

workers' ACTION

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Inside

France's left alliance
page 2
TUC 1977
page 3
Economic
policies of fascism
pages 4-5
Carworkers' meeting
page 6

BAKERS CONFRONT 12- MONTH RULE

WHEN bakers got their pay docked for taking the day off on August bank holiday Monday, it was the spark that lit a rebellion against years of long working hours and low pay in the industry. Several bakeries struck spontaneously, and now the Bakers' Union leadership has called an all-out national strike.

Victory or defeat in this strike will not only affect holiday pay but also the general negotiations over wages and conditions in the industry, due to start on Thursday.

Three years ago the bakers came out on strike demanding a £40 basic wage. They were sold out with a settlement that gave £28.50 basic — £1.50 less than they had previously rejected!

The basic is still £28.50, boosted by Phase 1 and Phase 2 supplements to bring minimum wages up to about £38 — still less than the £40 demanded three years ago. With inflation, that £40 is equivalent to about £70 today.



This time it is vital that the bakers get a decent settlement. Last time it was the Conciliation and Arbitration Service (CAS — now called ACAS) set up by the Labour government which arranged the sell-out. This time too the employers want to go to ACAS — and this time too the workers find themselves up against the Labour Government.

According to the press (and the story makes sense) the bakery employers would be willing to concede on the Bank Holiday pay issue — but they can't because the Department of Employment says that would be breaking the 12 month rule.

That is what the 12 month rule means: air traffic control assistants denied an increase which they claimed 5½ years ago and which was agreed 2½ years ago; bakery workers unable to take normal holidays without suffering a loss of pay which they can't afford at their miserable wage levels. Not only can't we reopen full wage negotiations within 12 months, we can't even get the slightest improvement!

It is the obstinacy of the Government in imposing the 12 month rule to keep down wages and safeguard profits which is to blame for there being no bread in the shops. Victory to the bakers! Down with the 12 month rule!



Hit Apartheid's profits

STEVE BIKO, President of the South African Students Union, has been murdered by the Apartheid police. He died last Tuesday after 24 days in the hands of Vorster's political police in Johannesburg.

He was the 25th person to die in detention in South Africa in the last 18 months of repression. Hundreds of others have disappeared into jails and camps without trial, as in round-up after round-up the white rulers try to stem the rising tide of black revolt.

Last month they sent police and troops to take

over 40 schools in Soweto, in an attempt to break the school students' movement and reassert Government control over the vast township. The students and workers of Soweto had already succeeded in ousting the stooge Bantu Urban Council set up to administer it for the Government.

But bullets, Alsatian dogs and army tanks will not restore Apartheid's monstrous 'normality' to Soweto. This week, all the township's teachers have resigned their jobs rather than teach the Boss-man's lessons at gunpoint.

Britain's bosses have a big interest in South Africa's Law and Order. Most major British firms have very big investments there, bringing in high profits from the super-exploited and regimented African workers. The British labour movement has many times declared that it supports these workers in their struggle for trade union rights and basic democratic freedoms.

On the initiative of left wing activists within the movement, Anti Apartheid has called for a WEEK OF WORKING CLASS SOLID-

ARITY ACTION, from 17th to 22nd January 1978.

Now is the time to start preparing for this in trades councils, Labour Parties and trade union branches, to make it an action worthy of the struggle and the sacrifice of black South Africa.

Organise now for that week: meetings, rallies, pickets, exhibitions, demonstrations or anything else that will help prepare the ground for INDUSTRIAL DIRECT ACTION to hit the bosses who lord it over the slave-driven black workers of South Africa.

ONE ANXIOUS thought has been recurring time and again in the British Communist Party's public discussion on their new draft programme: how does the CP avoid ending up as just a superfluous "fifth wheel" for the broad Tribune left in the Labour Party?

The French CP traditionally has not had the same problem. Since world war 2, or even since 1936, it has been the mass party of the working class. But even for them there are problems of identity when the dictatorship of the proletariat is written off the agenda, when all perspectives beyond Parliamentary democracy are foresworn, and when the fact is openly admitted that the Soviet Union is no model of socialism.

Sabre

Has the CP really got anything more to say than social democracy? And how is it going to avoid being undercut by the French Socialist Party, which has had a big revival over the last five years or so?

Those are the problems lying behind the sabre-rattling war of words between the French CP and the Socialist Party, due to rise to a crescendo this week when they meet to finalise an updated "Common Programme" for the legislative elections of March 1978. The existing "Common Programme" is the one the CP and SP put forward jointly for the previous legislative elections in 1973.

Complaining about the SP's unwillingness to strengthen the Common Programme sufficiently, the CP has denounced the dangers of "social democracy à la Callaghan, à la Schmidt, and à la Soares". The general denunciations are much more grandiose than the concrete differences between the CP and the SP.

Steel

The CP is pressing for the Common Programme to include a commitment to raise the guaranteed national minimum wage from its present level of 1660 francs (about £190) a month to 2400 francs (about £280). The SP will only go as far as 2200 francs.

The existing Common Programme calls for the nationalisation of nine major firms. The CP wants the nationalisations to include all the subsidiaries of those firms, while the SP says a left government should nationalise only the principal holding companies. In addition the CP wants to add some other firms, mainly the steel industry, to the list of nationalisations: the SP refuses.

In 1973 both the CP and the SP were against nuclear armaments. The CP has recently reversed its policy and is backing the Gaullist notion of national defence "tous azimuts" — against all other powers. The SP is orientated to NATO and wants a referendum on the question of nuclear weapons.

None of this adds up to a polemic between communism and social democracy! The CP knows where to set

CP general secretary Marchais [left] and Mitterand



FRANCE

Can Union of the Left hold together?

the limits: it does not forget to mention that it has no intention "to set up a Socialist system in France in the immediate future" (*Morning Star*, 12th September). But the argument is useful for the CP in two ways.

For the workers who support the CP — many of whom have a healthy distrust of Socialist Party leader François Mitterand — it seems to show that the CP really is the workers' party. The CP started off the polemic, in July, with campaigns in the factories on the need for a "good" updating of the Common Programme and factory ballots in which workers were asked to vote for or against the CP's proposals for updating. More recently, on 5th September, the CP issued a special supplement to its paper, *Humanité*, on the polemic, in six million copies.

The war of words also serves the Communist Party in relation to the capitalist class. It is a way for the CP to say to the capitalists: we are not just the tame little brother of the Socialist Party, we are a force to be reckoned with — don't think you'll find it easy to push us out of our place in the government if the left alliance wins the 1978 elections.

Fears

Whatever brinkmanship the CP uses, it is very unlikely to go as far as breaking up the left alliance. In a certain way, the aim of the CP's denunciations is to stop the left alliance breaking up. The CP fears — and with good cause — that having used its alliance with the CP to hoist it to victory, the Socialist Party could split off after the elections and go instead for a "centre-left" government. Through the current agitation, the CP hopes to make that option too expensive for the SP.

Participation in "centre-left" coalitions was the SP's way of life under the Fourth Republic, before 1958. It was also the way of life of

François Mitterand, who up until 1970 made no pretence of being a socialist.

The SP in those days — after 1948, at least — was strongly anti-CP and weak as a party. However, the parliamentary chaos under the Fourth Republic, when every government was a coalition, enabled it still to find a role. After 1958, with De Gaulle and the Gaullists dominating the political scene, the SP declined. It reached its lowest ebb after the 1968 events: 5% of the vote in the presidential election of 1969.

Mitterand, also at a loose end since 1958, took his chance and assumed the

leadership of the SP. On the basis of the alliance with the CP, concluded in 1972, the SP has grown rapidly, presenting a radical socialist image without the Stalinist overtones of the CP. Today opinion polls give the SP 30 to 35% of the vote, while the CP's share has been static for a long while around 20%.

No doubt one of the major things the CP hopes for is to improve its share of the vote in relation to the SP.

The major union federations, not wanting to be outflanked, have entered the polemic. The CFDT federation, although linked to the Socialist Party, has criticised

the Union of the Left for not promising enough in relation to narrowing inequalities of income. The CGT federation is totally controlled by the Communist Party, but seems to be acting as an outsider to the CP's left at present: on Thursday 8th September CGT general secretary Georges Seguy declared that the CGT was not ready to "give the Left tomorrow the sacrifices which it refuses to the Right", and that there is "no question for us, even with the Left in power, of participating in the management of the crisis and of the affairs of capitalism".

Thrust

The whole performance has its uses for the Socialist Party, too. As Mitterand deflects the CP's attacks with deft polemical thrusts, he is showing the capitalists how capable he is of dealing with left wing opposition. The CP insists on the need to narrow inequalities of income: Mitterand points out that bigger inequalities exist in the Soviet Union. The CP talks about consulting the workers: Mitterand points out that the CP's change of line on nuclear weapons was made without any consultation with the CP membership.

Both the actors, and the audience in the French capitalist class, are enjoying the show greatly. The ones left out in the cold are the French working class, in whose name the whole business is carried on. But for them too there is something to be gained from the polemic: an understanding that a future government of the left alliance will in no way serve their interests.

COLIN FOSTER

FREE DARCUS HOWE!



DARCUS HOWE, a militant black leader of long standing and editor of "Race Today", has been imprisoned for three months on a charge of Actual Bodily Harm after a trivial incident at Notting Hill tube station.

"Where the fuck do you think you are going, you black bastard ... black cunt", a ticket collector shouted at him, grabbing his arm, as he walked in through an Exit barrier, showing his ticket.

It was 25th May 1976 — the same week Enoch Powell made his inflammatory racist speech: the end of a month in which the press had built up an unprecedented racist hysteria over a few Malawi Asian families arriving at Gatwick. Already two Asian students had been knifed to death in Woodford. A week later, Gurdip Singh Chaggar was to die in Southall, the victim of another racist attack.

Darcus Howe responded. He pushed back at the ticket collector, and spilled his pile of

change onto the floor. A black inspector came up and cooled the incident, and Darcus was about to leave in peace when a white barrister came rushing up and began poking him with an umbrella, shouting "stop, I'm a barrister". To which Darcus Howe replied, "You could be the Prime Minister of England".

Then, in the barrister's own words in the witness box, "blows were exchanged". The man, Paul Camp, came to no great harm. Darcus Howe suffered a dislocated thumb from a blow from Camp's umbrella. An independent bystander said "in Darcus Howe's defence that if anything Camp should have been charged."

Yet Darcus Howe was charged, convicted by an all-white jury, and sentenced to three months by a judge who presented Darcus as a black aggressor against the respectable white Mr Camp, who was "only doing his duty".

The whole case is an outrage from start to finish, the sentence

a matter of vengeful spite against a man with no previous convictions. The police have tried to get him before: Darcus Howe was the most vocal of the "Mangrove Nine" defendants who won complete acquittal at the Old Bailey five years ago on charges trumped up by the Notting Hill police.

Under the slogan "Self defence is no offence", a Darcus Howe Action Committee has been formed. They say, "There is no doubt in our minds that he has been committed and savagely sentenced because of who he is and what he stands for". They have picketed Pentonville Jail, where he is being held, and will be at the Royal Courts of Justice in the Strand when his Appeal is heard on Wednesday 14th September.

They ask for telegrams of protest to be sent to the Home Secretary and the Lord Chancellor (at the House of Lords) for funds, and for messages of support to Darcus Howe and to "Race Today" at 74 Shakespear Road, London SE24 0PT.

The thin yellow line



Scanlon ignored AUEW's democratic decision — but demands respect for TUC vote on 12 month rule.

[Below: Jones and Urwin].

"WE ARE NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO HOLD THE SHOP FLOOR PEOPLE, AND THE GENERAL COUNCIL KNOWS THAT", said Bill Keys, general secretary of the print union SOGAT, after the TUC had voted for the 12-month rule.

That was the feeling that ran through this year's TUC. The 12-month rule was approved, with the TCWU, ASTMS, NUM, SOGAT, Boilermakers' Amalgamation, POEU, NUTGW, NATSOPA, NGA and TASS voting against. But the majority would have been razor-thin if it were not for the votes of the AUEW engineering section, cast in favour of the 12-month rule against the will of the great majority of the union's delegation at Blackpool.

For David Basnett, general secretary of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, the "trade unions had showed they wished to have a continuing close relationship with the Government." But Keys warned his fellow-bureaucrats of an uncomfortable truth: this wish to help the Government help capitalism did not "reflect the attitudes and aspirations of the shop floor".

Over the past few years the trade union bureaucracy has been reasserting its control over the rank and file. At this Congress the champions of class collaboration were still able to push through everything they wanted; but they were uneasily aware of the ground beginning to shift under their feet.

Jack Jones, the Number One organiser of the TUC-Government collaboration over the last three years, had to argue against the 12-month rule. If the 12-month rule was adopted, he said, there would not be enough leeway to allow for the introduction of "corporate bargaining" in Leyland, which means moving all the different plants, at present on different agreements with different termination dates, onto a common agreement with a common date.



If the "corporate bargaining" scheme breaks down, the bosses, the Government and the union bureaucrats face big problems in Leyland. Already all the major plants have claims way over the 10% limit recommended by the Government. Strike moves are brewing in many of them.

The Congress moved a little to the left, on paper. The *Morning Star* was enthusiastic about a strengthening of the left on the General Council, and jubilant about the overwhelming adoption of the "alternative economic policy" proposed by two Communist Party trade unionists, Ken Gill and Irene Swan.

That was strictly for show. The pleadings with the Government expressed in the "alternative economic policy" — defence cuts, price control, increased public spending, direction of investment and controls on capital exports — have been heard many times before. They caused not a single capitalist five minutes' anxiety. What worried the big business weekly *The Economist* more was the TUC resolution against the "cash limits" in the public sector which are supposed to fix an absolute ceiling for spending in various departments — because the resolution might encourage public sector workers fighting for higher wages, despite the TUC's other decisions.

The TUC's decisions were no use to the working class. But it may turn out that they are also little use to the capitalist class.

What are Grantham's plans?

The GRUNWICK DISPUTE was hurried through the TUC Conference as quickly as possible: no speakers from the floor, no debate, a unanimous vote. For the TUC leaders, the fight for basic union rights at the North London film processing firm became an embarrassment at the point

when mass pickets and postal blacking began to have a real impact.

The resolution on Grunwick, moved by the strikers' union APEX, was as vague as it could possibly be: "All affiliated unions should continue to intensify their financial and practical aid to those in dispute." APEX general secretary Roy Grantham spoke of sophisticated and clever secret plans he had to beat Grunwicks, but nothing has yet been heard or seen of these plans. The reality is probably that APEX's only 'plan' is to sweep the issue under the carpet as soon as it possibly can.

Frank Chapple, the right wing general secretary of the electricians' unions, declared that he might support action by electricity supply workers to cut off Grunwicks. For a long time

now the strike committee has called for such action, together with the cutting off of all other services to Grunwicks. But APEX has refused to take up this call for fear it will be ruled illegal, as the mail blacking was.

For Chapple, cutting off the power to Grunwicks was a lesser evil than mass pickets. Despite that, he should be held to his word!

"We think the motion is not strong enough... We think it should include the cutting off of all services" commented a strike committee spokesman. Simple, straightforward words, not half as subtle as Roy Grantham's pretended secret plans: but that is the very least APEX can do. And if APEX does not do it, the rank and file must see to it.



Roy Grantham

CROCODILE TEARS FOR LOW PAID

"For one union or a group of workers to breach the bargain would be an open invitation to others to try to re-open their own settlements. Some might win, many others would lose, and there would then be more unfairness about than there is now." TUC General Secretary Len Murray's defence of the 12-month rule was based on the notion that full collective bargaining would harm weaker and lower paid sections of workers.

The next day at the TUC Conference Murray's argument was refuted out of his own mouth. Before Congress was a motion from the National Union of

Public Employees to up the TUC's minimum wage target from its 1974 level of £30, to a new one of £50. The increase would just about keep pace with cost of living rises since 1974.

Murray successfully advised Conference to reject NUPE's motion.

If anyone really wanted to protect lower-paid workers in the scramble for wages, support for NUPE's motion would have been the least they could do. But for Murray the advantages for the lower paid workers were outweighed by the disadvantages for the bosses.

The £50 target would commit

the TUC to supporting the local authority manual workers' claim for £50 minimum, coming up soon. That claim confronts the Government's 10% limit, and if it is won it will encourage dozens of other big increases and give a boost to other low-paid workers' struggles.

The only ones who would lose out of that are the bosses — and the Labour Government which has given itself over to serving the bosses.

For Len Murray, "orderly" wage bargaining means orderly for the bosses and bureaucrats, not orderly for the workers.

STIRRING THE SWAMP TO CURE MALARIA

The main resolution on unemployment was moved by Harry Urwin, assistant general secretary of the TGWU. The answer, as usual, was "reflation".

This means increased public spending, more funds for the National Enterprise Board, and reduced taxation. The theory is that it will lead to increased demand for goods, and so "industry" will have to take on more workers.

It doesn't always work that way. Just as often we get speed-up and productivity schemes. "Reflation" may equally well lead to nothing more than price rises. It is an attempt to deal with unemployment by tinkering with the capitalist system, which is like trying to deal with malaria by stirring the swamp.

The working class answers to unemployment — cutting the working week and ending overtime — were mentioned in Urwin's resolution. But the TUC organised no campaign for these policies. That

is left up to the rank and file, while our "leaders" pursue their "battle" for reflation.

Ken Thomas, general secretary of the civil service union CPSA, put it this way: "If trade unionists showed a willingness to forfeit overtime, that much authority would be given to TUC leaders battling with the Government for policies aimed at reducing unemployment."

The scandal of overtime working while nearly two million are on the dole cannot be dealt with just by appealing to workers to be noble and help the TUC leaders in their talks with the Government! Along with a fight against overtime working we need a fight for higher basic wages, so that overtime can be ended with no loss of pay.

Unless and until the trade union leaders take up the fight for higher basic wages — which will entail a real battle with the Government — they will be failing in the struggle against unemployment.

TO ATTRACT the support of the desperate and disillusioned petit bourgeois, to offer hope to the ruined or precarious traders and artisans and hold out promise to the impoverished and land-hungry German peasants, the National Socialist programme of February 1920 announced radical measures. And even within the NSDAP [The National Socialist German Labour Party — the "Nazi" Party] there were many who believed it.

The programme spoke of:
 "□ 11. The abolition of incomes unearned by work. The breaking of the slavery of interest.

"□ 12. In view of the enormous sacrifices of life and property demanded of a nation by any war, personal enrichment from war must be regarded as a crime against the nation. We demand therefore the ruthless confiscation of all war profits.

"□ 13. We demand the nationalisation of all businesses which have been formed into corporations (trusts).

"□ 14. We demand the creation and maintenance of a healthy middle class, the immediate communalising of big department stores, and their lease at a cheap rate to small traders, and that the utmost consideration should be shown to all small traders in the placing of State and municipal orders...

"□ 17. We demand a land reform suitable to our national requirements, the passing of a law for the expropriation of land for communal purposes without compensation; abolition of ground rent, and the prohibition of all speculation in land..."

Funds

In May 1926 this programme was declared unalterable and Gottfried Feder, the originator of the economic policies in it, was made by Hitler the official arbiter in all matters of interpreting the Party's programme.

So long as the NSDAP attracted little support from the upper classes there seemed no great problem, although the Strasser brothers' radical brand of "racial socialism" irked Hitler. By 1928, however, Section 17 had already become embarrassing to Hitler and stood in the way of the party receiving funds from the big landowners close to Luddendorf. In April of that year he declared the "suspension of the unalterability of the programme". Feder's role began to decline.

Hitler's attitude on the question of nationalisations was made unmistakably clear by two incidents in 1930.

On May 22nd, in an argument with Otto Strasser, he raged: "Democracy has laid the world in ruins, and nevertheless you want to extend it to the economic sphere! It would be the end of German economy... The capitalists have worked their way to the top through their capability, and on the basis of this selection, which only again proves their superior racial stock, they have a right to lead. Now you want an incapable Government Council or Works Council, which has no notion of anything, to have a say: no leader in economic life would tolerate it."

What would be done with the Krupp company then, Strasser wanted to know. After all, here was a war profiteer and enemy of small business par excellence.

"Of course I should leave it alone", replied Hitler without hesitation. "Do you think I should be so mad as to destroy Germany's economy? Only if people should fail to act in the interests of the nation, then — and only then — would the state intervene. But for that you do not need any expropriation, you do not need to give the workers the right to have a voice in the conduct of business: you need only a strong state."

By this time the Nazi party had attracted a little support from the big industrialists, though for the most part those who at this point gave money to the NSDAP, also gave it to a number of other extreme rightist organisations. To keep the money coming, Otto Strasser would have to go.

Goebbels, for a while a close follower of Otto Strasser, was given the job of expelling him and keeping the organisation in North Germany together.

Radical

But while Otto Strasser went off to form the "Germanic socialist" Black Front, his brother Gregor stayed with Hitler, and in October of the same year it was his turn to make trouble.

On 14th October the Nazi Party group in the Reichstag (Parliament) introduced a bill to limit rates of interest to four per cent; to expropriate the entire property of "the bank and stock exchange magnates" and of all Eastern Jews without compensation; and to nationalise the big banks. This was the work of Gregor Strasser and Gottfried Feder.

On this occasion Hitler managed to intervene and force them to withdraw the bill. But the Communist Party re-introduced it in their name with exactly the same wording. Now Hitler forced the Reichstag Nazis to vote against this bill which they had introduced in the first place.

Obviously the decisive forces within the Nazi Party had not the slightest intention of implementing the programme they promised. It was just a firecracker, bright and noisy, to attract the attention of those easily deluded by a mixture of economic gibberish and radical phrases.

Walter Funk, who after being Editor of the leading financial paper Berliner Börsen-Zeitung had joined the Nazis to act as a go-between with big business, was relieved by the outcome of this incident. He hadn't taken the NSDAP programme seriously, and now Hitler further assured him by saying "The economic theories of such people as Gottfried Feder are not necessarily mine."

Banks

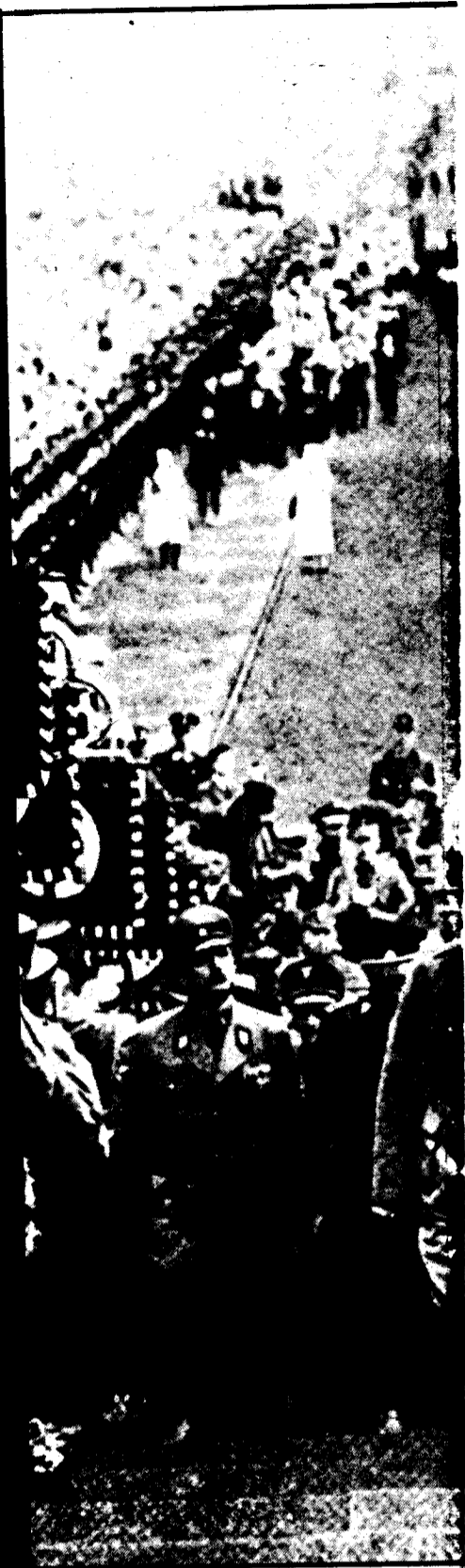
What were Hitler's economic views then? It is often thought that they were based on "corporatism" or the theory of "economic estates". Nothing of the sort. Within the ranks of both German and Italian fascism there abounded cranky theories of economics, of social and state organisation. In both cases, however, it is clear that a radical and anti-capitalist sounding programme is there to dazzle the demoralised petit bourgeois and not to be taken seriously.

It is also clear that behind this

'Fascism is hostile to private enterprise', says the Daily Express, backing up Margaret Thatcher's nonsense about fascism being 'the right foot of socialism'. 'The attack on the City and big business is reflected in the National Front's economic policy', opines the Times, again spreading the myth of fascism being anti-capitalist.

Contrary to this widely held view, fascism — as PAUL ADAMS shows in a series the first of which we publish below — has acted as the mailed fist of capitalism itself.

How Fascism teams up with Big Business



radical appearance lies a clear determination to serve big business and to profit from this connection.

Given the contradiction between the radical phraseology and the reactionary/conservative intentions, Hitler thought it best to advise his parliamentary group to "avoid all detailed statements concerning an economic programme of the Government." In any case the fascists did not intend to impose any preconceived system on the bourgeoisie, but rather to create the conditions under which that class and above all its monopolistic sectors could grow stronger.

Wilhelm Keppler, the organiser of the Freundeskreis der Wirtschaft (the 'circle of the friends of business', a group of businessmen who venerated

Heinrich Himmler), summed up that period: "During its fighting years the party has never allowed itself to be induced ... to put the economic questions into the foreground and to announce comprehensive economic official party programmes."

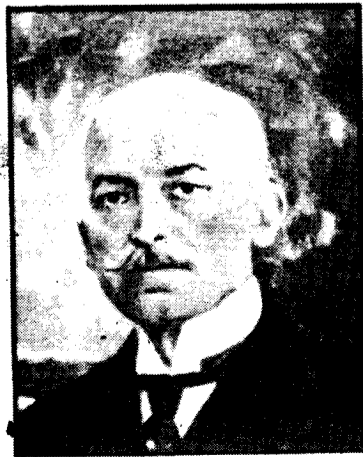
Big stores

In the period before they came to power, the Nazis had within their ranks many who took the party's programme seriously. Some of them would speak of the "second revolution" — the social revolution that would sweep the capitalists out of power once the national or "racial" revolution had been consolidated.

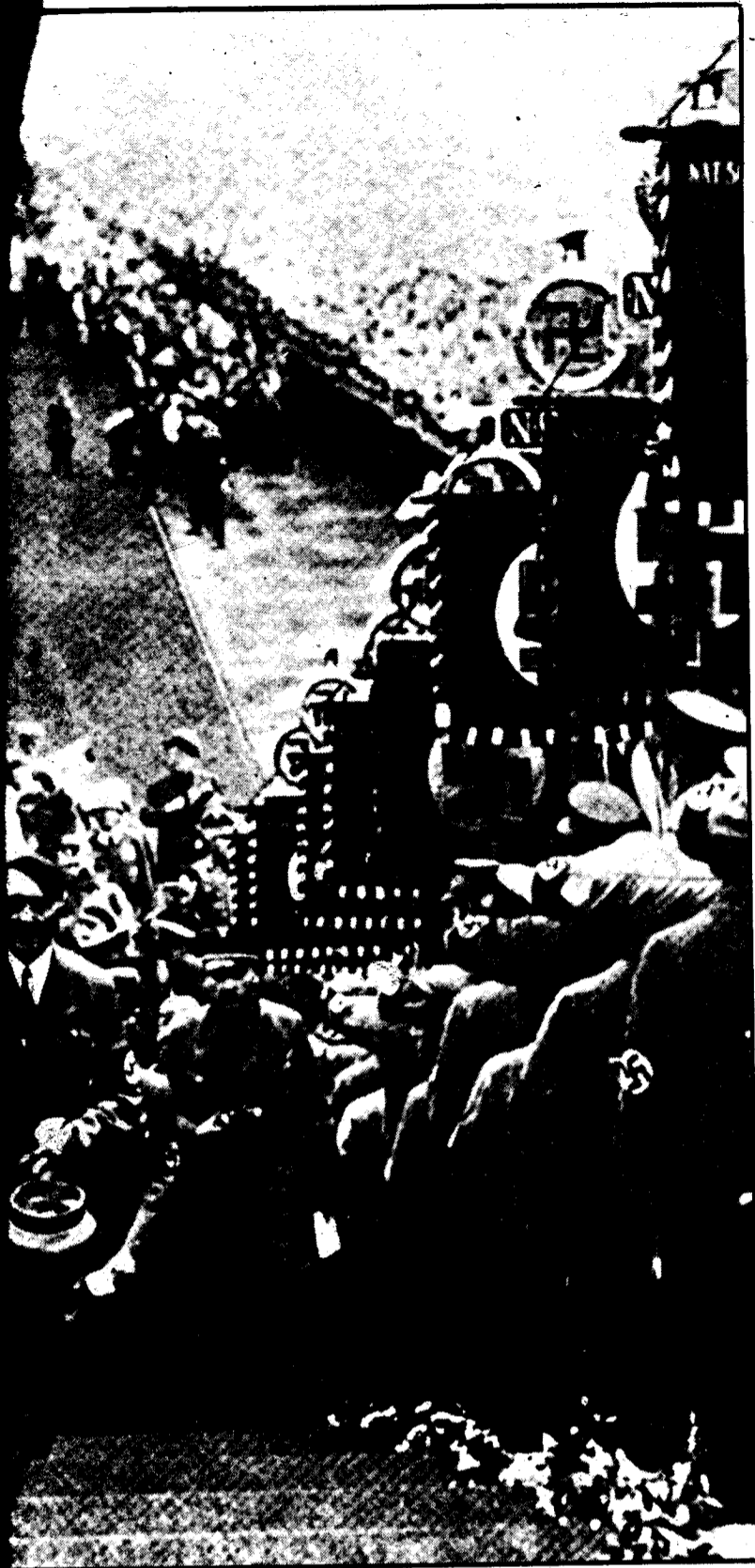
Once in power the internal party situation became critical. In May 1933, for instance, the

Combat League of Middle Class Tradespeople attempted to put Point 14 of the party programme (about big stores) into effect by picketing department stores. In July Rudolf Hess had to write to the League warning them "The attitude of the NSDAP towards the 'department store question' is in principle unchanged. Its solution will follow at the appropriate time..." but the League's action were "inadvisable for the time being." Soon the League was disbanded and the picketing actions made punishable.

In the Spring of 1934 the National Socialist Federation of Commerce and Industry again made it clear there was no question of closing the big stores. In fact the Nazi regime came to their rescue by restricting competition against them and by



The businessmen who financed Fascism. Left to right: Giovanni Agnelli, of Fiat, Alberto Pirelli, the tyre magnate, Mario and Barmar, armaments firm Ansaldo, Antonio Benni, Chairman of the Employers' Federation, and Giuseppe Volpi di Misurata, the



supporting them financially. (At first this even applied to the Tietz chain which was owned by Jews.)

On June 30th 1934 Hitler had the leaders of the "radical" wing in the party murdered. On that night, known as the Night of the Long Knives, Roehm (leader of the SA), Strasser and many others were done to death.

Unions

This did not completely silence the "radical" trend, but it was never strong again. Dr. Robert Ley, the Nazi leader of the so-called Labour Front, for instance, and Walter Darre, the head of the Food Corporation, raised the call for nationalisation of the war industries as late as 1937. And Ley stuck to his



Perrone, of the industrial tycoon

idea of a society organised into industrial estates for a long time before finally dropping it.

The few leading Nazis who took seriously the economic theories expounded before the NSDAP's advent to power were treated as enemies. For instance the director of the institute for estate organisation found himself in a concentration camp by 1940 for continuing to advocate "official" fascist theory.

In Italy as in Germany, social and economic theories and programmes were of no practical importance in shaping the economic policies of fascism.

The Italian fascists first attracted the attention of the ruling class when they launched their attacks on the agricultural unions. These unions, which had grown massively during the First imperialist World War, were nevertheless much more vulnerable than the industrial unions. The offices of these "Red Leagues" were ransacked and their leaders beaten up or murdered.

At the same time the fascists, supported by the big landowners, created their own "unions". "How were these fascist unions born?" Mussolini asked in a speech in the Italian Senate in 1926; and he answered "Birth date: 1921. Place: Po Valley. Circumstances: the conquest and destruction of the revolutionary fortresses." In these attacks on rural communities, attacks often organised and backed by the state forces, Italian fascism won the confidence and backing of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners.

Though Mussolini did not

dare carry out attacks on trade union, Socialist or Communist Party headquarters on the scale of the rural raids, the clearly anti-communist, and anti-union actions of his shock-troops won many supporters for the Black-shirts from among the urban petit bourgeoisie who were demoralised by their own situation and disillusioned by the failure of the workers' movement that had been led into retreat by the Socialist Party.

Steel barons

In Germany the road to power was longer and more tortuous. But by 1931 the Nazi Party had established such links with the biggest industrialists and bankers that their finances were totally dependent on them.

As early as 1931 the great industrial magnate Fritz Thyssen had joined the Nazi Party and shown his enthusiasm with a donation of a hundred million Marks — about £6 million (equivalent to near £60 million in today's money!). Soon Krupp and IG Farben were also financing the NSDAP, among other extreme rightist parties.

In January 1932 Thyssen arranged for Hitler to speak to the big steel barons at the Düsseldorf Industrial Club. Now Hitler made it clear that the Nazis had no intention of carrying out any of their 1920 programme, and that the real heart of the NSDAP's plans was the support of German big business and the liquidation of all working class and democratic resistance to the unbridled power of capital.

By late 1932, just before it took power, the cost of the Nazi Party apparatus — functionaries, printers, SA thugs — was two million marks a week (about £120,000). Clearly, colossal sums like that could only come from big business supporters. For instance, in response to Hitler's appeal for money to finance the "terror elections" of March 1933, Gustav Krupp donated a million Marks to the Nazi Party funds and Reichsbank president Hjalmar Schacht raised a further two million from an audience of industrialists.

Mussolini, too, was hoisted to power by the industrial plutocracy.

After 1922, sections of light industry linked to the Banca Commerciale decided to follow the big industrialists' lead and push Mussolini to power. As one commentator recorded, "Some very lively conferences took place between Mussolini ... and the heads of the General Federation of Industry, Benni and Olivetti. The chiefs of the Banking Association, who had paid out twenty million to finance the March on Rome, the leaders of the Federation of Agriculture, telegraphed Rome that in their opinion the only possible solution was a Mussolini government." What Krupp and Thyssen did for Hitler, Olivetti and Agnelli had done for Mussolini ten years earlier.

With fascism in power its real economic policies became clear. Needless to say, the Nazis showed their appreciation of the services rendered by the tycoons and landlords.

Profits

The economic policies of the German and Italian fascists fall basically into three periods:

- the period between their acquisition of power and the onset of war preparations;
 - the period of war preparations; and
 - the war period itself.
- Each of these three can in turn be subdivided — the war period particularly saw rapid changes which were characteristic not so much of fascism as of economic exhaustion, military defeat and panic.

Whatever the changes that took place, who were the principal beneficiaries? In his introduction to the collection of Leon Trotsky's brilliant writings on Germany titled *The Struggle against Fascism in Germany*, Ernest Mandel shows whose interests fascism served: "Profits from all industrial and commerc-

ial enterprises rose from 6.6 billion (thousand million) marks in 1933 to 15 billion marks in 1938. But while sales of the Bremen Woollen Mills stagnated and sales of AEG (General Electric Company) increased only 55%, those of Siemens doubled, those of Krupp and Mannesman Tube Works were tripled, those of Philipp Holzmann, Inc. increased six times, and those of the German Weapons and Munitions Works rose tenfold."

That is: capitalism as a whole was rescued from its crisis, with fascism favouring most the most monopolistic concerns and accelerating the rate of centralisation of capital by squeezing out the smaller and less profitable firms.

Secondly fascism favours heavy industry over light industry and thus the manufacture of capital goods and munitions over the manufacture of consumer goods. Thirdly it favours the domination of the industrial over the financial and agricultural sectors and commerce.

Tyranny

The most important single act of the fascists to ensure their policies is the crushing of all working class resistance to bare-knuckled capitalist tyranny. But this bloody suppression is not limited to the working class political parties and trade unions, it extends to every type of independent working class organisation. The only organisation that the workers may join — and then usually compulsorily — are "unions" organised and headed by the employers, and clubs sponsored by the Nazi Party.

As well as breaking up all working class (and peasant) organisations, the state tries by means of a network of factory and street spies and by the regular questioning of children about parents' conversation to atomise every possibility of resistance.

Bourgeois democracy — parliament, a relatively unfettered press, civil rights — likewise disappears. Even shareholders' meetings cease to take place. Apart from within the fascist party itself — and the fascist party is, of course, run on dictatorial lines according to the "leadership principle" — the only meaningful discussions that are not outlawed take place within the employers' organisations.

By outlawing strikes, workers' organisations, and all protest the fascists set the stage for the total subjugation of the working class to the will of the capitalist

master.

In Italy this process of the liquidation of all opposition — called "Gleichschaltung" in Germany — took much longer. The final suppression of the trade unions in Italy did not come until 1925, when by an agreement of October 2nd known as the "Vidoni Palace Agreement" the General Federation of Industry granted the fascist "unions" an exclusive monopoly with sole rights to negotiate and make union contracts. At the same time the right to strike was abolished and "factory committees" were suppressed.

By force

A month later the remaining Trades Halls, unions and other labour organisations were shut down, and all union property was confiscated. At the end of 1926, the Federation of Labour, which had only a nominal existence by that time, disappeared as well.

In his book *Fascism and Big Business*, the French journalist Daniel Guerin summarised the faster and much more brutal process in Germany:

"Immediately after the Reichstag fire, the right to strike was practically suppressed; any instigation of a strike was subject to punishment by a prison term of from one month to three years. Several People's Houses (union headquarters) were occupied spontaneously by Brownshirts.

"At the beginning of April, the National Socialist Government took preliminary measures which left no doubt as to its intentions: the monopoly of labour representation in the Economic Council of the Reich and the Labour Courts was withdrawn from the unions; privileges and rights of shop committees, representing the unions in the factories, were limited; elections were postponed, and those in office could be recalled 'for economic or political reasons' and replaced by appointed officers [appointed by the Nazis, of course].

"The committees themselves could be dissolved for 'reasons of state'. Employers were authorised to dismiss any worker suspected of being hostile to the state without his being able to invoke the defence procedure provided by the social legislation of the Reich. At the same time, the NSBO [fascist shop committees] propagandised actively on the jobs and began to

CONTINUED
NEXT PAGE



John Heartfield saw through Hitler's pretensions. Here he shows him as "The superman who eats gold and spews out junk".

How Fascism teams up with Big Business

Continued from page 5

conscript by force the members of the independent unions.

"After May 1st, which was decreed a 'national holiday' and celebrated by great public spectacles throughout Germany, all labour unions were 'co-ordinated', their buildings occupied by Storm Troops, and their leaders imprisoned. A 'Committee of Action for the Protection of German Labour', headed by Dr. Ley, the administrative chief of the National Socialist Party, took over the property of the defunct organisations.

"Everywhere the People's Houses were occupied without resistance and turned into 'Houses of German Labour'. A proclamation by Dr. Ley stated: 'We are not dreaming — quite the contrary — of destroying the unions. No, Worker, your institutions are sacred and inviolable for us National Socialists'. On May 10th the 'German Labour

Front' was set up. It included the members of all the 'co-ordinated' organisations, grouped into fourteen trade federations.

"But at the constituent congress of the Labour Front, Hitler contradicted Dr. Ley's assurances. The National Socialists, he declared, took over the unions 'not at all to preserve them integrally in the future...'

"On June 8th, writing in *Soziale Praxis*, Schneider-Landmann [the head of the National Socialist federation of office employees] corroborated this: 'It is clear from now on that the trade organisations will be deprived of the functions that have given them the character of trade unions up to the present.' And, in fact, on May 18th, the right to strike was abolished. On May 19th the 'co-ordinated' unions were deprived by law of the right to make union contracts. On November 29th, the admission of new members into the fourteen trade federations was suspended, and between January 1st and October 1st 1934 they were dissolved one after another."

After a very short period in which elections were permitted within shop committees, these elections were banned and soon thereafter so were the committees themselves. Now the boss was 'Der Herr im Haus' — undisputed master within the firm.

With the working class defenceless against the attacks by capital and its state, the scene was set for the elaboration of measures for the enrichment of the already super-rich, measures also plunging the middle classes who had supported fascism into new depths of poverty.



Fascist leaders arriving after the 'March on Rome' in 1922

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Write for details of meetings & activities to:
WASG, 49 Carnac Street, London SE27

CDLM Cars Conference

Organising to stop 'corporate bargaining'

BY JIM DENHAM

THIS WEEKEND, on Sunday 18th September, in Birmingham, revolutionary militants of different tendencies in the car industry will be meeting under the auspices of the "Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement".

The background is one of rising tension in the car industry. This week management replies to the Ford unions' 15%+ claim. In Leyland the unions still officially reject the bosses' "corporate bargaining" scheme, which would take negotiating power away from shop floor level to put it in the hands of full-time officials and convenors at national level — but in fact they are busy manoeuvring to accept the scheme.

If the "corporate bargaining" scheme fails, the bosses' and the union officials know there will be explosions coming in Leyland. Every major plant has a wage claim way over the overnment's 10% limit. An all-out strike at Longbridge was avoided only by convenor Derek Robinson's bureaucratic bungling and massive press backing for the anti-strike minority. Jaguar, Coventry, has already struck for their £20 claim, although abortively.

On Saturday 3rd September convenors and selected senior stewards from Longbridge, Rover, and Triumph Canley, met at the "Good Companions" pub in Birmingham to form a "senior stewards combine committee". Militant supporter Bob Ashworth, from Rover Solihull, moved that the committee adopt Rover's £15 claim as a national claim.

Ashworth's argument is "unity for one claim". In practice it means a "left wing" version of "corporate bargaining", with the "senior stewards combine committee" as national negotiating body instead of an-



THE UNIONS



other non-elected, non-accountable committee, and with the several plants who have put in claims bigger than Rover's £15 left in the lurch.

Communist Party supporters were sympathetic to Ashworth's proposal. It failed only because the TGWU has not yet officially come out in favour of "corporate bargaining".

For this year's wage struggles, militants in Leyland will have to fight for adequate claims plant by plant — and that problem will have to be at the centre of Sunday's debates. Longer-term perspectives must, however, be worked out too.

"Small is beautiful" is not the ideal rule for bargaining units in Leyland. What is wrong with the new "senior stewards combine committee" and the old Leyland Trade Union Committee is not the fact that they are committees covering workers all across Leyland, but their remoteness from control by the shop floor. The fight for united and democratic representation of Leyland workers is a necessary fight, especially in relation to the sort of sectionalism represented by the recent moves for a separate craftsmen's committee in Leyland.

It is part of the overall struggle for reconstruction and regeneration of the trade union structure in Leyland, and for a break with the "participation" schemes.

Workers' Action supporters will be advocating the following policies in Sunday's discussions:

Withdraw from the joint "working party" with management where "corporate bargaining" is being discussed;

No handing over of negotiating power to the British Leyland Trade Union Committee or to the senior stewards' combine committee;

Withdraw from all "participation" committees. Boycott the "unit committees" (the lowest tier of participation) and ensure regular stewards' meetings in every section of the factory;

Full support for any section in struggle, and for sections putting in higher wage demands;

For fighting unity across Leyland, for a struggle to establish a combine committee elected by shop-floor voting in each factory. For recallability of delegates and regular report backs in work time.



Longbridge convenor Derek Robinson

Putting the record straight on Maureen Colquhoun

NORTHAMPTON North Constituency Labour Party's moves to replace Maureen Colquhoun as their MP have attracted more and more press attention as the issues involved have been more and more blurred. Despite all the stories about railway season tickets and car park attendants, however, the original issue was Maureen Colquhoun's open support for arch-racist Enoch Powell. Kevin Mayes, secretary of Northampton North YS, who moved the first resolution against Colquhoun, has issued a statement (in his personal capacity) putting the record straight.

As yet none of the papers who have given so many column inches to trivial details of the Colquhoun affair have printed the statement.

In the light of recent statement to the press from supporters of Maureen Colquhoun, I feel that the views of those who oppose her for principled political reasons should be known. These views are held by some of the Young Socialists who were the first to demand the standing down of Maureen Colquhoun and by Marxists who support the politics of the paper Workers Action.

We feel that racialism and the fascist movement which feeds on racialism are one of the greatest threats to the labour and trade union movement in Britain today. They serve the interests of the ruling class in blunting a united response to the crisis we are in.

Enoch Powell is the foremost exponent of racist ideas in Britain. The Nation-

al Party and National Front recognise this as does any "Paki-basher" in Lewisham or elsewhere. Maureen Colquhoun's statements gave respectability to Enoch Powell in the labour movement at a time when his views must be combatted politically and physically. She thus diverted the fight for a united response so much so that the anti-racialism campaign proposed by Northampton Labour Party would have been a mockery.

If exploitation, divisions and racialism are ever to be eradicated, then the working class must be clear who its enemies are and who to attack. A united fight is necessary for Socialism, and the labour movement must rid itself of those who, whether consciously or unconsciously, maintain these divisions.

How the right-wing organised to end the Lucas strike

WITH British Leyland almost at a standstill, 1200 Lucas toolmakers voted on 10th September to end their ten week strike and return to

EVENTS

Small ads are free for labour movement events. Paid ads (including ads for publications) 8p per word, £5 per column inch — payment in advance. Send copy to Events, 49 Carnac St, London SE27, to arrive by Friday for inclusion in the following week's paper.

SUNDAY 18 SEPTEMBER. Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement carworkers' conference. 11am to 4pm at Digbeth Halls, Birmingham.

TUESDAY 20 SEPTEMBER. Revolutionary Communist Group public meeting: "Ireland — Britain's Strategy of Repression". Speakers: Steve Palmer (RCG) and Jackie Kaye (Prisoners' Aid Committee). 7.30pm at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Adm. 20p.

WEDNESDAY 28 SEPTEMBER. Merseyside Workers' Action readers' meeting. John O'Mahony on "Left Unity". 7.45pm at Paddy Doyle's Bar, 'The Triton', Paradise St, Liverpool 1.

THURSDAY 5 OCTOBER. Abortion rights lobby of Labour conference, 12 noon at Conference Centre, Kings Road. Coaches from London leave Hudson Place, Victoria at 10am (price £1.50).

FRIDAY-SUNDAY 21-23 OCTOBER "Critique" conference on "The 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution and the World Crisis". Registration £2.50; contact Critique, 9 Poland St, London W1.

SATURDAY 26 NOVEMBER. Working Women's Charter day school on women and the trade unions, at Friends Meeting House, Church St, Reading. Details from Anita Turnbull, Flat 2, 3 Coleridge Road, London N8.

THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL ON BRITAIN'S CRIMES AGAINST THE IRISH PEOPLE is being organised for Spring 1978. A "jury" of labour movement delegates, together with internationally-known figures, will hear evidence on the activity of the Army, the police, and the courts in Northern Ireland. Further details and sponsorship forms from 182 Upper St, London N1

work.

By a 5-to-4 majority they accepted management's offer of a £3 increase, plus a lump sum of £100, plus a further payment of £50 one month after the return to work. The strikers had demanded £5 increase under the terms of a productivity bonus scheme signed in the 1960s, but the settlement "buys out" the bonus scheme, leaving the bonus henceforth frozen at its present level.

Before the mass meeting the stewards were split 36 to 26, with the majority in favour of rejecting the company's offer. The stewards were under tremendous pressure from right wing

officials of the AUEW, particularly Terry Duffy, now a candidate for the AUEW presidency, as well as from the press.

The strike had caused 16,000 Leyland workers to be made idle, halting the production of seven Leyland models. Leyland bosses had been searching the world for alternative supplies of components normally supplied by Lucas. 11,000 other workers, most of them from Lucas, had been sent home — and all this despite the fact that the dispute had been allowed to drag on by the AUEW's failure to call for any blacking of alternative supplies.

At Lucas, Formans Road,

Birmingham, at least 30 AUEW members were crossing the picket line every day! — and Eric Collins, AUEW convenor at Lucas Marshal Lake Rd, gave his support to "Back to Work" anti-strike demonstration. The TGWU district secretary circulated a letter saying that no request for assistance had been made by the AUEW, and so TGWU members should ignore picket lines.

The bigger battle in Lucas is to come: over the toolmakers' and production workers' annual wage claims. And that battle will need better leadership than the union officials provided for this strike.

Linda Collins

Union says '£30 if you end the strike'

4,000 WORKERS at the Cadbury-Schweppes chocolate factory in Bournville, Birmingham, voted to return to work on Sunday 11th September after a four week strike over lay off pay.

The 4,000 strikers had walked out claiming 85% lay-off pay after a work-to-rule by boiler-makers. USDAW made the strike official — but then said they would withdraw support if the strike continued! Under this pressure the stewards recommended a return to work.

By a 5 to 1 majority the strikers accepted management's offer of a £45 lump sum and negotiations soon for a lay-off agreement. On top of this the workers will receive £30 in strike pay from the union — which was conditional on them agreeing to go back!

JIM HOYLE

Airports strike needs unofficial support

30 CPSA activists coming from a union school rallied on Tuesday 6th September to support Heathrow air traffic control assistants on their picket line, forcing a small breach in the Labour Government's drive to isolate the strikers. In face of the solidarity action, police dropped their strict limits: only six pickets at any one time, no more than one placard, no leaflets at all.

Although the strike of 850 air traffic control assistants, out since Thursday 1st September following the Civil Aviation Authority's decision to suspend them for non-cooperation, is an official CPSA strike, it has been left to unofficial initiatives to mount solidarity action.

In a circular to all CPSA branch secretaries on 1st September, general secretary Ken Thomas said "the air traffic control assistants are not some spearhead to break the Government's pay policy". The CPSA finds itself in an uncomfortably position, facing a Government which insists that the air traffic control assistants' demand to be

paid increases due to them under a settlement made in spring 1975 breaks the "12 month rule". They are wriggling and insisting that it doesn't in fact break the 12 month rule. Reason may be on the CPSA's side, but the power to decide what the 12 month rule means is on the other.

Unofficial solidarity will be vital for the strikers to win their money.

STEPHEN CORBISHLEY



Ken Thomas

THE POLITICS OF Militant

A Workers' Action pamphlet. 20p + 7p post from 49 Carnac St, SE27

Co-Op workers start rank and file link-up

Delegates from five Co-Op establishments in Greater Manchester and one in Crewe, meeting on 3rd September, decided to support the Crewe workers' claim for a 33% pay increase, which is likely to go to industrial action soon. Another meeting, which will review further action, is to be held in four to six weeks' time.

In the meantime, organising will go forward to create a more representative Co-Op shop stewards' committee, especially in the Manchester area. Contact Mike Reppon, 122 Stamford Street, Trafford, Manchester 16

JOHN DOUGLAS

WORKERS IN ACTION

THE BULLY BOYS OF FLEET STREET WIN AGAIN

LAST JUNE, Trafalgar House took over the Beaverbrook empire, including the Daily Express, the Sunday Express and the Evening Standard. They paid £15 million — and they expected to see a healthy profit for their money.

The only way they could do that was by seriously undermining the strength and organisation of the trade unions. In their own words, they were not prepared to invest more money in the Express unless "discipline and order" were restored to industrial relations.

On Saturday 10th September they managed to do just that. The disunity of the printing unions, divisive manage-

ment tactics and the treachery of the trade union bureaucracy ensured that maintenance engineers in Beaverbrooks were heavily defeated.

The trouble began earlier in the year when the engineers (members of the AUEW) were refused a claim for parity with the typesetters. It would have meant £110 a week increase.

To press for their claim the engineers blacked all "modification work" (work additional to normal servicing). This soon began to bite, and management decided it was time for a test of strength.

The engineers were dismissed for having a union meeting in working hours to discuss their claim; the management said they had broken their contract of employment.

Soon after this the management noticed that essential equipment had been removed from the foundry, and called in the police. They claimed that they were dealing not with workers trying to defend their rights, but with a gang of thugs and hooligans pursuing "a monstrous pay claim".

£110 pay increase would be all right for directors or top managers, of course, but not for ordinary workers. Trafalgar House chief Victor Matthews can travel in

his Rolls Royce to lunch at the Ritz, but he wants to be sure he won't meet any of the Express workers there!

The management went on an all-out offensive, with demands that showed a great deal more than just a wage claim was at stake.

Only 115 of the 160 engineers on the 3 papers involved (the Daily Express, Sunday Express & Evening Standard) were to be taken back. Among those the management insisted would not be reinstated were the three chapel officers.

The reinstated workers would have to agree to work on any engineering jobs on the paper. In other words, complete flexibility and control by management over working conditions.

In future anyone fired for breach of contract would not be reinstated. Further, management was to be able to use contract workers within the building and no chapel meetings were to be allowed in working hours. No member of the engineering staff was to be allowed to leave company premises during working hours and equipment was to be left in full working order at all times.



The AUEW turned down these terms. But the bosses had managed to split the London workers from the printers in Manchester, and throughout the dispute Manchester continued to turn out copies of the Express. More than a million copies were distributed to the Midlands and the South, using vans supplied by private contract-

ors. Members of SOGAT in London were dismissed for refusing to handle them.

On top of this the journalists at the Evening Standard went so far as to produce 3,000 copies of a duplicated 12-page substitute news sheet, and distributed them free at railway and underground stations.

Faced with a real fight on their hands, the AUEW buckled, and the official involved, Reg Birch (fresh from his sell-out at Heathrow) ended the dispute with an almost 100% capitulation.

All 160 workers, including the three union officers, were reinstated; but for Beaverbrooks managing director Stevens the terms were "100% to Beaverbrook's satisfaction" and "the beginning of the end for the bully boys of Fleet Street."

All the management's main demands were met:

■ There will be "meaningful" negotiations over reducing staffing levels. A figure of 700 people from all unions is now being quoted as Beaverbrook's target for the fole queue.

■ Tea breaks will only be taken at the discretion of the overseers. The authority of the chief engineer, or in his absence his deputy, will be respected and recognised at all times.

■ Every engineer employed by the company, including the FOC and the chapel officials, will be considered to be part of the working engineering staff.

■ No chapel meetings will be held at times which would disrupt production, and no payment will be made to employees attending chapel meetings during working hours.

After the defeat of the NGA men at the Financial Times, another victory has been notched up for the employers — the real bully boys of Fleet Street.

PAT LONGMAN

GIVE THE FASCISTS ANOTHER HIDING

FOLLOWING the left's victory over the National Front in Lewisham, an urgent call has gone out to prevent the fascists from holding their next big event, a demonstration and rally in Manchester under the slogan "Freedom Against Red Terror".

More than 200 delegates, meeting in Manchester under the auspices of the North West TUC, voted on August 22nd to support a call from Tameside Trades Council's anti-fascist committee for a mass picket of Hyde Town Hall on Saturday October 8th. The intention of

the picket, it was made clear, is to deny the NF access to the building. But, hedging their bets, the movers of the resolution also called on the Home Secretary to ban the NF meeting.

This decision was not what the North West TUC leadership had been looking for. They had proposed another resolution calling for a "people's festival" to be held on the same day as the NF rally, without any attempt to stop the NF meeting.

This idea attracted a princely five votes, including the Communist Party's. Speaker after speaker critic-

ised such a weak-kneed and ineffectual approach — the secretary of Salford Trades Council declaring that the left had done "a great job" at Lewisham.

Following their humiliation, it was feared that the CP would try to get the decision to picket overturned. But at a recall meeting last Wednesday Colin Barnett, Secretary of the NW TUC, had trouble enough keeping a motion for intensified action, including an occupation of the assembly point for the NF march, from being passed as well. Further decisions were deferred until October 1st.

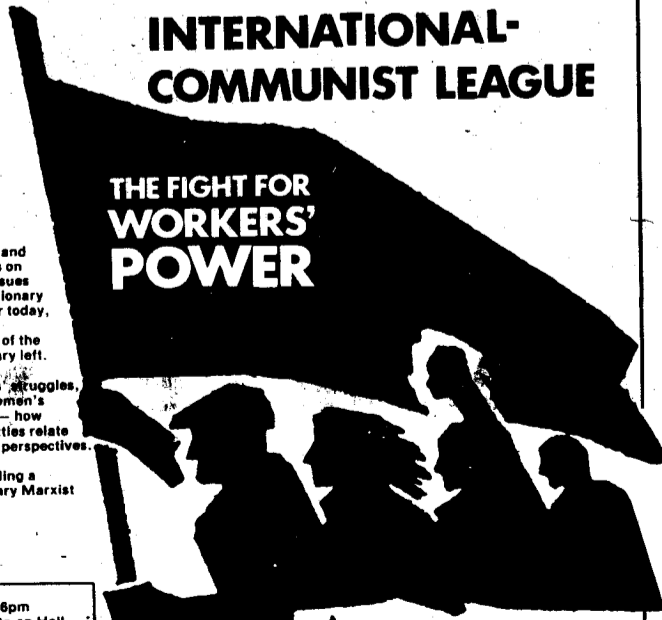
However, Barnett has not given up yet. Seizing on the idea of a ban on the NF demonstration, he is calling for "mass action" on Saturday ... 24th September — collecting signatures for a petition to the Home Secretary! And another meeting, this time "by invitation only", has been called for next Sunday, 18th.

This blatant attempt to sabotage the mobilisation on October 8th must be treated with the contempt it deserves. With or without the CP and the NW TUC, counter-activity must go ahead.

Firm action now to inflict another resounding defeat on the fascists can severely damage their morale. But militants must see that the left is present in sufficient numbers to neutralise the police as well. Coaches should be organised at once from every trade union branch and Labour Party in the country.

Further information from: Tameside Trades Council Anti-Fascist Committee, c/o AUEW, Margaret Street South, Ashton-under-Lyne.

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International-Communist League, 98 Gifford Street London N1 0DF

Darlington NUJ strike under threat

"Go back to work. An ACAS mediator will settle your dispute."

That was the response last week of the TUC Printing Industries Committee (PIC) to an appeal from striking Darlington journalists for an escalation of action. And the PIC backed up its command with the threat that unless the strikers obeyed, it would order printers back to work, breaking the NUJ picket lines.

The fourteen week battle at Darlington for the right of journalists to form closed shops has now reached a crucial stage. For several weeks North of England Newspapers have been unable to produce any of their titles, but management has shown no sign of weakening.

The NUJ Executive and the TUC Printing Industries Committee, faced with the choice of escalating the dispute or killing it off, have decided to wield the big stick — against their own members.

The response of the Darlington strikers has been to accept the mediator, even though his brief is only to seek an interim settlement until a Press Charter [which

will undoubtedly limit the rights of the NUJ] is pushed through Parliament. But what the chapel will not accept is outright suicide.

They have decided to mount a mass lobby of the NUJ Executive, meeting in emergency session in London this Wednesday, 14th. They demand that their union reject the PIC ultimatum and that, on the contrary, their strike pay be increased.

If SOGAT General Secretary Bill Keys and his cronies on the PIC are firmly rebuffed, rank and file pressure in the NUJ and the print unions involved must be stepped up to force him to settle the dispute the other way — by solidarity action to cripple the whole of the giant Westminster Press combine which owns the Darlington papers.

A meeting of the Westminster Press NGA Federated Group Chapel in Darlington this Saturday could decisively turn the tide.

JAMES RYAN, NUJ