

# workers' fight

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## RACIST IMMIGRATION LAWS AN ATTACK ON ALL WORKERS!

ON SUNDAY 22nd. July, dozens of coaches will arrive in London, bringing thousands of trade unionists to the big protest called by the Indian Workers' Association against the Government's latest racist measures.

These measures are:

●The decision to make the 1971 Immigration Act retrospective, thus threatening thousands with sudden deportation. The results of this measure are already being felt.

90 people are at present in detention awaiting possible deportation. Many others have hastily changed job and home and moved to another town, or withdrawn from community or trade union activity, in case they come to the attention of the police.

Already the fascists have gone on a new race-hate offensive, and

police are gleefully harassing black people, especially Asians.

●The Pakistan Bill, if passed, will single out another group of immigrants for 'treatment'. People from Pakistan (formerly West Pakistan) who came here with "Commonwealth" status, will become 'aliens' and have to report to the police at intervals or when they change job or address.

The Government is quite deliberately whipping up an orgy of racialism. It is the biggest agency of racism in the country. It is hoping to use race to divide the working class and weaken it in the coming battles over Incomes Policy, the Industrial Relations Act, and the right to picket.

The Immigration Act is as much an anti-working class measure as the Industrial Relations Act and

the Housing Finance Act. In fact, it is potentially far more dangerous. Whereas those Acts have united the working class against the Government, the Immigration Act and the racism it creates threaten to divide the working class.

Workers all over the country, in resolutions and demonstrations, must demand the repeal of these racist Immigration Acts.

Socialists and trade unionists must set up local bodies to fight racist propaganda, to organise to

help any black worker threatened with victimisation or deportation.

They must prepare now, by explaining to their workmates the class issues involved, to respond with solidarity action in support of the most vulnerable and oppressed section of this country's working class.

If we do not take such concrete steps, and put in the work now, immediately, then the whole working class is going to be at risk.



## "THRESHOLDS"

# WHAT A SWINDLE!

EDWARD HEATH HAS proposed that every wage increase under Phase 3 should have a built in guarantee of an automatic wage rise whenever the cost of key living expenses rises by a certain number of percentage points (the 'threshold') above what it was when the wage deal was negotiated.

This is the Tories' "solution" to the problem that has had workers gritting their teeth in anger and frustration as the cost of living has incessantly risen week by week and even day by day.

It almost seems reasonable. But when a conniving shower of political "muggers" like Heath's Tories makes a "reasonable" offer, a wise trade unionist will insist on a closer look.

### 'Offer'

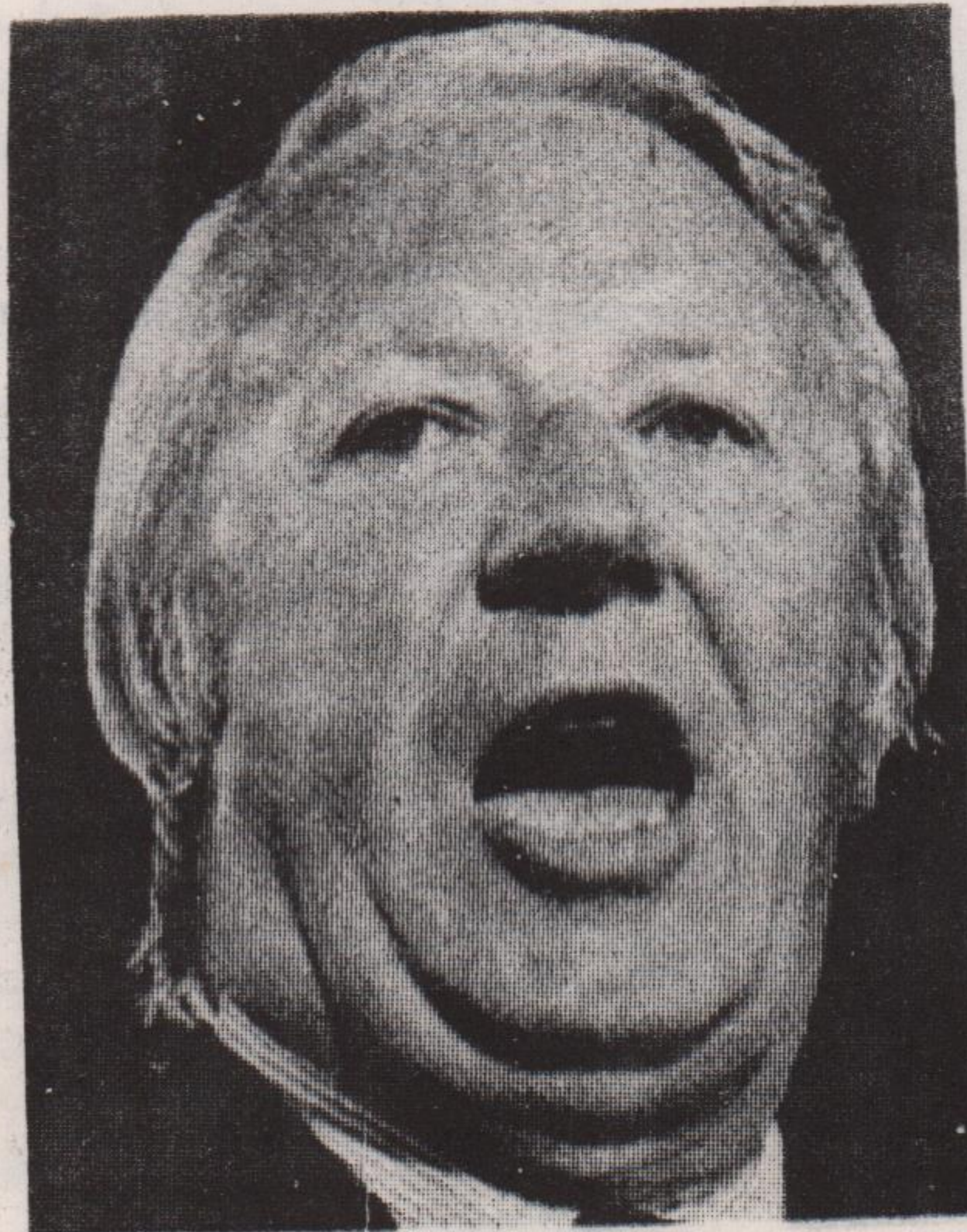
In fact the offer is a measure of the real fear the Government already feels that it will not be able to hold back the insistent tide of wage demands which will descend on it in the Autumn. They know that the working class is still every bit as strong as it was when the miners and dockers trounced the Government in 1972, and probably a lot angrier.

They know that workers have been goaded and angered by the

staggering scale and speed of price increases.

Prices have risen not far off 10% in the last year, biting deep into working class living standards. The swelling demand for compensating pay increases is now threatening to flood the Tories, or at least their policies, out of Downing Street.

Threshold agreements are a con-trick, the latest ploy to cut workers' living standards. First, an extra one per cent is not the same increase in your pocket. The Tax



Heath -- political mugger

and N.I. men have sticky fingers. If you are on over £20, then you pay up to a quarter of it to the state.

Its even worse for lower paid workers who get means tested benefits. Anything other than whopping big wages rises can actually lead to a loss in total income. But it is precisely such substantial rises that these agreements are designed to stop.

These is also the fact that the "automatic" pay rise comes only after prices have risen a certain percentage, say 5% or 7%.

What the Tories have learned from their own experience is this above all: the bosses can't beat the working class in a head on attack when it is as confident and self-reliant as it has learned to be since the end of the War. You need stealth and trickery as well, and divide and rule too.

That is what they are trying to do now: to divide those who will accept things if only they don't get worse, from those who want to fight for more of the cake, or even the whole of it.

The conclusion is obvious: don't be conned. Fight for bigger and better wage packets now. Of course wages should, as a matter of right, rise with the cost of living. But not by bargaining away the right to fight for higher wages. Only the

bosses and their Government can gain from doing that.

Which is why their Government is proposing it.

The early victories over the Tories last year gave way to working class retreat because the gasmen fought the gasmen's strike, the dockers fought the dockers' fight and hospital workers fought alone the hospital workers' fight.

### Weak

Apart from the exceptional cases of the miners and then the London dockers, solidarity action was weak.

In the explosions coming in the Autumn, militants and socialists must work to see that no section of the class, however strong or weak it may be (or appear to be) is isolated and abandoned to its own forces and strengths only. That means that we must work to build rank and file united front committees ('Councils of Action') now, as the means of organising and preparing for the battles to come.

**FARRELL &  
CANAVAN**

See p 2



# Massacre in Mozambique: part of systematic terror

THE TESTIMONY of a number of Roman Catholic priests who had been working in the Tete province of Mozambique in the last three years has somehow at last broken through the screen of silence surrounding Portuguese colonial activities in Africa. Since the national liberation struggles in Angola, Guine-Bissau, and Mozambique began in the early '60s, a multitude of atrocities perpetrated against the African people by Portugal have accumulated into a massive criminal dossier.

The escalation of the mass terror campaign by Portugal in the last three years has been in direct correlation to the military achievements which Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front) has won throughout that period. The Portuguese techniques of 'counter-insurgency' are in no way dissimilar to those employed by other colonial powers. The methods employed by general Arriaga, commander of the occupation forces in Mozambique, are summed up by what he terms as

"punishment and reduction".

The population of the war zone areas are concentrated into camps or fortified towns (a method first used by the British in the Boer war). The intention is to cut off Frelimo from food supplies and the possibilities of recruiting additional fighters.

## Suffering

In his book Arriaga comments: "We made it quite clear that the alternative (to co-operation with the authorities) was relentless suffering, and frequently death for those who persist in belonging to anti-Portuguese movements... or those who support these movements through folly or fear."

The problem of distinguishing between the guerrilla fighter and 'native' is therefore solved for Arriaga. Anyone who moves outside the Portuguese fortified stockades must be a member of Frelimo! To cull and demoralise the

country population in the combat areas, a deliberate policy of mass terror has been pursued. This not only includes the murder, along with men, of the women, children and aged in the villages, but also the slaughter of cattle and goats.

But the desperate measures employed by a dying colonialism to keep a bloody and decrepit stranglehold on its African 'possession' only strengthen the resolve of the Mozambique people to come to terms with their oppressors.

Despite the massacres in 1971, Frelimo killed 2900 enemy soldiers, destroyed 479 vehicles, shot down four aircraft and five helicopters, attacked and destroyed 49 posts and camps, 6 trains and 14 boats.

As Frelimo themselves state: "If we combine these losses in Mozambique with the decrease in the population in Portugal itself, especially of those who emigrate to other countries to escape the colonial wars abroad and misery at home, and combine these also with other losses suffered by the colonial forces in Angola and Guine, it becomes evident that Portugal approaches a point where her human reserves will be exhausted. This at a time when our own forces grow constantly as we liberate new zones."

Quite clearly it is only a matter of time before the Portuguese are

forced to get out of Africa completely. Despite the aid given them by Rhodesian troops who excelled the Portuguese troops in atrocities carried out in Macumbura, the fascist regime cannot stop the advance of Frelimo nor the increasing internal opposition in Portugal.

Harold Wilson has now decided to raise the issue of Portugal's colonies. He has even threatened a campaign to exclude Portugal from NATO "following the return of the next Labour government". However, he had the opportunity to make such a stand during six years in office and didn't lift one flabby finger in criticism of Portugal; his silence on Portuguese butchery in Africa was every bit as deafening as his silence on the American slaughter of the people of Vietnam.

## NATO

Portugal is engaged in a proportionately greater war effort than the US were in Vietnam. Such a level of involvement could not be possible for one minute without assistance from Portugal's NATO allies. All the more important that a campaign is mounted in Britain in solidarity with the liberation forces against Portuguese colonialism

BAS HARDY.

Police guard Portuguese embassy during Anti-Caetano demonstration.



## US Phase 4: More of the same

HAVING TOTALLY failed to bring prices under control with the previous installments of his incomes policy, Nixon has introduced measures under Phase 4, which by his own admission will allow prices to continue rising while wages are kept under control. Prices are to be gradually removed from direct control as the 60 day price freeze comes to an end. It will be made legal to

pass increased costs to the consumer on a direct dollar for dollar basis while the old Phase 2 guidelines for wages (5.5% per annum plus 0.5% fringe benefits) remain in force despite Nixon's own statement that wages had "not been a significant cause of the rise of prices" under Phase 3. Before the end of Phase 4, scheduled for the end of the year individual firms and later whole industries will be allowed to apply to the Cost of Living Council for exemption if they give assurances of "anti-inflationary behaviour". At the same time, the Government is planning to cut back on public spending and this will have the effect of increasing unemployment.

Thus it is clear that Nixon's 60 day price freeze was simply intended as a stop-gap arrangement used in the hope that the massive inflationary boom currently under way would slow down of its accord. In the period from the beginning of the year to June 12th, when the price freeze was introduced, food prices rose by 23% while industrial prices were up by 12.3% - at least partly because of firms using the "voluntary" Phase 3 to put up prices. Nixon himself has made it clear that this will go on and that the public will have to face a new period in which "food prices are higher relative to incomes than we have been accustomed to". Thus all the attempts of the "patriotic" trade union leaders to come to Nixon's aid by negotiating contracts within the Government's has meant nothing but a fall in the standard of living of all their members.

## Belfast Prisoners Victimised

Demand for political status refused

### ANTI-INTERMENT LEAGUE STATEMENT

The Anti-Internment League considers that MICHAEL FARRELL and TONY CANAVAN of the People's Democracy, now on hunger strike in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast, are the victims of a blatant piece of judicial victimisation, as the following facts make clear:-

\* They are charged with behaviour likely to lead to a breach of the peace, for organising a demonstration to protest at the failure of the British Army to stop the campaign of Orange sectarian murders. On the same day as this demonstration took place (Feb. 10th, 1973), three other demonstrations took place in Belfast, none of which led to charges.

Nor have there been any prosecutions following the massive Loyalist 'day of protest' just three days earlier.

\* The judge who rejected their appeal is Topping. A leading Orangeman, he has in the past advocated such measures as the flogging of Republican prisoners.

\* Farrell and Canavan's request for political status has been turned down.

\* Both men have been detained in a basement cell in Crumlin Rd Jail for 23 hours per day. The wing in which they are held is full of loyalist prisoners, who have kept up a constant barrage of threats against their lives. In the normal course of events, they will be placed amongst these prisoners. When Farrell and Canavan pointed out the physical danger facing them, the Governor told them that they would be put in protective custody - but only after they have been attacked!

We demand that they immediately be given political status and the protection of being placed among the Republican prisoners.

We call on the British labour movement, and all civil liberties and progressive organisations in Britain, to join in this demand. And to demand also from the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland an accounting as to why this blatant example of political victimisation should have occurred.

## March! Demonstrate against Internment!

Sunday 12th August, starting from Speakers' Corner at 2.30pm.

Organised by the Anti Internment Ad Hoc Committee.



RIGHT: Ordre Nouveau — time out from breaking bones.  
BELOW LEFT: Francois Brigneau.

# FRENCH FASCISTS HAVE FACTORY TERROR SQUADS

THE FRENCH 'ORDRE NOUVEAU' fascist organisation is not all that worried by the French government's order banning them. They have, after all, been banned before, in 1968, under the name of 'Occident' and managed to reorganise themselves. Unlike the Communist League, they have not had their leading members arrested.

However, one member of their National Council, Francois Brigneau, felt compelled to protest when Marcellin, the minister of the interior, justified the ban by des-



cribing 'Ordre Nouveau' (quite accurately) as a neo-Nazi organisation. When he, Brigneau, had shared platforms at meetings with Marcellin, years ago, Marcellin never described him as a neo-Nazi!

Nor has Brigneau changed his views over the years. Both he and Marcellin collaborated with the Nazi occupation during world war 2.

The fact is that 'Ordre Nouveau' has at all times been in breach of French laws banning the stirring up of racist hatred. Even the main policemen's union has declared that the Ordre Nouveau meeting which the Communist League and other revolutionaries tried to stop was in fact illegal. But obviously, if the revolutionaries had done nothing, if they had just demanded that the government should ban the meeting, the meeting would have gone on and 'Ordre Nouveau' would be thriving.

And we don't even need to go back to Italy in the '20s and Germany in the '30s to see the results of letting fascist or semi-fascist organisations thrive. We only need to look at some of the big car factories in France — Citroen, Simca.

In these factories, there is only one 'union', the Confederation Française de Travail (CFT: French Labour Confederation).

It is a fascist 'union', linked with the Spanish government 'uni-

ons'. It is more concerned with breaking strikes (using violence if necessary) than with leading them. It suppresses all militant activity in the factories. It bases itself on thugs paid at a rate of £100 a week by the bosses.

The majority of the workers in those factories are immigrants — Algerians and others — who are terrorised by the CFT thugs. They are prevented from effective action to improve their miserable living standards.

## VICHY

The CFT originated as the CGSI (General Council of Independent Unions) in 1947. The main forces came from the 'trade unions' of the pro-Nazi Vichy regime, but figures such as Jacques Baumel, then secretary-general of de Gaulle's RPF movement, also took part.

The RPF had strong fascist tendencies. For example, it had 'defence' squads of over 16000 men, and it systematically organised a right-wing network in the police force. The leader of that network, Dides, was quite clear about his aims:

"We must consider that the Communist Party is a national danger and should be destroyed.

We aim to smash its forces, its apparatus, and, if it comes to that, its national leaders..."

Later the CFT 'unions' (disunited at that time) had links with the OAS, the pro-'French Algeria' terrorist organisation.

It couldn't happen here? No, it probably couldn't, not in the near future. There are definite reasons why fascism is stronger in France than here — the labour movement is weaker and disunited; there is an enormous class of small shopkeepers, merchants, farmers, etc; and so on.

But that doesn't mean that British Chrysler workers should be indifferent to the fate of Simca (French Chrysler) workers. And the British ruling class is no less conscious than the French ruling class of the usefulness of right-wing gangs to do their dirty work for them, if and when the police on their own are not enough.

The fact that fascists are weak in Britain now is all the more reason to learn from the experience of France to prevent them ever becoming strong.

Most of all, the experience of the CFT and other fascists in France shows the terrible corrosive and destructive effects which racialism can have on the labour movement.

MARTIN THOMAS.

# URUGUAY — General Strike fails to oust jackboot regime

by John Sterling

THE GENERAL STRIKE IN Uruguay ended in defeat on 11 July. The Communist Party-led trade union confederation called the strike off because it was weakening. There are rumours of a 5-point agreement between President Bordaberry and the Communist Party, but there are also several facts.

The General Strike was called after the shutting down of Parliament on 27 June. Parliament is still shut. 2000 people were arrested during the strike. The trade union confederation has been made illegal.

Uruguay has for a long time had a reputation as the most advanced, the most liberal country in Latin America. But real wages have fallen 70% in the past year. After a bloody repression against the Tupumaro urban guerrillas, Bordaberry has installed a military dictatorship.

The defeat of the General Strike was not surprising after the policy of the Communist Party. They engaged in negotiations with top army officers right from the start. They

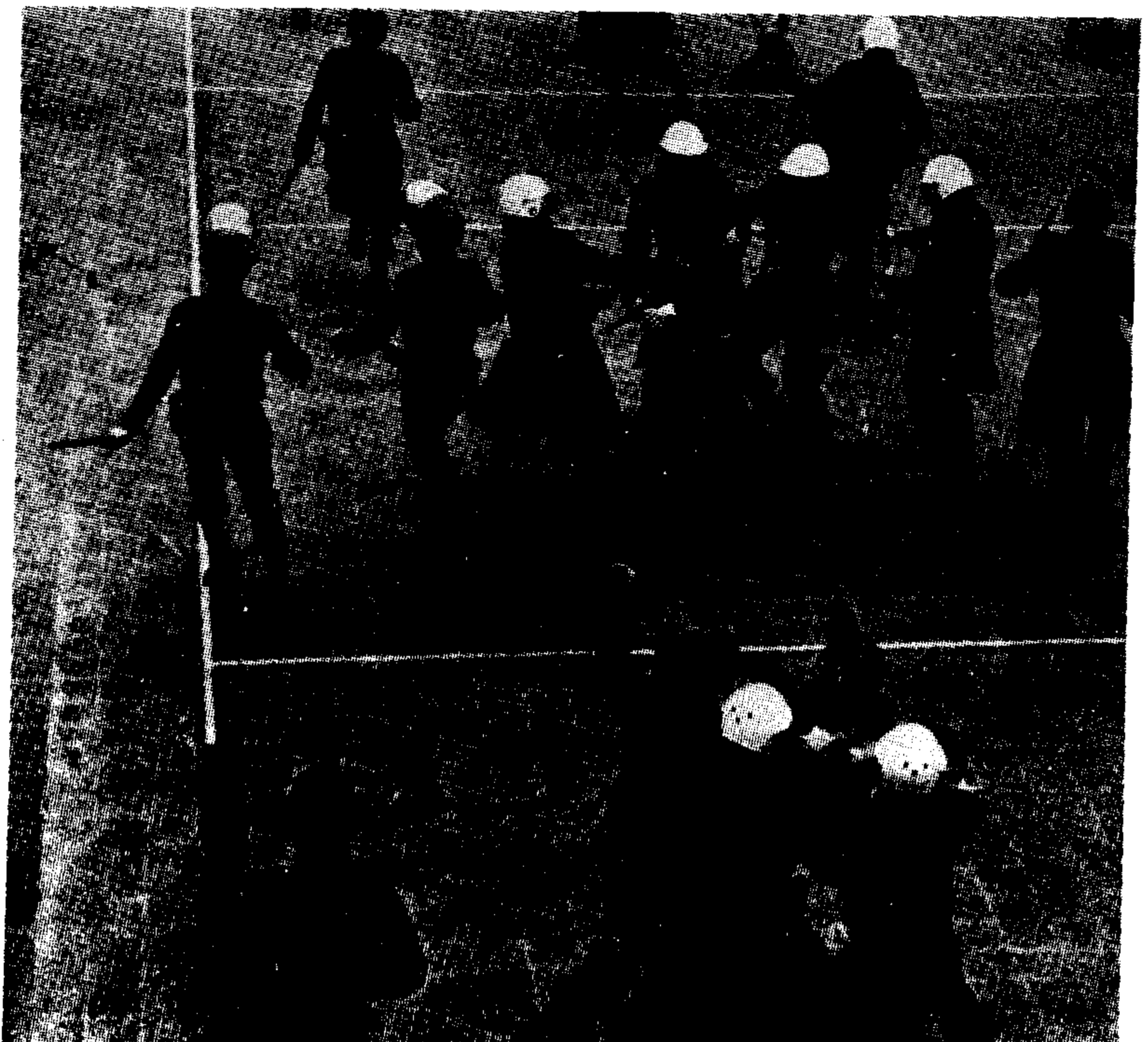
phrased their protests at the dissolution of Parliament very mildly, saying "there are countries without this democratic institution which have nonetheless undertaken a process of fundamental changes"

This was a reference to Peru, where a military dictatorship, at the same time as sharply repressing the left, has brought in a number of reforms. The CP's whole strategy was based on winning over a part of the army.

Certainly it might have been possible to win over a part of the army. But how? Soldiers are not going to break away from their commanders and from the government unless they believe that the opposition forces can and will defeat the government.

The opposition forces must first show that they are ready and determined to fight. But the Communist Party made no preparations for combat, and advised the workers to avoid clashes — with the result that when it came to street fighting, on 9 July, the government forces carried an easy victory.

The strike fell off soon afterwards.



ABOVE: Uruguay police in action, as depicted in Costa Gavras' new semi-documentary film about the Tupumaros, 'State of Siege'.



# THATCHER: OUT TO PRESERVE SNOB SCHOOLS

by Siu Ming Cheung

WHEN THE TORIES TOOK POWER in 1970, no-one should have been surprised by their opposition to educational reform and their cut-back on educational and other social expenditure. Margaret Thatcher's three-year record speaks for itself.

- School meals now cost more, and school milk has disappeared.

- There is an acute shortage of teachers in London, caused by a rigid refusal to grant an adequate London allowance.

- Teachers' living standards have been depressed by the wage freeze.

- Funds have been diverted away from the secondary sector just when many areas were bringing in comprehensives.

- Her inaction over the 11-plus and her opposition to any plans involving the abolition of grammar and direct grant schools have put further strains on existing comprehensives.

- The school leaving age has been raised to 16 with virtually no extra provision — passing the problem of youth unemployment back to overworked and understaffed schools.

- Cutbacks in educational expenditure wherever there is no direct economic return. This includes cuts in teacher training, art colleges, and student grant increases.

Thatcher has been particularly severe with the secondary sector. She can rightly be accused of trying to bring back the bipartite system of the 40s while paying lip-service to comprehensives.

A look at the development of secondary education in Britain will show why and how this is happen-

ing. The principle of secondary education for all has been passed by Labour party conferences as early as 1907, but successive Labour governments have failed to even make a start towards putting words into deeds. The principle was finally won in the 1944 Education Act.

As one prominent Tory said at the time: "if you do not give the people social reforms, they will give you social revolution".

As the working class has found out since: if you do not give the ruling class social revolution, they will give you promises of reform and carry them out half-heartedly or not at all.

## Tripartite

The 1944 Act was put into practice as the tripartite system. This was based on the totally unscientific idea "that at the age of 11 children can be classified into three recognised mental types, and should be allocated to grammar, modern and technical schools accordingly". This conveniently preserved the pre-war situation where the middle class had overwhelming access to grammar schools and to higher education.

The 1945-51 Labour government did NOTHING to challenge this, let alone abolish public and direct grant schools. They, and the Tories after them, held back developments towards comprehensives by local authorities, except in areas where the status quo was not affected, for example in war-devastated London and Coventry where new schools were needed anyway.

The tripartite system finally

broke down for several reasons. Firstly, technical schools never got going (so much for the 'three mental types'). Secondly, research made it increasingly obvious that even from the narrowest capitalist point of view, a tremendous wastage of ability was taking place through the virtual exclusion of the working class from advanced secondary and higher education.

And sections of the ruling class saw that the grammar schools were not producing the type of manpower needed for a highly technological economy. Attempts were made to modify science teaching, but within the grammar schools. (The much praised Nuffield Science projects were intended to do just that).

Slowly, haltingly, the necessities of life forced changes in government policy. But at every stage, prejudices, and the vested interest of grammar schools and their mid-



le-class clientele, have made any comprehensive development a miserly, smothered affair.

To be sure, even the most fully comprehensive school, under capitalism, does not abolish class division and class privilege; rather, it reflects it. But the abolition of selective and privileged schooling is certainly an essential part of any socialist programme.

The Labour Government's circular 10/65 has been given the credit for getting comprehensives going on a national level. In fact, it was little more than a summing up of what progressive authorities were doing, with the 'request' that other authorities do something similar. The circular had no legal powers of implementation.

Even the unsuccessful 1970 Bill was no clearer, on issues like the 11-plus, coexistence of grammar schools, hidden selection and streaming, and funds for implementation.

## "Dishonest"

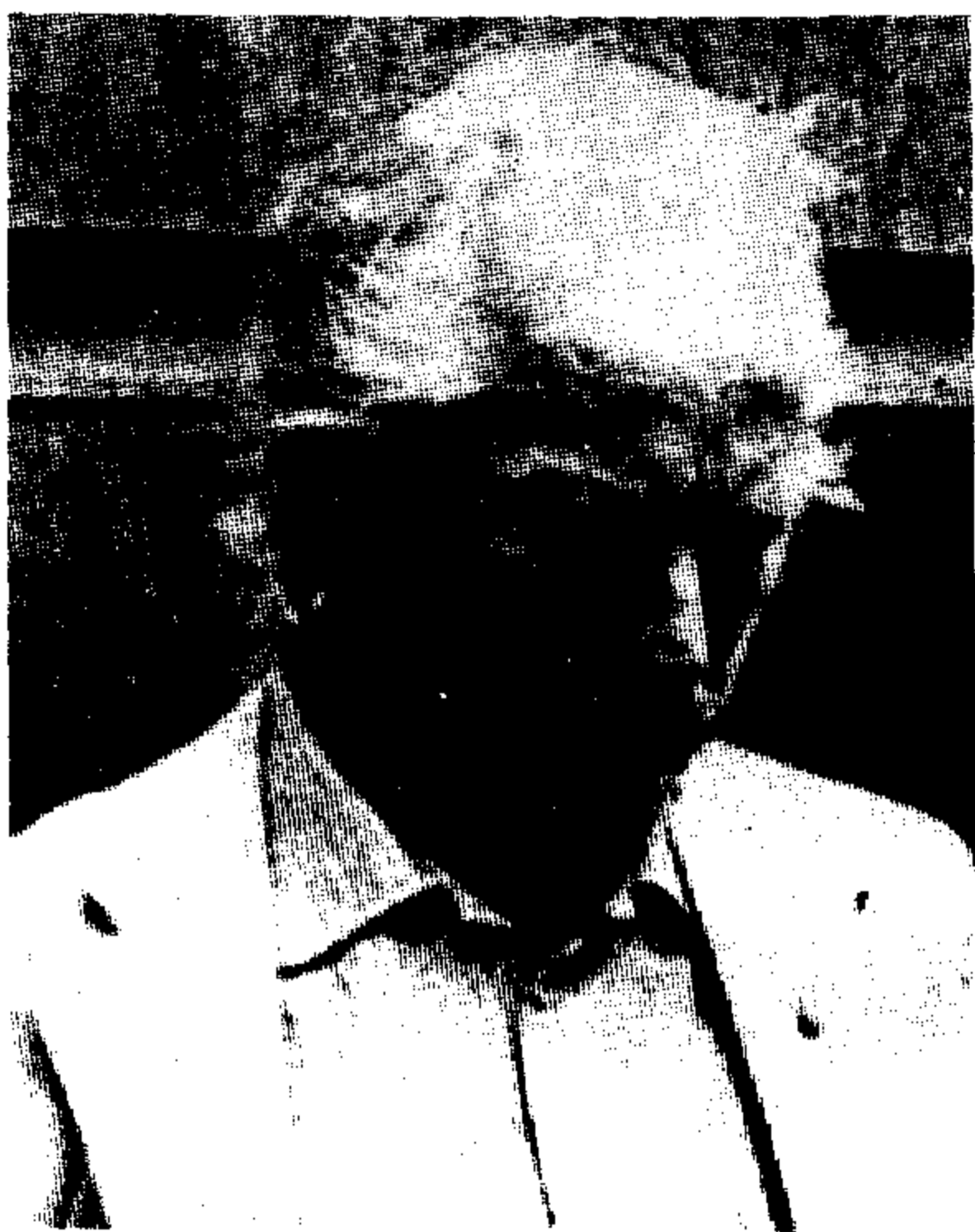
The Tories abruptly withdrew circular 10/65 amidst much protest. Their substitute, 10/70, got the compliment of "a dishonest substitute ... for a positive line" from the Times Educational Supplement.

It claimed to give LEAs a free hand at organising, but in fact simply allowed reluctant authorities to delay and even reverse plans. Thatcher has interfered in any authority who tried to bring in comprehensives, though not by openly opposing the idea.

Thatcher has paid lip-service to comprehensives and has allowed them to grow in number. But one significant tactic — the use of Section 13 of the 1944 Act — has meant that these are 'comprehensives' scarcely worth the name.

Thatcher has used section 13 to retain grammar schools beside comprehensives. Thus the comprehensives' intake is 'creamed off' by Thatcher's grammars, their buildings are virtually the same as when they were moderns, and their teaching and organisation is still based on selection.

## Militant teachers face Union attack



Eric Porter, one of the Wandsworth 3

IN THE WAKE OF THE MOST REACTIONARY NUT annual conference for years, victimisation of militant teachers in the union continues to mount.

Saturday, 14th July saw a picket of over 100 teachers from various parts of the country outside the NUT headquarters in London where 3 union members from Wandsworth were appearing before the Professional Conduct Committee. The "Wandsworth 3", three teachers whose collective membership of the NUT exceeds 60 years, are up on a charge of professional misconduct brought by an individual union member and arising out of incidents at a meeting in Central Hall, Westminster on the evening of 27th February last. This meeting was called after a demonstration for an increase in the London Allowance (See WF 23). At this meeting the Executive on the platform lost control after continually denying the wishes of the overwhelming majority present to discuss a resolution submitted by the Wandsworth local teachers Association calling for joint action with other Trade Unions to break the Freeze. When it was beyond doubt that the Executive had lost control, a number of rank-and-file members attempted to restore discipline, and it is for this that three well-known officers of the Wandsworth Association have been isolated and victimised.

The cards are stacked against the Wandsworth 3 right from the start. Firstly, correspondence in the Union journal, "The Teacher" has been manipulated by the editors; the official statement of the Wandsworth Association was suppressed; correspondence was closed after a particularly violent attack against the Wandsworth 3; and the reason given for closing correspondence was that proceedings were 'sub judice', a decision both illegal and largely ignored by certain members of

the Executive. Secondly, a request for legal aid at the hearing was refused and no explanation given when called for. Thirdly, and most importantly, the Professional Misconduct Committee is appointed by the NUT Executive and consists entirely of Executive members!

It is obviously impossible for there to be an unbiased hearing under these conditions. Indeed, proceedings ground to a halt half way through Saturday morning over the issue of whether or not the hearing should be held in private. There is maybe a point that individual cases of misconduct should be heard in private, but this particular issue affects far more people than the 3 Wandsworth members. The Professional Conduct Committee, however, decided they could not continue unless in private, and have referred the whole issue back to the Executive for discussion on September 1st.

As the campaign for the Wandsworth 3 gathers momentum throughout the country, members of Rank and File (socialist wing of the NUT) are beginning to see the victimisation for what it is: a practice run by the union bureaucrats in preparation for their role of policing militants under Phase 3.

But now even quite reactionary sections of the union are bombarding NUT headquarters with questions about the case. And the issue has spotlighted the creaking joints of the NUT leadership; the sooner those joints hobble off into retirement, the better.

More information on the Wandsworth 3, from Alan Jackson, Secretary Wandsworth 3 Defence Committee, Flat 4, 697 Garratt Lane, London SW17.

Ian Hollingsworth/Keith Bennett



THESE 'PUBLIC' MEETINGS -

## A Scandal for the Left

AT THE recent meeting in London called to defend the North Wales 24, Dave Jackson of their Defence Committee called for support, and £300 was collected.

That was fine. But apart from that, the meeting, organised by the Socialist Labour League and the International Marxist Group, was a scandal.

The first part of the scandal was the speeches. Gerry Healy of the SLL spoke first.

If what he said was to be taken literally, it was that a Labour Government is the only hope for the

North Wales 24! He simply condemned 'rank and file' action as 'non-political'.

Bob Pennington, current occupant of the giddily spinning seat on which the National Secretary of the IMG sits, was marginally better, making a few points about repression in Ireland and France. But he said little about the real problems either. If he was better than Healy, it was the superiority of vapidly over reformism.

The second part of the scandal was the way the meeting was run. It was advertised as a public meeting to discuss the case of the 24. It started at 8.25, and finished at 9.45, allowing 12 minutes in all to four speakers from the floor! Though not quite, as those four were allocated two each to the two pillars of revolutionary politics. We were even treated to the sight

of a member of the biggest minority in the IMG being forbidden to speak.

This issue is one of real concern to all militants. If the SLL/IMG tandem can't allow the implications of the North Wales 24 case for the class struggle now to be discussed, they should at least refrain from the confidence-trickery of a pretended public meeting.

Kevin Crowe writes:

DO THE 'INTERNATIONAL Socialists' think they have a monopoly of truth and no longer need to listen to anyone but themselves? Or are they frightened to let some of their new recruits come into contact with political discussion?

At an IS public meeting in Liverpool on July 3rd, members of the Labour Party Young Socialists, the International Marxist Group, and

Workers Fight, as well as unaffiliated trade union militants including an executive committee member of Liverpool Trades Council, were not only prevented from selling literature, harassed, and heckled while attempting to speak, but subjected to violence.

At a public meeting in Wolverhampton on July 3rd, a Workers Fight member was harassed and threatened with violence while selling WF literature OUTSIDE the meeting. The IMG in Wolverhampton have had similar experiences.

In Birmingham on July 4th, a WF member was refused admission to a public meeting by the local full-timer, Granville Williams, who said "We've finished all that debating rubbish". Some IS comrades (members of the Left Faction), although eventually admitted, were also given an unwelcome reception.

## In Brief

### Britain washes whiter

FOLLOWING publication in 'The Times' of the report on the hideous massacre at Wiriyamu in Mozambique, came the usual spate of 'Letters to the Editor'.

One claimed that Wiriyamu didn't exist (indeed it doesn't - now). Another wrote that the names of the victims weren't typical of the area (only to be contradicted by one who said they were).

Notorious Apartheid defender Patrick Wall went so far as to suggest that the vivid descriptions had in fact merely been 'lifted' from accounts of a recent African civil war. Whites, you see, just wouldn't do such things.

Monday Clubber Brig. Calvert asked, wasn't it well known that Jesuits were in league with Communism and terrorism around the world? The DGS and the Portuguese administrators in Mozambique were some of the most humane and tolerant people one could hope to meet.

Essentially, they loved their enemies. Why, he personally knew one commander who, on having a young Frelimo prisoner brought to him, promptly gave the lad a railway ticket to go and visit his parents...

But the most interesting letter came from Muir Hunter QC. Recounting his experience of investigating reports of torture in Turkey on behalf of Amnesty International, he told how, "when ... the Minister of Justice sought to parry my charges by referring to the allegations of 'torture' by British soldiers in Ulster, I was able to silence him by producing the report of the Compton Inquiry, as an indication of how we dealt with such allegations in our own country.

"Can the Portuguese Government not be persuaded to see the value to their own reputation, of a comparable searching and public inquiry into these matters?" After all, there's nothing like good British whitewash

## FBI sued

WHILE THE U.S. Democratic Party has managed to gain a huge amount of sympathy as a result of having been bugged by the Nixonites, far less has been heard about the sustained repression carried out against revolutionary and black groups by both Nixon and his Democratic predecessors.

In an attempt to uncover some of these less famous acts of the Administration, the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY has filed a suit for £11 million, naming Nixon, Mitchell, Haldeman and others in connection with bugging, arson and other acts of harassment. Another injunction they are applying for would prevent Government agencies from engaging in acts such as spying, firebombing and wiretapping, while a third alleges FBI complicity in burglaries and firebomb attacks on SWP offices.

Although it may be somewhat utopian to expect courts which dep-

end on FBI information in securing convictions to take action against "25 years of FBI harassment", it can only be hoped that it will make it clear why those who have been subjected to a sustained campaign of repression are not inclined to see the Watergate bugging as an aberration from a basically healthy and democratic system.

## As the Romans do

ON A BUS going through Brixton, one of our editorial staff was accosted by a grossly overpainted hag. "Why can't they wear our clothes when they come over here?"

Our comrade looked around to find who "they" were, and saw a young Indian woman wearing a sari. "Why should they?" he said, trying to be reasonable - "Did the British Imperialists in India ever go around

in Indian clothes?"

The woman was furious. "When in Rome, do as the Romans do" she retorted, and got off the bus.

Of course. That never meant, as most of us no doubt had imagined, that one should be considerate towards one's hosts' customs. When in Rome, it says, not when in Bombay, or York, or Khartoum. Rome because it was the Empire, the conqueror, and if you didn't watch your step you'd be thrown to the lions. And the Romans, of course, did as they pleased abroad. Just as the British in their Empire.

ANOTHER VARIANT of this imperial arrogance came out last week, when Woodrow Wyatt stated that "We have given our former colonies independence. Colonialism is now utterly wrong anywhere".

What a strange view of morality: what I do is right while I do it; and when I cease to need to do it, or am no longer able to, then it becomes wrong - "utterly wrong anywhere"!

## Women's Fight



## We won't wait until 'after the revolution'!

DID YOU SAY last night "I'll do the pots for you" to your female partner, or "I'll make the bed for you" or perhaps "Shall I wash the kids for you"?

Even among socialists and revolutionaries who think they've left male chauvinism far behind, this sort of remark betrays just how

deep go the conceptions of a "woman's role". Do these condescending 'helpers' ever think that they also ate off the plates that need washing, or that they slept in the bed too. Are not the children just as much their responsibility?

The fight against these 'trivial' aspects of male chauvinism is an ideological fight, and is just as important in our fight for a socialist society as the other tasks that are necessary in the liberation of woman from the role assigned her by class society - the tasks of gaining equal pay and opportunity, 24-hour nurseries and child centres, socialised domestic facilities, etc.

Some socialists still expound the theory that "after the revolution" all these demands will be granted and therefore there is no need for a separate struggle now.

If we substitute 'black' for 'women', it is shockingly obvious what's wrong with such arguments. Are we to wait until after the revolution to 'give' black people back their integrity and equal status?

Linda Youd

A READER HAS written in to comment on the piece in this column last issue, "one law for the rich". It appears that, not content with loitering around bedroom windows in the hope of proving cohabitation, the S.S. have other tricks of harassment for depriving women of their rights. Our correspondent reports that separated wives are forced to apply to the

Courts for maintenance orders against their husbands. If they refuse, their Benefit is cut off.

Which is just another example (as is the entire co-habitation ruling, of course) of how the oppression of women oppresses men, too.

## No lead at Bristol conference

THE WOMEN'S Liberation Conference in Bristol on the weekend of 12th July produced a few useful discussions, and a collection of over £50 for the S.E.I. strike (see report p 11) - but very little concrete and practical.

At one session, our group (Roudale) asked for help in defining to new members what the aims of the movement were. We were told that there were no nationally set aims, as an attempt to define them in the past had alienated some sisters!

Thus, the only decisions taken were when the next conferences should be (Coventry December, and Edinburgh next July). There is to be a Socialist Women's Conference on September 22/23, and it is vital that socialist women organise to give more coherent direction to the Women's Liberation movement.

Sue Arnall



# BRITISH TORTURE LEAVES SCARS ON THE INSIDE

WHEN INTERNMENT was introduced in Ireland the internees were subjected to a form of torture which does not leave any marks. They were forced to stand with their hands against the wall, hoods over the heads and loud monotonous noise in their ears; in addition they were deprived of sleep and kept on a bread and water diet. This process rapidly breaks the victim down into temporary insanity, in which he has delusions and sees and hears things which are not there. In this condition he is liable to give away information.

The Compton report in November 1971 claimed this torture did no long term damage. The Minister of Defence, Lord Balfe, said: "The basic fact is that there was no brutality, no torture, no brain-washing, no physical injury, no mental injury". The claim of no brutality or physical injury was always an obvious lie, and it is now clear that the hooding treatment has left men with long-term mental disorders. A Professor of Psychiatry at the University College, Cork, Robert Daly, has interviewed 20 internees, some of whom had the hooding treatment. He saw

evidence of overt psychiatric illness in all of them. The most common complaints were: fear and dread of the world in general, inability to sleep, nightmares, jumpiness, and they were all depressed, many having bouts of weeping.

Some had psychosomatic illnesses like ulcers and headaches. These symptoms are the kind of thing soldiers get in "shell shock". These ex-internees had little will to live, and several said they would die rather than be tortured or interrogated again.

A recent report on Portuguese political prisoners shows that Portugal uses similar methods of sleep torture in addition to their traditional methods, which include rifle-butts to the head and beatings.

Michael Bossut, a Belgian doctor, describes his interviews with ex-prisoners and their doctors in a report which Harold Wilson has received.

The first stage is depersonalisation, which seeks to remove all the prisoner's familiar possessions which reinforce his picture of himself. Then follows several

weeks' isolation with little human contact.

After that, interrogation starts in earnest, with unbroken interviewing and no sleep. The intention is to reduce the victim to a state where he cannot tell the difference between reality and fantasy. Then he can be brought to confess anything.

These methods of psychological torture are also similar to the earlier methods of the GPU in Russia. The main difference seems to be the greater efficiency of British methods, which can break a man in a few days.

This refinement probably owes much to the 'pure' research done by university psychologists on sensory deprivation. Experiments have brought about psychotic states in a few hours by wrapping people in soft bandages or floating them in warm water. In the total absence of changes in sounds, sights, or touch from the outside, the ego loses its confirmation in the external world and breaks down.

ED COLLINS



RUC — worked with the Army as torturer

HEATH AND WHITELAW ARE now rubbing their hands with delight. The results of the Northern Ireland Assembly elections and, more importantly, the fact that they passed off relatively peacefully, has given the British government a strong hand to play with over the next few months.

For a period of three weeks during the election run-up, with daily marathon programmes on TV and radio, and extensive newspaper campaign, and several hundred political careerists charging around the country canvassing, attention shifted from the military struggle between the Irish Republican Army and the British Army (with the Loyalist militants not quite sure where they are) to the political arena.

## BRIBERY

Though British and Irish news men talked about the elections in terms of finding who really represented the people of Northern Ireland, and giving political leaders a mandate to represent their electors in political negotiations, this was not what it was really all about.

Having enticed the professional politicians into the electoral arena with salaries of over £3,000 (twice the old Stormont salary for an MP) and a promise of some power in the future if they behave as good boys, Heath and Whitelaw expect not to find too much difficulty leading the members of the Assembly by the nose.

In a carve-up, the seats of the Northern Ireland executive will be filled on a power-shared basis under the paternal eye of the British government. Or rather this is what they hope will happen.

Though the British government think they see the light at the end of the tunnel, they realise, in their

# SDLP — new growth under Whitelaw's wing

more reflective moments, that it is still a long tunnel. Though attention has focused almost exclusively on the politicians, the urban guerrillas who smashed Stormont still exist. The conditions which brought the Provos into being — the sectarian 6 county Orange state, and, more immediately, the activities of the British Army — still exist. Despite the extensive military repression in the Catholic ghettos, a significant Republican military force still exist, able to tie down over 20,000 soldiers and police.

Though the attention of the pundits and commentators has concentrated largely on the so-called 'centre' Alliance and Northern Ireland Labour Parties, the success of the Social Democratic and Lab-

our Party has been of much more significance. The Irish Times, in an editorial (2/7/73), put it thus: "The SDLP in its new strength is not just a guarantee for a more hopeful future for the North; it may hold the key to the resolution of the whole question of the relations between" Britain and Ireland.

## STRATEGY

Present British strategy is to attempt to reintegrate the alienated Catholic minority back into a reformed 6 county statelet, where power will initially be shared between London and Belfast, and, within the north, between the Catholic and Protestant middle classes.

The role of the SDLP in this scenario has been to cooperate

with imperialism in reforming the north. In return for winning the Catholics away from the Provos they hope to be rewarded with some seats in the new Northern Ireland executive.

Though 'Social Democratic' name, and claiming to be a 'rad socialist' party in some of their propaganda, it is nothing of the sort.

The SDLP is a Catholic ghe party, though one which is following what it considers a more realistic strategy in attempting to bring a united Ireland into being. The old Nationalist Party, though conservative in the economic and social fields, and dominated completely by clericalism, at least persistently asserted a principled opposition to British interference in



Above: Whitelaw, Fitt, Craig and Faulkner





rs for Britain



## Harrowing account of life 'Behind the Wire'

JOHN MCGUFFIN, A LECTURER at Queens' University, Belfast, was one of those arrested in the initial swoop by security forces mounted on August 9th 1971 when the decision was taken to use the internment weapon once again in Ireland.

His book, 'Internment', is based on his experiences and observations. He describes how he was

arrested at 4.45 am and given two minutes to dress, before being hustled away in an army lorry. The reason for lifting him was not that he was a known 'terrorist', but because he was a member, along with Michael Farrell (now on hunger strike in Crumlin Road Jail) and others, of the People's Democracy movement, and could be expected to protest vigorously against the treatment meted out to internees and also to the use of the notorious Special Powers Act under which internment was carried out.

The author was taken to Girdwood Barracks and interrogated. He was lucky, escaping the worst experiences of the 'helicopter run' the torture, the beatings. But he saw the results on others, such as pus oozing out of someone's neck as a result of having four cigarette butts stubbed out on it.

### Beating

Hours of sleep were few and far between. McGuffin also tells of "the by now infamous obstacle course — broken glass, barbed wire, sharp stones. We were more fortunate than people like Michael Farrell, who had had to traverse it in daylight — with bare feet. We at least had our shoes on, but one slip meant a cruel beating. Then we were rushed through a hole in the wall and found ourselves in the grounds of Crumlin Road Jail."

They were handed over to the screws, after two days at the mercy of the British Army.

But the book is far more than a mere personal record. The author also deals with the Special Powers Acts (originally a temporary measure introduced in 1922, but renewed and renewed — even in 'quiet' years — until made permanent in 1933), the use of internment in England between 1916 and 1945, in the 26 Counties between 1922 and 1973, and in the North from 1922 to March of this year. There is a special chapter on women internees, of which there are currently six in Armagh Jail, most of whom have been badly beaten.

Liz McKee, the first woman internee of the current series, attempted with others to escape,

and was hosed down in her cell six times after being caught. Ann Walsh was subjected to a "white noise" machine at Castlereagh Police Station. They are the latest of a long line of Irishwomen who have been maltreated by the British authorities in Ireland.

There is much more: the Compton Report and the role of press and television are discussed, and the last chapter shows how internment is continuing under another name — Detention.

According to the latest estimate from the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, there are at present 450 detainees, plus almost as many again waiting to be classified as such and held in custody pending a decision by one of the three commissioners appointed by Whitelaw under the Detention of Terrorists (Northern Ireland) Order of November 7th, 1972.

By far the most sinister aspect of the situation is the use of methods of "sensory deprivation" — procedures involving noise being used as a continuous bombardment of a prisoner's senses, or the "hooding" method, which also reduces contact with the external world. These techniques cause mental damage if used on a person for a prolonged period, and there is evidence that ex-internees who have gone through this sort of thing have been permanently damaged by it to the extent of not being able to hold down a job and reacting in violent panic to the sound of an armoured car passing the house.

### Shame

It may all seem small beer compared with Mozambique and Vietnam. But the fact that it happens at all is a damning indictment of our rulers and a cause of shame on ourselves the longer we permit this sort of thing in our name. This book is a must; everyone should read it.

CHRIS GRAY

'Internment' by John McGuffin is published by Anvil Books (Tralee) and is available from 'Rising Free' radical bookshop and distributors, 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1 — 75p plus postage.

Irish affairs. Even though for 50 years the Nationalists did little about the existence of the Orange state, they at least were able to trot out one or two of the 'right' slogans.

### PRO-IMPERIALISTS

The SDLP, which grew on the back of the Civil Rights Movement, differs from the old Nationalist Party on the formal position it adopts with regard to imperialism. They positively welcome British interference in Ireland, seeing the British army and government as being the only force which can successfully reform the Northern state.

Way back in '68, the main argument of Gerry Fitt was that we should have British standards of democracy in Northern Ireland. Most of his time was taken up with lobbying British Labour MPs to try and get Wilson to tidy up the north.

They have consistently kept this position. Though willing to make the required anti-British noises at election time, the SDLP look to the British government for the power they hope to share with the Unionists.

Fitt and Hume have been held back from rushing headlong into the arms of the British only because of the need to keep their base in the Catholic community. In the past, the dropping of the rents and rates campaign, and talking to Whitelaw before internment was ended, has seriously damaged the prestige of the party.

The British government made it easy for them this time. Carefully leaked stories about the imminent release of some internees helped swing support behind the SDLP's way of 'fighting' repression in the

few days preceding the elections.

The real reason for their electoral victory has, however, been overlooked in the flood of journalistic commentaries. For 50 years the Catholics were consistently outvoted two to one by the Unionists — the state being so constructed as to give the Unionists their built-in majority.

This led to the development of a 'fortress mentality' amongst the Catholics when it came to politics. As a minority, existing in a state which treated them as hostile, they had to remain solid and united against a stronger enemy.

Voting solidly for 'their' party was more a statement of their enforced entrapment within the Orange state than a positive endorsement of personalities or policies.

This time the traditional attitude was reinforced by two factors. Proportional Representation voting held out to the Catholics the chance of doing better than they had done under the old-straight voting system. And there was disarray in the Unionist camp between Faulkner on the one hand and Paisley and Craig on the other.

Economically, the party is as pro-imperialist as the former Unionists were. The SDLP hope to attract foreign capital with various sorts of incentives — largely cheap labour and free factories. Their talk about state industry is only sensible capital planning in a backward area like Northern Ireland and has nothing to do with socialism.

All in all, if it were not still for the existence of the Provos, the British Government would have succeeded in its first round of trying to win the Catholics back into a reformed Northern Ireland.

AUSTEN MORGAN



# 'WORKERS' CONTROL' BUT WHO IS BOSS?

by John Edwards.

THE TUC HAVE JUST PUBLISHED an interim report on Industrial Democracy, which contains some new and radical departures compared with its previous attitudes.

The report could be dismissed as simple window dressing, an attempt by the TUC to cover up its collaboration with the Government's 'incomes policy'. Alternatively, some have hailed the report as a big victory for workers' control. Neither view is entirely correct.

In most Western European countries, there are moves afoot, or actually in being, to attempt to draw workers into some form of 'participation' in management. In this sense, the TUC's report is not an isolated 'radical' leap forward, it is part of a general development. The question arises, why has 'participation' become desirable at this time?

There are two main general reasons, one of immediate relevance, the other more long term. The first general reason is to be found in the need to try to harness the workers in helping the capitalists to solve the present ongoing crisis — particularly in Britain with the declining profit rates of the last few years and the rip-roaring inflation.

It represents the carrot in the traditional 'stick and carrot' technique. The stick is the Industrial Relations Act and the wage freeze.

## Complex

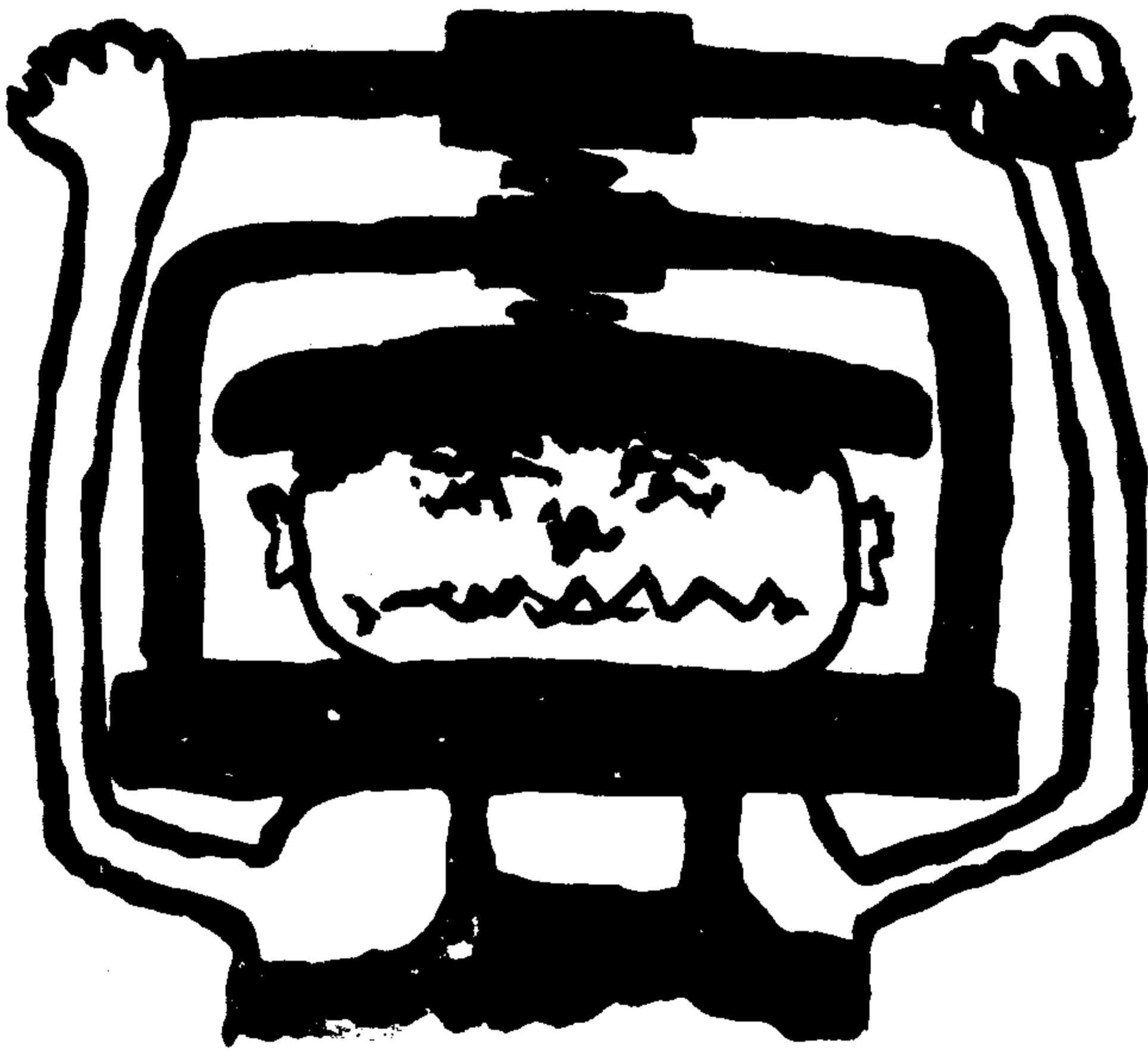
The other aspect of the 'participation' schemes is more complex. Essentially it arises from the new and advanced technology which has developed since world war 2 and more particularly in the last ten or fifteen years.

With the increasing use of numerical control, automation, and computerisation, industrial processes have become more and more complex. It is no longer possible to maintain a command structure in large areas of industrial life. It is now not sufficient that workers should merely obey — they must purposefully collaborate for capitalism to maximise its profits.

On a whole series of questions, the TUC does a complete turnabout on previous attitudes. On the general question of workers' participation in management, it now comes out for this as against the previous attitude of the unions maintaining their 'independence'. It raised the question of 'open the books', a slogan often condemned in the past.

It calls for the election of 'worker directors' on Supervisory Boards in all firms with more than 200 workers, and it includes the right to recall such workers' representatives.

It argues that Supervisory Boards, on which workers should have half the seats should have the right to override the Board of Directors and the Annual General Meeting of Shareholders.



French workers' view of "participation". What does the TUC propose?

We have to ask, do the recommendations of the TUC in fact mean workers' control of the system or control of the workers by the capitalist system.

The value of the demands depends on the way they are carried out. Take 'open the books', for example. If this means inquiries into this or that bankrupt works or company, and the massive sums paid out to speculators, big shareholders, landlords, top managers, and so on, are not looked at, then it will only end up as a weapon to justify redundancies. We have seen this recently with many steelworks closures.

So, 'open the books', to be of use, must mean that workers can look into the account-books of the whole economy.

And Supervisory Boards — they could be a forum for mass workers' meetings to exercise control over bosses through mandated representatives; or, more likely, a scheme in which worker-directors are brought to accept and argue for bosses' policies on redundancies, pay, etc. — a way to make workers take responsibility for capitalism.

The demand for workers' control goes right to the very heart of the basic conflict between capital and labour. To talk of participation or joint control is to obscure the realities of the class struggle. It is impossible to reconcile the aim of maximising exploitation with the aim of minimising (or of abolishing) it. All talk of workers' participation in management, workers' control, or self-management inevitably leads to collaboration and absorption by the system unless it is clearly and at all times understood that real control is possible only on the basis of a fight to throw out the bosses altogether, against the present state and for a workers' state.

There is a very old but nonethe-

less true saying "it's not only what is said but who says it that one must take into account". We must compare the fine phrases about industrial democracy put out by the TUC with the actual actions of the trade union bureaucrats.

In the mouths of those who in fact collaborate with the capitalist state and who aim for workers' control within the capitalist system the TUC's programme is a programme for workers to help police themselves.

## Trotsky

Trotsky discussed the question of workers' control of production in the context of capitalist ownership of capital, in a 1931 article. He described workers' control as "a sort of economic dual power".

"If the participation of the workers in the administration is to be lasting, normal, stable, it must rest upon class collaboration, and not upon class struggle. Such class collaboration can be realised only through the upper strata of the trade unions and the capitalist associations. There have been no few such attempts ... yet, in all these instances, it was not a case of workers' control over capital but of the subserviency of the labour bureaucracy to capital ...

"The closer it is to production, to the factory, to the shop department, the more impossible is this... for it is a question here of the direct vital interests of the workers, and the whole process develops before the eyes of the workers themselves. Workers' control through factory councils is conceivable only on the basis of sharp class struggle, but not on the basis of collaboration."

We have seen some instances of this collaborationist type of workers' control over the last few years, the most widely known being that

of the UCS shipyards on Clydeside. Trotsky's ideas were confirmed.

The workers seized control of the yards not on the basis of collaboration but in a struggle to keep their jobs. But the leadership had a strategy of working with the state and with potential buyers for UCS, and that strategy meant that it ended up as a collaboration with the bosses.

In any struggle for workers' control the state will be on the side of the possessing class. To take control of production in the factories and ignore the state is to guarantee defeat. The bosses will ensure that the state smashes workers' control committees or at least ensures that they only operate in the context of capitalist interest.

## Victory?

Ken Coates, who is a leading member of the Institute for Workers' Control, has given the TUC report a glowing welcome. He wrote in 'Tribune' on July 6th:

"... it is an unqualified victory for the workers' control and industrial democracy lobby, since at last this crucial question has become what it always should have been, the central issue of British political debate."

In this he could not be more wrong. In applauding this report he is helping in the process of mystification, not clarification. If in fact the issues, as they are raised in the TUC report, were to become the central ones of British politics, they would have the effect of gutting the fight for workers' power. If the labour movement were to take these demands without at the same time raising the question of ownership and state power it would be led into complete subordination to the capitalists' class interests.

Coates tells us that the TUC's proposals "could provide the basis for real extensions of aggressive union control over production processes". That sounds fine, but is it all that workers want?

In a few modern factories, workers are allowed to work flexible hours and to decide the division of labour among themselves. In that way the employers hope to get better work performance.

Such reforms may still be valuable and even worth fighting for. But it is pure deception to confuse this sort of 'control of the production process' (where the aims of production and the distribution of the surplus are firmly under capitalist control) with full workers' control.

The fight for workers' control can only be placed correctly within a programme for socialism. In and of itself it is no such programme. If after all the sell-outs over the last few years by the bureaucrats, anyone thinks they are likely to construct such a programme, they must either be cynical or mad.





# From Labourism to... Labourism

FROM LABOURISM TO SOCIALISM by Michael Barratt Brown

Published by Spokesman Books at £3.25

FOR TWO DECADES, FROM 1945 UNTIL RECENTLY, THE USA AND Western Europe have seen unparalleled prosperity. Large sections of workers could win better pay and conditions without, in most cases, taking up a political fight.

Now it is different.

MICHAEL BARRATT BROWN's book FROM LABOURISM TO SOCIALISM has at least the merit of asking the right questions for the formulation of a strategy for the British working class. The author sees the breakdown of the consensus between capital and labour which dominated the class struggle until the late '60s, under the pressure of the crisis of British capitalism.

Although he exaggerates the extent to which it ever totally dominated the working class, the author makes it clear that he sees the days when simple economic gains were possible by sectional factory-by-factory methods as long past.

Unfortunately, asking the right questions is no guarantee of getting the right answer. Following the political tradition of the Institute for Workers' Control, with which he is closely associated, Barratt Brown's strategy is left reformist. Beyond Tribune perhaps, but reformist all the same.

His prescriptions for the British working class are based on the argument that the breakdown of the post-war consensus will create a period of "dual control" where neither the working class nor the capitalist class will exercise full domination over British society.

This, in his opinion, means that "its (capitalist) power can be increasingly challenged by reforms" and "this (radical social change) implies the pressing of every reform ... right up to and beyond the limits of what capitalism is capable of" (p. 12-13, my emphasis). The reforms he has in mind are control of prices, guaranteeing the right to work, raising the position of low paid and women workers, and extending social control over resource allocation.

## Division

Barratt Brown sees the struggle for these demands as a means of educating the working class and of making real gains for socialism by encroaching on the power of capital as "social provision increasingly replaces private production" (p.241)

This view is based on a division between what the author calls the 'repressive' and the 'conformative' aspects of the state. He correctly argues that in post-war Britain the role of the state has been mainly 'conformative' (i.e. has served to institutionalise and thus soften class conflict), and goes on to state that, provided workers' organisations retain their independence, they can participate in "conformative" institutions, in the interests of the working class. Their "potentially ambiguous nature" (p.92) means that "a situation of dual power within the system may be a necessary part of a transition to full power" (p. 70).

Let us return to reality at this

By  
**Bruce Robinson**

point. Does this advancing wave of reforms in fact exist? No: the break-down of the 'post-war consensus' has in fact created a situation where governments, Labour and Tory alike, have tried to **take back** reforms.

What does the participation of trade unions in the 'conformative' state bodies actually mean? It means incomes policies, productivity deals, and so on.

Of course, it is possible for the working class to make real gains within capitalism. We would argue that history shows that such gains can only be limited; if they go beyond narrow limits and really hurt the ruling class, it will come to open class warfare; and the decisive question in that open class warfare is the degree of determination, clear-headedness, and preparation of the working class — depending partly on whether socialists have clearly explained the need for violent overthrow of the capitalist state, or have instead muttered about 'encroachment' — rather than the greater or lesser number of reforms we may have previously won.

Nonetheless, there can be real gains. But to say that this means that the state is 'ambiguous' is a confusion. Firstly, there are no grounds for Barratt Brown's division between 'repressive' and 'conformative' aspects. One might as well say a policeman is 'repressive' when he beats you up on a picket line and 'ambiguous' when he helps old ladies across the road; he is still one policeman, not two.

## State

And in any case the state can perfectly well grant concessions to the working class through its "repressive" as well as its "conformative" functions; for example by banning fascist organisations.

The real point is that Barratt Brown is confusing the state with society at large — implicitly assuming that any reform in society reflects the good will of the state. In fact, if a defeated army retreats before victorious troops, that doesn't mean that the conquered army is leading its opponents to triumph. If the state is forced to give wage

increases to miners, that doesn't mean they have become the miners' friends.

"Conformative" pressures often go along with a more or less open use of the repressive apparatus. This can be seen at present, when at the same time the Tories are attacking immigrants, pickets, etc., and also making big attempts to reach compromise with trade union bureaucrats.

Barratt Brown's views on working class organisation are closely linked with his views on the state. He argues (wrongly, we think) that "the model of a revolutionary party constructed by Lenin was based on the assumption of illegality or, at best, barely modified repression" (p. 239 — perhaps Barratt Brown will now change his position, at least for France !): and states that a mass party representing many working class interests but based on the trade unions, is the need in a period of "dual control".

## Faith

If the Labour Party did not exist, it would be necessary to invent it! He argues that work through the Labour Party is the essential political complement to struggles in the trade unions, and that a democratisation of the party would avoid the pitfalls of the last Labour government.

He develops a long programme for the next Labour government, without specifying how the Labour government will come about or how it will be forced to carry through his programme, or how workers can best fight off the attacks on their organised strength right now.

As far as the trade unions are concerned, he puts faith in the left-wing speeches of Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon. He writes glowingly of how "the AUEW and T&G WU led the forces opposed categorically to any cooperation by the TUC with the Government over the (Industrial Relations) Act" (p 181) Unfortunately, Brother Scanlon now seems to have decided that the Act is "conformative", not "repressive".....

Union democracy is reduced to a matter of a few readjustments in unions such as the AUEW and T&GWU with statements such as "given the strong democratic base of most unions, the bureaucratic rule of leaders could always be challenged and democratic leaders could always give power back to the base".

Here there is an assumption that, just because Scanlon or Jones were at the head of this or that demonstration, this or that strike, they in fact created that working class action. Barratt Brown's thinking is like the doctrine of which Marx wrote that it "forgets that it is men that change circumstances and that the educator himself needs educating. Hence, this doctrine necessarily

arrives at dividing society into two parts, of which one is superior to society".

The part "superior to society" of Barratt Brown's world includes, mainly, himself and the Left trade union and Labour Party leaders. Beneath is the working class, occasionally benefiting from the "ambiguous" action of the state or from the generosity of "democratic leaders (who) give power to the base". The process of reform trundles on, and if Barratt Brown can get a word in the ear of the labour tops at the right time, who knows, the working class might one day find itself given socialism.

## National

The same manipulative approach comes through in Barratt Brown's approach to the question of "transnational" companies. "This act (of EEC entry) hands over to the representatives of labour in Britain .. the power to evoke national sentiment behind demands for control over the transnational companies". (Presumably the masses are too stupid to actually see their own interests; they can only be mobilised on the basis of reactionary prejudice !)

Barratt Brown's view of the state is closely linked to the economic programme he puts forward. He argues for direct controls over the transnational firms, as a road towards socialism. At the same time Barratt Brown argues against the myth of socialism in one country.

In effect, Barratt Brown is saying that British capitalists are not as bad as 'transnational' (i.e., really, foreign) capitalists. The "evoker of national sentiment" goes on to evoke more by arguing for discriminatory controls against foreign firms by the next Labour government, to prevent the British working class suffering the effects of a balance of payments deficit. How trying to involve the working class in a bitter, chaotic protectionist battle between national capitalists works towards international socialism, is not clear.

## Reality

If this article has hardly dealt with the immediate tasks facing the working class now, it is because the book hardly refers to the reality of the present-day class struggle. Thus the demand for workers' control, instead of being a demand that can in various concrete ways carry the struggle forward, becomes a general panacea to be obtained in a period of 'dual control'.

The working class, and the revolutionary party we must build, are not active makers of history in Barratt Brown's book; it is only by throwing off his ideas of reliance and vague hopes that we will in fact change history.



# Smash Portuguese Imperialism! But... What About Britain's Massacre in Ireland?

Text of a leaflet distributed at the demonstration against Caetano's visit on Sunday 15th July.

BRITAIN carried out its own horrible massacre in Ireland in January last year — the massacre of 13 innocent, unarmed civilians who were marching in a demonstration against Britain's military dictatorship in Northern Ireland. Do you remember it? This was the BLOODY SUNDAY massacre in Derry.

WILSON sent in the troops into Ireland in 1969.

HEATH gave them the order to fire in Derry. The Widgery Tribunal which inquired into the massacre was a lying dose of whitewash.

WILSON is now having a pious orgy of morality. He has condemned the "obscene savagery" of the Portuguese massacre of hundreds of Africans in Mozambique. He says the Portuguese Hitler, CAETANO, should not be allowed into "this or any other civilised country". Quite right, but... How civilised is England's 800 years of invasion, massacre, robbery and exploitation of the Irish people?

The British Army's SAS assassination squads and pro-British storm troopers like the UVF, the UDA and the UFF are murdering and torturing innocent Catholics every day of the week in the streets of Belfast. The SAS is trained for assassination and torture just like the NAZI SS and just like the Portuguese DGS.

Just as Mozambique is a colony of Portugal, Northern Ireland is a colony under the dictatorship of Britain.

British workers must fight for

the COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE of the Irish people in ALL THEIR 32 COUNTIES. Not only must Caetano be kept out of Britain, and harassed wherever he goes if he comes in:

Britain must pull all its troops out of Ireland!

Britain's concentration camps in Ireland must be closed down!

All of Ireland must be returned to the Irish people!

## Lonhro

Many people are hiding the true facts about Britain's bloody hand in the Mozambique massacres. For about a hundred years the Portuguese have carried out the orders of English millionaires in Southern Africa. No sooner had the English financiers grabbed the gold mines of South Africa in the Boer War of 1899-1902, than Lord Milner made an agreement with the Portuguese colonialists called the Mozambique Convention, which STILL STANDS today.

The Portuguese agreed to press gang hundreds of thousands of black slaves in Mozambique, and hand them over to the white South African racists to be slave-driven in gold mines owned by English capitalists. Most of the wage slaves who are today sweated by British capitalists in the South African gold mines, come from Mozambique. That is the real meaning of the "Anglo-Portuguese

Alliance".

Angus Ogilvy, husband of Princess Alexandra, is one of the idle parasites who live off the blood and sweat of the black slaves in Mozambique. He runs LONHRO, which is simply a gang of thieves who own huge properties in Mozambique, including the Umtali-Beira pipeline. No wonder NATO gives tanks, aircraft and machine guns to the Portuguese to massacre the Africans. No wonder Ogilvy's militaristic relative, Prince Philip, has just come back from wining and dining with Caetano.

And that is why Butcher Heath is also playing pals with Butcher Caetano.

Britain's imperialist crimes in Ireland and Mozambique must be brought to an end!

British workers must support the revolutionary fight of the Irish and African peoples for independence. Anything less is dishonest and hypocritical. It is all too easy to support national liberation struggles when they are far away, and against the capitalists of some other nation. But the British left has a disgraceful record of keeping silent about the crimes of 'our own' ruling class, especially in Ireland.

HOW can the Communist Party honestly fight for the independence of Mozambique when it refuses to fight for the independence of Ireland? The CP confines itself to pressing Whitelaw's military dictatorship for a 'Bill of Rights'.

What use would a 'Bill of Rights'

be in Caetano's Mozambique? None! So why demand it for Ireland?

HOW can we accept the sincerity of the MILITANT who called on the British labour movement to arm Frelimo, and at the same time attack the Provisional IRA week after week as "terrorists" and "sectarian maniacs"? And what about the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS, who, de facto, supported British troops going into Ireland in 1969 and now refuse to support the campaign for the release of Irish political prisoners in Coventry. And this sort of Great Britain chauvinism is no different in the SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, who have never supported a single Irish demonstration against the crimes of the British Government in Ireland.

## British Left

With very few exceptions, nearly the whole British left has shown itself in Ireland to be heavily tinged with imperialism and even racialism. When it comes to Ireland, internationalism stops at Holyhead. Why has there not been a single case of industrial action against Britain's own imperialist war?

All the moral indignation against the Portuguese atrocities in Mozambique is worthless unless we are prepared to fight for:

SOLIDARITY WITH FRELIMO!  
SOLIDARITY WITH THE IRISH  
REPUBLICAN ARMY!



WHERE  
WE  
STAND

CAPITALISM is inseparable from the exploitation by the bourgeoisie of the working class 'at home' and (since 'advanced' capitalism became imperialist) of the workers and peasants in the colonies and neo-colonies abroad.

It is a vicious system geared to buttressing the strong against the weak, to serving the handful of capitalists against the millions of workers, and to keeping many millions in poverty so that a few may prosper. Capitalism exalts property and degrades life. It is at the root of the racialism which poisons and divides worker against worker. It is a system of massive waste and social disorganisation, at the same time as it forces the working class to fight every inch of the way to better or even maintain its wages and conditions.

Having once been progressive, in that it at least developed, in the only way then possible the productive resources of mankind, it is now a totally reactionary force in history. Its expansion after World War 2 gave it merely the appearance of health: in reality the boom was like the flush on a sick man's face. Already economic expansion has given way to creeping stagnation.

TODAY the ruling class can keep their system going only at the cost of large scale unemployment and attempts to cut the living standards of workers in the 'rich' parts of the world, of massive starvation and bloodshed in the 'poor' two thirds of the world, and of the ever-present threat of the destruction of humanity through nuclear war.

THE ONLY WAY OUT is for the working class to take power and to bring the resources of the modern economy under a rational working class plan, in place of the present unplanned and blind private profit system. Having overthrown capitalism and established social ownership of the means of production, the working class will build towards a truly communist society, in which at last the principle will be "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The working class has created political parties for this purpose — LABOUR PARTIES, COMMUNIST PARTIES, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. But in country after country these parties have joined capitalist governments and managed capitalism. They have betrayed the socialist aspirations of their working class supporters, tied the labour movement to the bosses' state, interest and ideology, and destroyed the political independence of the working class.

The task is therefore to build a socialist party which will stand firmly for the interests of the working class. WORKERS' FIGHT is a group of revolutionary socialists, aiming to build that party: a party which is democratically controlled by an active working class membership, which preserves its political independence and fights the ideological domination of the ruling class.

The basis of our activity is the scientific theory of MARXISM, the only theory which gives a clear understanding of present day society and of the necessity of revolutionary change.

Although they cannot organise the struggle for workers' power, THE TRADE UNIONS are indispensable for the defence of workers' interests. We fight for the independence of the unions from all state control, and within the unions for militant policies and for democracy. We see the trade union bureaucracy as a distinct stratum which acts as a broker between workers and bosses. Its life and work-situation is quite different from that of the working class. Lacking a direct, necessary allegiance to working class interests, or any fundamental historical interests of its own, its general tendency is to work with the bosses and their state against the working class.

Only a mass national rank and file movement, linking up the different industries and guided by the ideas of revolutionary Marxism can, in this period, turn the trade unions into reliable instruments of working class interests, independent of the bosses' state.

We fight against the INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ACT, against any incomes policy under capitalism, and against any legal restrictions on trade unionism.

We fight against UNEMPLOYMENT; for a national minimum wage; for work or full pay; against productivity bargaining.

We fight to extend the power of workers to control the details of their own lives in industry here and now. We stand for the fight for WORKERS' CONTROL with the understanding that it can be made a serious reality only in a workers' state. We are against any workers' 'participation' in managing their own exploitation under capitalism.

We believe that the 'PARLIAMENTARY ROAD TO SOCIALISM' is a crippling illusion. The capitalist class will not leave the stage peacefully; no ruling class ever has. Socialism can be built only by smashing the capitalist state machine (army, police, civil service) which is the ultimate defence of the bosses' power in society, and replacing it with a state based on democratic Workers' Councils.

THE LABOUR PARTY is a capitalist party in its ideas, its policies, and in its record in government. At the same time, the bedrock organisations of the working class, the trade unions, support and finance the Labour Party. There is an 'open valve' connection between the Labour Party and the Unions, allowing the possibility of large scale active working class participation in the party.

We relate to the Labour Party, therefore, not by simply denouncing it, but by attempting to advance the working class towards outgrowing and breaking through the particular stage in its own development — ideological, political and organisational — represented by Labourism.

We fight for full and equal rights for WOMEN, for female emancipation from the male domination which has co-existed throughout history with class society and which has its roots in such society. We fight, in particular, for the emancipation of women of our own class, suffering a double and triple exploitation, who have been most accurately described as the "slaves of the slaves".

We fight against RACIALISM and against immigration controls. We fight for the integration of immigrant workers into the labour movement and for a united front against capitalism, whilst supporting the right of black minorities in Britain to form defence leagues or independent political organisations.

We give unconditional support to the struggles of oppressed peoples everywhere fighting against IMPERIALISM, and to their organisations leading the fight.

British workers have — fundamentally — more in common with every single worker throughout the globe, irrespective of race, religion, or colour, than with the whole of the British ruling class. We see the fight for socialism as a world-wide struggle, necessitating the creation of a world revolutionary party, such as Leon Trotsky founded the Fourth International, in 1938, to become. We consider that the mainstream of Trotskyism surviving from the 1938 Fourth International is the United Secretariat of the Fourth International but that this organisation in some of its theories and much of its practice (for example that of the British section) represents a degenerate form of Trotskyism. We fight for the regeneration of the Fourth International.

We stand for a political revolution of the working class against the bureaucracies of THE U.S.S.R. and the other countries called 'communist' which we consider to be degenerated and deformed workers' states. The social regime of the different bureaucracies has nothing in common with socialism, let alone with real communism. At the same time, we defend the nationalised economy in these countries against capitalism and imperialism, unconditionally: that is, irrespective of the selfish, usually anti-working-class and anti-revolutionary policies of the ruling bureaucrats, and against those policies.

There are OTHER POLITICAL GROUPS which have generally similar aims, but methods differing from ours, or differing conceptions about what needs to be done here and now. We consider all these groups to be seriously — sometimes grossly — inadequate in theory and practice. We favour unity in action with these groups where possible, and a serious dialogue about our differences.



## COVENTRY

### Rally

## for Irish prisoners

THE NEXT FEW WEEKS HAVE two very important dates in the continuing Irish struggle. July 31st is the anniversary of Operation Motorman when the British tanks crushed the no-go enclaves in Belfast and Derry. A year later the schools and sports grounds remain occupied.

August 9 marks the beginning of the third year of interment. Although the name has been changed to 'detention', the numbers involved are reaching pre-direct-rule levels. The second anniversary of interment must not be allowed to pass without the maximum amount of protest from socialists, republicans, and trade-unionists throughout Britain and Ireland.

We in the Coventry 7 Prisoners' Defence Committee have been very active in attempting to secure the unconditional release of our own political prisoners here in Coventry. We call for the unconditional release of all Irish political prisoners, the ending of interment and an amnesty for all those involved in the struggle as an essential part of any acceptable settlement to the Irish situation.

To further these ends, we have called a march and rally in Coventry on Sunday August 12th. We will assemble at Hearsall Common, next to All Souls Church, Earlsdon, Coventry, at 2.30, before marching to the Precinct in Coventry for a rally with national speakers.

Fraternally,  
**WILLIAM THOMPSON**  
for Coventry Prisoners' Defence Committee, c/o 27 Paynes Lane, Hillfields, Coventry.

# £ 531.26 :

## Over half way

THE WORKERS' FIGHT Fighting Fund launched in January has now crossed the half-way mark with a total of £531.26. So far we have been able to finance one technical improvement - a guillotine to cut our pamphlets square. Apart from that, the money is absolutely needed to keep us going. We don't get income from advertisements as the established press does, nor do we have rich backers.

So if you think that we have something worth saying - give us the means to say it.

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## 20 years a teacher - still on probation

ALONG WITH THE WANDSWORTH 3 (p. 4), another NUT militant, with over twenty years' teaching experience, is being victimised.

In 1969 she was one of twelve teachers who tried to improve conditions in an Islington primary school. The issues were such things as requests for staff meetings and more teacher control of purchase of stock. She and seven other teachers were forcibly removed to other schools as a result.

The same thing is beginning to happen again to this woman. Her persistent requests to be assigned to a school and thus gain security of tenure have been refused. Every time this vastly experienced teacher is moved to another school, she has to undergo an extra probationary year!

Her local National Union of Teachers association has taken up the case. At a stormy emergency meeting last week attended by over

100 members, it overwhelmingly passed a resolution calling for: (a) a letter to parents outlining the facts; (b) a demand to the Executive to sanction a weekly demonstration at the teacher's school all next term until she gains satisfaction.

This last decision has rattled officials of the Inner London Teachers' Association, one of whom walked out of the subsequent hearing at the Inner London Education Authority and left her virtually unrepresented.

Ian Hollingsworth

## Anti-fascists in court

13 ANTI-FASCIST DEMONSTRATORS face severe fines and are appealing for aid.

They were arrested while protesting against Colin Jordan's anti-immigration rally in Liverpool on June 30th.

Six have already been sentenced, but two of those still to come up are facing serious charges. Tony Boyle of Tower Hill Rents Act on Group is charged with having an offensive weapon and with assault.

When Tony Boyle was let out of jail (after four hours with no medical attention) his jacket was soaked with blood down one side and his face and body were badly bruised. The police claim that one policeman hit him once.

So far the Defence Committee has only managed to collect about £50 and they reckon about £400 will be needed.

Paul Barker.

Defence Fund: 12 Upper Duke St, Liverpool 1.

## EQUAL PAY STRIKE ENTERS 7th WEEK

DESPITE THREE MASS confrontations with the police, the equal pay strike of APEX (clerical union) members at the Eccles and Heywood plants of Salford Electrical Instruments has continued into its seventh week.

At Heywood the AUEW production workers have come out for token strikes and have blacked material crossing the picket line. The strike is firm and confidence is high.

At Eccles, though, instead of being glad that 'staff' are seeing themselves as ordinary workers and taking trade union action, the AUEW is hostile to the strike. Several strikers have returned to work, but a 24-hour picket has been kept up, with help from Manchester Women's Liberation and local left groups including Workers' Fight.

Transport drivers have usually respected the picket. Gardeners engineering workers have supported the picket, and some unions, including NUPE, have given financial assistance.

Both Eccles and Heywood members of APEX have recently joined the union. They faced a situation where everyone was on different wage rates; where new recruits could not be made unless they started on higher rates than people already there; where staff got less for overtime than for ordinary working rates.

They have demanded £20 for women, £25 for men, and normal overtime rates.

This is a vital dispute on the equal pay issue. If the women win their demand, it will be a victory for thousands of exploited women workers, and for the unity of the whole working class.



Pickets clash with scab van at SEI

In 1975 the Equal Pay Act will become law, but unless women fight now the Act will simply mean that women will find themselves in 'E' grades or maybe phased out altogether if they can no longer be used as cheap labour.

The full weight of the national AUEW should be brought down on the local stewards who refuse to support the clerical workers' fight.

Sue Arnall/Linda Youd

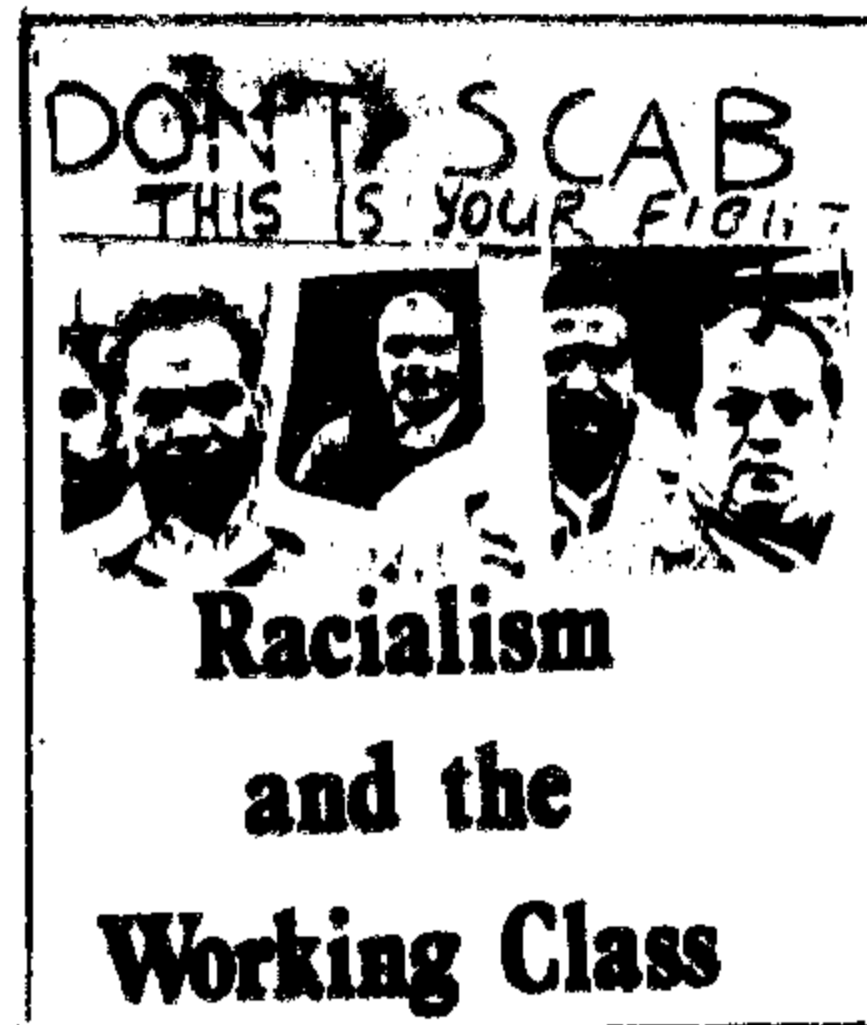
### STOP PRESS

July 19th: THE STRIKE IS WON! An agreement, as yet verbal and informal, has been reached with the management to negotiate equal pay on the basis of a minimum basic, regardless of sex. Carrie Everett, the negotiating steward at Eccles, told me that, as long as she got a no victimisation guarantee and proof of minimum wage rates, she would regard the strike as victorious.

L.Y.

## Use this Pamphlet ▽

To help campaign against racism, WORKERS' FIGHT has produced a 20-page pamphlet which explains the roots of racist thinking, takes up 'reasonable' sounding racist arguments, examines the racism of the 'popular' psychologist Eysenck, and exposes fascist infiltration in the Unions. The pamphlet is written in a clear style, and should be an invaluable aid to militants striving to fight racism at work. We appeal to all readers and supporters of Workers' Fight to take it into their workplace and make sure it gets as wide a circulation as possible. Single Issues 10p & postage Bulk Orders: 50p for 6; 80p for 12



## The Industrial Relations Act and the fight for a GENERAL STRIKE

Just out, a collection of reprints from Workers' Fight on the general strike. A short introductory section deals with the events of July 1972 and the situation leading up to them. The central section contains articles on the experience, including Britain 1919-26; France May 1968; the 1972 Quebec general strike, and a new translation of Rosa Luxemburg on Belgium, 1902. A third section deals with the question of trade unions and the State, and an appendix discusses the positions of the left groups on the General Strike and the July Crisis of 1972.

Price 20p plus 5p postage from:  
98 Gifford St, London N.1



# workers' FIGHT

# LUMP: BOSSES-UNION DEAL NO ANSWER

## Mold victory:

## Campaign must go on

ON 12 JULY AT MOLD, 8 BUILDING workers were found not guilty of affray and intimidation under the 1875 Act.

The first attempt to get convictions on the intimidation in preparation for the Shrewsbury trial in the autumn, has failed.

But five of the eight were found guilty on damages charges and fined a total of £195. And immediately three more building workers followed the 8 into the Mold dock.

Arthur Murray, Billy Hough and Les Hooson are charged with intimidation, and Arthur and Les are also charged with threatening damage to property, at Padeswood on 7 August 1972, under the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act and the 1971 Criminal Damage Act.

Site manager Buckle stated that T&G official Roberts had told him that there was no sign of an official strike on that site, and that Buckle would have 48 hours' notice in writing if the men were to be asked to come out! The building workers in the public gallery just laughed! But it isn't really funny. Obviously, the 'respectable' procedure for going on strike is being set up against 'illegal' rank and file activity.

The evidence of police and police witnesses is central. The accused are alleged to have threatened the men on the Padeswood site that, unless they stopped work, violence would follow, to them, to their homes, and to a car. To bear, this out, police witnesses have been quoting defendant Arthur Murray.

Strangely enough, they claim to remember exactly what he said, and they all remember almost exactly the same words, from nearly a year ago! This despite the fact that they are so 'confused' that one of them has admitted that he has forgotten all the other details.

Another, who didn't say anything about threats in his statement to the police, may be talking about another date altogether.

The police themselves were present on the site at the time. They didn't call reinforcements, although

they could have done — they admit that they didn't hear any threats!

The judge, in summing up at the end of the trial of the 8, almost made up for the weakness of the evidence. He defined intimidation as involving wrongful and unlawful acts, with a view to getting men to abstain from work. The men don't have to be terrified by such 'acts'; they simply have to stop work.

In other words, any successful picketing involving anything other than communicating information, is intimidation!

For 'affray', according to the judge, you simply have to be present and 'in amongst the men carrying out the acts of violence' whilst 'unlawful fighting' or a 'display of force' is going on in such a manner as might reasonably be expected to terrify others of reasonable mind or character.

So why did the jury acquit the 8 of intimidation and affray? It was a question of whether or not they believed the police case, and they chose not to.

They could not accept that normal militant trade union activity should be illegal.

Nor can we.

CYNTHIA BALDRY

### STOP PRESS:

The Mold trial is now over, with the last Defendants, Arthur Murray and Les Hooson, acquitted. (The charges against Billy Hough were dropped at the last minute.) It's now a matter of full steam ahead to defend all 24 at Shrewsbury in the Autumn, with the demand that all the charges are dropped.

A welcome new development is that the Transport & General at its conference last week was pressed to commit itself to the support of its members (19 out of the 24). It has promised 'Legal support': but while this, together with any funds for expenses and to compensate for lost wages, is important, what is really essential is the organisation of political and industrial support; the Union should initiate local T&G support committees, to liaise with existing Defence Committees or to take the initiative in setting them up.

THE NEWS THAT Union officials in the building industry are on the verge of reaching an agreement with the employers on the question of the 'lump' should be examined carefully. In the July edition of 'Viewpoint' (the monthly paper of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians-UCATT) it is stated that "tentative agreement has been reached with the employers on a number of labour relations reforms which are intended to help the expansion of self-employment and lump-working in construction. The intention is to introduce new working rules which will reinforce the authority of national collective bargaining."

The National Joint Council of the Building Industry will, if the proposals go through, compile a register of companies. Firms on the register will be those who abide by certain principles - the main ones outlined are: direct communication between management and union officials; advice to union officers about the starting up of new sites, manpower requirements and details of likely sub-contractors. The system of 'checking off', whereby firms actually obtain union cards for the men they employ and collect the men's dues on behalf of the union officials, is also likely to increase. This is how the bureaucrats of UCATT propose to fight the cancer of the Lump — by hiding it under a cloak of respectability.

A legitimisation of the 'checking off' system will lead, among other things, to a more effective blacklist. It will do nothing to combat the atrocious conditions under which many lump men are employed. Under this system of operations a lump man will become nominally a union man, although in reality nothing will have changed.

By placing greater power with the NJCBI the union officials hope to be able to take away the initiative

of the rank and file militants, hence the mention in Viewpoint of reinforcing national collective bargaining.

Obviously a strong national body negotiating for building workers is very desirable, but not when that body is employed to stifle and water down any fight and militancy of the rank and file. It is also likely that this is the first move against the Building Workers' Charter by George Smith and his cronies.

The Building Workers' Charter, as the organisation to which most of the militant and active building workers look to, should try to rally its forces against these proposals. No-one is opposed to negotiations on the question of the Lump, but the proposals as they stand are a sham and a total failure to get to grips with this most important issue for building workers.

Len Glover

### BOLTON W.F. MEETING — Support for Farrell & Canavan

40 people attended the meeting on Ireland called by Bolton supporters of Workers Fight. SEAN MATGAMNA of Workers' Fight Editorial Board spoke on the need for British socialists to support the struggle in Ireland against the British ruling class.

He told the meeting of the victimisation of Michael Farrell and Tony Canavan, members of Peoples Democracy in Belfast jailed for their political activities. They were now on hunger strike in protest against their prison treatment.

The meeting unanimously voted for a resolution to support these two comrades and calling for their release: a telegram was sent to He

About half those present declare themselves willing to set up a branch of the Anti Internment League in Bolton, and there was a brief discussion of work to counter Army recruiting efforts in Bolton town centre.

BOLTON A.I.L. FIRST MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE AT THE PRINCE WILLIAM, BRADSHAWGATE, BOLTON THURS, JULY 26, 8pm.

### SHOTTON STEEL — A CORRECTION

In the article in WF 29 reporting the mass meeting of Shotton Steelworkers on June 28th, it was incorrectly stated that the site contractors were not allowed to vote "because they are alleged to have 'swung the vote' at the last mass meeting". It was implied that they were prevented from voting by a decision of the Steelworkers' Action Committee.

In fact, the men were not allowed to vote because their own committee had informed the steelworkers' Action Committee that the contractors wouldn't be voting.

However, many of the contractors were unaware of this, and concluded that it was the Action Committee that had decided they could not vote. It was on the basis of their impressions, and the reasons they thought were behind the decision, that the report in WORKERS' FIGHT was framed.

We offer our sincere apologies for this error.

EDITORIAL BOARD

### LONDON WORKERS' FIGHT PUBLIC MEETING

## Report from Belfast

### WHAT IS HAPPENING IN N. IRELAND?

AUSTEN MORGAN, Workers' Fight correspondent in Belfast, will report on the latest developments in the political situation.

SUNDAY JULY 29th, 8pm at the Golden Lion, Kings Cross Road