andy Bevan, called one after another supporter of *Militant* to speak, making sure that the Conference became a mere recitation — to resounding applause from the large number of their co-thinkers in the hall — of a comfortable catechism consisting of, firstly, the implementation of Labour Party Conference decisions by the

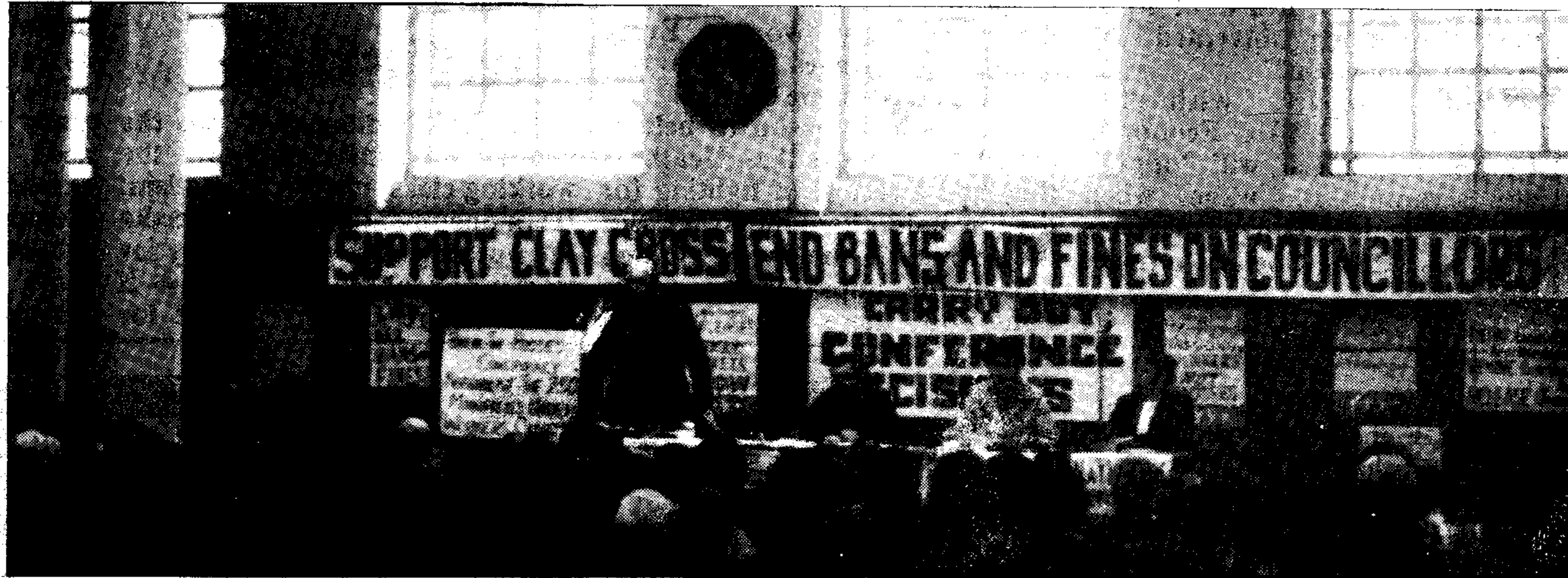
Parliamentary Labour Party, and secondly the need for Labour to adopt the Socialist Programme.

There were excellent speeches from trade unionists, both about the struggles they were immediately concerned with and the wider issues of the Conference. But, as if to emphasise the extent to which the majority of the delegates were happier with the same stale diet of truisms than listening to the real course of the struggle, applause was reserved for generalities

about democracy and fighting the right wing.

For instance, Malcolm Vass, engineers' convenor at Strachans Engineering, who told of their 14-week strike and of their occupation which had been evicted by the police, got only a luke-warm reception. And later in the Conference he heard a leading member of *Militant* say that a call for factory occupations was tantamount to demanding "the revolution tomorrow" and was "ultra-left".

The question of Ireland and



FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS

"Only one thing could have broken our movement — if the adversary had understood its principle and from the first day had smashed, with the most extreme brutality, the nucleus of our new movement." — Adolph Hitler.

IN THE Italian town of Brescia last month six workers attending an anti-fascist rally were killed by a bomb which had been planted in a dustbin by local fascists.

The Brescia incident is in fact one of many, in a decade-long struggle between the Italian labour movement and organised fascism. For in Italy, where the neo-fascist MSI-DN enjoys the support of 20% of the electorate and has one million card carrying members, fascism has re-emerged as a mass movement — a threat to the organisations, living standards and lives of millions of workers.

As the capitalist system moves once more towards crisis, the legions of fascism grow in strength. In France, the fascist *Ordre Nouveau* have murdered scores of immigrant workers without a single fascist being charged by the French police. In Britain, albeit on a much smaller scale, similar attacks on black workers have taken place — houses and bookshops petrol-bombed and backstreet beatings.

Menace

British fascism is a small but growing force. At the last general election the *National Front* polled over 100,000 votes and, last Easter, they showed their ability to physically break up an Irish republican demonstration in Manchester.

The fascists are no longer a small circle of cranks. They are a real menace — a force determined to smash the labour movement and plunge society into the lowest depths of

Fascism and Big Business by Daniel Guerin can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL. Price £1.40.

REVIEWED BY BAS HARDY

capitalist barbarism.

An understanding of the nature and methods of fascism is clearly a task all socialists have to undertake in order to best combat and defeat the fascist monster. This task is more urgent today not only because of the growth of the fascist organisations, but also because many individuals who regard themselves as being 'on the left' have recently come out in support of the right of fascists to put their 'point of view'. The reprinting of Daniel Guerin's *Fascism and Big Business* by Pathfinder Press could not, therefore, have come at a better time.

Guerin's book first appeared in English in 1939, when fascism was at the height of its power. The author's task throughout the first half of the book was to determine exactly how fascism had forced its way into such a position.

Guerin rejects as "oversimplified" the view held by some revolutionaries "that the bourgeoisie resorts to fascism only to smash the imminent threat of proletarian revolution". In fact, the fascist wave swept over Europe at a time when the wave of socialist revolution was subsiding. In Italy and Germany after the first World War, factories were occupied and soviets established, but this challenge to the rule of capital proved fruitless owing to the cowardice and treachery of the leaders of the labour movement. It was only after the working class failed to seize political power that the fascists launched their attempts to do so.

Big business turned to fascism as a solution to the profitability crisis the capitalist



Hitler at a secret conference with 500 big businessmen in January 1932. With him, leading industrialist Völgler (left) and steel magnate

system had brought upon itself as a result of competition between rival capitalist concerns. Before this crisis had engulfed them, the Italian and German industrialists had conceded a number of reforms to the working class, which enabled the labour bureaucrats to derail the forces of revolution.

However, with the onset of severe economic crisis, in order to maintain profitability the capitalists sought not only to take away the reforms granted in the period of revolutionary mobilisation, but in fact to push down as much as possible the living standards of the masses.

This called for the smashing of the workers' organisations.

Gangs

Although the bourgeoisie had used the fascist gangs as an anti-labour militia in the period of working class upsurge, they relied primarily on the labour leaders at that time to 'discipline' the working class. Now, however, the reformists were ditched as so many useless

tools, as the bourgeoisie elevated fascism to the fore of the political stage. "As soon as a serious economic crisis threatened to destroy its profits and a 'strong state' alone seemed able to make its enterprises profitable again, big business decided to go a step further and launch its fascist troops towards the conquest of political power."

Not all big business supported a fascist solution to begin with, however. Guerin points out that the bourgeoisie was initially split into two distinct sections — heavy and light industry. — with the representatives of light industry favouring the continuation of 'moderate' policies (i.e. horse trading with the trade union bureaucrats). The early backers of fascism within the bourgeoisie were the magnates of heavy industry.

These leaders of heavy industry, such as Krupp, the armaments manufacturer, and Fritz Thyssen, the steel monopolist, saw that fascism could provide them with two



John Heartfield used one of Hitler's mottos — "Millions stand behind me" — as the title of this collage.

the Irish republican prisoners, which has dominated newspaper headlines for weeks, was mentioned only in passing by two delegates.

Everything that did not fit into *Militant's* dogmatic and simple-minded conception of a "Socialist Programme" was not discussed.

But a 'Socialist Programme' is meaningless unless it involves the mobilisation of the mass of the working class to take power. Something that neither mobilises the class nor takes them that far is not a 'Socialist programme', but a miserable parody of the idea of one. The real movement of the working class cannot be sacrificed to the gods of a 'perfect programme' that ignores that movement.

ALLIANCE

A step forward for 'the real movement' could have been made from this conference. It is its tragedy that it didn't happen. The Conference could have "set up a Socialist Alliance to fight within the Labour Party and the Trade Unions — for a start, to fight for the policies decided by the conference, and for further policies as decided by further conferences." (Workers Fight 58) and it could have decided on certain immediate actions.

It did neither. Instead it merely limped to the determination 'to go back to the wards and fight for what had been decided', while, in defeating the call for a recall Labour Party Conference, giving a little comfort to the present Labour Party leadership.

Jack Price

Careerists who wrecked our Conference

I refused to attend the conference because I would not associate myself with a platform for careerists and a publicity exhibition for the "Militant" group, and because it was clearly opposed to our position on the central political issue — the recall of the Labour Party conference.

I originally proposed a rank and file conference and it was to be called by the Clay Cross Labour Party.

Members of the "Militant" group suggested that the Labour Party Young Socialists assist us in organising the conference and we agreed.

From then on, it was taken out of our hands completely and simply stage-managed by the "Militant" group. Clay Cross was not consulted on a single detail.

We were given no say in deciding the venue, nor the agenda and certainly not the conference resolution.

None of us had seen that resolution and we don't know who drew it up — though it was obviously the "Militant" group.

I was not the only Clay Cross councillor who refused to attend the conference for that reason.

North East Derbyshire constituency Labour Party has unanimously called for an emergency conference of the Labour Party and that call stands. The proposal came from Clay Cross delegates.

Members of the "Militant" group subsequently made it clear to us that they were opposed to this. It's obvious that that is why they didn't consult us on the resolution — because it was in direct opposition to the policies we support.

They got delegates to the conference by using the name of the Clay Cross councillors, but they reject the policies we want...

ARTHUR WELLON
Chairman, Clay Cross L.P.

ITALY — ANOTHER BRITTLE COMPROMISE COMING

THE ITALIAN Christian Democratic Party has been the leading party in every government since 1945. Without fail it has got between 35% and 50% of the vote, a sizable majority over any other party.

Yet with the fall on 10th June of the luckless Mariano Rumor's fifth government (their average length has been six months), Italy is due to have its 37th government in 29 years.

This paradox: the apparently solid and stable domination of the Christian Democracy on one hand, the fragility of successive governments on the other — rests on the legacy of Fascism.

Disarmed

After the fall of Fascism, at the end of world war 2, the Communist Party, with its record of 20 years' underground anti-fascist work, was by far the most powerful party in the country.

As in France at the same time, the Communist Party did not use its power to subvert capitalism. Far from it. It disarmed its militants and even held back from forthright opposition to the restoration of the monarchy.

But the Italian ruling class made haste to construct a political party of its own. It scraped together the

Christian Democracy under the banner of Catholicism.

But the Christian Democracy has failed consistently to find a clear policy to heal the wounds of the lopsided mis-development of Italian society, which had festered under Fascism. Industry has developed rapidly at times, but almost all in the northern industrial triangle of Turin, Milan, and Genoa. Meanwhile millions of peasants in the South remain in centuries-old poverty.

The Christian Democracy has been a cynical coalition of interest groups, like the US Democratic or Republican Parties, rather than a coherent party based on coherent policies.

The present crisis was brought to the boil by the combined effects of economic chaos and last month's referendum on the divorce laws. The cost of living is rising at 20% p.a. and the trade deficit stands at \$10 billion p.a. The Government — a coalition of Christian Democrats, the Socialist Party, and Social Democrats — proposed increased Value Added Tax and income tax, higher social service charges, and a credit squeeze.

The unions replied that the workers should not pay. (Italian union leaders have been pushed into saying that



Anger after the Brescia bomb

sort of thing by wave after wave of mass strikes since 1969). They advocated a clamp down on tax dodging, heavier taxation of high incomes and of capital gains, and restrictions on capital exports. Extra resources should be put into public transport, housing, and hospitals.

The Government negotiated with the unions — but finally the Socialist Party found the pressure too much, and broke from the Christian Democracy. The break was probably inevitable after the 59% referendum vote on 12th May against the government, to retain freedom of divorce.

The Government had lasted less than three months. It was formed on 14 March by extending a previous centre-left government, also under Rumor, to include representatives from the left of the Socialist Party and the right of the Christian Democracy. That previous government had broken down under the pressure of strike action, as had its predecessor, the Andreotti government, which resigned in July 1973 after the occupation of the Fiat-Mirafiori factory.

Solutions

The short term outcome may quite likely be a minority government with "external support" from Socialists, Republicans, and possibly even the Communist Party. In the medium term, however, there are only three possible solutions, and the present paralysis stems from the fact that all three face enormous difficulties.

The two capitalist solutions are indicated by Agnelli, chairman of Fiat. "Power has slipped out of institutional frameworks and into the hands of unions, industry, and various interest groups that act outside instead of inside government. They should be brought back inside the system." That is, practically, bring the Communist Party into a "Popular Unity" government and rely on it to discipline the working class.

Or: "If Europe collapses and the economy goes to the dogs, then the last thing we will have to trade is our freedom." The "ultimate solution" is a fascist coup.

But right now the Communist Party is not even keen to join a government. They fear the hot seat. Even if the CP were keen, the ruling class would have doubts. A Government with CP representation might save their system in *extremis*, if all else failed: but it would cost a lot in reforms — and could boost workers' expectations and thus finally rebound on the CP and the ruling class.

The reason why a fascist coup is not an easy solution for Italian capitalism is indicated by the reaction to the atrocity in Brescia on 28th

May. Fascists bombed an anti-fascist meeting, killing six people and injuring hundreds. The next day a general strike was called, and at the funeral on 31st May half a million people were present. And the fascists surely reckon that in the event of a coup, Italian workers would not merely demonstrate, but fight back arms in hand.

The fascists, then, will probably continue their activity on the level of individual bombings and assassinations. They will not lack for friends in high places, even if the major sections of the ruling class don't want a coup just yet.

Some younger judges, even, have protested (in very mild terms) against the tendency of many right-wing judges to shut their eyes to or condone fascist violence — with the result that some of the rightist judges have brought formal charges against certain younger judges, alleging such 'crimes' as participation in anti-fascist demonstrations!

The third possible mid-term solution is also the only long-term solution: the socialist solution — the taking of power by the working class, nationalisation of industry under workers' control, a planned programme of economic development. But for the present, the biggest working class party is the Communist Party, set on a "historic compromise" with the Christian Democracy.

Coalition

This theory of the "historic compromise" — a perspective of a coalition of the Communist Party, Socialists, and Christian Democrats — is the Italian CP's version of the lessons of Chile. Their answer to military coups and capitalist violence is not to prepare to fight — no, that would be "ultra-left" — but to try to conciliate and placate the capitalists.

While rejecting Communist Party participation in a new government, CP leader Berlinguer has said "it is absurd to think that one can seriously face up to the economic situation without the contribution of the communists" — and that "contribution" would involve parliamentary collaboration between the Communist Party and the Christian Democracy "not only on particular questions and isolated measures, but on general political orientation".

But the Italian working class cannot and will not rely on snuggling up to the Christian Democrats. It must and it will learn one of the true lessons of Chile: the need for the working class to organise independently for defence against the fascists and the capitalist state.

believed that he was not only against 'Bolshevism' (i.e. the organised working class) but against 'capitalism' as well. Their understanding of capitalism was of course in no sense a Marxist understanding; it meant essentially monopoly capital, which had ruined the small manufacturers and proprietors who became the mainstay of the fascist forces. Hitler's accords with those his followers thought he opposed had therefore to be organised behind closed doors.

But if his followers were duped, his backers were not. They knew he had command of a large social layer which could be used to suppress the proletariat and, once this task was completed, be in turn brought to heel by their leader. And Hitler guaranteed that his followers' 'anti-capitalism' would go no further than to defeat the mortal enemy of capitalism, the working class.

After smashing the workers' movement, many of the fascists felt they could then go on to smash the power of big business. "The landowners and industrialists think that fascism should moderate the demands of the workers but not the exploitation of capital" commented one fascist after the seizure of power "It was not for this that two thousand fascists died and two hundred thousand are ready to die. ... I have thrashed revolutionary workers, and I am ready to thrash the landowners in the same way."

State

But such a 'thrashing' or 'second revolution' was not to be. "I will oppose with my last strength" said Hitler in 1934 "a second revolutionary wave. ... Whoever rises against the regular authority of the state will be unceremoniously collared." And "collared" they were!

In June 1934, hundreds of Nazis who believed that there really was a 'socialist' half to "National Socialism" were shot down like dogs, and thousands of dissident Nazis purged from the party organisations. The SS and SA, Hitler's para-military organisations, were forbidden to possess arms, and only allowed out in uniform on certain occasions. Most of the Nazi organisations were placed under the firm control of the army and police force from that time on. The fascist state, once the task of defeating the proletariat was accomplished,

was converted into a military-police dictatorship. Thereafter, it assumed a course to war at the bidding of the industrialists.

Guerin includes a lengthy and interesting examination of fascism's social base. Two important points stand out.

Firstly, the attraction towards fascism of not only the 'old' middle classes (small manufacturers, artisans and traders) but also of the 'new' middle class of engineers, technicians, designers, doctors and lawyers. This point should be stressed, as many on the left conceive of fascism as triumphing only in those countries which possess a substantial propertied middle class. In fact the 'new' middle class (who to a certain extent can be objectively designated as proletarian) have very similar feelings as have the 'old': "The 'white collar proletarian' ... trembles for his illusory class privileges. ... He is ready ... to listen to those who promise to save him from proletarianisation..."

Another section which fascism hopes to win are the youth. In times of high unemployment, when working class youth passes in the majority directly from school to the dole queue, fascism entertains hopes of recruiting them because they have little contact with the class struggle on the factory floor. However, in times of relative social peace, fascism aims at recruiting middle class youth, particularly students.

The current and not entirely unsuccessful drive of the National Front to add to their membership in the colleges and universities is characteristic of fascism.

Fascism's traditional aim of winning over this social segment by encouraging their imagined 'interests' is at the heart of the fascist desire to gain a hearing in the student world. If they are given such an opportunity, they will certainly not use it to encourage rational debate.

Fascists believe that the great majority of people, being ignorant, can only do what the elite fascist few tell them to. Guerin quotes Hitler: "The great majority of the people have a disposition so feminine (sic) that their opinions and actions are determined more by the impression produced on their senses than by pure reflection... Whoever wishes to win over the masses must know the key to

their hearts. In all periods, the force that set in motion violent revolution on this earth has lain less in the proclamation of a scientific idea which took possession of the crowds, than in a driving fanaticism and real hysteria which madly excited them."

Fascists do not believe in rational argument because they are opposed to reason. Fascism can only triumph by encouraging irrationality since it is a movement founded on superstition, bigotry and fear. Its leaders who, in Goering's words, "have no need for culture and science" encourage ignorance amongst their followers because to reason is to see behind the deception of fascism. Hence Goering's infamous motto: "When I hear the word 'culture' I reach for my gun."

Legality

What could have stopped the fascist march to power and war? Guerin only deals in passing with the possible counter-measures which could have been employed by the proletariat. He does, however, deal with the "respect for legality" displayed by the Social Democratic leaders which crippled any attempt on the part of the workers to fight fascism on the streets.

These Social Democrats, who expected the capitalists to enforce their law against their fascist servants, refused on every occasion to meet fascist violence with workers' counter-violence, although the Social Democrats' own armed organisation, the Reichsbanner League, was capable and willing to do so on countless occasions.

The Communist Party, who sectarianism deprived them of an opportunity to ally themselves with the Social Democratic workers to defeat fascism, pursued a similar bankrupt path. "In spite of their revolutionary verbiage, they took refuge behind the excuse that the reformists would do nothing — and so did nothing themselves."

Fascism faces a working class movement today within whose ranks similar concepts of how not to fight fascism prevail. Those who really want to fight fascist barbarism should read Guerin's book and digest the lessons contained in it. For whilst the capitalist system remains, the danger of fascism is far from past.



Fritz Thyssen.

important things. Firstly, they desired an aggressive foreign policy which would ensure that they received substantial armaments contracts and access to raw materials on the cheap through military conquest (e.g. Rumanian oil).

Second, they wanted a tough line on 'labour relations'. Because fixed costs (plant, machinery etc) were higher for heavy industry, it had to exploit the labour force much more in order to remain profitable.

The coffers of the Nazi party were filled with substantial contributions from big business in the five years before Hitler became Chancellor. The Ruhr Coal Syndicate, for example, 'donated' five pfennig to the Nazis for every ton of coal sold. This amounted to over six million marks in 1930 alone. Big business knew what it was paying for, and it got its money's worth.

Yet Hitler could not allow himself to be seen by the German public as a representative of big business, for many who followed the Nazis

NALGO MILITANTS ROCK THE LEADERS

NALGO delegates to their annual conference promise to give their leadership a rough ride this week.

Meeting in their separate Sections, delegates have already given warning of the battle to come later this week.

The Local Government Section condemned the EC's decision (which was ratified by the NEC) to call off the London action for a London allowance of £400.

Evidence presented by delegates showed that the London Boroughs were under tremendous pressure from the action taken. Failure to collect rates and rents has lost many councils ready cash, thus forcing them to borrow at high interest rates. This in turn has made it more difficult for the boroughs to operate. Even the limited action taken so far has brought some areas near to collapse.

The main session, starting Wednesday, looks like being stormy.

On Thursday the conference will get a visit from the social contract peddler, Len Murray, himself. Some delegates have put forward a demand that the national negotiators be banned from making any deal under Phase 3, since this would automatically mean a settlement lower than the 20% national claim. But the NALGO leadership has prepared a much more general statement of position that condemns any interference in wage negotiating and voluntary collective bargaining; and a proposal at the Local Government Section for industrial action on the national claim was heavily defeated.

The struggle to transform NALGO into a real trade union still has to go on. This conference could be a decisive step to reverse some of the retreats of the leadership over the past year.

TOM RAMSEY

Unions give no lead to nurses

ON JUNE 11th, the Executive of COHSE managed to carry its policy at the annual conference in Margate. The Executive's motion offered a return to normal working in return for an interim award to low paid nurses, to be paid before the Halsbury Enquiry's report. The motion also demanded a deadline of August 31st for that report, and threatened, but did not specify, further action.

The Confederation of Health Service Employees has been the only one of 12 nurses' organisations officially taking action in pursuit of the pay claim, though nurses of all organisations and none have been taking action in particular places.

COHSE has in the past been a strongly right wing union, and its sudden conversion to militant 'national strike' calls was somewhat surprising. In part it was a bid for more members, but also the result of pressure of the membership: COHSE has a large proportion of male psychiatric nurses, who are more confident and less affected by the service mentality of nurses generally.

The rising militancy caused General Secretary elect Spanswick to call for an overtime ban and non-cooperation — not the most effective tactics — but in fact a wide variety of actions has been taken in local initiatives.

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The very next day, the Joint Union Committee was informed that the national officers of the unions (AUEW, T&GWU, ASTMS and Sheet Metalworkers) were "now involved".

In a further initiative Marshall, together with Engineering steward Malcolm Vass, visited the Joint Shop Stewards of Southampton Docks and asked them to black all Fords products. Mick Marshall told Workers Fight on Tuesday evening "We got a pretty favourable response, but we are expecting to hear a definite answer very soon."

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CASH

Meanwhile, send cash and messages of support to: Strachans Joint Union Committee, c/o Transport House, 67-75 London Road, Southampton.

STRACHANS: UNIONS MOVE ONLY UNDER PRESSURE

SINCE the Strachans Engineering sit-in at Eastleigh, Hants was evicted by police on April 19th, the strikers have kept up a 24-hour picket to ensure that no equipment was transferred out of the factory.

And last month, when reports reached the strikers of a contract with Fords (the factory made van bodies for Ford) to transfer the work to Willenhall Motor Radiator Co., Wolverhampton, Strachans Joint Union Committee got an assurance from workers there that they would black any such work.

However, the fight to get their jobs back has now been grinding on for 14 weeks. The unions concerned have refused to make it an official dispute, and the men are desperately short of money.

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VICIOUS TREATMENT FOR IRISH P.O.W.S

"The decision is an act of trust on our part, a trust which must be reciprocated."

So Marion and Dolours Price, Hugh Feeney and Gerard Kelly described the ending of their hunger strike.

But since then, there has been no let-up in the vicious treatment of Irish prisoners of war in British

Group (MADNAG!) have put a lot of effort into getting industrial solidarity action. They've so far had support from Manchester dockers who struck for a day and have been promised support by the AUEW District Committee and by workers at Lancrose Chemicals, Salford. MADNAG also supported the conference on June 1st called by Hospital Worker.

DEMANDS

This conference agreed demands for £30 minimum, £12 across the board, a 35 hour week, better overtime rates and reduced canteen prices and rents and a sliding scale of wages, to go up automatically with prices. It also decided to initiate action against private profiteers on the NHS: bans on private patients, pickets on drug firms and nursing agencies. A national coordinating committee was formed, which meets again on June 15th.

MADNAG will be calling for Day of Action on July 5th.

Ed Conduit

CPSA reject 'social contract' in words only

A CLEAR demonstration of the nature of the social contract came when the CPSA (DHSS Section) EC called off the action of the Social Security clerks in opposition to the increased workload involved in paying out pension increases by July 22nd.

This decision was taken after behind-the-scenes manoeuvring by Len Murray and Bill Kendal CPSA General Secretary, and after several meetings with Barbara Castle.

The final settlement included a deal on leave, which had previously been rejected, and there was no progress towards paying the staff for carrying the burden of understaffing.

Vague promises were made about a new grading structure and easier promotion.

The membership first heard of this sell-out from the press and TV. Their response was one of disgust and anger. In Manchester and South West Durham the majority of members have resigned from the CPSA. In other areas the action is being maintained, but unofficially. Already calls have gone out for a special delegate conference to discuss the behaviour of the DHSS Section Executive.

If the rank and file take unofficial action, the Labour government will almost certainly be embarrassed into improving the offer. If on the other hand the DHSS — the most militant section of the CPSA — is defeated, the demoralisation of the membership will rule out any militant action for some time.

BRUCE ROBINSON (DHSS)

JOINT CHILE-ANTI-FASCIST MEETING

150 people came to Liverpool's AUEW hall on Wednesday June 5th to hear Tariq Ali of the IMG, Rene Plaza of the Chilean TUC and Barry Williams of Liverpool Trades Council speak on the danger of fascism. The meeting was called jointly by the Merseyside Anti-Fascist Committee and the Liverpool Chile Solidarity Campaign.

Barry Williams spoke of the need for continuing solidarity with the Chilean people's struggle against the Junta and of the world-wide danger of fascism. Unfortunately, his speech was rather short and did not touch on the specific nature of fascism in Britain except that he thought there were 'corporate' tendencies in the Heath government's inflation policies.

Rene Plaza, who spoke through an interpreter, described the privations the workers of Chile were undergoing and how the people of Chile appreciated the blacking of armaments for the Junta by sections of the British working class.

Tariq Ali spoke more specifically on fascism in Britain, France and Italy. He told of the criminal attacks made by the fascist MSI terror gangs in Italy which have been directly responsible for the deaths of tens of working class militants in the past year. Tariq spoke of the need to build anti-fascist committees such as the Merseyside one and of the need to deny fascists a platform.

The meeting was generally felt to have been highly successful, and it will undoubtedly help to extend the links of both the Anti-Fascist Committee and Chile Solidarity Campaign with local trade union militants.

JON RILEY

NINE SCHOOLS OUT IN LONDON

LONDON teachers are now taking unofficial action on their claim for a £500 London allowance, and refusing to pin their hopes on the Pay Board report due at the end of June.

by IAN HOLLINGWORTH

By then it will be perilously close to the end of term, and they know they can't trust the NUT Executive not to settle behind their backs in the holidays.

Nine schools came out on unofficial strike on Tuesday 11th, four of them pledged to stay out for the week. Another 11 schools sent delegates to the strike meeting on Tuesday at NUFTO hall. Hackney parents sent a message of support, urging teachers to stay out; and a telegram to the NUT Executive called on them to make the strike official.

Further, a resolution was passed calling on the Executive to bring into such an official strike forces from the 300 schools that voted for indefinite action in the recent ballot. (And this is on the official figures: these included all those union members who have left London since last year and who, not having returned the ballot papers sent to their defunct addresses, were counted as having voted 'no'. The left wing teachers' paper 'Rank and File' estimates that by one trick or another the pro-strike percentage was reduced by 10% in the count.)

The resolution went on to denounce the Pay Board and any form of incomes policy or social contract. It demanded cash on the table now.

The meeting was keenly aware of a danger of separating the London Allowance question from the problem of the deterioration of the education system nationally, and the resolution also included the demand for the immediate reopening of negotiations on the national salary claim and for the restoration of the £150m cut from education expenditure by the Tory Government.

Both in their supporters and policies, SPUC and LIFE (the other anti-abortion group) represent reaction. We call upon all socialist and militant to back our anti-SPUC campaign. We are producing pre-printed post cards, addressed to the DHSS, and letters for sending to your own

It was also decided that school reps should write open letters to the Executive demanding that they publish the full results of the ballot, basing their results on the actual membership of the Union in London as available from local branch treasurers.

Finally, the meeting went en masse to NUT headquarters at Hamilton House to hand in the resolution to the council meeting of the Inner London Teachers Association. Those of the strikers who were delegates to ILTA handed in the strike committee's resolution as an amendment to the motion in the floor. In an amazing filibuster tactic, ILTA Secretary Bob Richardson was seen to rush out and shortly afterwards return with a freshly duplicated resolution which was promptly allowed to jump the 'queue', forestalling discussion of the strikers' resolution! In the next hour and a half the strikers were completely refused a hearing: finally they all entered the meeting where, after stormy scenes, a prepared statement was read.

Action in the coming weeks must be sustained, and the pressure intensified on the Executive to make the strikes official.

Permanent Revolution 2
May-June 1974

articles on Chile; Workers' Government; Stalinism in Vietnam; Rosa Luxemburg on the Belgian general strike of 1902. Plus discussion and reviews. 20p plus 5p postage from 98 Gifford Street, London N.1

MP. These will be available at a low cost from us. We are also producing a series of posters and stickers.

It took women a long time to get the little way we have. Don't let us lose it now.

Contact NACAS at 54 Pinner Road, Harrow, Middlesex.



Above: Paul Holmes. Below: Michael Gaughan's coffin is carried through Kilburn.



MEETINGS

LONDON Workers Fight. Terry Liddle (Ctee. for Defence of Ukrainian Dissidents) on Repression and Unrest in the Ukraine. Sunday June 23rd at 7.30pm, Golden Lion, Britannia Street/Kings Cross Road.

LIVERPOOL Workers Fight Socialist Forum. Jon Riley on Stalinism. Wednesday June 26th at 8pm, Stanley House, Upper Parliament Street.

MANCHESTER Workers Fight Socialist Forum. Ireland: A Trotskyist Analysis. Tuesday 18th June, 8pm at The Castle, Oldham Street (off Piccadilly).

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ANTI-APARTHEID: public rally at Camden Lock, Chalk Farm Road, London NW1, Sunday June 30th 2.30pm, to mark South Africa Freedom Day. Also, films, stalls, exhibitions.

LITERATURE

THE STRIKE AT IMPERIAL TYPEWRITERS: the full story. Plus — European workers in the catering industry; Struggles at Fidelity Radion, Fords and Yorkshire Carpets; Strikes in India and Dominica; Capital in South Africa. All in the power-packed July issue, out now, of RACE TODAY. 15p from certain shops or order direct from Race Today, 184 Kings Cross Road, London WC1.

JAMES CONNOLLY

and IRELAND'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

10p plus 5p postage, from 98 Gifford Street, London N.1

SPUC ACTIVITY GROWING

STATEMENT by the NATIONAL AD HOC CTTEE. AGAINST SPUC: We would like to draw attention to the current activities of SPUC, the largest and most active of the anti-abortion groups. After the last election, they called on their supporters to join the party of candidates who had come out against abortion — regardless of any other policies held by them. Such candidates include the National Front and most right wing Tories (and also, unfortunately, a few in the Labour Party).

Now they are conducting a write-in campaign, as a result of which a number of MPs have publicly changed their stand. A few thousand letters have already gone to the DHSS and this may influence Barbara Castle to reject the findings of the Lane Committee: she may feel that giving free contraception does away with the need for abortion, and that retaining the latter may lose votes.

However many letters SPUC sends, it cannot equal the number of women who annually have legal abortions. Any further restriction on legal terminations, regardless of the political and moral implication; on which each person has to make up their own mind — will result not in fewer abortions, but in greater numbers having to resort to dangerous back-street operations. Any restrictions will hit the working class women hardest.

SPUC's campaign is inherently undemocratic — it is seeking to deny to others what they (SPUC) consider to be wrong, on evidence which is at best questionable, at worst unprovable and personal.