

Workers' fight

3p

No. 65 — August 17th to August 24th 1974

DON'T LET THE FASCISTS MARCH

Torture in a Birmingham jail

TWO YEARS AGO, there was a massive outcry at the discovery of the use of torture by the British state and its agents in Northern Ireland.

LAST WEEK, these methods were brought back across the channel.

THE SEVEN Irishmen who were charged in court in Birmingham had been beaten and seriously ill-treated while in police custody.

After their arrest, they were held for 52 hours without food. James Ashe, aged 19, was burned on the arms (his arms were bandaged in court)

and on the ribs, according to a Sinn Fein press statement.

The police apparently alleged that he was smoking a lot and burned himself! In fact, he is a non-smoker and is allergic to cigarette smoke.

When his father located him at Mosley police station, he found him naked. The police alleged that he had torn his own clothes off!

The other men had baton marks on the backs of their necks.

Since the hearing, solicitors, doctors and relatives have been denied

access to them. They were taken to an unknown destination, and it is thought that they are being kept out of sight until the torture marks have worn off.

LOUD protest and publicity stopped (or at least reduced) the use of torture in the north of Ireland. Yet even from that period, some of the victims have not yet

recovered. The British authorities are still wriggling and manoeuvring to play the whole thing down.

WE MUST ensure that the same happens this time. As an immediate first step, we must demand that the men arrested in Birmingham be examined and treated by independent doctors, and have full access to legal representation. NOW.

The man who let the mask slip



'AMERICA', we are told, breathed a sigh of relief. Certainly US capitalism did. Wall Street had its best day in months. The rogue elephant was gone.

Socialists, on the other hand, have cause to lament the passing of Tricky Dicky from the White House, once his tricks meant more than just a nickname.

It's all very well to say Nixon is the fall guy, the one who was found out; that the system goes on as it did. That nothing has really happened.

All that is true, but in a system as cloaked as capitalism is in hypocrisy, to be found out is no small thing.

Thanks to the White House tapes, Nixon was found out so thoroughly that his continued presidency was a serious threat to the system. It wasn't just that his fingers were in the till, which they were, or that his plumbers had been found knee-deep in the Watergate, which they had been.

What hurt American capitalism and its parties and its state was that the unveiling of Richard Milhous Nixon was painfully close to an unveiling of their system itself.

Capitalism paints itself with the colours of peace, of economic and social progress, of culture and concern for

humanity, of morality and of dignity.

And so did Nixon. But the paint was washed off.

He stood for Law and Order. Yet he broke even US capitalism's laws (which are tailor-made for people like him) right across the board, from tax evasion, straight graft, and burglary through to the secret bombing of Cambodia.

(That he was 'convicted' because of the 'second rate burglary' of the Watergate building, but 'acquitted' for the mass murder and saturation bombing of Cambodia, is of course itself a comment on the values of the system he served.)

He claimed to stand for world peace. Yet he stepped up the war against Vietnam to a degree that Kennedy, Johnson and the Pentagon had ruled out. And he extended the war to Laos and Cambodia. THAT was how he was able to 'make peace'. (Yet Vietnam is of course still at war.)

He pushed 'detente' with Russia and China. Just as he had pushed McCarthyite witch-hunting. But he hadn't changed. Half of America's liberals were on his list of

"WE had to destroy the city in order to save it", American general William Westmoreland commented, after flattening a major city during the Vietnam war.

The working people of Cyprus face four separate armed forces on their territory, threatening to destroy them for the sake of "saving" them.

The Turkish army claims it is protecting the Turkish Cypriot minority.

The British and UN forces claim they are keeping the peace between the two communities.

The Greek officers of the National Guard are supposed to be there to safeguard Greek Cypriots.

DUMPED

Not one of these forces is in fact safeguarding anything but capitalist, nationalist, and imperialist interests.

The crisis started with the combined efforts of the Greek ruling class and their American patrons (represented by the CIA) to stabilise their rule, in face of the mass revolt which exploded in Athens in November 1973. In quick succession, Makarios, Sampson, and the Athens junta were dumped by back-stage coups. According to the *Sunday Times* of 11th August, Greek leftists believe that a major US motive was to get rid of Makarios because they feared he would obstruct US plans to get bases on Cyprus.

NATO

Karamanlis, the head of the new Greek government, is using the crisis in Cyprus to appeal to Greek nationalism. He hopes to get the whole Greek people to rally round him against the Turkish threat. That is the only way he can hope to gain any solid basis for his government.

The withdrawal of Greece from NATO's military organisation has no progressive significance in this situation — especially as the

ALL TROOPS OUT OF CYPRUS

Karamanlis government makes clear that it will continue to support NATO politically. The withdrawal can free a part of the Greek army; it can help gain some credibility for the government. Additionally — and it is impossible to know exactly what underhand ploys are underway — it may be an effort to put some pressure on the US to give more support to Greece, and it may be connected with faction-fighting in the Greek army.

As for Greece protecting Greek Cypriots, even Makarios demanded, shortly before his overthrow, that the Greek National Guard officers should be withdrawn from Cyprus. Makarios is and was a capitalist politician — but on that issue he was

undoubtedly representing the feelings of the majority of Cypriots.

For the Turkish government, too, looking anxiously over its shoulder at the army officers who stand behind its throne, nationalist military aggression serves the purpose of uniting popular support behind them. Their invasion of Cyprus was prompted by fears that Sampson would try to unite Cyprus with Greece, and justified in the name of protecting Turkish Cypriots.

DENKTASH

In fact, many left wing Turkish Cypriots opposed the invasion. The Turkish troops serve to strengthen the position of people like the Vice President, Denktash. Denktash is an extreme right

by the divisive and provocative slogan of their intended march ("Defend the Unions from Blacks") to take the necessary steps to stop them ourselves.

Counter-marches have been organised. Get your union branch, LP ward, LPYS, or any organisation of the labour movement, to send along a strong delegation to Leicester on August 24th. There must be a massive turnout. The old slogan **They shall not Pass!** is as good as ever. We must make sure that it means something.

ASSEMBLE Spinney Hill Park, Leicester, 2pm Saturday 24th August. Coaches from London leave Pancras Road (next to Kings Cross Station) at 9am.

DESPITE pleas by the local Asian community, Leicester's Labour controlled council plans to give the National Front the freedom of its streets on August 24th.

This council was shameless enough to place an advertisement in a Uganda paper, telling Asians who were being hounded and persecuted that they should stay away from Leicester.

And now it welcomes the Front's blackshirted thugs, who have been banned by Birmingham and have beat a hasty retreat from their planned march in Manchester.

IT IS up to those who are outraged by fascism and

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once again

THE 1945 SHOW

LIKE A well warmed-up pantomime audience, the Tory Party, the press and all the organisations representing privately owned industry have greeted Labour's present plans for nationalisation with a rowdy chorus of boos and hisses. But that's just part of the show. Just as the Pantomime villain is everybody's favourite really, so the bosses and the Tories know full well that Labour's plans are intended to shore up capitalism — not to undermine it.

Already, the 20 companies mentioned for possible nationalisation have received at least £3000 million since 1970 (alone) in tax concessions and "regional aid" (cash for firms to invest in the depressed regions, most of which goes into the owners' pockets, creating very few jobs).

This £3000 million does not include investment subsidies to big business — again, cash which allows firms to write off equipment at inflated prices while boosting shareholders' pickings.

Intrigue

Private industrialists, of course, know what's good for them without reading Lenin. But it might intrigue many of them to know that three quarters of a century ago Lenin characterised the age in which we live as an age of state-monopoly capitalism the fusion and mutual parasitism of big business and its state. And this is truer today than ever. Big business, in fact, could not survive for long without massive state intervention — though of course to admit it would place a serious question mark over the 'success story' claims of the capitalist system.

Extensive cash grants and state shares in big business have been stepped up in all major capitalist countries since the Second World War. That way, investment risks have been minimised for employers, while massive profits have been reaped. The 51% state share in Shell BP epitomises this process. It exceeded Government-set profits by £50 million in the first quarter of this year alone!

In France and Italy, whether under governments of the right or 'left', extensive state shareholdings have become facts of life in the motor industry, in heavy engineering, tobacco and other industries. In the very heartland of "free enterprise" — the USA — oil magnates informed the Federal Energy Authority that they would not undertake any serious project for obtaining oil from shale without large investment grants and subsidies from the federal government. Robert Baldwin, president of Gulf Energy and Minerals, a subsidiary of Gulf Oil, stated quite openly that "What is needed now is a coherent government policy which recognises that the time for shale oil has come and provides private investment the climate to go to it."

Insane

On top of this, most of the largest firms get a large part of their profits by courtesy of state contracts for that insane and dangerous waste known as 'defence' — over £3000 million in Britain last year alone, most of it going on nuclear weapons.

Nationalisation itself has also figured prominently in the major capitalist countries. And this again has had very little to do with party politics. De Gaulle nationalised Renault among other things,

and Fanfani (Italy's Christian Democrat leader) nationalised the electricity industry. The common factor has been that branches of industry and individual firms which were unprofitable but necessary for the rest of capitalism, or which required the kind of massive investment that private capital was not prepared to advance, have been the prime candidates for nationalisation.

Generous

After all the screaming, former owners have found themselves relieved of investment risks; bought out at extortionate rates enabling them to transfer their capital to more profitable industries; retained in management; and very often paid interest on past assets. The nationalised sector then functions within capitalism to provide cheap services to private industry (steel, coal, electricity, transport etc.).

It is extremely doubtful, all the same, whether the Labour

above. The industry is stagnant if not declining, and has already needed massive state handouts and shareholdings to keep it viable in recent years. As Benn himself stressed, in 1955 British shipbuilding produced 1.3m. gross registered tons — more than any other country's shipbuilders. By 1973, British shipbuilding had fallen to sixth place, producing only 1.06 million tons, a fall — in what has been a gigantically increasing market — to 3.6% of the world total. What's more, in the last ten years loans by both Tory and Labour governments to the shipbuilding employers have run at £62m, grants (free handouts) at £79m, and shareholdings at £14m. Thus in promising "fair compensation", the Government is undertaking to buy up the industry almost for a second time.

And this process is to continue. The significant part of the plans and proposals of the present government is that they provide for a massive increase in the injection of government cash into private

present owners and managers are indispensable, that workers couldn't survive without capitalists running their lives. Part of this myth is the picture of employers carrying on business 'freely' without help from their state, simply growing rich by their own efforts. This myth is particularly cherished by the small businessmen and other middle class elements that constitute the rank and file base of the Tory Party. So such an anti-Labour campaign is very useful for rallying the ranks to defeat Labour in the coming elections.

But more important, there is a fear that workers will take Benn's talk of 'socialism' seriously, and perhaps do something about it themselves. The employers are concerned lest the investigation of the firms mentioned by Labour should expose them for the parasites they are, showing them to be the real gang 'holding the country to ransom'. As the economic crisis intensifies, such investigation could contribute to a widespread demand for real expropriations, not to bale out the system but to go beyond it. (And, while it will take more than such expropriations to do away with the bosses' system, the swelling up of such demands could well play an important part in the process of clearing out the bosses' state as well as their property.)

In the short term, the bosses are afraid of anything at all that could give any confidence to the working class. Handouts and state investment may help, but they know that the profits are made by workers. And the more they have to pay out in

another line of attack was needed to back this up, and this is where the 'workers participation' proposals come in.

These are intended as a sweetener for the coming wage controls. They will clearly be modelled on the German experience, where workers' representatives have held 50% of the places on management boards (with strictly limited functions, of course) in order to make workers take responsibility for the profitability of the firm.

The measures being mooted now are designed to trap workers into becoming partners in the management game of speed-up, rationalisation and redundancy, and all the other anti-working class tricks required to make an enterprise more "efficient" — that is, more profitable.

Tag

It has become common to distinguish working class nationalisation from the existing model by tagging on the demand for "workers control". But this can be confusing, and it is such confusion that Benn and Wilson will be trading on.

It must be said clearly that such proposals as theirs have nothing in common with workers' control of production. This can only be fully effective when workers have real control of the state and society. When the entire economy, all industry, banking, commerce, the land is both physically and politically in the control of the working class, then workers can have effective control of what is produced, of what is considered as economic and social priority, and of management at all levels of industry and society.

In the meantime, workers can, with strong and democratic union organisation and a fight against the lies and myths of the bosses, gain varying degrees of control over working conditions, systems of payment and even the hiring and firing of workers.

It is precisely this fight to thwart the bosses' plans for us that 'workers participation' is meant to undermine, by kidding workers that they'll get some control of the whole show, they hope to get us to let go the control we do have, which they've fought against every inch of the way.

Recall

So if they do try to put this one over, we must have our answer ready. We must demand:

*democratic election of all workers' representatives by shop floor ballot, with the right of immediate re-call of those elected.

*full scrutiny and publication of all accounts; no business secrets; the right of the workers to nominate economists and accountants to examine the workings of the company.

*regular report back to the shop floor and mandating of those elected.

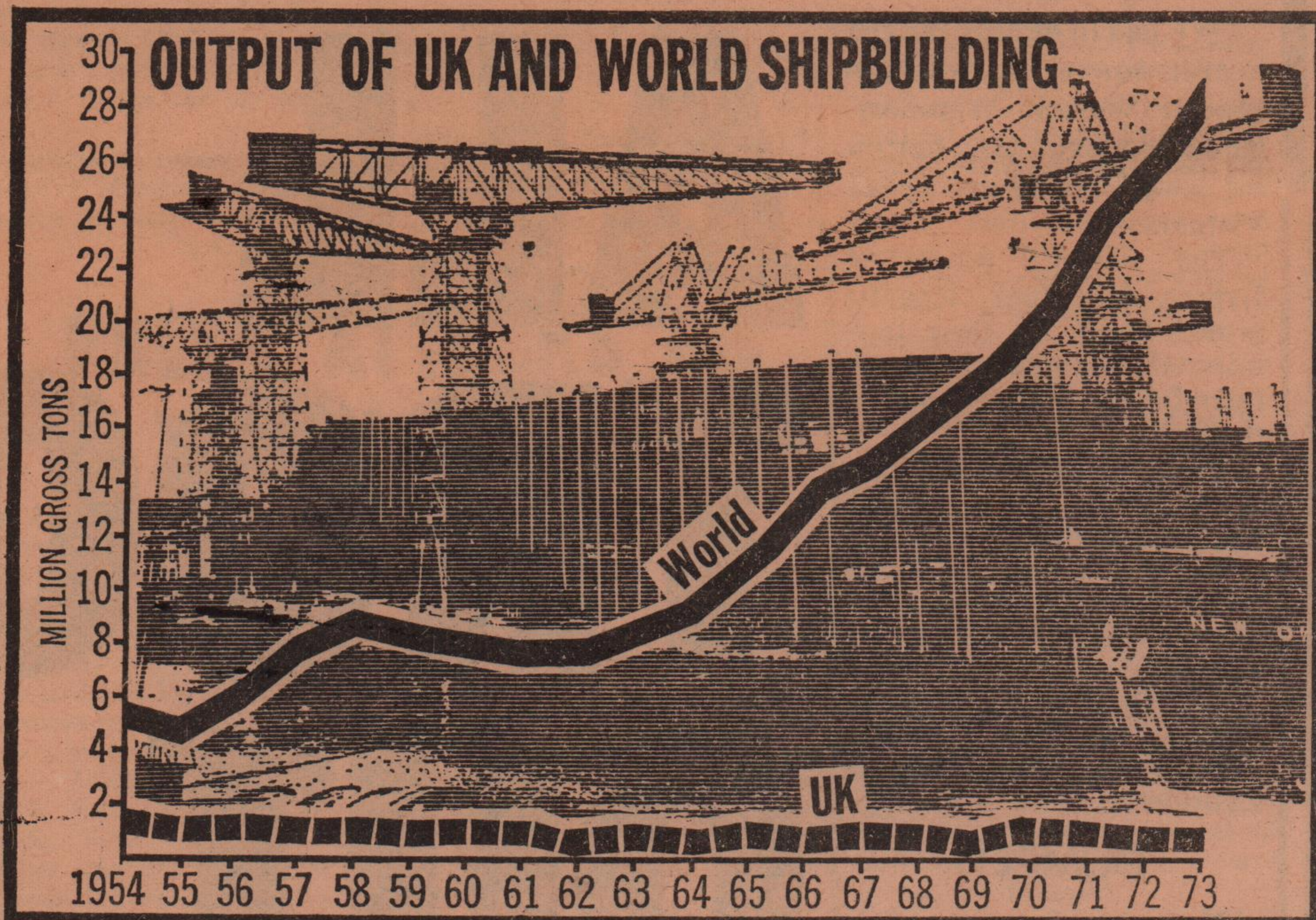
*no responsibility for redundancies, speed-up or other measures designed to place the burden for the profitability of the firm on the workers.

*complete independence of trade union functions from those of the Board. Workers elected on boards not to be bound by any form of secrecy regarding the firm's affairs.

Such demands would make the bosses think twice, and then twice again, about their ability to con workers with joint boards. And they will give a clear idea to those who might be conned where their real interests lie.

PHIL SEMP

NEXT WEEK — THE GERMAN EXPERIENCE



government has either the serious intention or the will to nationalise 20 of the top hundred firms. Despite the fine words, the whole past experience of Labour's nationalisation policies — and also the experience of the present government — points to the shoring-up of capitalism as the major aim, rather than the saving of jobs, improvement of conditions, rational planning of resources or cutting of prices to working class consumers. If the Court Line takeover is anything to go by, the owners of industry have little to fear. The Red Terror Benn is paying the former owners £16 million. Two years ago Court Line was valued at £17 million, and has since got itself into debt to the tune of £8 million. As the Guardian (which can take away £ from 17 as well as the rest of us) commented "The price is sure to be regarded in the industry as fairly generous." Indeed.

Of the few concrete proposals, the announcement on 31st July that Labour intended to take over (assuming re-election) the shipbuilding industry, has all the hallmarks of previous nationalisation, as described

industry through the National Enterprise Board, in the hope of boosting the lagging rate of capital investment and, above all, trying to protect profits from taking a drastic dive in the recession that is expected.

Soothing

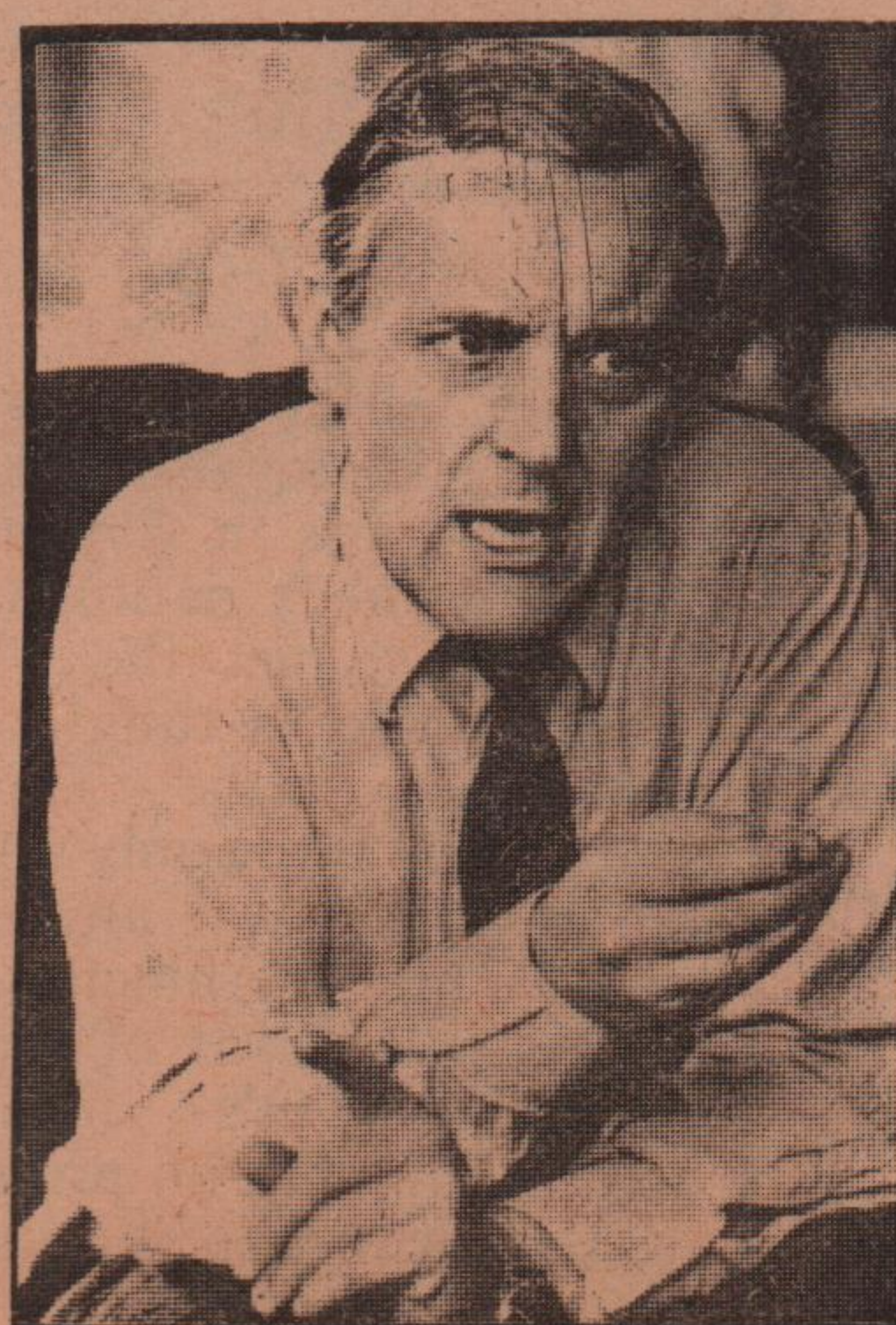
And while the patient is prepared for this massive injection, soothing words are spoken in the best bedside manner tradition. "What Benn is doing is really not socialism, but a new dimension to capitalism. It is based... on systems operating in Italy, France and Belgium." Thus an unnamed Government spokesman quoted in The Guardian on 26th June. And three days later Harold Wilson himself announced that 'public and private sectors must be clearly demarcated, so that private industry can have the confidence to invest'.

Why, then, all the hysteria, the denunciations of the 'lunatic, ideologically motivated' Benn, not to mention the ineffably silly Aims of Industry campaign telling us to 'Beware the Elephant'?

First, big business needs to keep up the myth that the

wages, the less comes into their own pockets. All the signs are that, whether it's Heath or Wilson at No.10 after the elections, there'll be a tough crackdown to hold wages back.

Labour's strategy has been to apply the carrot where the Tory stock failed. With a tiny increase in pensions, a pathetic 'wealth tax' and the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act (though many of its clauses have been retained almost intact) they can get the TUC into the Government's pocket. But



Benn — not so funny

SPINOLA FOR TIME TIME RU

GENERAL Spinola's Provisional once due to internal difficulties, is rather than pursuing agreed policy

It is being squeezed between the situation in Portugal itself and the

The loose coalition in the bourgeois republicans, Socialists crisis in Portugal by repression, an out — with "with honour" — i.e., sal interests and maintaining political

The Socialists and Communist unprincipled coalition, are prepar with the interests of Portuguese imperialism, merely to stay in, constantly silence their followers a ness to Spinola.

They are now fully — and by al of the capitalists and the right wing

The press laws, announced a f seriously cutting back the freed Already one Maoist newspaper ha been heavily fined or suspended. Movement of the Provisional Gov Avante, the Communist Party

Italy

An attack on the Left

EARLIER this month, a bomb placed on an Italian passenger train killed 12 people. It was, once again, the work of fascists.

It was the latest, and most deadly, in a series of bombings. But what is perhaps most significant is that a fascist grouping claimed responsibility.

Up until recently, their intention had been to get the left blamed. For instance, the kidnapping and torture of an Italian businessman a couple of months ago was ascribed to "the Red Brigade", which is in fact a fascist front. While they held him, they photographed him against a background of hammers and sickles, in a crude attempt to frame the left.

The plan is obvious: to create a feeling of chaos and uncertainty, and thus pressurise the state into repression against the left.

If the state then proves not to be strong enough or willing enough (and the continuation of the bombing would 'demonstrate' the need for stronger measures) then the call goes out for yet more 'law and order' and firm government, with the fascists putting themselves forward as the best candidates for the suppression of the left.

This was how it operated in the early 1920s. Then, the lack of fight by the workers' parties allowed the fascists to 'take power'.

Today in Italy, the stage is set for a repeat performance. But this time some of the fascist groups feel even more confident of escaping revenge. Now they admit responsibility for such bombings as that in Brescia where 5 people were killed by a bomb planted near an anti-fascist demonstration, and the blowing up of the train just outside Bologna, one of the Communist Party's major strongholds. Instead of attacking the left indirectly, they now direct their violence straight at the left.

The Italian labour movement will have to fight back or go under. And it cannot rely on its traditional parties, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, who are bound up in all sorts of electoral pacts and compromises with the bourgeoisie. In the past, they have refused to take part in attempts to disrupt the activities of the main fascist party the MSI, which is strongly represented in the Assembly.

But the fight against fascism in Italy, as elsewhere, will be decisively won or lost in a physical confrontation rather than at the polls.

PLAYS ... AS INS OUT

Government, already re-shuffled more and more reacting to events

rapidly deteriorating economic conditions in its African colonies. Cabinet between army officers, and "Communists" answers the demand in Africa by attempting to pull together what it can of its economic influence.

ists, already engaged in this bid to make constant compromises with capitalism and its big brother US power. And they have also tried to lie to them to show their usefulness

the signs willingly — the captives a few weeks ago, are harsh measures from the press won in April. has been banned, while others have been criticised by the Armed Forces Commission.

paper, had previously told its readers not to demonstrate against these Laws, because they would not affect the left!

Strikes, many of them now isolated and spontaneous, continue, but with an as yet weak trade union organisation and hostility from the erstwhile working class parties now in the cabinet, they do not last long.

Prices have been rising steadily, meanwhile, and unemployment has risen to 100,000.

To add to the Government's problems, thousands of settlers have been returning to Portugal from the African colonies, especially since the August 4th announcement of plans for their independence.

That announcement was speeded up by a single factor — the continuing defeats at the hands of the guerilla armies. In Mozambique Frelimo cut the major rail link between Rhodesia and the main port of Beira; thousands of Portuguese troops have refused to go on fighting, and there have been a number of unofficial meetings between Frelimo and the Portuguese authorities. In the expectation of independence, celebrations and rallies have taken place up and down the country.

RICH

There is as yet little sign of an organised white settler backlash, although groupings do exist. Frelimo has promised all white settlers that they can stay as long as they accept black self-determination.

In Angola, by far the richest colony, polarisation has been much sharper. There have been instances of the whites rampaging through Luanda on anti-black pogroms, killing hundreds in a few nights of rioting. Civil war is not ruled out in Angola.

In Guinea-Bissau, on the other hand, the Portuguese are eager to pull out. It is the smallest and by far the most impoverished colony. With the Republic of Guinea Bissau (set up by the PAIGC fighters) now recognised by the UN, Spínola has had no alternative but to say that he will hand over power direct to the Republic. But ever since April, he has prevaricated, hoping to hold on to the Cape Verde Islands, at present a strategic air base for Portugal's imperialist allies in NATO. But the PAIGC remain determined to gain independence for these islands too, and it now seems that Spínola might have to agree to this, perhaps in return for some remaining rights to the base.

TIME

The formal announcement that Spínola made that independence would be granted to the colonies is a recognition that time is not on the side of the Portuguese capitalists and their African settlers and hangers on. But little concrete has been done since then towards implementing the statement of intention, and it is clear that Spínola is still playing for as much time as he can get to minimise the effects on imperialism.

A solidarity movement in Portugal could tip the balance in favour of the independence fighters, and would certainly have the effect of limiting Spínola's options even further. While the Communist Party and the Socialist Party (which have an interest in keeping, respectively, Moscow's and the bourgeois social democrats' influence in Africa) rely on pressure within the Cabinet to hurry things along, the delays can continue.

Clive Bane

Once a proud boast, now a hidden intention: 1920s Italian poster shows Blackshirt thug trampling the Red Flag — that is, the labour movement



Showing the wrong flag

The last issue of WORKERS FIGHT carried on the front page a picture of workers at Leicester. Their meeting had been called by the convenor of Imperial Typewriters, a racist and a supporter of the fascist National Front, and its purpose was to press for the victimisation of Asian strike leaders. The caption to the picture commented that, symbolically, these workers carried not the Red Flag "but the Union Jack — the 'bloody butcher's apron' and chief emblem of the fascist National Front".

Sellers of the paper reported that some people they met were more distressed by what they felt was an affront to their nationality and their flag, than by the meeting shown in the picture or by the influence of fascists on a section of workers.

NATION

It should not surprise us. It is a fact that the vast majority of workers still see themselves as part of a nation rather than members of a class. That is what they are taught to think at school, and the labour movement in this country has done very little to fight such an attitude and a great deal to foster it. Even the traditional left of the Labour Party and the unions is deeply nationalistic, as witness their basically 'Little England' campaign against the Common Market. Thus the left makes the work of the National Front, or demagogues like Enoch Powell, so much easier.

What is 'The Nation' which both Powell and the left prattle about? The old Tory, Disraeli, who witnessed the great class battles between workers and capitalists in the mid 19th century, was far more perceptive. He used to talk of the two English nations — the rich and the poor.

Britain as it actually is a nation divided by irreconcilable class divisions — a nation rent in two by class warfare. The boss class is to the working class what the flea is to the dog. We have no common interest with the employing class who rule, control, and personify the British nation.

The working class have a desperate need to break free of all mystical talk about a national community with the bosses, to brutally face the fact of their

own exploitation, to become conscious of a class identity in opposition to the rulers of their own nation. Otherwise they will never free themselves from exploitation. To talk of the nation and the national interest is to accept the reality of class/society as it is.

The working class is not only diametrically opposed in its real interests to a section of its own nation. It finds in the course of its struggles that it has more in common with certain sections of other nations than with its own ruling class — that is, with the working class of all other countries. All workers face a common class war — no better allies can be found than the workers of other countries. Since



Photo Workers Press

capitalism is international, such alliances are necessary to the working class, and so obviously so in the Common Market as to be beyond argument.

Thus as the working class of the advanced countries develops its struggles and its consciousness it necessarily leaves nationalism behind it and grows to an understanding of itself as an international force. It learns to understand the whole period of history which saw the formation of the modern advanced nations as having been superseded by an epoch which demands the unification of the nations if new

False militancy is Fascists' trick, but

They're out to smash the Unions

IN ITALY in the early 1920s, when Mussolini's Fascist movement doubled its membership figures to 420,000 in the year up to the summer of 1922, the major strength of the movement lay in the organised mass it had rallied around its own trade union syndicat, which at that time claimed over 800,000 member. This is the kind of development the National Front is aiming for in this country. But being on a much smaller scale, their tactic is to infiltrate the existing labour movement.

Speakers at a recent meeting in Manchester, attended by over 100 people, brought this message home again and again: beware of fascist infiltration in the unions!

Tricks

For quite some time now, the National Front have been fighting to get a foothold in the unions. At least two years ago their paper *Spearhead* told its members how important it was that they should be union members, to carry their virulent racism and Red-hunting into the labour movement. But now, they're learning new tricks. They're learning that an appearance of militancy is what pays off, even though their main purpose is to "do what the Tories have not done and cannot do, to fight the left on its own ground in the unions

wars like world war 1 and world war 2 are to be avoided, and if economic progress is to proceed. It can be seen from the attempt to form a European union in the Common Market that even the bosses themselves have understood the outdated nature of the old nation state.

And from the capitalists' limited attempts to break out of the national seed pods within which early capitalism grew, and later found so stifling that world wars were fought for Lebensraum ('living room'), the working class must learn that only the working class will be able to unify the nations — as part of the socialist revolution.

For certain Third World countries, for long exploited colonies of countries like Britain, the battle for national unity, identity, and independence can still be progressive. In those countries, real national liberation will not be attained except under the leadership of the working class.

For Britain, talk of national unity only serves as part of the bosses' propaganda war to placate the working class. It is the philosophical justification of the

and wrest control of the unions from them..."

They say they will do this "by the democratic process". But when the 'democratic process' no longer serves them, they state that the NF must "be ready to embark on a campaign of repression of the left in the unions which could in the process involve the repression of much that is legitimate union activity."

These words of NF Fuehrer John Tyndall do not figure largely, in fact not at all, in their everyday work in the unions; rather, they combine extreme racist and nationalist propaganda with loud support for workers' struggles — white workers' struggles, that is. Thus they try to con workers into thinking that racism is a militant defence of their interests, rather than a disgusting and divisive attack on a section of their own class.

We would be conning ourselves if we believed, in the situation where the vast majority of workers are probably racist to some degree or another and the rest have little understanding of racism and how to fight it, that this tactic of the National Front will not succeed in many places.

Lesson

At the Manchester meeting, Maurice Ludmer, of the National Co-ordinating Committee of Trade Unions against Fascism, gave a number of examples which should be a salutary lesson. At Wolverhampton, an area official of the ambulance-men's union, who was outspoken in his defence of their strike, later stood as a National Front candidate in the election. In Bolton, moves by the AUEW to discipline Bill Roberts, convenor at Edbro's and prospective NF candidate, evoked an immediate response from union members, who supported their fascist convenor!

One lesson here at least is that 'militancy' alone is not enough. Too many socialists live in the belief that in order to fight fascism one must unite as many people together on any old basis, toning down one's politics so as not to alienate potential allies (including liberals, vicars and the like). On the contrary, it is all the more necessary to fight for a clear internationalist working class understanding, especially on such questions as the anti-Imperialist struggle in Ireland.

'Britons'

Another speaker, Julian Atkinson (a member of the IMG who has worked closely with the Imperial Typewriters strike committee) described the process whereby the racism and conservatism of the local T&GWU, a remnant of the old Deakinite regime in the Union, helped the NF get

influence in the factory. They had launches vicious attacks on the strikers and totally misled the white workers about the aims of the strike. And when Regional T&G officials moved in to belatedly settle the strike on a no-victimisation basis, the NF were able to put out a leaflet to the workers who had scabbed, the gist of which was 'Britons unite and defend your land and your factory (!) from these ungrateful blacks'. And they proceeded to conduct their now infamous campaign for the victimisation of the strike leaders.

Sham

If proof were needed that the 'militancy' shown elsewhere by NF members in the unions is a complete sham, Leicester provides it: for the T&GWU officials who opposed this strike on racist grounds had the previous year condemned a strike by white workers at Imperial as subversive, wrecking and 'communist-inspired'.

Elsewhere, the NF has been in the forefront of attacks on Asian strikers, acting as shock troops for the bosses and the police, and openly attacking pickets.

They must be stopped now! Jack Sutton, NUPE branch secretary at the Manchester Royal Infirmary and supporter of Workers Fight, stressed that we mustn't leave the forces of 'law and order' to deal with fascism. We must build trade union caucuses against fascist, distribute anti-fascist literature at places of work, organise factory gate meetings, get union branches to affiliate to anti-fascist committees, and above all to kick fascists out of all workers' organisations.

Ban

As the state arms itself with a stronger official armoury of repression (Special Patrol Groups, conspiracy laws, harassment of black workers, industrial courts) fascism grows more and more confident, because it knows that its role ultimately is to be the unofficial shock troops of the capitalist class in times of real trouble for capitalism, and because of this it will in the mean, while get all the toleration and help that the police can give it.

All socialists and trade unionists, of whatever race or creed, should fear the growth of the NF, and fight to build a mass movement against it. Labour councils must be called upon to ban racists from holding meetings in any civic property, as has occurred in Birmingham.

And fascists must be prevented from rallying or marching, if possible by order of the local authority, but if not, by massive mobilisations to stop them on the streets.

Naomi Wimbourne
Maxine Landis

LABOUR'S proposed "wealth tax" is best summed up by a share dealer, who said that "The City" would not mind a wealth tax if it meant that Labour could "institute a meaningful wages policy."

And that's just it. The Wealth Tax is seen by the government as sugar coating to help shove down our gullets a wages policy which would cut working class living standards. They could hardly be more cynical: under the guise of a "redistribution of wealth" they are quite deliberately trying to do the opposite.

In terms of Healy's promise to "soak the rich" the tax is pitiful. According to the Green Paper, one

Soaking the Rich or Conning the Poor?

possible rate of taxation would have yielded revenue of between £200 million and £275 million for 1972. Yet on the very same day that the Green Paper was published, Shell announced that their profits for the first half of 1974 were £567 million.

That is, in half a year just one company makes twice as much in profits as this tax will realise in a full year.

However, the estimates of what the tax will raise are probably exaggerated, for it is the tax payer who will estimate how much tax is owed and not the Inland Revenue, who will merely be doing random checks. As is well known, there already exists a large body of parasites, called tax accountants, whose sole calling in life is to fiddle the tax returns of wealthy people. If the wealth tax ever became law, and it is not due to become law until 1976, then no doubt their ranks will double, as their services are called upon to

devise further ways and means of tax avoidance.

The fact is that Labour's programme of "redistributing wealth" under capitalism (which many in the labour movement take for real) is, and must of necessity be, a farce. What defines the capitalist class is not that they own wealth in general, but specifically that they own and control the means of production. And it is from this ownership that their personal wealth derives.

As long as the factories and banks are in private

hands, then all of Labour's talk about greater equality is so much eye-wash, designed to fool the working class. £250 million a year means (assuming that it will even be re-distributed, which it won't be) a fiver for every man, woman and child in the country. Compare this with the massive wealth of the country which is in private hands — and all of this wealth was created by the working class.

It shouldn't be taxed; it should be expropriated. As it is, Labour is simply using the slogan of equality as a cold-blooded bargaining point in the Social Contract, hoping by such shallow demagoguery to win the help of the trade unions in a savage wage cut — amounting to many, many times more than a fiver a year.

Andrew Roberts

Contd. from p.1

..CYPRUS

Cypriot working class. It would involve massive transfers of population, disrupting the lives of many people, and would probably also lead to persecution of minorities left behind in the zone of the 'opposite' community.

Successive British governments stirred up and played on divisions between the Greek and Turkish communities during the period from 1878 to 1960 when they ruled Cyprus. Now Callaghan poses as the conciliator and peacekeeper. In fact, the British government is more concerned with imperialist military interests in Cyprus (there are 8,500 troops in the bases, and another 1,500 with the United Nations force) and with keeping its profitable economic domination (over 40% of Cyprus exports go to Britain).

The 10,000 British troops will act only to maintain imperialist interests. In the 1950s, Britain did not hesitate to use the most bloody repression against the EOKA guerrillas fighting for an end to the colonial regime. Today, there has been no question of them moving to protect the working people of Cyprus against Sampson or the Turkish army.

The 5,000 United Nations troops appear to be more impartial. In fact, they are largely controlled by Britain and by the United States, the two imperialist powers most directly concerned. They have done nothing to safeguard working people in Cyprus. The only circumstance in which they might come into effective action is if a popular mobilisation of either community (or — improbably in the present situation — of both communities united) threatened the hold of capitalist governments, Greek, Turkish and British, over Cyprus.

The key that could turn the whole situation from a very black one to one of revolutionary upheaval throughout the area lies in the hands of the Greek working class organisations. The Karamanlis government is still very shaky. Even now, martial law is still in force, with a total ban on public meetings. The "national defence" argument cannot serve it much longer, if only because Greece is in no position to stand up to Turkey militarily. (Especially now that the US, for its own political reasons, seems to be giving some backing to Turkey.)

Meanwhile we in Britain must demand: **Hands off Cyprus.** We must give no support for any partition of the island. All foreign troops must be withdrawn — Turkish, Greek, United Nations, and British.

...NIXON

dangerous 'commie' subversives to be investigated.

He 'stood for hard work and self help'. And he enforced a merciless wage freeze while he helped himself to public money to buy his wife's diamond earrings, and to do up his houses to the tune of some two million dollars.

Capitalism has a lot to con workers about. So it places a high premium on appearances for its politicians. And Nixon's facade was just what they wanted.

Behind Nixon's facade of dignity, openness and integrity was double dealing, dirty tricks, ignorance and prejudice, greed and brutality, deep and dangerous paranoia, lies and more lies.

How like the system itself! It's a pity that the Nixon show is over. The more so as the show it showed up goes on.

Rachel Lever

More fights to come on London weighting

ON 6th August, Nalگو settled with the employers its claim for a £400 London weighting on the basis of dividing up a 'kitty' of £19 million. The final figures agreed are £381 for inner London, £261 for outer London, and the creation of a 2-tier fringe area reaching out to Slough and Bracknell, giving £180 and £120 respectively.

The settlement ended months of overtime bans and stoppages which had crippled most London boroughs, but it has 'opened the floodgates'. For behind Nalگو stand teachers, postmen, civil servants and local authority manual workers; while a number of others, like hospital workers, are preparing to put in for their first London allowance. This battle is just starting.

The long fight terrified the Nalگو NEC (and now it has to face the membership again as negotiations start up over the 20% national claim), because one aspect of the struggle was that in many areas the rank and file felt strong enough to give a bold two-fingers sign to the union bureaucrats. Islington, Camden, Tower Hamlets and the Joint Boroughs Computer Centre were among the most militant, and often were quite beyond the NEC's ability to control.

The fight has still not made a

trade union out of Nalگو, but many members have learnt the value of militant action.

The settlement was opposed by Tower Hamlets branch and the GLC branch, and they have agreed to continue fighting against the employment of private agency staff.

An unfortunate aspect of the deal was the willingness of the Nalگو leadership to carve up the kitty as proposed by the Pay Board and the employers. Rank and file members must insist that the job of these highly paid officials is to fight for the full claim for their members.

This same tactic may be tried on the NUT leaders, who are confused about the way to meet the Pay Board's attempt to introduce the inner/outer London division into their London allowance agreement, and so splinter teachers' ability to fight.

The Labour government must be well satisfied that one of the difficult opponents of their social contract has now settled: other-side the coming TUC conference may have been forced to 'discipline' Nalگو for its strike action.

But Labour ministers still fear a wave of further weighting claims after the Nalگو settlement.

S. Corbishley

British troops caught out in murder exercise

THE other week, alert radio listeners may have smelt a rat when one news bulletin reported, in the routine phrases, that in a shooting incident in Co. Tyrone a man was "accidentally" killed,

'FREE THE PRISONERS' MARCH SAVAGED BY POLICE

Most notable anniversaries get commemorated, somehow or other. And, somehow or other, the third anniversary of the introduction of internment in the north of Ireland was commemorated last Sunday.

The smallest turnout of 1000 or so Irish republicans and their socialist supporters probably gave a strong signal to British imperialism that the vast majority of the British left thought they had better things to do that day...

Yet we must not allow the question of internment to be shuffled into a political pigeon hole. There are about 600 men held in Long Kesh concentration camp, and a growing number of women in Armagh jail. None of these have had a fair trial, but are

held on suspicion or tittle tattle. Two men have already died in Long Kesh: the latest to die was simply given pain-killers and told to shut up, until a few hours before his death.

The demonstration in London was organised by the Provisional Sinn Fein together with the Irish Political Hostages Campaign. (Clann na h'Eireann held a separate march.)

But while most of the British left was relaxing at home with the Sunday papers, the Police were having a ball in Hyde Park. After two warnings that the wearing of "political uniforms" was an offence and that anyone found so dressed would be arrested, they waded in on the Republicans' colour party, grabbing and tearing up flags and pulling in everyone they could find wearing a beret. (Since the fining of the members of the colour party at Michael Gaughan's funeral, it seems that a mere beret now constitutes a 'political uniform'!)

Conversations between some of the arrested and the police revealed that in fact the whole operation had been planned beforehand.

The whole performance was an outrage. Even bystanders were dragged in; one old woman who picked up a fallen beret was herself arrested. While Orange Loyalists, Fascists and other rabble are free to flaunt themselves in whatever regalia they please, Irish opponents of British imperialism are continually harassed.

We must demand that the police get their hands off our comrades and allies — and in the future, prepare to defend them from such attacks.

LEN GLOVER



British soldier at Limehill, Pomeroy (where Paddy McElhone was murdered). The photograph was taken just after the killing. The blacked-up face (in broad daylight) and marauder's get-up indicate yet another exercise in sheer terror and intimidation.

PRESS ATTACKS ON X-RAY STRIKE

THE Health Service war is still on, even though the thin white picket line of radiographers in the North East has gone now that they have agreed to negotiate with Castle.

The strike of X-ray workers in other areas goes on.

For a starting basic of £26 a week, 7,000 radiographers operate X-ray machines which provide most of the basic evidence doctors need for a diagnosis. It is work that is crucial to the individual success of doctors and consultants — who earn hundreds of pounds a week.

Like all the other Health Service workers who have lately come into struggle, radiographers are deeply concerned to stop the further erosion and possible collapse of the NHS.

They have faced an increasingly hostile press. Their campaign is best described in the words of Richard Nixon, talking to his cronies about how to win support. "...do the cancer thing". he said: shorthand for exploiting gravely ill people for political propaganda. Thus the British press barons, as they try to undermine this strike with their talk of dying cancer patients.

They are just not on the scene, however, to record the deaths and chronic ill health caused by an inadequate Health Service, shortage of staff and space, lack of funds, the closure of casualty and emergency wards, and the

parasitism of private practice.

Nor do we hear them campaigning about how private, industry's bosses and government ministers combine to drag their feet over banning the use of materials that cause cancer. The crimes of negligence and apathy, and the paltry fines for causing terrible disease and early deaths, cannot arouse the fury of the press so much as the sight of a union card in a Health worker's hand.

But, as Reg Bird of ASTMS said "The real long term danger to life lies in the failure to negotiate realistic salaries."

It was ASTMS, with 3,000 of the radiographers in its membership, that led off the action. But very soon local rank and file actions were spreading — strikes, appeals for solidarity action, effective picketing. In the North East, NUPE members were persuaded not to cross picket lines. In London, laundries and non-essential supplies were blacked.

The return to work now of the North East X-ray workers has not ended the action in other areas, and any peace won on the basis of 'lump sum' settlements will no doubt soon be broken when ancillary staff move into action with their £30 basic claim.

The war to save the Health Service, and health workers' living standards will continue.

Tom Ramsey

LPYS caves in to Transport House

The LPYS conference on Ireland, scheduled for September 14th, has been stopped. The NEC of the Labour Party at its last meeting raised "constitutional objections" to its being held, and the LPYS National Committee have obediently complied with this injunction.

It is clear that the NEC was embarrassed — even by such a backward attitude on Ireland as is contained in official LPYS policy, and which has been the

sole basis for this summer's LPYS 'campaign' on Ireland. With Labour in government busily maintaining all the Tories' policies from internment to continual harassment of the Catholic areas in the interests of British imperialism, any variation from the main Party line is obviously not on for the LP leadership.

Now, the LPYS NC say that they will try to hold a conference in January or February.

LPYS members and branches must insist that the NC does not back down again, whatever the 'constitutional' excuses of the Labour bureaucrats. Both principle and precedent are at stake. The LPYS must stand for complete organisational and political independence from the Party machine, and it must stand up to that machine now.

If the bureaucracy get's away with suppressing this conference indefinitely, then it will more than

likely go on to clamp down on any YS activity it doesn't like, particularly on the Irish question. Branches that go beyond the LPYS NC line (which is for withdrawal of British troops on condition that a "trade union militia" is first set up) to demanding withdrawal of troops now can expect trouble, and any attempts to campaign against such things as army recruitment will come up against hostile interference from local and national agents.

PHOENIX PAMPHLETS

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