

# Workers' fight

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# THE WAR IS WON

AS THE 'great crusade' to save Vietnam for imperialism ground to final defeat on April 30th, the USA was fittingly occupied with a squalid wrangle about whether they really wanted to have to accommodate the crooked bureaucrats and the police torturers who have been their instruments for the last twenty years.

Henry Kissinger, in his exasperated and despondent comments on the victory of the National Liberation Front, paid tribute to the tremendous international impact of the struggles in Indochina and the efforts of the solidarity movement. All but explicitly he confirmed that Nixon had given Thieu a promise of renewed US intervention if the NLF seemed to be gaining; that new bombing raids had been considered; and that US domestic politics had ruled them out.

In the last eight weeks the state of South Vietnam — puffed up by the US with billions of dollars and the third largest air force in the world — has caved in faster than anyone thought likely, like a massive boil collapsing as the pus pours out. They had the money and the hardware, all right. But what they didn't have and couldn't buy was men and women with a determined will to fight.

Six out of seven of their C-130 transport planes stood out of order; \$175 million of their 1975 ammunition allocation remained unspent, as those who were fighting just to prop up corruption, torture and exploitation simply stopped fighting. The computers had done their sums right — but it still added up to resounding defeat.

The rulers of the USA, the 'masters of war', stood by helpless, paralysed by the deep conflicts within their society for which the struggle of the Vietnamese has acted as catalyst.

The people of Vietnam fought to kick out US imperialism, to get the landlords and the corrupt bureaucrats off their backs, to reunify their country — they fought and they won. Instead of meeting suspicion and hatred wherever they went, they got help and support. Instead of wasting resources on tiger cage jails and 'strategic hamlet' concentration camps, they brought about land reform and augmented their resources by education and health services. Where imperialism could do nothing but destroy, they reconstructed, using even their enemies' own weapons — making clothing out of captured parachutes, boats from bomb casings. The junkies and prostitutes of Saigon must have wondered about the 'freedom' they were losing, as they watched the liberation army driving in — men and women, living as equals.

The new regime in South Vietnam will not be a revolutionary workers' democracy. Far from it. Any forces in South Vietnam fighting for such a programme will find the regime an enemy rather than an ally.

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## NORTHERN IRELAND'S CONVENTION ELECTIONS TINKERING WITH A TIME-BOMB

**MOST** of us think elections have something to do with democracy. Elections were held on May 1st in northern Ireland for a Constitutional Assembly — to elect representatives who will meet and for the next six months or longer attempt to thrash out a workable constitution for northern Ireland.

These elections, however, have nothing to do with democracy. They make a mockery of democracy as understood by the Northern Ireland Protestants, who demand that they as the majority of the population should rule in Northern Ireland. And they make a mockery of democracy as understood by the Catholic 40% of Northern Ireland's population, who insist that real democracy means that

by  
**JOHN O'MAHONY**

Ireland as a whole, not an artificially chosen 6-county segment of it, must be the unit for any political solution.

The elections have been described as the 'last chance' for peace in Northern Ireland. But even the organisers of the poll don't really believe they can produce a constitution which will do other than re-emphasise that the Six County state is not a viable unit. Former Northern Ireland Prime Minister Brian Faulkner has said openly that the British government has updated contingency plans for re-partitioning Northern Ireland in the expectation that the Convention will fail and

that communal/sectarian civil war erupts. That shows some confidence!

The scenario is that those elected thrash out a constitution over six months or longer if it is thought necessary. The Convention has no power — direct rule from Westminster continues. An Orange majority is a certainty. Deadlock is probable if not certain, as Protestant representatives demand restoration of their supremacy, while SDLP politicians and the British Government press for power sharing — i.e., that the Protestant majority abandon their demand for majority rule within the Six Counties. They won't.

The British-organised elections and the Convention are another attempt to tinker with the state that Britain should never have created. It is an evasion of the real problems — that the

state of Northern Ireland cannot exist with internal peace unless the Catholics either want it — and they don't — or are beaten into accepting it — as they were in the 1920s.

Meanwhile, as Britain tinkers, the hours tick away towards a massive communal eruption to which the Protestant para-military forces can be goaded if, having gained a Convention majority, they are denied a restoration of their political supremacy over the Catholics.

Last June, the Ulster Workers Council strike showed the power these reactionaries can wield. It also showed the flabbiness of the British response. Increasingly, informed commentators

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# REBUFF FOR A F M IN PORTUGUESE ELECTIONS

## Winners take nothing

IN LAST Friday's elections for the Constituent Assembly in Portugal, 58% of votes were cast for parties proclaiming themselves 'socialist' or 'communist', 35% for openly capitalist parties (the PPD, the CDS and the PPM), and 7% were blank votes.

Almost anywhere else, this result would be a stunning victory for the left. In Portugal, the large vote for 'left' parties was only a pale reflection of the growing scope and power of workers' committees, grass-roots neighbourhood assemblies and other workers' organisations.

The only direct (though confused) expression of that revolutionary potential was in the votes for the parties to the left of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. The 'far left' got some 225,000 votes altogether (4% of the total) — 66,000 for the left socialist FSP; 58,000 for the semi-revolutionary MES; 90,000 for various Maoist groups (to which should be added a proportion of the blank votes, to the credit of the banned parties MRPP and AOC); and 11,000 for the Trotskyist LCI.

### Estate take-overs

Clearly, the majority of the militant workers involved in factory and estate take-overs preferred to vote for the reformist parties, thinking that more 'practical', better suited to a 'Constituent Assembly', even if in their own activity they go far beyond the politics of such parties.

However, the election result — particularly with the very high turnout (92%) and the low proportion of spoiled ballots — gave little joy to those who hope to re-stabilise capitalism in Portugal. With the economic situation of rising unemployment — described by Prime Minister Brigadier Vasco Goncalves as one of "total austerity" — class struggles cannot fail to become sharper. The Socialist Party and Communist Party, with their combined large majority in the Constituent Assembly, will come under heavy pressure.

But how important will the Constituent Assembly be, given that most of its decisions were pre-empted by the 'pact' the major parties signed with the ruling Armed Forces Movement (AFM) just a few weeks ago?

### "Accept dialogue"

According to a spokesman for the AFM, the Officers will "accept dialogue" on their constitutional proposals "since it is not an ultimatum(!) ... We presented a text that has essential points. So, logically, we

by  
**Bas Hardy**  
and  
**Martin Thomas**



A meeting of the AFM's 'revolutionary and Prime Minister Goncalves on his council' with Costa Gomes in the chair right. Inset: SP leader Soares.

will accept debate and some small changes, as long as its spirit is not changed. It is obvious, however, that we are not prepared to yield on the essential points, one of which is institutionalisation of the AFM".

The 'institutionalisation of the AFM' — giving this previously ad hoc body of 400 or so officers a guaranteed position of power — is already an established fact. Two bodies of the AFM, its Revolutionary Council and its Assembly of delegates — as well as the President — stand above the civilian parties in the constitutional hierarchy that wasn't an ultimatum. This is the system the AFM want to maintain "for the next 3-5 years".

### Spoiled ballots

The 'pact' which the parties signed with the AFM before the elections (the SP with some show of reluctance, the CP with no hesitation at all) was designed to reduce the Constituent Assembly to a talking shop where windbag politicians can add embroidery to a uniform which is unmistakably military. But the large (and evenly spread) vote for the Socialist Party was a rebuff to the military-bureaucratic designs of the AFM. Admiral Coutinho of the AFM expressed his annoyance at the results by telling journalists to "go away" (perhaps the full force of his exclamation was lost in translation) and adding "The Armed Forces Movement is not a political party and has nothing to fear from the result. I have nothing more to say."

Nevertheless, the AFM leaders

were upset because they had hoped to turn the election against the civilian political parties, by getting a large number of blank votes as votes for one party that wasn't standing, the AFM. Thus the Constituent Assembly could be weakened still further and the AFM strengthened. Information Minister Jesuino has admitted the AFM hoped for a 40% blank vote, while in fact they

rather than overthrowing the capitalist order in Portugal. They have left intact elite right wing armed police forces like the National Republican Guard, from the old regime; and the internal security force they themselves set up, COPCON, has moved repeatedly against strikes.

The Communist Party is giving indispensable help to the AFM, holding back the workers' struggles wherever it can. This stance is rather like that of the Communist Party in Peru, which supports the nationalist military dictatorship there. There are many other examples of CPs following such policies in the Middle East (Iraq, Egypt).

The AFM still, of course, has overwhelming popular support. But the people of Portugal served clear notice that they did not want a military dictatorship, even from the men who had overthrown Caetano. The massive drift away from the CP since the early days after Caetano's overthrow, when it was almost the only organised political party in the country, shows that the working class is seeking new solutions, and prefers to vote for the SP not because it is more left wing (or, come to that, more right wing), but because it is not tainted with the bureaucratic and military manoeuvrings of the CP, nor has it tried as the CP has to place a paternalistic straitjacket on the struggles of the working class.

It would, then, be a mistake to evaluate the results as a 'victory for the right'. The workers' wariness of the CP springs from a quite different outlook from the Church-influenced anti-Communism expressed in the votes for the openly capitalist PPD and CDS parties in northern Portugal.

### United front

The vote for the SP doesn't preclude the abandonment by growing numbers of workers, in the quite near future, of reformism. Already on a mass scale, it is being by-passed with militant action of a revolutionary potential, expressing a level of working class consciousness going far beyond the pro-NATO, "mixed economy" programme of the SP.

In immediate terms, the election result could fuel popular pressure on the SP and the CP to form a united front of the parties based on the working class, the SP distancing itself from the PPD, and the CP from the AFM, though as yet the CP seems to be doing its best to ignore the election result. Certainly, such a development can only hasten the outbreak of sharp clashes between the working class and the military



rulers of Portugal. If the workers' committees and councils can be linked up with rank and file soldiers on the basis of clear headed revolutionary politics, taking more and more decisions into their own hands, workers' power will be a good way higher up the agenda in Portugal than the SP's "mixed [i.e. capitalist] economy", whatever the size of its vote.

### Meeting celebrates one year since end of police state

A meeting of about 150 people was held in London last Friday, April 25th, in celebration of the first anniversary of the overthrow of the police state regime in Portugal.

It was addressed by two speakers from the Portuguese Workers Coordinating Committee, and by Jack Collins, Kent area NUM. Speakers stressed the importance of building a solidarity campaign with the Portuguese working class to prevent economic boycott and military intervention by the imperialist powers against the Portuguese workers. Full details of the campaign can be obtained from PWCC, 18 Fleet Road, London NW3, who welcome trade union branch and trades council affiliations to the campaign, and will send speakers to any such labour movement meeting or conference.

Greetings were also brought to the meeting by Spanish and Italian workers.

**OUR COMMON STRUGGLE**, newsletter of the PWCC, (No.7) is now out. It has news of the class struggle in Portugal with an analysis of the first year of free struggle, a report on the situation in Angola, and a preview of the Constituent Assembly elections, as well as details of the solidarity campaign. Available, price 7p plus postage, from PWCC, 18 Fleet Road, London NW3.

## RED LADDER

performs  
**'A Woman's Work is Never Done'**

a benefit performance for  
**THE SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN WITH THE PORTUGUESE WORKING CLASS**

7pm Tuesday May 6th  
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square,  
London WC1.

Admission 50p - refreshments.

**A woman worker from Portugal will speak on the current situation.**



Not-so-Red Coutinho

got 7% blank or spoiled papers. "We made a psychological mistake by asking people to cast a blank vote. They thought we were insulting them".

The vote for the Communist Party — at 13%, even lower than expected — is a corollary of the "AFM's" 7%. For the CP has fixed its five pointed star to the AFM bandwagon, aping the officers' every mood and move, eager for junior partnership in a monolithic and tightly disciplined regime.

The AFM talks of Portugal as being "in the period that can be called the first phase of the transition to socialism". The CP goes along with them very closely, as was shown by the April 8th headline of the pro-CP paper *Diario de Lisboa*, commenting on nationalisation measures carried through after the defeat of the pro-Spinola forces: "Socialism is to begin". On the other hand when the AFM's Coutinho, belying his nick-name of "the Red Admiral", says "I am a NATO man, too", he is echoed by CP general secretary Cunhal stating "We are not raising the question of Portugal's membership of NATO at this time. Nor are we raising the question of the American base in the Azores."

Although the AFM have carried out some nationalisations, and although they have on occasions, like after March 11th, jailed some of Portugal's most prominent capitalist figures, they are maintaining

THOUGH it's been pretty quiet about it since then, the T&GWU General Executive Council at its March quarterly decided to condemn the 'Jenkins Act' and to request its sponsored MPs to vote against its renewal this month.

This Act, officially known as the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act, was first rushed through the House of Commons in an atmosphere of total hysteria at the end of November, within days of the bombing of two pubs in Birmingham. Not a single MP voted against it (indeed, there was no Division, and no opportunity to vote against). Nor even did anyone question why this piece of unquestionably repressive legislation was being passed at such speed, with MPs nodding to sleep as sweeping police powers were being agreed.

If they consoled themselves that the new powers were "temporary" they should be warned by the example of the Special Powers Act of 1922 which was renewed annually before being made permanent in 1933. Now, coming up to six months since its enactment and even with some sections as yet little used, there can be little doubt as to the arbitrary and repressive nature of this legislation.

In its operation, the Act has meant hundreds of frightened and bewildered people being picked up by the police, held for several days on an arbitrary basis often without communication with friends, relatives or lawyers, and then released again with no charge or explanation. It has meant dozens of people taken from their families and deported from the country never knowing why, unable to defend themselves in court. And it has meant the curtailment and self-censorship of much perfectly legal political opposition to the Government's Irish policies because of the vague, all-embracing and open-ended definitions in the section banning the IRA or "support" for it.

### Prohibits

The National Council for Civil Liberties, when the Act was introduced, pointed out that it could be in contravention of the European Convention on Human Rights which stipulates the right to liberty and prohibits arrest without a subsequent trial, the right to freedom of expression and assembly, respect for family life, and prohibits discrimination in the enjoyment of these rights on the grounds of national origin. These fears have been borne out fully in the past months. (Whether or not we think this Declaration sufficient, at least the British Government is supposed to subscribe to it!)

Even if it isn't renewed at the end of six months, the Act has already done irreparable harm to civil liberties. The police have been given a completely free hand to harass Irish communities in Britain, to pull people in for questioning on the most casual basis, and to bully and trick people in custody. Given the power to hold people for up to seven days (previously regarded as a piece of police malpractice) they have used it to confuse and disorientate victims, denying proper sleep, exercise, washing facilities or

# T&G tells MPs SCRAP IT!

by J.W. Harding

food. While none of this appears to have been done on so systematic a level as the Army's Sensory Deprivation torture, the use and practice of these techniques are not something the police are going to forget about if and when the Act is scrapped.

Perhaps more cherished by the Police than wider powers to interrogate, are wider powers to make their own judgments, without a court, a judge or a jury. This is given them in Section 2 of the Act, which the NCCL has compared with Internment in Northern Ireland, in that it allows for deportation ("exclusion") on the basis of neither charge nor evidence. As they say, "Unsubstantiated and possibly fabricated allegations may now be accepted as evidence. Little pieces of gossip, information from spies, a past record and anything else the police can get their hands on (a letter to a Republican paper, a speech at a meeting, participation at a demonstration) can be slotted together by the Special Branch to form a jigsaw from the view of the Minister alone", who on the basis of it declares, under the terms of the Act, that the person to be excluded is, has been or might in the future be "concerned in the commission, preparation or instigation" of "acts of terrorism". Again, not any one of these terms is defined (except "terrorism", and according to the Act that is supposed to be "the use of violence for political ends").

By April 9th, 45 exclusion orders had been made. Only 11 people made representations against the orders, and of those 5 were successful. The police have played on people's desire to get out of jail to keep the number of 'appeals' low, telling people they could put one in when they got to Ireland (which isn't true).

### Vicious

By the same date, 489 people had been detained under the Act without warrants. Of these, only 16 people had to face charges that were not dropped. That means four hundred and seventy three entirely innocent people imprisoned for up to seven days (and in a few cases longer).

One man has been imprisoned for six months

under the Act, for offering a poster for sale which expressed support for the IRA.

Who are the victims? Most of them have been Irish republicans, members or supporters of Sinn Fein and Clann na h'Eireann (the political parties allied with the Provisional and Official IRA respectively, but not in themselves outlawed); their relatives, friends and associates, and even casual acquaintances and people living in the same house. On the slenderest 'hunch' a house in an 'Irish' area may be raided and its occupants rounded up in a police 'fishing trip', and subjected to detailed searches, interrogation and brutality.

### Pretext

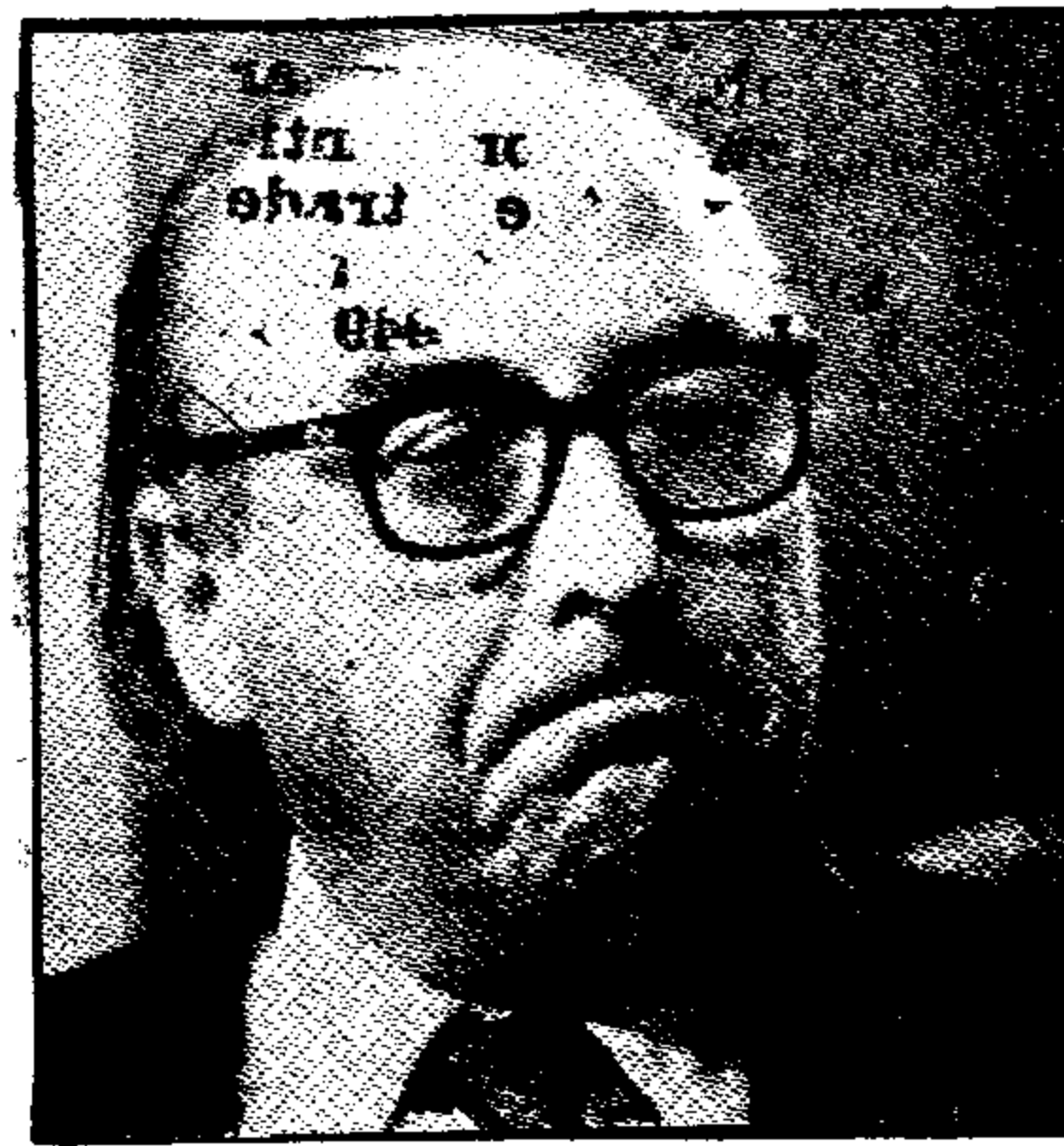
Several members of Clann in Bristol, who had explicitly repudiated what they described as the "terrorism" of the Provisionals, were deported after repeated raids and searches had produced no evidence that would stand up in court.

Joe Gallagher, a Republican UCATT convenor in Bletchley, was arrested in the night and taken to Brixton. He was served with an exclusion order which he successfully fought with the support of local trade unionists and MPs — but he had spent several weeks in jail.

In Southampton, Thomas McAllister was picked up at his job in the shipyards on Christmas Eve by four Special Branch men. The police had first ransacked his flat, forcing his wife to stand up against the wall. Later they called back there again on the pretext of an anonymous phone call that she was hiding someone, and searched the place again.

Mrs. McAllister was not allowed to visit her husband in prison for eight days. For the first five days in prison he wasn't allowed to wash, though he was full of the dirt of the shipyard. His Christmas dinner consisted of bread and jam, while his family got a total of £10.65 from social security to live on for 4 weeks.

Later he was moved to Winchester, where he was allowed only 3½ hours' exercise in 10 days, and was not allowed to use the prison shop. In fact he was treated worse than the convicted prisoners there. There was not a shred of evidence that he was engaged in illegal



Jenkins

## Trade unionists start campaign against the Jenkins Act

activities, but he had once sold a car at an auction to a man who was later charged with handling explosives.

McAllister was served with an exclusion order, which he managed to get quashed on the basis of residence. Both he and his wife were shattered by the experience, especially as the police continued to watch them long after his release from 28 days in prison.

One man who was held for two months before police dropped charges against him was not allowed to wash or change his clothes for the first two weeks. When his girlfriend saw him 3 days after his arrest "she says he was white and badly shaken up, that he had been sick, couldn't remember anything and had lost track of time" (NCCL Report on the Act).

Another man, Paul McDonagh, was arrested and accused of association with known IRA supporters, and sent to Brixton where he stayed for 3½ weeks until his release.

### Searched

Three men were arrested in Cricklewood, London on a Friday night in December. They had been selling Sinn Fein papers. They were kept for about 20 hours, with some brief questioning, and police went to the house of one of them at 3 in the morning and turned it upside down. The police told them that under the Act if they refused to be fingerprinted they could be deported, and one was warned that if he was caught selling papers again he would be deported.

Lila Nic Oireachtaigh was arrested in Swansea in March and held for seven days under the Act. Two days after her arrest she was sacked from her job as typist at Swansea University. She was only briefly questioned about her

political connections (Official Sinn Fein in Dublin, and a Welsh socialist group), and wasn't allowed to contact a lawyer or anyone else in the seven days.

Two Irish girls in London had an argument with a taxi driver over a fare. The police came and took them in, searched them thoroughly and took all their possessions. They were then interrogated for hours, probed for IRA connections, and subjected to all sorts of abuse before being released.

An Irish teenager, whose name the police got from someone's statement, was taken in by 20 policemen at 5 in the morning, questioned and then released an hour before the permitted 7 days were up. During that week his girlfriend, her sister and a number of his friends were taken in for questioning, and the boy himself was brought in again a few days after his release and then let out again.

At Gatwick, an Irish girl was "stripped naked and thoroughly searched first. After I had dressed again, I was repeatedly questioned about my movements with a light shining on me. Letters from my boyfriend and relatives were photocopied before being returned. Altogether, it was one of the most frightening experiences of my life, and one I shall never be able to forget."

At Heathrow, Declan Trainor, a 3rd year student at the City of London Poly, was arrested on his way back from Christmas holidays in northern Ireland. It surprised him, as he's never been involved even in student politics. He was held incommunicado for 3 days, fingerprinted and photographed — but questioned for only a total of 15 minutes. The "most alarming" thing was the few minutes' exercise he was allowed outside his cell: "I was handcuffed and taken out into a small yard, where there were two armed policemen and two Alsatian dogs."

### Isolated

On March 25th police entered a house in Shepherd's Bush and took all the 27 people they found there to Hammersmith police station. All attempts to contact the detained people or find wheat they were being charged with or where they were being held proved futile. By April 1st all but 6 had been released. These six were then transferred to Brixton and, still without charges, served with exclusion orders. Five of them decided not to appeal because it would mean being another 5 weeks in prison. But, with the backing of Hammersmith Trades Council (3 of the 6 were members of the T&GWU Building Section) the sixth man, James O'Rourke, appealed, and finally won.

It is surely no coincidence that in cases where a person is not left isolated in the hands of the police but is backed up by his union and Trades Council the police have backed down.

The same should apply to the Act as a whole. In November it was unopposed. In the next month, before it comes up for renewal, the labour movement must swing into action to get rid of this viciously repressive legislation. If it doesn't, the list of case histories like those above will grow into thousands, and will undoubtedly come to include more and more trade unionists, with less and less connection with anything happening in Ireland.

A NEW addition to the legal armoury of the ruling class, the Criminal Trespass Act, is likely to reach Parliament in June. If it comes into effect (and this is almost certain, given government support) this law will make offences which were formerly civil ones into criminal offences.

### Two years

Anyone illegally occupying a premises will be liable to six months in prison, while anyone who uses force to enter a premises with intent to occupy it is liable to two years, even though force could mean merely the forcing of a lock. Conspiracy to commit either offence (even, as with all conspiracy charges, if the 'conspirators' never get around to doing anything) is liable to any sentence, at the discretion of the Judge.

## Trespassers really will be prosecuted now

This law is a clear attack on squatters, who at present can only be moved by the use of a court order and normally would only be tried, or sued, for any damage caused. The Criminal Trespass Bill would mean people can be arrested for squatting; and there's another twist: anyone with "no fixed abode" finds it almost impossible to get bail, and the squatter could face a period in jail before trial.

This law could also be used against Gypsies, another target for ruling class repression, for using "private property" as a parking place for their caravans.

Of course, the law won't be confined to simple cases of

squatting. Occupations of any kind will become hazardous: students, claimants and others staging 'sit-in' protests could be in danger of criminal prosecution.

### Sit-ins are under attack

Most significantly, the defence of workers' jobs by the sit-in tactic is under attack. It is clearly foreseeable that workers occupying factories may be arrested under this law, or even Conspiracy laws in conjunction with it.

But it goes even further than that. In circumstances where

effective picketing requires the pickets to be on 'private' property, it is not hard to imagine even more attacks on the fast dwindling trade union right to picket.

Any employers or police wanting to make even further use of this law need only look to Australia for their model. A similar law in New South Wales has been used to prevent Union organisers from entering factory premises. There can be no doubt that if the capitalist class became desperate it would be able to make such use of this law.

The Law Commission designers of the Bill have, of

course, not stated the industrial uses that the law could be put to. They have concentrated on things like squatting. Typically, they have clouded its potential uses against trade unionists for fear of powerful opposition from the labour movement, using the division and common lack of sympathy between trade unionists and squatters to get through a vicious weapon for the bosses.

### Don't be fooled!

Socialists and trade unionists must not be fooled by the dressing, nor allow our enemies to use these divisions. We must oppose the Bill as yet another way of attacking the working class in its struggle against capitalism. We must defend the rights to a home, to a job and to organise.

PHIL HADDON

During the 1960 Labour Party Conference, Hugh Gaitskell attacked Michael Foot as a "hollow traveller", an associate of the Communist Party. Foot retorted - "But who are they (the Gaitskell group) travelling with?"

A document released by Radical Research Services shows that the Gaitskell group was in fact connected with the heads of huge capitalist enterprises, monarchists, ex-Nazis, commanders of NATO forces, and the American CIA.

The truth about these strange companions for so-called socialists emerged in a report which was commissioned by the Sunday Times, but suppressed before publication. This report shows that those connections still run right into the heart of the Labour Party and include Denis Healey, Anthony Crosland and many others. Though some, like Dick Taverne, have parted company with the Party, others are in its leadership.

## STRATEGY

After the War, the hopes and aspirations of millions of workers for a better society were expressed in a massive vote for Labour. At that time, because of the destruction of the established European social democratic parties, the Labour Party was the leading and most powerful social democratic party in Europe. The fact that a substantial section of this party was pressing for agreements with Russia at the point when imperialism was launching the Cold War must have been a worry for Washington. And in the late Forties, considerable efforts were put into strengthening those in the British Labour Party who wanted to keep in line with the Cold War strategy and mood.

In 1947 Anthony Crosland, Alan Flanders and Rita Hinden set up the magazine Socialist Commentary, which became the mouthpiece of the Labour Party right wing, campaigning vigorously against "lefts abroad" and "international communism" and rapidly became connected with American Cold War propagandists. Support for the "moderates" soon came from the New Leader, a New York weekly magazine specialising in anti-Communism. The New Leader, headed by Sol Levitas (a Russian anti-Communist

emigre) and Daniel Bell, organised in the US regular weekly seminars for anti-Communists in the trade unions, government and universities. But by 1949 it appeared to be suffering from massive debts.

However, it mysteriously re-emerged in 1950 with an expensive Time-magazine type format and began to openly advocate the infiltration of foreign socialist parties. Allan Flanders contributed an article on the British labour movement, and in 1954 Denis Healey became the New Leader's London correspondent.

## TYRANNY

The policy of conscious foreign influence and infiltration had moved onto a new level with the establishment in 1950 of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. The purpose of this body was defined as being "to defend freedom and democracy against the new tyranny sweeping through the world", and its main organiser was Melvin Lasky, one of the leading lights of the New Leader. The man chosen to head the permanent congress of the secretariat of this "cultural" body was an American military official, Michael Josselson.

The CCF used its unlimited funds to set up an enormous variety of seminars and magazines throughout the world. In 1953 Encounter was launched by the CCF and it soon became a very influential monthly journal, drawing many Labour Party right wingers into the CCF.

## PUBLISHED

At the CCF Congress in Milan in 1955 Anthony Crosland, Hugh Gaitskell, Denis Healey and Rita Hinden met Daniel Bell and other CIA ideologues, whose arguments about the end of class conflict and its replacement by a benevolent capitalism were echoed by Crosland in his book published the following year - *The Future of Socialism*. This book, putting forward the ideas that were popularised by Bell, was seized upon by the Labour Party right as the way forward for the party. Gaitskell now became a regular contributor to the New Leader and Melvin Lasky, now editor of *Encounter*, became one of Gaitskell's inner circle.

Also during this period



Major Denis Healey - back from the world War and into the Cold War

# LABOUR'S RIGHT AND THE C.I.A.

BY NEAL SMITH

members of the Socialist Commentary group, such as Crosland, began to follow the line agreed in the New Leader that there was a need for a united European defence against Russia. A close friend of Gaitskell's, Joseph Retinger, set up at the time the "European Movement", financed by agents of the CIA. This movement promoted

gatherings - the Bilderberg Group meetings - of top European and American politicians, businessmen, aristocrats, civil servants and military officials to spread the idea of Atlantic and European unity in the face of the "communist threat".

Founder members of the group were Gaitskell and Healey, in company with the then President of Unilever and Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands.

During this period Crosland was working energetically for the Congress for Cultural Freedom, attempting to use its influence to re-model the Labour Party as a 'classless' party on the lines of the American Democratic Party. The view of the group Crosland represented was that traditional social democratic ideas had been made irrelevant by the development of a modern capitalist society

with full employment and 'prosperity for all'.

After Labour lost the 1959 General Election the group, including Crosland, Roy Jenkins and Douglas Jay, met Gaitskell and decided to rid the Labour Party of its old image by removing Clause 4 from the constitution. The week after the election, Jay wrote an article calling for the abandonment of Clause 4, and a change in the name of the Labour Party.

Coupled with the defeat for the Right at the 1960 Labour Party conference on the issue of unilateral nuclear disarmament, this movement began to organise the Right around the 'Campaign for Democratic Socialism'. This campaign received a large sum from an anonymous source, and had as a result at its disposal field workers, tens of thousands of pamphlets, and a regular free bulletin.

All this without a single subscription from a rank and file member!

The effect of the campaign was enormous, producing a reversal of the 1960 unilateralist decision at the conference the following year. Although the Gaitskell-Crosland group began to fragment after this date, it left behind a Labour Party which had shifted significantly to the right.

## BOOMING

The extent of CIA involvement in all this can be seen by an admission by a former CIA agent that the Congress for Cultural Freedom, the intellectual backing for Crosland and Gaitskell, had received CIA money ever since its foundation at the rate of up to a million dollars a year. Similarly the New Leader, the paper supported by Healey, had received funds from the J.M.Kaplan Fund a CIA front organisation.

The ideas of class harmony in a booming capitalism ring pretty hollow today. But the strengthening of the Labour right during the fifties aided by US funds has had the effect of making the Labour Party a better instrument than ever before for protecting the capitalist system and emasculating workers' struggles in the present time of recession.

## 60p for 60 hours - and that's your lot

There are thousands of workers class people in this country who earn less than the lowest paid black worker in South Africa and less than the lowest paid tea plantation worker in Ceylon. They work in industries with a £10m turnover and a £500,000 annual profit, and their average wage for a working week of between 28 and 42 hours is 60 pence.

These are the people who work in Her Majesty's prisons. "The vast majority of whom, however reactionary, are in unconscious rebellion against the society in which they live". Ted Ward of PROP (Preservation of the Rights of Prisoners) told a Workers Fight public meeting in London last week. Not only does the trade union movement have no policy towards people in penal institutions, he pointed out, but the TUC actually met twice a year with the CBI and the Prison Industries Department to work out how this super-exploitation can be improved upon. (The minutes of these meetings are not for publication.)

Thus, the most sophisticated machinery was being installed in prisons, to capitalise on a massive supply of cheap labour both for government departments and the private sector. In Borstals and approved schools, young prisoners doing agricultural labour often work a week of 60-70 hours during harvest for a wage of one penny an hour.

Comrade Ward spoke of how the prison system was an integral part of a society based on class oppression. Someone in the City could collude with a local authority to depopulate an area, and you would have contractors paying people £60

to vandalise a house to make it unfit to live in. If a working class kid did that, he would be busted for criminal trespass.

What it was particularly necessary to raise the alarm about was the danger of the authorities serving community service orders on a mass scale, in a situation of very widespread and large scale unemployment (bringing with it an increase of those convicted for petty property 'crimes'). This would create a huge cheap labour force and serve to increase unemployment even more.

### Eleven days on the roof

The meeting also heard about the violence, repression and inhuman brutality that goes on in institutions which spend more on keeping an Alsatian guard dog than on a human being. PROP had played a major part in organising the first national prison strike, in 1972, which grew out of the frustration and anger felt against this repression. A quarter of the prison population took part in that action, and there had been tremendous solidarity and discipline - prisoners at Parkhurst, for example, spending eleven days on the roof.

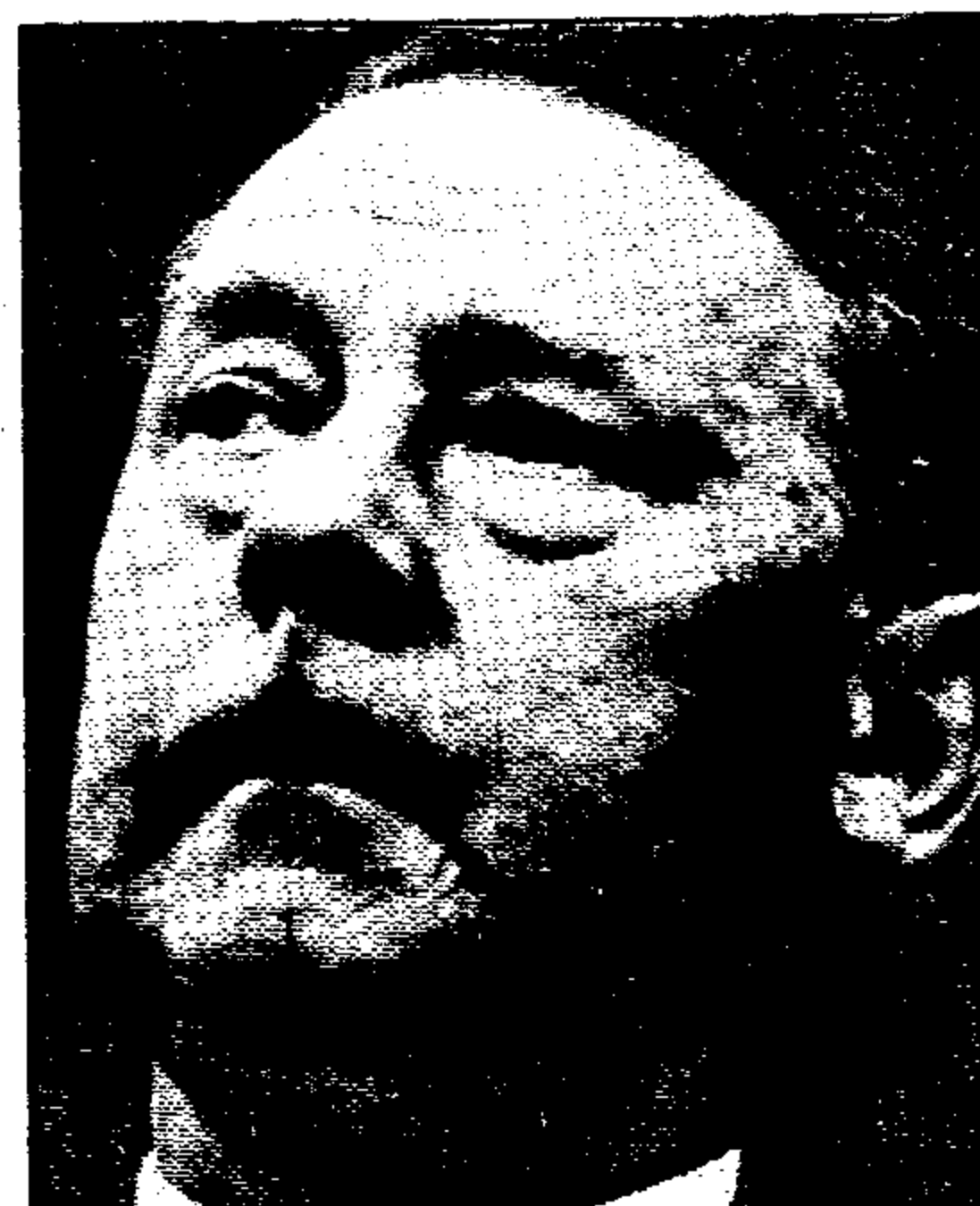
Since then, PROP has campaigned against the 'control units' which were established for prisoners who would not confess. These could isolate a human being totally, and under the projected rules a prisoner could be confined for 90 days in 'stage 1' and the same in 'stage 2', going back to day 1 if any 'disrespect' was shown to the authorities.

Immediately someone leaves a prison, of course, he faces a number of other 'prisons': an economic one, because of the inadequacy of the discharge grant; the prison of homelessness; and that of unemployment, especially as the person will have no fully franked up insurance card.

PROP wants penal institutions to be transformed into educational institutions; and, they say, if the trade union movement is to allow the industrialization of prisons, then the appropriate trade union rate should be paid for the work, and prisoners should have the right to join PROP.

Right now, PROP is actively taking up the cases of innocent people who have been convicted. PROP have assembled considerable evidence in the case of two men, Albert Warrington and Thomas Madgin, convicted of robbing a Bingo hall of £600, and they maintain that these men have already spent three years inside for a crime they did not commit. (Another case, that of George Davis - sent down for 20 years on the say-so of 5 police officers while 37 witnesses failed to identify him and 308 items of forensic evidence cleared him - is being taken up by East London workers who will march through the East End on May 4th.)

For further information on PROP and the campaign to free Warrington and Madgin, contact Prop at 339a Finchley Road, London NW3, Tel: 435-1215. The march to campaign for George Davis starts from Tower Hill on Sunday May 4th at 10.30am, and more information can be obtained from 980-0468.



Gaitskell



Crosland

ONE hears a lot these days about certain American cities where it is unsafe to walk on the streets even in broad daylight, and where vigilante groups have formed to protect citizens from brutal assaults. But there are areas of British cities, too, where such a "breakdown of law and order" is in evidence.

Cliff McDaniel is 17, and is studying for his exams in June at Stationers Company School in Hornsey, North London. A couple of weeks ago he was brutally beaten up in the street as he was on his way back to school in the dinner break.

What are the police doing? They are charging Cliff McDaniel with insulting

# Police beat up black student

behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace, and with assaulting a police officer.

Cliff's parents have now got together with others and started the Black Parents Movement. They say black kids have quite enough problems getting a decent education without having to face such harassment as well.

They describe what happened as Cliff was walking back to school with two friends: "...a police car, driven by PC Ryan David, whose number is Y650,

and with two other policemen in it, ... drew up beside the boys. PC Ryan David then provoked an incident. He picked on Cliff McDaniel, demanded to search him, and in spite of his cooperation in emptying his pockets, became more and more hostile, even refusing Cliff's request to be further searched in the Headmaster's office.

"Then in broad daylight he punched him hard in the face. Though there were already three policemen present, more were

called; McDaniel was badly beaten up. Fortunately, in spite of police tactics of pushing away witnesses from the scene, McDaniel's friends saw what happened and welfare assistants from the school saw how he was punched in the kidneys, badly beaten and manhandled. His head and neck hit the ground on several occasions. "The beating continued in the Hornsey Police Station."

Since then, they say, the same policeman attempted to intimid-

ate one of Cliff's friends who witnessed the incident. And there has been another incident involving a student from the same school, which the Headmaster has taken up with Hornsey Police.

Feeling is running high at the school, and the Black Parents Movement is calling on the Haringey Education Authority to take action to protect school students from police attacks. They say they have had some support from teachers at the school, and appeal for donations to the Legal Defence Fund they have opened to fight Cliff's case and others.

(Send to Black Parents Movement, 57 Victoria Road, London N.4)

SIXTY Young Socialists from 20 LPYS branches attended a day school and conference organised in Coventry last week by the "Young Socialist" the new independent Marxist Labour Party Young Socialists paper.

Following immediately after the impact which 'Young Socialist' supporters made at the Easter LPYS conference, the Coventry meeting consolidated YS as the main opposition tendency inside the LPYS — in opposition both to the Labour Party machine and to its tame and for the moment tolerated parasites, the so-called 'Militant' (!), who control the LPYS.

Representatives of the 'Chartists' and of 'Militant' were present at the school, as well as supporters of Young Socialist and people not affiliated to any tendency.

Colin Lindsay, President of Coventry Trades Council (speaking in a personal capacity) opened the conference, speaking on the history of the Labour Party. He stressed that the present capitalist policies of the Labour Party leadership go right back to the earliest days of the party. Tom Cashman, speaking as an official representative of the Troops Out Movement, called for support for the TOM Labour Movement conference on 24th May. The 'Militant' supporters present were given full opportunity to put their position, which is opposed to support for the Troops Out Movement, indeed, when after a string of pro-T.O.M. speakers, the chairperson specifically asked the 'Militant' supporters if they would like to come back, the 'Militant' speaker was moved to put his thanks on record. Perhaps as a result of his experience of 'Militant' meetings, he seemed a bit taken aback by the democratic running of the school.

## Windbags

There was also lively debate after Simon Temple of Vauxhall LPYS spoke on the Common Market, arguing that our policy should be "In or out the fight goes on". Sue Leigh (Nottingham North LPYS and Nottingham Working Women's Charter group) spoke on the Working Women's Charter, and Cheung Siu Ming of Wokingham LPYS spoke on the need to turn the YS outwards towards working class youth, and away from the sterile self-satisfaction and navel contemplation of the dominant 'Militant' tendency.

At the end of the day, an Editorial Board was elected for "Young Socialist", including Nick Barstow (Hazel Grove LPYS), Ross Catlin (Northampton South LPYS), Kevin McKeon (Carlton LPYS), Bas Hardy (Bermondsey LPYS), Andrew Siantona (Wokingham LPYS) and Naomi Wimbourne (Salford LPYS).

Great responsibility rests on the new paper and its supporters, as well as great opportunities. A living working class socialist youth movement has never been more necessary than now, when the working class is under severe attack; but for years, the LPYS has been a sleepy organisation content to dig a small cabbage patch under the control of the 'Militant' tendency.

The branches have been small and inward-looking. The political level has been abysmal, with intellectual life stifled by endless and mindless repetition of a few 'magic recipes' which, since they answer all questions in advance, make discussion

## 'YOUNG SOCIALIST' COVENTRY MEETING SHOWS THAT

# A FIGHTING LPYS CAN BE BUILT

by  
TERRY HAWKINS

redundant and render pointless any attempt to understand the intricacies of real concrete situations (Ireland, the Middle East, problems of racialism in Britain or the USA, South Africa...).

And, according to them, the solution to these situations of deep historical division in the working class is simply to preach its opposite — working class unity. Thus when a series of strikes occurs in Britain and the white workers scab on the black workers, and when the trade unions, instead of organising forces to give the scabs a thrashing back the scabs against the strikers — then the answer is not to take sides against the scabs and the scabbing unions, and support the Asian workers; the answer they give is a whining call for 'unity' and outspoken attacks on the strikers for 'breaking unity'.

It's the same on Ireland. Protestants and Catholics must unite. The answer is a non-sectarian defence force — we can ignore the fact that the unions are riddled with sectarianism. 'Militant' say withdrawal of troops must wait until this trade union movement magically produces a non-sectarian defence force. They refuse to challenge the right of a Six County state to exist as a prison-house for 40% of its population. And likewise on other issues.

This tendency, led by punch-drunk ex-Trotskyists, is a tight and bureaucratic sect which has arrived at the classic social democratic political positions of belief in a legal socialist revolution. One day, in the sweet by-and-by when we'll all get pie in the sky, the Labour Party will have evolved sufficiently to carry it out.

## Quack slogans

'Militant's sole political capital amounts to four or five simple quack slogans. It can be acquired in a couple of evenings' study. But 'Militant' has 'hegemony' — a dominant ideological presence — in the YS, and its slogans can appear plausible and attractive to many young people whose better instincts to fight for socialism led them to the YS. They wind up drawn into 'Militant's rotten reformist and passive politics.

There have been two main currents of opposition to 'Militant'. The supporters of 'Tribune' have not been able to match the factional machine within a machine which 'Militant' is, and sometimes, unfortunately, they seem willing to appeal to Transport House bureaucrats, who have strangled a whole succession of youth movements, to come in and deal with 'Militant' for

them. In reality, Transport House obviously finds 'Militant' comfortable to live with, and must be grateful to it for developing and superintending the most compliant youth movement it's ever likely to get.

Politically, the Tribuniters are no worse than the 'Militant'. Both are reformist — arguably, perhaps, the open reformists are better than those disguised with shreds of Marxist phrases.

## Evolutionism

Revolutionary opposition has been confined to a spin-off from the 'Militant', around the paper 'The Chartist'. But unfortunately the 'Chartists' share the basic strategic conceptions of 'Militant'. They share the belief that the Labour Party was, is and ever must be the centre of working class struggle, and that inevitably and inescapably the development of a socialist consciousness within the working class will be within and through the Labour Party. They share a common theoretical position known to revolutionary Marxists as vulgar evolutionism.

## Bizarre verve

But unlike 'Militant' they are subjectively revolutionary, and thus have a principled record of support for self-determination for Ireland solidarity with the Republican struggle against the forces of British imperialism; they are more responsive to industrial struggles, have fought for the rights of women, etc. Hitherto,

they've been ineffective against the 'Militant' because of bizarre antics which gave credibility to the 'Militant' charge that they were ultra left. Their principled line on Ireland was linked closely with the delusion of being able to win the sympathy of British soldiers by fighting for better conditions for them... (Better recreation facilities for the British army guards at Long Kesh concentration camp?)

Then again, they raised the slogan of general strike during the period of confrontation with the Tory government — but in terms of a call for a general strike to take state power. Their central slogan for a whole period has been "Labour Take the Power" — that is, make a social revolution!

Lately, the Chartists have lost much of their bizarre verve and have become more sober, though still very muddled on some questions. This decline is very welcome, because the Chartists were never more than the subjectively revolutionary alter ego of 'Militant' and thus could never challenge the root ideas it shared with 'Militant', first and foremost on the Labour Party and its relation to working class struggle.

An attempt to regroup the revolutionary forces inside the LPYS, including the Chartists, into an effective force to fight to build the YS as a mass working class youth movement and to fight the 'Militant' and all the reformists, must be made by all serious revolutionary Marxists in the LPYS in the next period ahead.

'Young Socialist' differs — fundamentally — from both 'Militant' and the Chartists in seeing the direct action of the working class as the centre of revolutionary life. The Labour Party is a party thrown up by the trade unions, and thus it is an arena where bourgeois ideas and Marxist ideas, reformism and socialism, battle for the allegiance of the working class. But not the only arena, nor, now, the central one. It is to be judged according to how it relates to, whether it helps or hinders, the direct struggle of the working class, and whether it promotes or hampers its self-

reliant activity.

Because of its outspoken proclamation of this view, "Young Socialist" has already been denounced — was repeatedly denounced by 'Militant' speaker after 'Militant' speaker at the LPYS Easter conference — as being merely a Workers' Fight raiding party into the YS. This view simply misses the point.

YS says openly that the working class and its direct struggle is its lodestar, not any party in the working class has thrown up in its history at a given stage of development. If the present Labour Government were to try to bring in another Industrial Relations Act (like the 1969 'In Place of Strife') YS supporters would fight it tooth and nail. If that meant expulsion, those expelled would see it as part of the price for fighting the class struggle, part of which is the political and ideological struggle within the LPYS and Labour Party.

## Heads down

YS will denounce the Labour Government for Britain's continued presence in Ireland, and they will fight for that position inside the LPYS as long as they are allowed to. Likewise YS supporters denounce the Social Contract as not in the working class interest. Obviously conflicts with the Labour Party bureaucracy are thus inevitable.

The charge that YS is a raiding party, however, says more about those who make it than about YS. For them the first thing is to keep their heads down, avoid fighting reformism (not surprisingly, because they are themselves reformists!), and salve their conscience with some talk of socialist breakthrough in the future. Meanwhile they duck every one of the concrete issues here and now: the industrial struggle; the battle to get the British army withdrawn from Ireland and smash the Six County state; the fight against racialism in the working class; the fight in the streets against the National Front to strangle British fascism at birth.

## Piratical

YS is not a piratical raiding party. But neither is it a faint-hearted group of socialist youth who will strike their colours or hide them when the Labour Party bureaucrats get nasty. If, for 'Militant', the LPYS and the Labour Party are a way of life, for the supporters of YS they are an arena of struggle for revolutionary socialist ideas and for the mobilisation of forces in the class struggle and in support of struggles like the fight for Irish self-determination.

The Coventry school showed the potential it has for doing both. The LPYS won't be such a sleepy place from now on — nor will the 'Militant' tendency which polices it for Transport House have quite such an easy life.

Copies of 'Young Socialist' from Bas Hardy, 105 Lynton Rd, London SE1. Further details and credentials for Troops Out Movement conference on "The Labour Movement and Ireland" from T.O.M., 103 Hammersmith Rd, London W.14.

## HUNGER STRIKE PROTEST OVER 'CONCRETE JUNGLE'

For 5 days last week, four hunger striking tenants from the recently completed Netherley housing estate camped out continuously in St. John's Gardens, in the city centre. The protest was specifically to back up a demand to rehouse one family; it was also to draw attention to the many problems that tenants face on the estate.

The rehousing demand came after an off-licence was built beside the Hodgkinsons' maisonette. When this produced very real problems and pressures for the family the Corporation, predictably, paid little attention — until they were forced to by the action taken. The family has now been offered alternative accommodation.

While the case was obviously specific, it was nevertheless an example of a general problem faced by tenants on the estate, particularly those in the flats. The problem of being pushed into a concrete jungle, designed with little thought for human beings, and built by firms with only one concern — their own profits. The feeling of people living in this environment are compounded by a Corporation bureaucracy that either tries to ignore people or push them around.

This latest protest is one in a long line of reaction to this situation by tenants. It has owed much to the Flatdwellers' Action Committee, formed just under a year ago. They, and other tenants from different areas of the city, provided support for those on hunger strike camping on the pavement. This support included, on one evening, blocking the road around Netherley.

John Bloxam

LAST WEDNESDAY, the "Labour left", fresh from their triumph at 26th April's special party conference, came to the emergency NEC meeting they had called at the conference. The 'left' have an assured majority on the NEC. It appeared at the weekend they would follow that through logically and, asserting that conference was in charge of the Labour Party, not a handful of ministers in Parliament, they would commit the Labour Party to fight the government recommendation of staying in.

But no. Having won their victory they were frightened of it. It was 'discovered' there was no agenda; general secretary, Ron Hayward made an "angry" schoolmasterly speech (the contents of which were given in advance by Monday's "Guardian"); the 'lefts' Mikardo and Benn sat silent, saying not a word, and agreed not to use the party machine against the government.

Ian Mikardo, arch anti Marketeer, then moved a vote of thanks to Ron Hayward, and arch Marketeer Shirley Williams seconded it. Like puppies with their tails between their legs, the cardboard

# Common Market: an orgy of 'left-wing' patriotism

heroes, professional shadow boxers who dare not strike a blow, despite their loud bragging over the campaign so far, retired. The diversionary nature of the whole sham battle was underlined by another fact. While this emergency NEC meeting was called for playing over the EEC issue, the question of the Shrewsbury Two has been left over for two months now for lack of a NEC quorum.

## Thunderings

Likewise for the special conference. Was it called to bring the Labour Government to book for their failure to carry out Labour Party conference policy on freeing the two pickets imprisoned for their part in the 1972 national building strike? No: the Labour Party and the trade union leaders call a conference, not to get the Shrewsbury Two out of jail, but to get Britain out of the

Common Market — a Britain, owned, controlled, and ruled by the bosses and their agents, be they Tory or Labour.

But the anti-EEC thunderings of the 'left' are not only empty, not only diversionary; they are also positively reactionary.

Listen to Jack Jones. "The heavy hand of Brussels will cost the British workers jobs if we remain in. The EEC rulers say oil can't be supplied to British industry more favourably than to EEC firms — because it distorts competition. The government will not be able to discriminate in favour of UK firms in either price or quantity".

This is a fine socialist view of the world. The problem is that the wealth of the North Sea oil will be plundered for private profit, that British firms are exploiting British workers. Those firms are often either branches or chunks of international companies similarly engaged in exploiting workers in the EEC or elsewhere. The answer is not preposterous backward protectionism, but a vigorous struggle to wrest state power out of the hands of the British ruling class and the ruling classes of Europe. To do that unity with the European workers is of cardinal importance. The anti-EEC campaign can only hinder that by raising the level of poison in the bloodstream of the British labour movement.

## Placate

Jones demands the malign influence of "Brussels" which will block "our" capitalist state's benevolence. But in the EEC, as elsewhere competition is enormously modified under monopoly capitalism, and governments do intervene on a large scale. The problem is, they intervene to serve the interests of the capitalist class and to placate sections of the population which the ruling class wish to placate (like the French peasantry; thus the Common Agricultural Policy). Jones puts himself in the position of someone advising the capitalists (British capitalists, of course) on how best to run their system — advising them, moreover, from a

point of view even the Tory party abandoned as long ago as 1846....

Listen to the martyr Eric Heffer. Referring to the fact that the previous Labour Government had put on an import levy to help deal with balance of payments deficits, he said: "You can't put on an import levy inside the EEC".

Long live protectionism, little England-ism — and forget the fact that import levies add to the cost of

the right to have free political parties, the right to vote. If we hand over entirely to bureaucrats in Brussels, we are undermining our own heritage. And that's an internationalist argument, because socialism and political democracy go together".

But which of the EEC countries is less democratic than Britain? Has Heffer not recently read Crossman's diaries, which show for the 101st time that bureaucracies are not confined to Brussels, but are in fact a power in Westminster just as much? Has ex-junior Minister Heffer, or ex-Marxist Heffer, had no experience of the fact that bureaucratic rule, the living hand of capitalist power in the glove-puppet of modern bourgeois

each national economy is inextricably bound up with the world market and the international division of labour — has simply passed him by. "Our great country! Don't be afraid of those who tell us we cannot run our affairs, that we haven't the ingenuity to mobilise our resources and overcome our economic problems. We can do that and save the freedom of our country at the same time".

## Tory Party

Though the speakers are "left wingers", the emotions, ideas and traditions they draw on are those most associated with the Tory party — or, rather, the Tory party of 130 years ago.

Significantly a very large part of the Labour Party didn't bother to send delegates to the special conference. Many delegates left before the end of the conference. Very likely a very large part of the working class won't bother to vote in the referendum. That's just as well because the whole 'fight' so far is a charade.

## Poisonous

For ourselves we remain convinced that the working class can only lose by getting involved in this debate, and that the first duty of revolutionary socialists is to fight the poisonous chauvinism so shamelessly expressed — nakedly, crudely, rabidly expressed — by the so-called left at the conference. The fact that the trade union bureaucracy has taken a lead in this anti Market crusade does not make it a battle in the class struggle. The whole "In/Out" debate is in fact a sham fight from which workers can gain nothing. The real fight to be fought now is the battle against the great spurge of nationalism and chauvinism. The so-called working class leaders are on the anti-working class side in this particular battle.

Those revolutionary socialist groupings which have allowed themselves to be stamped, following the big battalions like sheep without looking at which side of the barricades they stand, are betraying the basic ideas of socialism and international working class solidarity. Workers Fight has said, and we repeat: Don't vote on June 5th!

Jackie Cleary

## FROM FRONT PAGE IRELAND

express the opinion that a main reason why the Government didn't nip the initially feeble 'strike' in the bud by using troops was that the Army was unwilling to take on the UDA. The politicisation of the Army is real enough, as we saw two weeks ago when GOC King publicly protested that too many Catholics were being released from internment. King has not been slapped down on the contrary. He has promptly distracted attention from the affair by revealing that an attempt had been made to assassinate him last June and that the man, a Protestant, had later been interned and since released!

King didn't protest that all the Protestant detainees have been released (while 300 plus Catholics are still interned without charge or trial). The cynicism and hypocrisy of the British government is shown graphically here, by the fact that while the Provisional IRA have kept to their ceasefire, only a trickle of Republican internees are being released. On the other hand the last weeks have seen a terrible eruption of blatantly sectarian murders of Catholics. The blood of these innocent victims of murderous Orange bigotry has already spelt out on Belfast's streets what the Catholics can expect at their hands.

The foredoomed Convention can only speed up developments towards an all-out anti-Catholic eruption by Loyalist thugs if they are frustrated in their demands. If like last

June the British Government won't stand up to them, if the Army is an increasingly independent factor, the result is all too likely to be civil war, pogroms and massacres followed by repartition with the British government and the 26-County Irish capitalist state linking hands to try to control the situation. The months ahead, with probably colourful antics in the Convention, will see the British capitalists into the Republic. The Republicans, and organisations like the Irish Republican Socialist Party and Peoples Democracy, are thus right to boycott the elections, even though in the short term the scab SDLP politicians benefit. There is no solution within the Six County state, within a partitioned Ireland. Those who boycotted the elections and are preparing for the real battle to defend the Catholic ghettos, are right to refuse to go along with this latest pretence that there can be such a solution.

The only Convention, the only Constituent Assembly, that could hope to really thrash out the problems, would be an all-Ireland one, to sweep away both the partition border and the reactionary 26-County Catholic constitution. An explosion may come anyway. But the solution is not Britain's continued presence to shore up the artificial state. Only the Irish people can solve their own problems — of which British interference is a major one. That is why we demand — **BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND!**

## VIETNAM from front page

Certainly such measures as a ban on publications other than the regime's (reported by the Cuban news agency) and a prohibition against "gathering information" (reported in the *Morning Star*) are not those of revolutionary socialism.

It was Che Guevara, fighting to extend the Cuban revolution through Latin America, who wrote "Create two, three, many Vietnams". The Moscow bureaucrats, however, terrified by victorious revolutionary struggle, set their aim as 'no more Vietnams'; with a sigh of relief they exclaim: "A most dangerous seat of international tension and military conflict has been liquidated". (*Morning Star*, 2.5.75) But on the contrary.

If the Vietnamese revolution cannot be a model for us, it can be an inspiration. And that inspiration will lead to a great deal more 'tension' and 'conflict' in the class struggle throughout the world, a period ten times more uncomfortable for the capitalists and bureaucrats. To us it falls to take the opportunities. That much, at least, we owe to the unquenchable Vietnamese.

# LEARN FROM THE BRADFORD DEMO: ANTI-FASCISTS MUST ORGANISE BETTER

THE National Front mobilised its national forces, and was able to put 1000 people on the streets of Bradford last Saturday, April 26th, followed by a rally at St. George's Hall in the city centre.

Anti-fascist groups were alerted only two days before, and managed to muster about 1,000 in a counter-demonstration organised by Bradford Trades Council. Trade unionists from local factories were there, along with Bradford University

Students Union, Huddersfield Indian Workers Association and other areas.

Even given the short notice (and this will increasingly be a problem, as the fascists gain in confidence and numbers and oil their nazi machine more efficiently), our counter demo was poorly organised and, for more than an hour, directionless. We "occupied" the field where the fascists were due to assemble, in plenty of time, but then a decision was taken to abandon it and march instead to the St. George's Hall, already ringed with police and heavily barricaded.

## ARRESTED

We marched in orderly fashion through the city, distributing leaflets and receiving quite a sympathetic hearing, until we were in time-honoured fashion diverted safely behind barricades looking helplessly at the open door of the St. George's Hall. Some of us squeezed out of this prison unnoticed and positioned ourselves alongside the doorway, but there was no chance of blocking the entrance.

living. Forget the fact that the international division of labour has actually made available goods and resources and enriched the lives of ordinary people. Heffer, like Jones, could be a mid 19th century Tory frightened to death of the onset of Free Trade. And this they pass off as socialism!

Listen further to Heffer. "Our fore-fathers fought for parliamentary democracy, has no special geographical location, but pervades every one of the bourgeois democracies that make up the EEC? Michael Foot, looking more and more like the ghost of James Maxton, summed up the anti-EEC argument in terms suggesting that the entire economic history of the last 200 years — the fact that

As the Front approached, behind a pipe band of Highlanders and with 'butchers aprons' flying aloft topped with steel spikes, the anti-fascists began to try to block their way, but were punched and charged by the police, backed up by half a dozen horses. Two comrades were arrested, and several helmets went missing, whilst many of us were manhandled. The fascists entered the hall totally unscathed, protected by the Bradford cops, and proceeded to gesticulate from behind the safety of plate glass. All in all, the anti-fascist contingent was handicapped by uncertainty and indecision. We had ample time to decide on more useful tactics, but failed to agree as a result of the present lack of leadership.

As we grow in numbers this problem will increase — we must quickly establish a policy and a representative leadership capable of winning the respect of the anti-fascist supporters. As a practical and necessary proposal for future anti-

## IMPERATIVE

Lack of space has forced us to hold over till next week an article on the Building Workers Charter conference of April 26th.

fascist demonstrations, it is imperative that: \* Each local anti-fascist committee be responsible for assessing the local situation should the NF hold a meeting there.

## AGREEMENT

\* They then discuss the situation and decide on a range of possible tactics with the area Anti-Fascist Committees/Democratic Defence, or their representatives.

\* The Anti-fascist committee to discuss with political groups, trade union branches, etc which are supporting the demonstration, and attempt to gain prior agreement on tactics and stewarding.

ROS GAINS MARTIN WALKER

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