

# CHARTIST

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## STOP THE FASCISTS!

THE NATIONAL FRONT INTENTION to mount a national demonstration in Manchester on 24 August has been rebuffed. The campaign of the Manchester anti-fascist committee and the threat of a massive working class counter march has frightened the fascists off. Instead they have decided to retreat to Leicester where they have been organising strike-breaking activities against workers at the Imperial Typewriters dispute. Their

aim is to win a base among middle class people, who are feeling the impact of the economic crisis and turning away from the traditional political set up. Equally sinister is the National Front's campaign to create divisions on racial lines among workers by blaming black people for the problems capitalism cannot solve. This way, they aim to save this crisis ridden system and destroy the organisations which really unite the working class and the trade unions.

Although they cannot do this yet, the increasingly right wing political climate, the crisis and the utter lack of positive socialist action by the Labour leadership is helping the fascists to spread their racist poison.

The response to the NF's fascist-inspired activity must be quite clear: to organise the most massive Labour and trade union action to stop them. The Oldham, Manchester and Stockport AUEW District Committees have all pled-

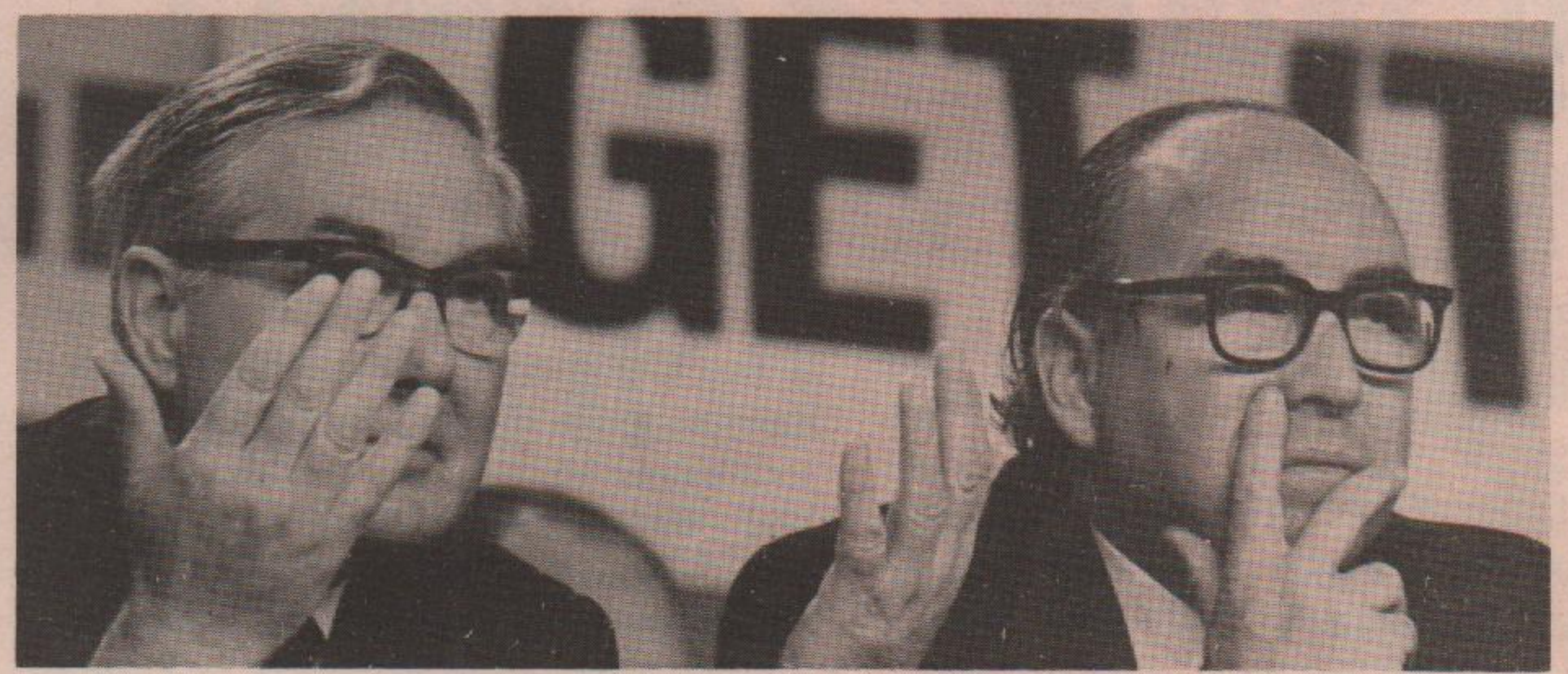
**BY MIKE LUFT**

**SECRETARY, MANCHESTER ANTI-FASCIST COMMITTEE.**

ged support for the fight to ban the NF's march and for a big turn out to enforce such a ban. Likewise, support is coming from other labour movement bodies, Labour parties' and Trades Councils in particular.

What is needed now, is for these moves to be taken up nationally. Only united and determined working class action will stop the fascists who have gained confidence since the tragic death of Kevin Gately in Red Lion Square. Therefore, we are calling on all trade unions, black people and members of the labour movement to demand Labour immediately bans these provocative marches and to demonstrate in maximum numbers in both Leicester and London to see that such a ban is carried out.

- All out on 24 August and 7 September!
- Labour ban the NF marches!



Jenkins (right), with James Callaghan

**ROY JENKINS:**

### Shut Up Or Get Out!

ROY JENKINS is at it again. In his latest outburst he has called for:

- Labour to adopt 'moderate politics' capable of appealing to the 'middle ground'.
- Support for a 'healthy, vigorous and profitable sector of the economy'.
- Opposition to withdrawal from the Common Market.
- The maintaining of support for NATO.

In an unashamed attack on Labour democracy, amply supported by Prices Minister, Shirley Williams, Jenkins insisted that moderate MPs ensure that 'their voices are not stifled by the sterile dictates of narrow partisanship.'

This is the language of coalitionism, and is no different from the politics of Dick Taverne and Christopher Mayhew, both of whom left the Labour Party to stand against it at an election. It is an assault on the nationalisation proposals in Labour's Manifesto, which promise to be very watered down as it is.

Taverne and Mayhew have gone where they belong—outside the Labour Party. Yet Jenkins not only remains a Labour Party member, but is in a key position of leadership, which he uses to attack the entire Party and pave the way for a Coalition Government, should this become necessary and possible at a later stage.

Roy Hughes, Labour MP for Newport, was dead right when he said: 'Jenkins the splitter is at it

again. He should either accept the party's policy decisions which have been democratically arrived at, or get out.'

In other words, Mr. Jenkins, SHUT UP—OR GET OUT!

### What about our Conference?

AS LABOUR Party members we have come to expect a modicum of democracy in our Party. But this year we're not even going to be allowed a proper Conference. Using the Election as the excuse, Wilson and his friends will ensure that the rank-and-file have no chance to make policy-decisions of any kind. This gives a free hand to the leadership in deciding the policies on which Labour is to fight the impending General Election.

Chancellor Denis Healey has already argued in the Labour Party NEC discussions on the Draft Manifesto that he doesn't want any specific commitments. He means Socialist commitments. He, like Jenkins, wants the removal of the nationalisation proposals and plans for full price control. Wilson is planning a manifesto to go through without being tied to Labour Party Conference decisions.

This completely vindicates the consistent demands of the Chartist for an emergency recall conference of the Labour Party—demands which we have been making since the Young Socialist Conference at Easter.

### IMPEACHMENT ISN'T ENOUGH!

AFTER the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee vote to recommend impeachment of President Richard Nixon, it looks like his fate is sealed. Why have America's capitalist politicians turned against the man who gained the biggest election victory in U.S. history, who got their troops out of the bloody Vietnam morass, and made friends with Moscow, Peking and Cairo after years of hostility?

Let's be clear: Nixon's corruption, "dirty tricks", and skull-duggery are not much worse than those of many previous Presidents. And he's not being impeached for the barbaric American massacres in Indochina, his racist policies on education, or his wage-price controls that have cut workers' wages back savagely over the last few years.

No, the Democrats and many Republicans are sharpening their

knives because his Watergate operations were aimed at other big-time politicians who have powerful supporters. And because the "cover-up" and the tax evasion was so clumsy and incompetent it discredited the whole system of bosses' rule, and paralyzed the Government.

What the Congressmen are looking for is an "honest" politician like Gerald Ford, who can have enough credibility to carry out the further blitzkrieg against American workers that the economic crisis will demand. Whatever the outcome of the current proceedings, the task facing labour is not simply the replacement of one crooked President, as the AFL-CIO trade union leaders reckon. The AFL-CIO should be fighting for immediate elections, and organizing an independent labour party to fight in the interests of the working class.

**Inside: FASCISM IN BRITAIN TODAY**

## Workers' Co-ops—The answer to redundancies?

"WE KNOW the industry inside out—we are the real experts". So said Alastair MacKay, one of the leaders of the 'Scottish Daily News' workers' co-operative in Glasgow, addressing a conference of 200 delegates and supporters of the Institute for Workers' Control in July. Speaking on the experience of the Glasgow printers he claimed that workers today could place no confidence in capitalism's millionaire-directors and managers in controlling the industries upon which workers depended for their jobs and living standards. "They say you can't trust workers to run their own industry.... well, you can't trust Max Aitken (head of Beaverbrook Newspapers) either, or you'll end up unemployed!"

Ken Coates, a director of the IWC uncritically applauded the workers' co-ops at Triumph Meriden, IPD (Fisher-Bendix) Kirkby, and the Scottish Daily News, Glasgow. "It is a great thing," he acclaimed, "that workers should gain this sort of experience of control."

In opposition to this sentiment however, the representatives of the IPD and the Daily News, stated their views on the matter. "We are demanding the Right to Work!"—Bro. Ely of the Kirkby Co-op; "We are primarily concerned with saving our jobs"—Bro. MacKay of Glasgow.

### Tactic

The IWC must understand that the Workers' Co-ops were not embarked on as "experiments in workers control", but most urgently as a tactic in the struggle to defend jobs and living standards in a period when the capitalist class is about to unload a broadside of mass unemployment against millions of workers.

Of course workers' co-ops can be an invaluable experience but unless they become part of a strategy of action aimed at taking industry out the hands of the capitalist profiteers, they will merely ward off the crunch for a short period. The dominance of the capitalist world markets and its cut-throat conditions will mean these

ventures must be part of the profit-maximising system which is in such deep crisis today.

It is not just IPD Fisher Bendix who is bankrupt or Beaverbrook, or Norton-Villiers Triumph but the entire system of monopoly capitalism. This system is now threatening not just pockets of workers in this or that factory but the jobs and living standards of every worker. Imminent slump and widespread redundancies are the forecast of practically every economic pundit.

### Token

In this situation a hand-out here or there is a mere token gesture—baling out the ocean of capitalist crisis with a teaspoon. Bold and determined actions are required. If the Labour government were to harness the determination of these workers to resist redundancies, and organise a fight for power then Benn's talk of nationalising 'centres of industrial power' could be transformed. Transformed from a cover for providing crutches to capitalist 'lamducks' to an offensive against the power-base of capitalist wealth and private ownership of the means of production.

Wedgwood Benn's loan of £1.75m of government money to the Scottish Daily News is totally inadequate to stave off the threat of unemployment and consequent impoverishment for 500 newspaper workers in Glasgow. So too is the £5m aid to the Triumph Meriden Co-op in Coventry.

It is imperative that the IWC uses its position and influence within the trade unions and labour movement to lead a campaign of support for the sit-in workers. Not only government loans, but with united working class action! Every workplace threatened with redundancy or closure must be nationalised, without compensation; a guarantee of work or full pay given to the workers, and implemented with a sliding-scale of hours whereby work is allocated amongst the labour force on the basis of a reduction of the working week, without loss of pay.

## Taverne, Mayhew... WHO'S NEXT?

THE ACTION of Christopher Mayhew, MP for Woolwich East in joining the Liberal Party is an act of treachery against the Labour Party and the whole working class. Within the Labour movement the CHARTIST has consistently warned of the dangers the right wing represented as a 'Tory fifth column'.

His action is in the footsteps of Dick Taverne who was thrown out of the Labour Party in Lincoln—only to stand against Labour in the election—for pursuing precisely the same policies that Mayhew supports.

We warn again now, that the Jenkinsites within the Labour Party will ditch our party, at the first opportune moment for them, and join the Tories and Liberals in a coalition government, unless they are thrown out of the party at once.

### NO SURPRISE

Phil Elliott, a Socialist Charter member and the secretary of St. Mary's Ward of Woolwich Labour Party, which forms part of the Woolwich East constituency, said that Mayhew's action came as no surprise. "During the Heath government, Mayhew voted with the Tories and Liberals on both the Common Market and the Industrial Relations Act, so his action in joining the Liberals is a logical continuation of his politics."

"Several of us in our Labour Party have fought consistently for his removal, particularly the trade union delegates. In fact when it came to his re-adoption, following the reorganisation of constituency boundaries, Mayhew only managed to get re-adopted by the skin of his teeth."

He continued "Mayhew is attempting to put himself over as a man of principles and moderation. But you have to look at the policies behind his principles. He supports the Common Market, the attempt by monopoly capitalists to boost profits by rationalising their exploitation, not just of British workers, but all workers in Western Europe. His support for anti-union legislation deserves no comment."

"As for his talk about 'moderation'—whatever that is, it is just a smokescreen to cover up his contempt for Labour movement democracy. For example, he hardly ever attended a meeting of



Mayhew: gone where he belongs

our General Council, as if the views of ordinary Labour Party members did not concern him. He wrote an article in the 'News of the World' recently in which he simply put out 'red scare' attacks against the leaders of the Film Technician's Union, ACTT who had been democratically elected by the members of that union.

### DIVISION

"Mayhew is a good example of those who try to use 'red scare' tactics against workers. They end up holding hands with the Tories. Rather than see a united working class they want division. The only unity they want is with the class enemy."

"Finally, regarding Mayhew's principles, He knew the policies on which Labour was going to fight the election—if he disagreed with these policies he should not have stood as a Labour candidate.

### FUTURE

"Regarding a future Labour candidate for Woolwich East, Phil Elliott said that "At present we are going through re-selection procedure so we don't know yet who the candidate will be. Woolwich East is a safe Labour seat in the elections. Over 80 people have asked to be considered as the candidate.

"What is needed is a candidate who is prepared to fight to break the Labour government's alliance with big business and struggle for full political power. Only a candidate committed to a revolutionary transformation to socialism will be satisfactory."

THE FIGHT for the reinstatement of six research workers, suspended by management at the Drug Addiction Research Unit in the Institute of Psychiatry, entered its third week at the beginning of August. A.S.T.M.S. members on the Institute picket line at Denmark Hill, South London, have stressed the complex nature of this dispute at the 'independent' research unit where the causes of alcoholism and non-medical drug-addiction are investigated. The demands of the picket line are: 1. Full recognition by the management of trade union rights. 2. Reinstatement of the sus-

REINSTATE A.S.T.M.S. 6!

3. An independent public enquiry into the running of the Drug Addiction Research Unit.

ASTMS members argue that it is a clear case of victimization of trade unionists by the management, who represent London University at the Institute. As in many establishments controlled by academics, trade unions are seen as 'subversive' of 'neutral, objective' enquiry by researchers into 'knowledge', invariably used by capitalist governments for reactionary legislation.

Mark Douglas

The picket line remains at the Institute, while the local union group of ASTMS decide on the offer of a completely bogus 'inquiry', set up by the management. It is a clear attempt to prolong the dispute and drain the determination of the active trade unionists fighting for democratic rights. Parallel trade union blacking (UPW/GMWU) has greatly helped the suspended six whose pay has been stopped and contracts terminated.

Local members of the ASTMS continue to be critical of the tactics employed by the full-time off-

icial of ASTMS to achieve success in the dispute—despite the fight being official. As we go to press, the struggle hangs in the balance, mainly due to the decision of the local union group to allow essential animal foodstuffs into the Institute buildings. (The 2,000 animals at present in the Unit are used constantly for research and experimentation). This means that the research activities can continue without seriously affecting the running of the Institute—further weakening the chances of a successful outcome to the dispute.

# NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE CRACKING UP

CHARTIST talks to BILL LAING (in a personal capacity),

Branch Secretary of the ASTMS  
South East London Medical Branch

**Q** How do you see the crisis in the N.H.S?

**A** This crisis has been noticeable for some time now. In the past most people in the NHS—nurses, hospital ancillary workers, ambulance men, technicians, engineers etc.—have taken a 'responsible' attitude. So whilst in industry conditions of work and salaries have improved through struggle, people in the NHS have tolerated their conditions, and 'got on with the job'. But over the last few years, people have increasingly felt they are being taken for granted.

Because salaries have barely moved, many workers have moved out, while only 'dedicated' workers have been staying on. With more work left to do for those remaining in the NHS many are now realising they are over-worked and under-paid. At first the NHS employers thought they had a willing work horse—which they continually overloaded. Now the old workhorse is shrugging off the load.

I'm surprised action hasn't come before now. Frustration with the Whitley Council arrangement has existed for a long time.

Successive governments have not given enough thought to the NHS.

## growth

**Q** What are the problems of organisation in the NHS?

**A** Well there hasn't been enough liaison between the people who work in the health service and the top of the hierarchy which makes the decisions.

I blame middle and first line management—people who've been on the shop floor. They tend to be more management-orientated. They don't put the view of the shop floor worker. That's why we're seeing new organisations and the growth of trade unions.

A good example occurred today. I was speaking to some radio-graphers. They said it was a pity they had to make so much noise. But if you don't shout and take action, management think you are happy. What they had learnt is that you can't rely on others—you've got to take action yourself. The Whitley Council, is so outdated as a negotiating body. The system should be completely revised. You can't have an organisation with a majority of the different grades without adequate representation on the committees. The old societies which still embrace many grades are run by amateurs, whereas a trade union has more money, can have legal and research departments, and can fight the professionalism of management much more effectively. That's why so many societies are now joining a trade union like ASTMS, COHSE or NALGO.

The old 'professional' image is beginning to break down. Now a lot are realising their problems

are the same as those in other grades.

In many grades you are expected to work overtime—without any extra pay. Last years' ancillary workers' strike gave the first push to the struggle to achieve overtime rates of pay.

I have always maintained that within the NHS you would expect safety and working conditions to be a shining example to industry—but it is completely the opposite. Hospitals are overcrowded, many buildings are ancient and dangerous. Technicians and researchers are exposed to dangerous drugs and substances, let alone the problem of staff shortages. Hospitals and universities do not come under statutory legislation like Factory Acts and are therefore not covered. The Labour government's Health and Safety at work Bill should begin to rectify this appalling situation.

## need

**Q** Do you view the existence of private practice and pay beds within the NHS as a serious threat?

**A** I strongly object to people getting private treatment in the NHS! I'm totally opposed to this form of queue jumping. You've got to evaluate the treatment of patients on the basis of need not their bank-balances. As a socialist I am completely opposed to private practice.



PICTURE: Peter Harrap (Report)

Radiotherapists demonstrating in London for an interim pay increase

## 'The NHS should be run by the people working in it'

**Q** But what about the threat from the BMA consultants to withdraw from the NHS if the Labour government attempts to eliminate private practice?

**A** This is a difficult problem. But consultants have to have a staff. I don't think they would leave the NHS.

**Q** Many NHS workers have been demanding the closure of

all private clinics and practices as an answer to this threat. How would you view the Wilson government taking such action?

**A** I think they would get the backing of staff if they did this. Legislation should be introduced to eliminate private practice and pay beds. The threats of the BMA are really blackmailing the whole NHS.

Basically the Labour government should be encouraging more staff and patient running of hospitals. Under the Tories it got very bureaucratic. The NHS should be run by the people working in it. We should have the decisive say.

**Q** What do you think about the growth of agency staff?

**A** If the NHS kept up with inflation by paying decent wages and salaries, agencies could be prevented. If agencies can pay more money, why can't the NHS employers? They are anti-union and cause great friction. They must be cut out altogether.

## interim

**Q** Practically every grade of NHS employee, from nurses to technicians, are now getting very angry about what they see as empty promises from Social Services Minister, Barbara Castle. Do you support their action for an interim payment before the Halsbury Enquiry reports in mid-September?

**A** Yes. Many grades of staff, particularly in the civil service have already had interim payments. What I can't understand is how Barbara Castle can give one section an interim payment and not another. Incomes have just not been keeping up with the cost of living. Are we supposed to go to the pawn shop? With inflation rushing ahead many grades like radiographers, speech therapists, occupational therapists, medical photographers, physiotherapists, etc. are being left behind.

Without co-ordination, we have no power. All grades should be organised so concerted action can be taken.

## FREE NURSERIES FOR ALL

by Kate Adamson: GLOSSOP & HADFIELD NURSERY ACTION GROUP AND L.P.Y.S.

THE LABOUR controlled Derbyshire county council have announced an increase in day nursery charges of 148%, a rise from £5 a week to roughly £12.50. The increase has already been put into effect for the new children joining the nursery. But the children already in the nursery will not be affected by the increases until September. The amount to be paid is decided by a means test but a more vicious type than usual. Although not all of the parents will have to pay the full amount, a larger proportion than originally thought will be paying more. For a family to pay less than the top non-priority rate, it must be earning less than £50 a week gross between them, including overtime.

The increases are extortionate in comparison with other nursery fees in other parts of the North West in different councils. In Oldham, the fees are £1.18 per day, after a recent increase, and other parts of Lancashire only charge 75p a day. The increases are even more unfair since the nurseries run by the Education Authority as opposed to the Social Services are free, although they only accommodate children over the age of 3. These are the immediate injustices, but it is the principal of the matter we must

consider. We think that the Council should be striving to extend the nursery facilities by providing more nursery places, free of charge making it possible for every child to enjoy a pre-school education. After all, this system is making it more and more difficult for a family to be supported by one parent alone, so facilities should be improved accordingly.

In Russia, such facilities are available and in Sweden, nurseries are not only free but women are paid whilst having their children and their jobs are kept open in the meantime.

Hopefully, we will be able to force the council to reduce the increases to some extent but without a much wider response than is now being shown, it will be difficult. Action groups have been set up in a number of towns throughout the country and one of these groups has organised a petition against the increases. Numerous letters have been sent to the councillors informing them of our disapproval. Additionally, we are hoping to organise a demonstration involving the children themselves. This way, we hope to mount a campaign before it is too late to stop the increases. We can only get support by stepping up such a campaign.



John Tyndall, National Front Leader: The Nazi regalia has vanished...but the politics remain.

PETER GOLD

looks at

# THE UGLY FACE OF BRITISH FASCISM



FOR THE first time in nearly 40 years, fascism has re-emerged as a danger to the working class. At the last General Election, the National Front polled over 70,000 votes. In the words of its organizer, Martin Webster, the National Front is "turning from a threat into a menace." This cannot be ignored by the labour movement. To meet the fascist challenge, the wheels of a massive anti-fascist campaign must be set in motion at once.

## CRISIS

Fascism aims at the total destruction of the labour movement and all independent workers' organizations. It is the rule of Big Capital at its most vicious, a regime of outright civil war against the working class. As Trotsky explained: "The historic function of fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of the democratic machinery." But fascism is not simply an organization of the ruling class. To be of value to capital, whose ends it serves, fascism must become a mass movement. Its class base is the middle class, which in periods of intense economic and social crisis, is extremely vulnerable to fascist ideas.

The real driving force behind the re-appearance of fascism, then, is the capitalist crisis, disorienting the middle class and reducing it to desperation. In general, the middle class, living on fixed incomes and lacking strong trade unions, finds the pressure of the crisis intolerable and dreads being thrust back into the ranks of the working class. Crushed between the latter and the capitalists, the middle class is overcome by a feeling of powerlessness which rapidly turns into hate and a desire for 'strong solutions'. Fascists play on these sentiments and organize them into a force against the working class. Simultaneously, the ruling class questions its existing 'democratic' form of rule. Above all, the workers' leaders reveal their incapacity

to end the crisis by transferring power to the working class, which they cannot restrain but are equally scared to mobilise.

These factors are taking shape in Britain today. The question 'Can democracy survive?' is now highly topical for the capitalist press and media. The ruling class increasingly doubts the capacity of the Labour and T.U.C. leaders to hold the working class in check and openly canvasses the feasibility of a 'dictatorial' solution to the crisis gripping British capitalism.

Wilson and Co. dare not mount a challenge to the employers, refuse to base themselves on the industrial might of the working class and retreat before the question of power. Meanwhile inflation rears on and causes the middle class to search for new, bold solutions. The turn away from the traditional class parties and the high Liberal vote at the last election reflects this.

## REPRESSION

Fascism emerges in this situation, prepared to dispense strong medicine to cure the crisis. But who are the fascists? The biggest outfit is the National Front (N.F.) led by ex-Nazis, Tyndall and Webster. Their Nazi uniforms have vanished...but the politics remain.

Recently, the NF has busied itself projecting a 'populist' image. It has talked about the need for 'strong trade unions', opposed the Common Market, supported the Ulster Workers' Council 'strike', been active in the Whitehouse-Muggeridge 'Festival of Light', faithfully attended anti abortion rallies and even participated in the Hillingdon Borough carnival! This gloss covers the NF's more poisonous activities, some of which have been directed at the trade unions.

N.F. leader, Tyndall spells out the purpose of this: "The intention of the N.F. is to do what the Tories have not done and cannot do, to fight the left on its own ground in the unions and wrest control of the unions from them by the democratic process." If that fails, the NF will "be

ready to embark on a campaign of repression of the left in the unions, which could in the process involve the repression of much that is legitimate union activity." A far cry from their 'support for strong unions. In addition, the NF "Supports legislation against unofficial strikes" which it terms "deliberate industrial disruption" and advocates secret ballots on strike votes. The fascists wish to smash the trade unions as organs of struggle. That is why they chant, 'The Reds, the Reds we've got to get rid of the Reds'. By 'Reds', they mean the labour and trade union movement.

## RACISM

Virulent racism is the other axis of NF policy. It blames immigrants for the inability of capitalism to provide enough jobs and houses. To 'solve' these problems, the NF would forcibly repatriate all coloured immigrants. It is a regular NF activity to harass coloured workers by contesting their right to vote in elec-

tions and whipping up race hatred. Their intervention has not been confined to organizing racist marches by meat porters and dockers. Fascists openly attacked pickets and aided white scabs at the Mansfield Hosiery strike last year. More recently, at Imperial Typewriters, in Leicester, NF thugs vied with the police Special Patrol Group in intimidating pickets.

Two years ago, they tried to set up a scab trade union group, the so-called Trade Unionists Against Immigration, which had a rapid demise when real trade unionists organized to drive it off the streets in Oldham.

The total failure of union leaders to combat racism in the unions lends encouragement to the fascists. The Imperial Typewriters strike is a testimony to this. Transport and General Workers Union bureaucrats defended racist statements by convenor, Reg Weaver, and refused to support the Asian workers' fight for equal pay with white workers. White workers are abandoned to the poison of racist propaganda against

"Only one thing could have broken our movement — if our opponents had understood its principle and from the first day had smashed, with the most extreme brutality, the nucleus of our new movement" **ADOLF HITLER**



Manchester anti-fascists on the march.

PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report)



PICTURE: Peter Harrap (Report)

Labour's refusal to break the power of the capitalist class aids the fascists who call after a 'strong' solution to a disillusioned middle class.

An immediate policy for the mobilisation of the working class against the fascists is needed now. The labour movement must demand that the Wilson Government bans the fascists and their marches. Labour Councils must refuse them any facilities for meetings.

Above all, there can be no free speech for fascists. Free speech is not an inviolable right but a class question. The NF represent an abominable threat to the working class and its organisations. Rational debate will not stop fascists who speak the hysterical language of race hatred. If this menace is to be crushed the first step must be to deny them the right to propagate their racist, corporatist filth. To allow them free speech is to allow them licence to intimidate trades unionists and immigrants. That is the lesson of Italy and Germany in the 1920's and '30's. Their sort of free speech is evident in Chile and Spain where unions are outlawed. NF 'activities organizer' Webster has said "We are forming a well-oiled Nazi machine in this country." This is no idle boast, nor is the NF's alliance with Orange thugs and murderers in Ulster.

Kent miners' leader, Jack Collins, has called for massive workers' unity against fascism. CHARTISTS agree absolutely. The fascists must be smashed while they are still weak. We say:

- No free speech for fascists! Drive them off the streets!
- Labour—ban the fascists and their marches!
- Form united front committees against fascism and racism!
- Build a Workers' United Front against fascism now!

The National Front being protected from the anti-fascist march on which Kevin Gately was killed on June 15th.

their immigrant brothers because union leaders do not fight racism and struggle for class unity.

## POLICIES

In other areas of policy, the NF craves respectability. As on race, Tories like Powell have bestowed it upon the NF. The Common Market is an issue in point. The NF has even shared platforms with the high Tory Monday Club. Running a violently nationalist anti-E.E.C. campaign, the fascists have even wormed their way into rallies organized by unions like NATSOPA and ACTT. The sickening nationalism exhibited by the Labour leaders, the Communist Party and 'lefts' like Jack Jones has enabled

them to do so. The babbling about 'British sovereignty' has left the door open for the fascists with their rubbish about 'making Britain great again.'

The NF tries to hide its anti-working class face in other ways. It claims to be in favour of the social services and higher pensions, but is on record as saying that "except in marginal and extreme cases, the duty of government is not to assure citizens of food, shelter, clothing and education and security against unemployment and old age." The NF is even against the workers having a vote. In "Spearhead", January 1973, it says "Government resting on unqualified universal franchise — especially where the electorate includes

sizeable proportions of uneducated or propertyless persons—tends to degenerate into semi-anarchy..." In other words, the NF stands for the elimination of every basic right won by the working class.

## MENACE

From start to finish, the fascists defend capitalism despite verbal radicalism. The National Front "supports private enterprise as the most dynamic and efficient form of industrial operation." The fascists hate everything the labour movement stands for and given the chance, will obliterate it with the most extreme violence. The ruling class is not yet ready to resort to fascism. But time is running out.

## SPUC—cover for reaction

by Ann Harber

Allied to the threat of the National Front and other right-wing organisations is SPUC. SPUC stands for the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child. This society arose in opposition to the Labour Government's 1967 Abortion Act which legalised abortion. SPUC is reactionary because it wants a return to the situation in which women had no choice in determining whether or not they wanted children.

It is no surprise to learn that the supporters of SPUC are also the ones against free contraception and family planning service. They give further aid to the 'Moral Rearmament'/'Festival of Light' brigade, led by Malcom Muggeridge and Lord Longford, along with Mary Whitehouse's 'clean-up' campaign.

Much of the backbone for SPUC comes from Tory backbenchers, like Jill Knight, together with the Catholic Church. The National Front have also acted as stewards at their meetings and were present at the SPUC rally held in Hyde Park earlier this year.

In a period of deepening crisis the capitalist class will employ every weapon possible to split

and divide the Labour movement. In the same way that racialism is fostered for this end so too are social and sexual prejudices relating to the position of women in the family and equal rights.

One of their fears is the breaking down of 'moral standards' by the freely available use of contraceptives. By 'moral standards' they mean amongst other things the subordination of children to their parents and wives to their husbands as household slaves. Contraception gives a woman the choice of whether she wants children or not. Take away this right and she has no hope of economic independence, and she is forced into a secondary role of wife and mother. Because socialist ideas are growing in the women's movement, the ruling class feel the whole moral fabric surrounding their rule is being eroded.

SPUC plays on the emotive 'rights of the unborn child'. They say nothing of the rights of the child already born. Surely the basic right of every child is the right to be loved and wanted. An

PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report).



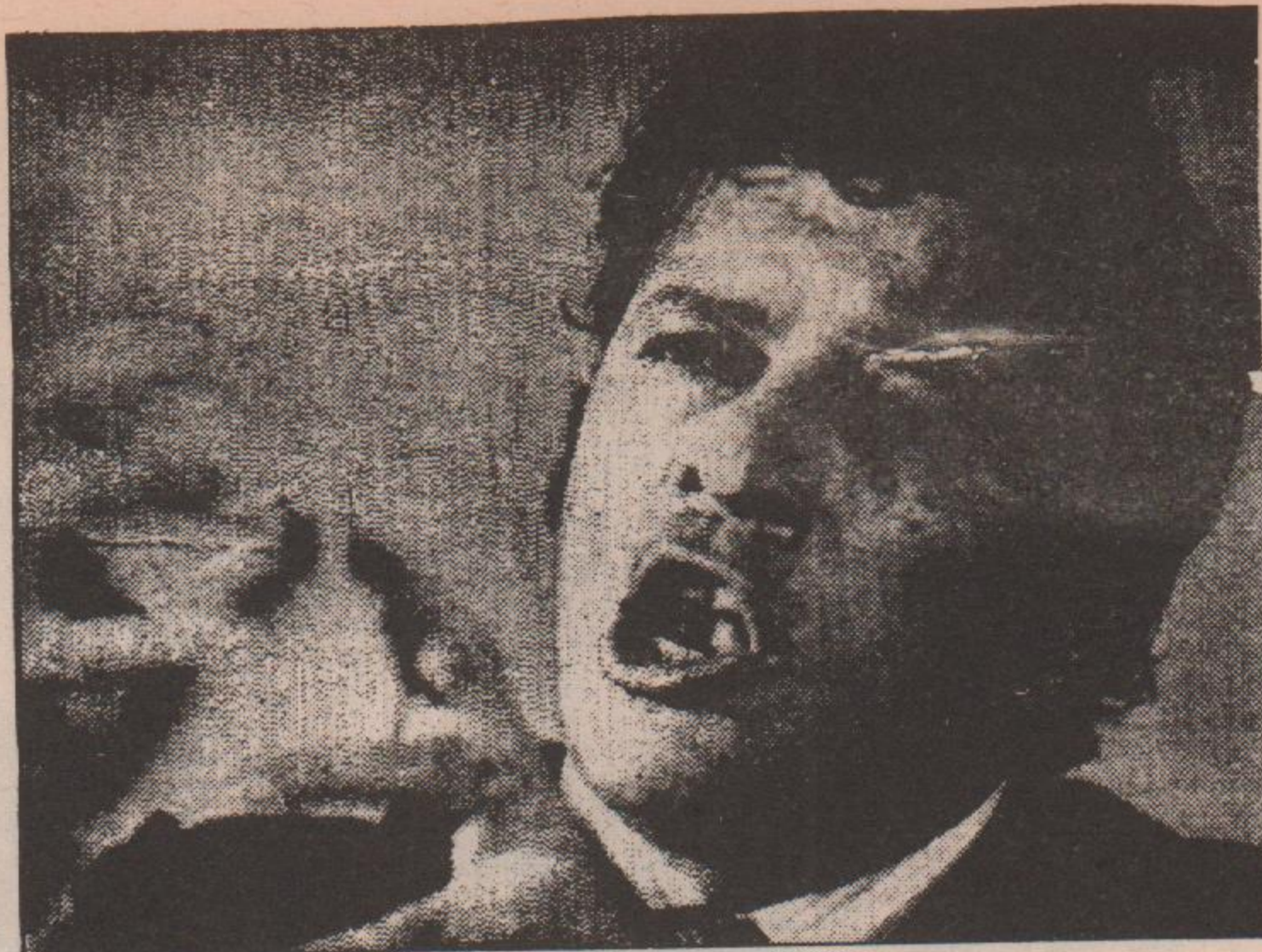
A demonstration against the SPUC rally on April 28.

unwanted child is more likely to be the victim of battering and abuse by parents who cannot cope with their problems. So often nowadays women say 'I wouldn't bring kids up today' and it's no wonder, when the woman feels so alienated from the world about her; left alone to bring up the children, not much chance of a state nursery for her children, poor housing and the ever-rising cost of living, problems over which she seemingly has no control.

So long as women are forced to bear the social and economic burdens of raising a

child they will be prisoners in the home, unable to take a more active role in political organisations or to take a full part in trade union activities. Because of the isolated position of women in the home, they are an easy target for the right wing to sway them onto the side of reaction. The struggle against SPUC is an important part of the battle to overthrow capitalism and its reactionary prejudices and institutions. It is the duty of every trade unionist and socialist to campaign against such organisations which only aid the growth of the Fascist movement.

# GENEVA AGREEMENT: NO PEACE FOR CYPRIOTS



Nicholas Sampson

THE GENEVA "settlement" of the Cyprus conflict cannot last. With 200 Turkish tanks and 30,000 troops in the Turkish areas, and with the semi-fascist Greek National Guard still controlling the Greek areas, the island is now virtually partitioned.

Have the Cypriot people, Turkish and Greek, had any say in this 'settlement'? They have not. They have not even been consulted. AKEL—the mass party of the Cypriot workers—which has suffered terrible massacres at the hands of the Sampson regime—was totally excluded from the Geneva Conference. Even the reactionary Archbishop Makarios—who can at least claim to be the elected President of the island—was kept out. Instead, the carve-up was decided by the foreign ministers of three NATO powers, none of which has the slightest right to have troops in Cyprus at all: Greece, Turkey and Britain. The massive build-up of Turkish troops is designed to guarantee Turkey control over 'its' areas, while

the sinews of the former Sampson regime—despite Sampson's removal—remain intact on the rest of the island. Two shaky capitalist regimes have striven—Turkey successfully, Greece in a disastrous bungle—to seize parts of the island as a means of fostering war-hysteria to consolidate their rule at home. The Geneva agreement in effect endorses their right to use Cyprus in this way, and to stage future provocations on the island to escape internal problems whenever they wish. The "settlement" will therefore lead to new bloodshed as inevitably as night follows day.

Socialists must insist that the people of Cyprus alone have the right to determine their own future. To exercise this right, they need arms. During the coup staged by the Greek colonels' regime, the Cypriot workers fought bravely—but with pitifully few arms and handicapped by 'Communist' leaders who had refused to prepare them at all. Defending the right of Cypriots to self-determination

means arming the Cypriot working class, both Greek and Turkish, to resist all foreign imperialist powers and their agents on the island.

Socialists in Greece must combat the reactionary ideology of Enosis and fight the war-propaganda of the Generals. Already, military fiasco has brought the Colonels' regime tottering down. It is up to the Greek workers' leaders now to exploit this situation by waging an immediate struggle for working class power. No support for Karamanlis! Hold elections now! For the right to strike! Down with the war-plans of the Generals! Trade union rights for servicemen! Arm the workers to prevent another coup!

A workers' Greece would have no interest in dividing Greeks against Turks in Cyprus. On the contrary, to defend itself, it would have to base itself on the internationalist traditions of socialism—on the class interests of all Cypriot workers, as well as the workers of Turkey and the whole Eastern Mediterranean.

## ARGENTINA

# Peron is Dead — Long Live Peronism ?

Martin Cook

THE DEATH of the Argentinian President, General Juan Domingo Peron, on 1 July puts an end to a thirty year epoch of politics in that country. Hundreds of thousands waited to see his body lying in state, this being prolonged until it was realised the corpse was starting to decompose. Peron's fanatical support among many Argentinian workers dated from his earlier Presidency of 1946-55 when he pursued a nationalist policy and used temporary economic prosperity to give them unprecedented living standards.

## SOCIAL PACT

His role was as a Bonapartist—a political leader balancing between the different social classes, and between the left and right in his own Justicialista movement. The capitalists allowed him to return from exile in 1973 because the military governments had failed to crush the growing workers' militancy. According to plan, Peron used his massive popular following and his hatchet-men in the Peronist trade union bureaucracy to impose a 'Social Pact' between capital and labour.

## STRIKES ILLEGAL

In the few months of his rule, Peron had already shattered many of the illusions of workers and the left-wing Peronist Youth. "Class-struggle", non-Peronist, unions had been carrying on the struggle in defiance of the Social Pact. In late June the macaroni workers' union SOFA launched a big strike in the Buenos Aires area for wage increases and in protest against the suspension of its legal status. Labour Minister, Ricardo Otero, retaliated to such moves by declaring all strikes for wage increases to be automatically illegal.

## LULL

In the immediate aftermath of Peron's death, there has been a certain lull as the different factions jockey for position under the figurehead rule of his widow Maria Estela Peron. One possibility is a 'Government of National Unity' of all the main parties, to head off the virtual civil war within the Peronist movement.

## THREAT

Trade unionists in many industries are increasingly coming out in protest against the continued vicious political murders, mainly of leftists by the right-wing Peronist union leaders. In the background hangs the threat of a new military takeover in order to crush the 'left' wing of the Peronist movement and the urban guerrillas.

# PORTUGAL: FIRST COALITION FALLS

REPEATING a pattern familiar from developments in Chile and Spain, Portugal's two-year-old Socialist Party has swung far to the left of the so-called "Communists". That is why former Premier Palma Carlos tried unsuccessfully last month to remove the Socialists from his Cabinet. Unlike the Communists, the "leftists" dared mention the class struggle from time to time, and actually claimed that "the fundamental obstacles in the way of the working class are the big capitalist monopolies"! The Socialist Cabinet Ministers were accused of being "wreckers". Conservative Premier Palma Carlos threatened to resign if they were not dismissed. It was generally assumed that he would have his way. As the Financial Times reporter Bruce Loudon wrote on July 8, the most likely outcome was thought to be "the formation of a new provisional Government, again under the leadership of Prof. Palma Carlos. Diplomatic sources believe that Socialist Ministers, including the party's leader, Dr. Mario Soares, the Foreign Minister, may not be asked to join the new government... These sources believe that the Communists, who include Dr. Alvaro Cunhal, Minister without portfolio, and Snr. Avelino Goncalves, Minister of Labour, will be asked to stay in any new government.... The belief is that the Socialist Ministers, standing firmly



Colonel Goncalves

on their principles, have raised objections to much of the proposed legislation on the economy—thus adding a new dimension to their unhappiness about the ruling military junta's cautious approach to decolonization and its tough attitude towards Press freedom.... Not surprisingly, the Communists are said to have adopted a much more pragmatic approach towards working with their military masters of the Junta of National Salvation. They seem to believe it is better to compromise with the junta and keep the provisional Government afloat...." (Financial Times, 9.7.74).

If the reactionaries' plans received a serious rebuff, it was

because of the enormous strength and militancy of the Portuguese working class. President Spino-la's advisers dared not give Carlos his way. They knew that the Communists in any such new right-wing-Government would have become hopelessly exposed and rapidly discredited while, in opposition, the Socialists would have gained support in leaps and bounds. So they said "No!"—and the unfortunate Premier Carlos had to carry out his threat and, with his colleagues, resign. Amid sinister threats to restore military dictatorship, General Spino-la then dismissed the entire Cabinet and tried to hand over the Government to various fellow-Generals. But now the initiators of the April 25 revolution—the young officers of the 'Movement of the Armed Forces'—stepped in. They realised that a General's regime at that stage would have provoked an explosion of anger from the working class and from the lower armed forces ranks (particularly the sailors) with unpredictable results. They forced Spino-la's hand and made him accept their own nominee for Premiership—the 'radical' Colonel Goncalves—whilst keeping the three Socialist Ministers (the 'wreckers') in the Government. The situation of deepening and agonizing class-deadlock was thus preserved—with all its immense possibilities and terrible dangers for the Portuguese working class.

Chris Knight

Part 6 of a series on  
'The Struggle for  
Revolution in Britain'

by Graeme Atkinson

IN OUR PREVIOUS article, we dealt with the decline of Chartism, the first organised mass workers' movement. If Chartism was premature, that did not imply peace for capitalism. As the development of the working class into a homogeneous force took place, the employers were forced increasingly to create mainstays for its rule within the working class itself. The material basis for this new tactic was intimately connected with the reasons for the defeat of Chartism.

## 1848

1848 was a year of defeated revolutions in Europe and the year which saw the most rapid decline of Chartism in Britain. British capitalism was on the verge of twenty five years of virtually uninterrupted boom. This was the 'Golden Age of Capitalism', in which Britain became the 'Workshop of the world' and achieved international dominance. The period after 1848 saw a rapid expansion of British capitalism. The growth and prosperity of this period enabled the capitalist class to reassert its control and gain renewed confidence. On the foundations of this boom, many of the Chartist demands were granted. In 1868 and 1884 the vote was extended to include most of the male urban workers. In 1870, elementary state education was legislated and in 1875 some of the restrictions of trade union activities were lifted through the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act...the same Act used in 1973 to railroad the Shrewsbury pickets! Capitalism...in upswing...could afford such concessions.

## LEEWAY

The key concession was the way in which the capitalists allowed the working class some leeway

# TOWER BOMB: WHO IS GUILTY?

WHOEVER WAS responsible for the Tower of London bombing — a tragedy in which one woman was killed with 41 others injured — has certainly earned the wrath of Westminster's bipartisan Tory and Labour politicians.

These people, thinking that they had been given another stick to beat the Republican Movement with, found only a clumsy and bungled attempt to implicate the IRA in a senseless attack on a popular tourist attraction.

The evidence against Provisional IRA involvement in the incident has been overwhelmingly strong:

- The Provisional IRA have always given advanced warnings of the bombings they have been responsible for.

- The warnings have always been passed through the Press Association and have been preceded by an acknowledged code-word, known only to the IRA and

the police authorities, for the purpose of distinguishing between hoax warnings and the real thing.

- As is now well-known, the only message hinting at an intended bombing came through the offices of the Daily Mirror saying "This is the Provo IRA. The codeword is 'Bastards'. We are planting bombs".

The word 'Bastards' it has been admitted by the police, has never been used by the Provisional IRA to fore-warn a bomb-attack.

The recent Littlejohn and Lennon Affairs have revealed that the British authorities, from the lower echelons of Special Branch through to Ministers of State Carrington and Johnson-Smith, have not disdained from plotting and carrying out armed robberies, fire-bombings and espionage, in their efforts to discredit the struggle of the Irish people against British Imperialism.

The one way to get to the bot-

tom of the murky-pit of Army and Police activities in N.Ireland is for the Labour Government to open the files of the Special Branch and Army Headquarters before a Labour movement enquiry.

## COLIN KENNEDY

tom of the murky-pit of Army and Police activities in N.Ireland is for the Labour Government to open the files of the Special Branch and Army Headquarters before a Labour movement enquiry.

## Loyalist Split

FOLLOWING THE forced resignation of trade union official Harry Murray from the chairmanship of the Ulster Workers Council developments in the Province have indicated a swing towards control by the traditional Orange politicians of the United Ulster Unionist Council.

The UWC is now reported to be under the influence of William Craig and other Loyalist politicians. A statement issued by the body on the date of Murray's resignation said that the UWC followed the policy of the Loyalist 'umbrella' organization, the United Ulster Unionist Council.

# CLASS COLLABORATION AND 'MODEL' UNIONS



Top: demonstration in 1877 of farm workers, members of the National Labourers' Union. On the platform speaking (labelled No. 1) is Joseph Arch, the unions' founder.

## DAMPEN

The essential function of the new 'Model Unions' was to dampen the class struggle. They espoused doctrines of social peace. Strikes were frowned on. Nevertheless, these unions did have a positive side in that they introduced a seriousness towards finance and organisational detail, both of which had hitherto been neglected. Benefits like insurance pay and sick benefit were introduced. Trade unionism thus became an integral feature of working class life. However, the negative side of this process was a fixed outlook of 'Defence not Defiance', routinism and bureaucratic methods of organisation.

This first union of this type was the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Others included the Ironfounders and the Stonemasons. All of these unions had a regular

dues paying membership and were therefore able to withstand strikes and able to pay maintenance to their members. This was shown in 1852 when the engineering employers launched an attack on the engineering workers by locking out thousands. After a bitter fight lasting 3 months, the engineers were defeated. However, so organisationally superior was the ASE that it lost only two thousand members and kept the union intact.

## JUNTA

Over the next ten years other sections established permanent organisations. By 1860, almost all of the craft and skilled sections of the class were organised into solid unions. Around this time, the 'Junta' was set up. This was an unofficial 'General Council' of craft unions. From the start, the 'Junta' aimed to exert political pressure on the Tory and Liberal parties, armed with a philosophy of class collaboration and compromise. These leaders, men like Applegarth and Odger, subordinated the most highly organised sections of the working class to the parties of capitalism. They formed a close relationship with leading capitalists. In short, they mediated between the employers and the working class. Their whole way of life was bourgeois, their aspirations were bourgeois and their ideas were those in which capitalism was conceived of as fixed, natural and inevitable. Not only that, they regarded themselves as indispensable to the employers.

In 1868, the first Congress of the TUC took place, but no formal organisation was set up on that occasion. The prime aim of this body, firmly under the control of the right-wing Junta, was to seek legislation to further the ends of the trade union movement, legally of course. Unknown to them, their carefully cultivated schemes of class collaboration were soon to be shattered. How this occurred will be the subject of our next article.

- THE UNITY of the Protestant paramilitary groups has been broken by the withdrawal of the Ulster Defence Association from all coordinating groups that include the Ulster Volunteer Force.

The UDA has accused the UVF of planting bombs in Protestant public houses and then trying to put the blame on the Provisional IRA. It also claims that the UVF has been using terrorist tactics in trying to take over areas of East Belfast under the control of the UDA.

The heady days of Protestant unity in defense of 'democratic rights' and sectarian privilege are now passing. The UWC General Strike has revealed that the Loyalist population has the numerical and industrial power to isolate the Catholics in their enclaves. The problem at the crux of the current inter-paramilitary upheaval is which of the organizations has the determination to go beyond the present indecision to crush Republican resistance for good?

# young socialist NEWS

## SCHOOL'S OVER—FOR GOOD

IT'S THE END of the summer term, and school is over — and that means forever for thousands of sixteen year olds who are now looking for a job for the first time. Were all those years at school really worth it? We interviewed two YS members from Lambeth, South London, to get some opinions on their future, and the education they had been through which was supposed to prepare them for it.

Maureen is 17, and spent one year in the sixth form before she decided to leave. We asked her why she had given up half way through her 'A-levels'.

### CENSORED

"Mainly because I was bored. Also they wouldn't let me take just one A-level which I wanted to do. Most of the subjects were irrelevant to what I wanted to do, except biology. But there are no other subjects that could go on the curriculum, because the only reason you learn them is to take exams. But O-levels are irrelevant."

Did the girls have any say in the school, to voice any dissatisfaction they felt?

"We had a bit, in the sixth form. We had a sixth form council; we ran the school magazine — but that was censored by the Head. I've wasted the last year. Now I'm going to work in a shop until April, then I'm going into nursing."

### QUALIFICATIONS

Gina is 16 and goes to a girls comprehensive. She'll be going back next term to start further studies. Why wasn't she leaving?

"There's not just one reason. It's mainly because you need qualifications nowadays if you want a decent job. I want a job with interest — a job with people. There's plenty of competition for interesting jobs — that's why you must have qualifications. Some times they just don't consider you if you haven't got them."

Was the teaching any good? And what about the restrictions of being at school?

"I think there should be a pre-

nursing course. A lot of the teaching is not relevant.

"It's hard staying on, when you could be out earning money. It's different for people whose parents are well-off. If I didn't have a Saturday job I would be hard-up. I buy all my own clothes and paid for nearly all my holiday. If you're at school past the leaving age, you ought to be paid something — a wage for staying on."

Expectations amongst young people are higher than ever before. But those high expectations which the education system itself helps to feed, clearly can no longer be satisfied by the system of private profit. Capitalism's economic crisis will mean many youth will experience unemployment — some this winter — and others boredom and low pay. The Young Socialists must be built as a part of a force to destroy the system and to take power into the hands of the labour and trade union movement.

THIS PAGE is written and produced by members of the Labour Party Young Socialists in the following branches. For details of meetings contact the branch secretary.

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- Woolwich: Phil Elliott, 82 Woodhill, London SE18

WHY NOT take some copies of the CHARTIST to sell at your YS branch? Get your branch to give us support, and we will be glad to advertise your meetings and other activities.

## Reid gets the boot

CHARTIST John Quirke, also a member of Norwood YS, recently helped to secure the removal of Harry Reid as president of the Islington Trades Council. Reid had used his position as retiring mayor of the borough to launch an attack upon striking NALGO workers. A resolution to the Trades Council condemning Reid's

action as being contrary to the interests of trade unionism, which came from John's union branch, caused Reid's resignation. Reid is probably better known for his attempts to expel left wingers from the North Islington Labour Party for failing to stand for the national anthem at a dinner.

### Paid Advertisement

JUST OUT. 'THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION IN BRITAIN', a pamphlet analysing the present crisis, the response of the various workers' groups and the revolutionary alternative. The pamphlet consists of articles reprinted from THE TORCH newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist League, U.S.A., recently split from International Socialists-U.S. Introduction by Sy Landy. 15p. British or

International cheques to-RSL, 13755 Woodward, Highland Park, Michigan. 48203, U.S.A.

## SUPPORT FOR ANTI-NF MARCH

BRENT EAST Young Socialists will be continuing their support for the anti-fascist movement this month by mobilising for the demonstration against the National Front in Manchester on August 24th. In June, the YS, as part of the local anti-racist committee, successfully pressured Brent Council to ban the National Front from using local halls for meetings, by means of a resolution within the Labour Party and a picket of Labour councillors.

LAST MONTH'S film and discussion on Chile organised by the

Lambeth YS had an audience of 30. This month a film on Squatters will be screened on August 8th, and an important meeting on Ireland will take place on August 22nd, both at 264 Rosendale Road, SE24. Lambeth will also be turning out to the anti-fascist demonstration. Members have not been intimidated by the arrests of two of their number during the last protests in June.



ABOVE: Police at work at the last anti-fascist demonstration

### £300 FIGHTING FUND

BECAUSE of the ever-increasing cost of producing and printing the CHARTIST, we are launching a Fighting Fund to help meet the financial burden. Our target is £300, to be raised over the next 6 months. We ask all our readers and supporters to give as generously as possible. Donations and contributions should be sent to A. Harber, Treasurer, payable to Chartist Publications, 82 Loughborough Road, London, SW9.

## CHILE WARSHIPS CONDEMNED

THE STOKE NEWINGTON Labour Party in North London has condemned the Labour government's decision to send warships to Chile. A resolution passed by the Party also actively supported the formation of a Chile Solidarity Committee of labour movement organisations in Hackney. The local Trades Council passed a similar motion. First job of the committee will be to ensure a massive turnout on the demonstration of solidarity with Chile on September 15th.