

CHARTIST

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Jenkins refuses to release building pickets—

FREE "SHREWSBURY TWO" NOW!

THE CALL HAS GONE OUT for a one-day national building workers strike on January 14 to secure the release from jail of the 'Shrewsbury Two' pickets—Des Warren and Eric Tomlinson. The action will coincide with the proposed TUC lobby of Parliament on behalf of the two trade unionists.

While this call and lobby—which should be supported by all workers, trade unionists and socialists—will mark an important step forward in the fight to free the 'Two' it must not be allowed to disguise the total refusal of the TUC or UCATT, the building trade union, to mount a fight against the jailings from the start.

Warren and Tomlinson, who have served no more than a third of their respective three year and two year sentences, were placed behind bars following a £250,000, year-long Tory-inspired campaign of harassment and intimidation by the building employers to convict the men.

discredited

The Tories could not use the discredited Industrial Relations Act after the 1972 "Pentonville Five" strikes, so a reactionary vestige of 19 Century union-bashing laws—the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act—was dredged up for use against an original 24 building workers tried at Shrewsbury Crown Court and another 7 tried at Mold in 1973.

Since Lord Widgery and the other Appeal Court judges upheld the sentences for their "deterrent effect" and threw out Warren and Tomlinson's appeals in November they have been stabbed in the back by the Labour Government.

First Harold Wilson washed his hands of them claiming he was "constitutionally" prevented from taking any action. He passed full responsibility to Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins.

Jenkins, friend of police and judges, completely upheld the jailings with a scurrilous defence of the 'rule of law' and a point-blank refusal to grant the workers a pardon—which brought cheers echoing round the House of Commons.

But worst of all was the silence and cringing role of the Tribune MP's. Frank Allaun, MP for

Salford East, asked Jenkins if the sentences were not "excessive (!) since no charges of violence were sustained. . . ?" Building trade union MP, Eric Heffer did not even say anything in the questioning of Jenkins!

Not one left MP called for Jenkins' resignation or condemned the law as class law to defend capitalist property. Not one condemned the sentences as political and an attack on the entire Labour movement.

resolution

Labour Party Conference last November passed a resolution calling for the immediate release of the 'Two'. Likewise the TUC Congress in September called for action to secure their release. But resolutions are hollow deceptions if no fight is mounted to implement them. This must now be



Free 'Shrewsbury Two' lobby at Labour Party Conference.

in jail fighting for principles on which the Labour Party and trade union movement were founded and built. The Tories and their class want to gag and handcuff our movement and remove all democratic rights. The Labour Government is helping them in this.

The TUC must quit its foot-shuffling and implement Congress resolutions by leading a massive campaign involving all forms of struggle—including full support for the proposed march by Wigan building workers via Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham to London—to force the Labour

Support TUC lobby of Parliament Jan. 14.

done with a campaign of political and industrial action throughout the Labour movement.

The Chartist says the time has now come to stop this onslaught on our hard-won rights to strike and picket. It is a monstrous indictment of this Labour government that these two trade unionists are

Government to release these class war prisoners.

- Support the strike and TUC Lobby on January 14.
- Support the Wigan march.
- For industrial and political action to make the Labour Government release the 'Two'.
- Repeal the Conspiracy Laws!

Common Market - A time for decision

by Graham Bash

pleted. Harold Wilson has said, "Provided we get the right terms... I shall commend them to the British people, and recommend we stay in and play our full part in the development of the Community". For once, we can take him at his word.

Minor Concessions

These moves must be fought to the end. When Roy Hughes, Labour MP for Newport says that Wilson has blown up 'minor concessions into major triumphs', he is right. When Norman Atkinson, Labour MP for Tottenham expresses misgivings about 'total acceptance of the Treaty of Accession', he is right too. And when he opposes Wilson recommending acceptance of terms in advance of any decision by Labour Party conference he is right again. As the 'Chartist' has consistent-

tly warned, the Labour government will present minor concessions as 'fundamental renegotiations' to ensure that Britain remains inside.

No Terms are Acceptable

But it is not just a question of not having obtained the right terms. NO TERMS CAN BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT because no terms can fundamentally change the anti-working class character of the Common Market, which is an attempt by the capitalist classes of Europe to join together to extract higher rates of profit from the working class. 'Fundamental renegotiations' were from beginning to end a fraud, a formula to cover up crucial differences in the Labour Party and an excuse for not withdrawing immediately from the EEC.

(Continued on page 7)

THE CHARTIST

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NATIONAL ENTERPRISE BOARD- FOR PROFITS OR JOBS?

THE LAST few months have begun to unveil something of the immensity of the developing world capitalist recession. Workers in countless enterprises have encountered the harsh reality of the economic crisis. Worst hit have been car workers.

As the chain of bankruptcies, companies in 'financial difficulties' and factory closures lengthens almost daily the hue and cry that is raised by capitalist federations like the CBI, the Tories and their press is not for the thousands of jobs which are under the axe. But rather it is against the 'damage to profits', 'illegal' factory occupations, the threat to stability and the excesses of so-called Bennery.

But workers will be demanding action from the Labour government to curb the 'excesses' of profiteers and parasites like £48,000 per year Lord Stokes and multi-millionaire Henry Ford who are planning to impoverish and wreck the livelihoods of thousands of working class families. What is the Labour government going to do to fulfil its pledge to maintain full-employment?

NEB aims

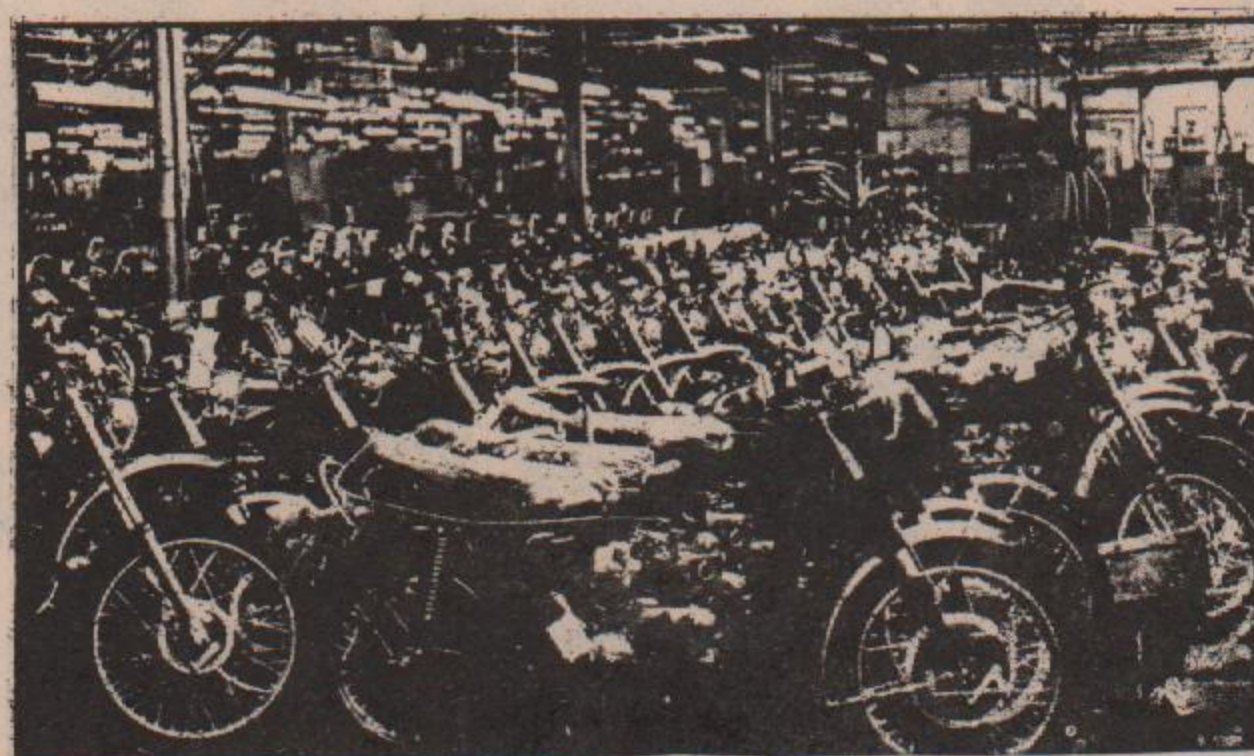
One of the showpieces of Labour's electioneering propaganda was the proposal to establish a National Enterprise Board. The precise aims of the NEB were set out in the October Election Manifesto:

"We shall set up a National Enterprise Board to administer publicly-owned share-holdings; to extend public ownership into profitable manufacturing industry by acquisitions, partly or wholly, of individual firms; to stimulate investment; to create employment in areas of high unemployment; to encourage industrial democracy; to promote industrial efficiency; to increase exports and reduce our dependence on imports, to combat private monopoly, and to prevent British industries from passing into unacceptable foreign control".

Now all the honeyed promises about the role of the NEB in defending jobs can be put to the test.

Big business attacks Industry Secretary Wedgwood Benn because he proposes to save, in the words of the Times, "uneconomic jobs". But what business is so afraid of is that the resistance of the trade union movement to redundancies will force Benn & Co. to salvage jobs which capitalism can no longer afford.

In an editorial on 28 December, the mouthpiece of the capitalist class, the Times, bewailed the fact that Wedgwood Benn's first priority in the case of the workers' co-operatives at Triumph Meriden, IPD Fisher Bendix and the Scottish Daily Express (where occupations to defend jobs have been long underway) was for cash aid to save jobs rather than to make industry profitable... "Even Mr. Benn will have to face the fact that in a period of deep industrial depression, unemployment will inevitably rise" the editorial concludes.



Motorcycles at the occupied Triumph Meriden factory.

Benn's words certainly have given the capitalists something to rage about. Speaking at a meeting during Labour Party Conference, last November, Benn contrasted Labour's 1965 National Plan with the NEB. In 1965 there were no instruments to implement the plan—it was imposed on the working class. "But in 1975 we shall have the instruments, we shall be working upwards from the point of production: the unions will have a major part to play and they will have the necessary information..." In statements such as this the NEB has been painted up.

But these words, and the diatribes against the NEB disguise the actual practice of the Labour government at present. Firstly, besides Healey's £1,600m cash gift to private enterprise and the £1,000m given to Finance for Industry (the big banks) Benn also appears to be considering giving British Leyland the £100 million, Lord Stokes is demanding. Such payments, while industry remains under capitalist control are a complete reversal of the pledges

to extend public ownership and trade union control.

Secondly, Harold Wilson's decision to appoint Sir Don Ryder as putative chairman of the NEB and chief industrial advisor to the Cabinet should give added grounds for suspicion. Ryder, who was earning a cool £46,000 a year as chairman and chief executive of Reed International was praised in the capitalist press for having boosted Reed's pre-tax profits from under £14million in 1965 to over £66 millions this year. He was quoted as being vehemently opposed to "back-door nationalis-



Wedgwood Benn

ation" adding "I don't think that is on". This leading capitalist is appointed to carry through the tasks of the NEB, one of which is "to extend public ownership into profitable manufacturing industry".

timid opposition

The timid motion of opposition from 80 Tribune MPs deploring Ryder's appointment is absolutely meaningless in this situation. The Tribune MPs including Benn must be made to launch a struggle against this decision. The fight must connect up with the pledges relating to the NEB in the manifesto. It must also clear up the major inadequacies of the proposals.

1. "To encourage industrial democracy". There can be no sharing democracy with capitalists and their management stooges, especially when capitalism is demanding an end to thousands of workers' democratic right to work. Ryder must be removed along with all the other parasites who now threaten the livelihoods of the working class. The Tribune MPs must join with workers in demanding the

'opening of the books'. The account ledgers of the capitalists, profits, investments and so on must be made available to all workers. Not only in bankrupt industries, but every sector of production. Only with this knowledge can genuine workers' democracy begin to be realised.

2. "To combat private monopoly". This can only be done by taking industry out of private hands. The fight must be launched now to nationalise basic industries. With a struggle on the shop floor for workers' control of production and the formation of factory committees these two aims can take on flesh and blood.

confiscation

Finally what are to be the means of implementing NEB proposals for nationalisation? "Acquisition, partly or wholly of individual firms". What does this mean? If acquisition means the confiscation of capitalist property by expropriation—that is the correct and only road. But on the contrary if it means the buying up of private companies, or worse still, cash handouts to them, as Lord Stokes is demanding to the tune of £100m, it represents a miserable capitulation to the rule of private property. Workers have been robbed long enough by capitalist exploiters. There can be no buying back what has been stolen from the working class. It is not a question of bailing out ailing private companies but of their overthrow.

If capitalism cannot afford 'full employment' or decent living standards it must go. Wedgwood Benn himself has often said the economic crisis should be the time for socialist change not for postponing it. He has also called the NEB a new national plan. We do need a plan—a socialist plan to end the current economic anarchy. On this basis employment, investment and production can be organised rationally. But there can be no planning without workers' control and ownership of production. To achieve this means a struggle for state power. But what our labour leaders fear is just such a fight against the present owners of industry and finance.

If the socialist elements of the NEB are to be implemented then the Labour government must be made to abandon its current course, end its alliance with industrialists and bankers, establish the principle of 'no compensation' and launch a struggle to break the power of the monopolies.

FOR SEVERAL weeks now, workers at the ICI owned Intex textile factory have been on strike against the victimisation of militant shop steward Dave Hallsworth. The strike has brought the workers into conflict with their union and extreme-right thugs as well as the management. The scabbing attitude of the leaders of the Dyers and Bleachers Union, which expelled Bro. Hallsworth and another militant, Dave Rhodes, the day after the victimisation, has made the strike a bitter unofficial battle.

When Bros. Hallsworth and Rhodes appealed against their expulsion, they were confronted by a kangaroo court of union

VICTIMISATION STRIKE AT INTEX CONTINUES

by Graeme Atkinson

bureaucrats who refused to allow them to call any witnesses in their defence. Having played the role of judge, jury and executioner, the bureaucrats are now employing 'heavies' at £9 a day to guard the union's national HQ in Bradford against union members. Several of those heavies have been identified as supporters of the fascist National Front.

Nor are they the only people throwing their weight about. There have been several vicious physical attacks on strikers, with weapons used ranging from a knife to a cheese grater. The National

Front has some members at the factory. These are playing their real fascist role by scabbing.

Neither the management-union collusion nor racist gangsterism has been able to split the solid unity that exists between the white and Asian workers. Already, they have begun a wide campaign for support amongst other trades unionists and have gained a positive response from the AUEW Manchester District Committee, the ICI Combine Stewards Committee, Huddersfield Trades Council and Liverpool and Manchester dockers. Also, there

have been two highly successful mass pickets which have had a very demoralising effect on the 50 or so scabs.

The Intex workers are confident of victory in the fight. As Dave Hallsworth told the 'Chartist': "Both management and union will have to reinstate us. We never had a fair trial. No charges were put up against us. We're out in defence of a basic principle and we know we'll win." Support is more vital than ever at this stage if the fight is to be won.

For further details or to send donations contact: The Intex Strike C'tee, c/o 186 King's Rd, Ashton-under-Lyme, Lancs.

Stokes declares war on jobs at Leyland

By Don Flynn (TGWU)

DUE TO a huge £23m loss, which was announced by company chairman, Lord Stokes, tens of thousands of jobs are under threat at British Leyland plants throughout Britain. The collapse of profits in BLMC has been widely predicted in both the pages of the capitalist press and in the 'Chartist' for many months now. From April 1974 the management has been making a determined effort to scrap existing agreements with the trade unions to weaken the shop floor in the impending fight for jobs and conditions. In that month, management attempted to impose extra work effort on assembly workers at QT block in Cowley, Oxford. Industrial engineers were moved onto the lines with stop-watches, intending to retime and reschedule jobs without reference to long-standing mutuality agreements with the shop stewards.

Attitude

The resulting strike revealed the attitude which the Leyland bosses intended to assume against defence of these agreements. Assembly plant director, J.R. Symonds invited the striking workers to pack-up and clear out if they didn't like the new conditions.

This one dispute has summed up the mood of Stokes and Co. as they consider new ways to salvage their shaky empire. BLMC is confronted with a massive inflationary crisis on a world-scale that daily pushes up the bill for investment in new plant and stock. This, together with escalating oil prices and the certainty of £1 gallon for petrol in the new year—has shattered the order books for new cars. Stokes is

guided by one principle: reduce the scale of production or die.

It is this message that BLMC intends to take to the National Enterprise Board under industrialist Sir Don Ryder, as part of the evidence in favour of a state hand-out for the company without strings.



Stokes' argument is simple: the car industry is grossly over-capitalised in terms of meeting the demand for new cars in the coming years. There are too many plants, too much machinery, too many models, and too many workers.

What is required is a drastic trimming down of these factories, complete closure in many cases, and concentrating production on the profitable lines. For Leyland the profitable lines are the expensive 1800/2200 range, the Rovers and the Jaguars. NEB money will be used to introduce the up-market ADO 71 onto this range and to modernise plants like Solihull, which produces Rovers, while the major employment factories in the Midlands and Oxford go to the wall.

Together with a request for more money, Stokes will ask Ryder for a blank cheque to kick tens of thousands out of their jobs. "Workers democracy" and "public accountability" will have no place

in the BLMC scheme, because Stokes knows that the workers in his company will not democratically permit mass redundancies and factory closures.

We demand to know what Stokes wants the NEB's money for. We state categorically that mass redundancies are already unacceptable and unnecessary in the car industry.

Workers in BLMC, and throughout the car industry must take up the demands for the abolition of business secrets and the opening of the books of BLMC. Let us see exactly what Stokes is planning for BLMC! Where and when are the factory closures going to take place? How many workers will lose their jobs? Leylands is the tip of the iceberg. Already big business is reporting December sales of new cars are down 33 per cent on December 1972. Over 1974 as a whole, home sales will be 23% down, with new car registrations of 1,260,000 compared with nearly 1,700,000 last year.

Cut-backs

As the capitalist recession unfolds and these figures translate themselves into huge cut-backs in labour, united struggle can be achieved by demanding a sliding scale of hours with no loss of pay. If capitalism cannot run the car industry then capitalism must go. The assumption of full control by workers in the industry is the first step in this fight.

The car industry is capable of survival in Britain. But when the present owners and managers of the monopoly companies are intent on closures and redundancies we must clearly state that it can only survive under the control of workers in the industry.

Stop rate and fare increases!

THE ISSUE of Council rates will definitely be on the agenda at this year's London Labour Party Conference. Two more organisations—the Lambeth Central and Norwood Labour Parties have joined the NUR Southern District Council in opposing the projected massive rate increases AND cuts in council services. They are all calling on Labour councillors not to attack working class living standards but to force the government to nationalise the banks and insurance companies as the only way out of the rate increase spiral.

This principled position is in direct contradiction to the leadership of many Labour councils who are preparing to raise rates by up to 100%; while the Greater London Council has also agreed fare increases of 36% and is cutting back on housing and school improvements. Nor is the government planning to do more than soften the blow just a little.

Chancellor Healey and Minister Crosland have both said that

DEFENCE COMMITTEE FIGHTS WRIT

IN THE NOTTINGHAM East Labour Party, a high court writ has been issued against a Labour Party member by the agent and City Council leader, John Carroll. This is the latest in a series of divisive actions taken by the right wing against socialists in the Party, as a result of which an enquiry is to be held by the National Executive.

During the run-up to the

rates must go up, and although a small subsidy has been given, restrictions have been placed on council spending.

No unchangeable law says that rates must rise. If Labour councillors are prepared to risk surcharge they could fight this attack on our living standards which will add £1-£2 at least to every working class family's bills, before fare increases. In the 1920's London councillors at Poplar got big support for going to jail, trying to prevent their working class electors paying for the financial crisis which they faced at that time. That fight must begin again, NOW.

adoption of Jack Dunnett as MP for Nottingham East at the February election, a number of delegates to the Party's General Management Committee failed to receive prior notification of important meetings. When Chris Richardson challenged the validity of the arrangements in April, his speech prompted the agent, Carroll, to issue the writ—simply because of remarks made at a GMC meeting.

The writ is only the latest in a long line of events including:

- 3 councillors expelled from the Council's Labour group in September 1973 for voting against rent increases.

- Councillor expelled for abstaining on a planning application for an office block.

- Longstanding Party member expelled for inviting Eddie Milne to speak at a public meeting.

Clearly the NEC, and NOT THE COURTS, should be investigating the Nottingham East Labour Party.

The principle of free speech in the Labour movement is at stake. How can we ensure our MPs, officials and councillors are

Signalmen's dispute — democratise the N.U.R.

WITH THE SIGNING of the railway pay deal last October, industrial action passed from the hands of the drivers to the signalmen and signalling technicians. Essentially what happened in that pay deal, signed apparently in a rush in case a Tory government was returned in the General Election, was that British Rail got signalmen and technicians on the cheap. While those working in the bigger, newer boxes got a satisfactory deal, the others were left without an increase to match the rise in the cost of living.

Faced with the sort of agreement signed for them by their Executive Committee, NUR signalmen and technicians had two alternatives. Either they formed their own union or they would have to fight within the NUR, forcing the Executive Committee to renegotiate the deal and using industrial action when the NUR leadership threatened to sabotage these attempts. They have already done this over attempts at one branch to call a Special General Meeting of the Union. Despite some defections to the impotent Union of Railway Signalmen, most have correctly decided on the latter course, although as yet without unified organisation.

Several lessons have already been learnt in the course of this struggle:

1. The NUR must be changed internally:

- More power must be given to the branches. No major policy change or wage settlement to be signed or implemented without being first endorsed by the branches.

- Executive Committee elections should take place annually. Those elected should be subject to immediate right of recall.

- Every branch to have at least one delegate to the Annual General Meeting. Extra delegates to be on the basis of one for every 300 members.

- The General Secretary, the Assistant General Secretary and District Officers to be paid the average wage of the men at the top of the wages grade.

2. A nation rank and file organisation is needed to keep the EC on their toes, prepared to challenge the NUR leadership in an organised way whenever they fail to take up the demands of the branches, and prepared to campaign to democratise the NUR, internally. The various organising committees that are coming out of the signalmen's and technicians' struggles should become part of just such a movement.

KEVIN MOORE (N.U.R.)

accountable to the rank and file if they can get away with using the courts against us? Support for Chris Richardson is support for a democratic Labour Party. Send messages of support to: Chris Richardson Defence Ctee, c/o Mrs. M. Yuill, 30 Barrack Lane, Derby Road, Nottingham.



Ireland and the Bombings

THE REAL ARCHITECTS OF VIOLENCE

STATEMENT BY THE SOCIALIST CHARTER CENTRAL COMMITTEE

THE BALANCE-SHEET of the last five years of British policy in Northern Ireland shows the total failure of any attempt to impose 'British' solutions on the Irish people.

What is clear from the last five years of repressive policies, pursued by consecutive British governments in Northern Ireland, is that the struggle for national liberation in Ireland cannot be crushed. It is in the direct interests of British workers to aid the fight to inflict defeat upon the repressive forces of our own ruling class in Northern Ireland.

But what must be stated in clear terms is that the bombings in Birmingham and London, in which many people died, are actions which help nobody but the worst enemies of the British and Irish working class. They must be condemned. As such, they have rendered a great disservice to the fully legitimate struggle being waged by the Irish people for national self-determination. The method of indiscriminate bombing by an unknown handful of individuals can in no way advance the Irish struggle against imperialism or aid the development of a solidarity movement with it.

vicious repression

The bombings provide a cue for the British ruling class and its state apparatus to unleash a vicious repression against Irish people living in this country. Overnight, the whole Irish community has become the object of suspicion and surveillance. The fires of backward, anti-Irish feeling have been stoked up and British workers, the natural allies of the Irish struggle, have been driven to seek refuge in the arms of the capitalist state. The harassment faced by the workers of Northern Ireland has now been firmly transplanted into the British political situation. In short, the bombings, far from weakening British imperialism, have actually strengthened it.

That, nevertheless, is only one side of the problem. Under no circumstances can socialists ride on the tidal wave of anti-Irish

hysteria that is flowing from the press and media. The labour and trade union movement must combat the lies of the ruling class by identifying the real architects of the violence and by exposing the real plans behind the repressive measures brought in by the Labour Government. First and foremost, it must be pointed out that the central responsibility for the carnage lies with the British ruling class, whose centuries long role has been to deny the Irish people the right to conduct its own affairs.

'British' problem

There is no 'Irish problem' but there is a British one, consisting of 500 years of colonial oppression. The bloodstained pages of Irish history are a testimony to that. Since the turn of the century, when mass movements for national independence began seriously to challenge British imperialism, it has played the 'Orange card' to divide the Irish people. The Protestant Ascendancy was institutionalised in the shape of the Six County statelet which even the right wing reformist, Richard Crossman, described as "an artificial political product created to destroy political rights and to maintain one group of people in permanent power."

Now, however, the Loyalist-Protestant monster has got out of control and has the power to upset the plans of its British creator. More than that, it is a major obstacle to long term British imperialist policy in Ireland, which rests on the cultivation of profitable economic relations with the whole of Ireland. Equally, the struggles of the Catholic masses have thrust this policy into insurmountable contradictions. That is why, since 1968 when the pent up hostility of the Catholics spilt onto the streets, British short term policy has been wrecked by crisis after crisis. The determination of the Catholic workers to defend themselves and the refusal of the Protestants to accept any reduction of their illusory privileges now grip the ruling class's policy like the jaws of a vice.

Manoeuvre after manoeuvre has been used to get out of this situation. The carrot has been used one minute, the stick the next. The end product has been that while armed Protestant fanatics have been placated, the Catholics have been beaten down. That alone is the function of this 'neutral army' of occupation in Northern Ireland.

Not a single remedy offered by successive British government has or can resolve the situation. Consequently, the stick always wins out. Since British troops were introduced by the Labour Government in 1969, violence has escalated. In August 1971, hundreds of Catholic men were herded into army barracks, there to be brutally tortured. Many still languish—never charged with any offence—behind the wire of the Long Kesh concentration camp. Then came 'Bloody Sunday' in which 13 unarmed Derry workers were callously murdered by the Parachute Brigade. The protests of the British press, so strident about Birmingham were deafening in their silence over the Derry massacre. The terrorism and provocations inflicted on the Catholic workers leads them to reply in kind. The fact is that the army cannot defeat the IRA, cannot eliminate the aspirations of the Irish people for self-determination and cannot maintain its utterly fraudulent pretence of impartiality.



From start to finish it is an imperialist army of occupation and has never been anything else.

It is in a desperate partial recognition of this that the police state laws long used in Ireland

have been brought to Britain. Active solidarity with the IRA is now an offence. The viewpoint of the Socialist Charter, which will not flinch in its duty towards the Irish working class, remains one of solidarity with the struggle against British imperialism. We oppose absolutely Jenkins' repressive Prevention of Terrorism Act because it is a smokescreen behind which the ruling class is preparing a violent solution to its economic crisis. If the Labour Government really wants to end terrorism, it should WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND IMMEDIATELY!

democratic rights

That is the real answer. But clearly these laws are for wider use. They fit into the whole pattern of police-military preparations against the workers' movement. They are intended to prevent opposition of Britain's occupation of Northern Ireland. They are also meant to intimidate working class militants. The police, already a law unto themselves, have been given sweeping new powers of arrest without warrant and detention without trial. Legitimate political views are illegal and the police have a licence to terrorise anybody who supports the Irish workers' struggle. Having already seen the joint military/police exercises at Heathrow, the building up of the armed Special Patrol Groups, increased dawn raids on socialist organisations, the Prebables anti-picketing judgment, the jailing of the Shrewsbury Two and the death of an anti-fascist militant in the Red Lion Square police riot, we cannot believe that Jenkins' laws will be 'temporary' as claimed.

Faced by a mounting crisis and the determined fighting power of the working class which, spearheaded by the miners, smashed the Tories, the ruling class is getting armed to the teeth for a big confrontation with the labour movement. The Labour Government, by its refusal to take power through a break from the employers and a mobilisation of the



British troops parade the streets of Northern Ireland

working class to reorganise society along socialist lines, is acting as a willing partner in these actions and is betraying those who elected it. No trade unionist voted for police state measures. Jenkins' laws against the democratic political rights of Irish people today will be used to harrass, intimidate and produce a siege-mentality amongst British workers tomorrow. The whole workers' movement must be organised in a campaign to force the repeal of this repressive legislation and secure the immediate withdrawal of troops from Ireland. It must take a stand against the anti-Irish feelings engendered by the Birmingham tragedy, feelings which fascist organisations like the National Front have attempted to exploit. The bankruptcy of bombings opens the door for the extreme right.

The Labour government must be made to bear full responsibility for the situation which now exists both in Ireland, and between Britain and Ireland. Through its bipartisan policies (where even the pretence of differing with the Tories is dropped) the Labour government has attempted to impose 'British' solutions on Ireland. First, by sending in troops, then by compliance with internment without trial, the establishment of a revamped B-Specials force and

now through the latest savage anti-Irish, anti-working class legislation, the Wilson government has fostered sectarianism, bolstered up the Orange bigots and given confidence to the Loyalist thugs.

socialists' duty

Socialists everywhere have a duty to the Irish working class.... a duty to support its struggle against British imperialism. In the words of Karl Marx: "A nation which enslaves another can never itself be free," Ireland's tragic history proves this. Unless such an understanding is fought for in the British labour movement, it will be left vulnerable and unprepared for the attacks which will be launched against it in the near future.

We say:

- * Defend democratic rights. Repeal the laws!
- * Scrap all Emergency Laws!
- * End Internment!
- * Release all political prisoners!
- * Immediate withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland!
- * No 'British' solutions—Self-determination for Ireland!
- * Solidarity with the republican struggle against British imperialism!
- * Build united front Committees Against Repression!

"Constitutional Convention" will solve nothing

COLIN KENNEDY

LABOUR'S plans for the forthcoming election to the "Constitutional Convention" in Northern Ireland are handing another easy victory to the sectarian Loyalist ultra-right wing in Northern Ireland. The plans for the "Convention" were born in the wake of the Ulster Workers' Council strike in May of last year, in which various Loyalist groupings smashed the Stormont power-sharing Assembly and the Sunningdale Agreement in which it was grounded. The whole notion of power-sharing was set-up by the Tory and Labour politicians in Westminster as a straw man for the Loyalist ultra-right in the Six Counties to smash down. It attempted to bring together the Protestant and Catholic antagonists in the Six Counties on the basis of a programme of mutual reform.

But what really happened was that the Catholics in the ghettos of Northern Ireland demonstrated a clear lack of faith in the notion of collaboration with Unionists and Loyalists of the Faulkner, Craig and Paisley stamp. While Catholics regarded Sunningdale with something ranging from suspicion to indifference, the Loyalist coalition of Assembly men in Stormont, together with their tens of thousands of supporters in the paramilitary, right-wing UDA and UVF raged and foamed at the extent to which it undermined their own sectarian privileges as members of the Protestant Ascendancy.

What was seen in the UWC strike was an inevitable situation in which the UDA and UVF thugs seized the opportunity to smash Sunningdale, while the Catholic population could see no reason to defend the spineless Faulknerite Unionist and Social Democratic Coalition Executive in Stormont.

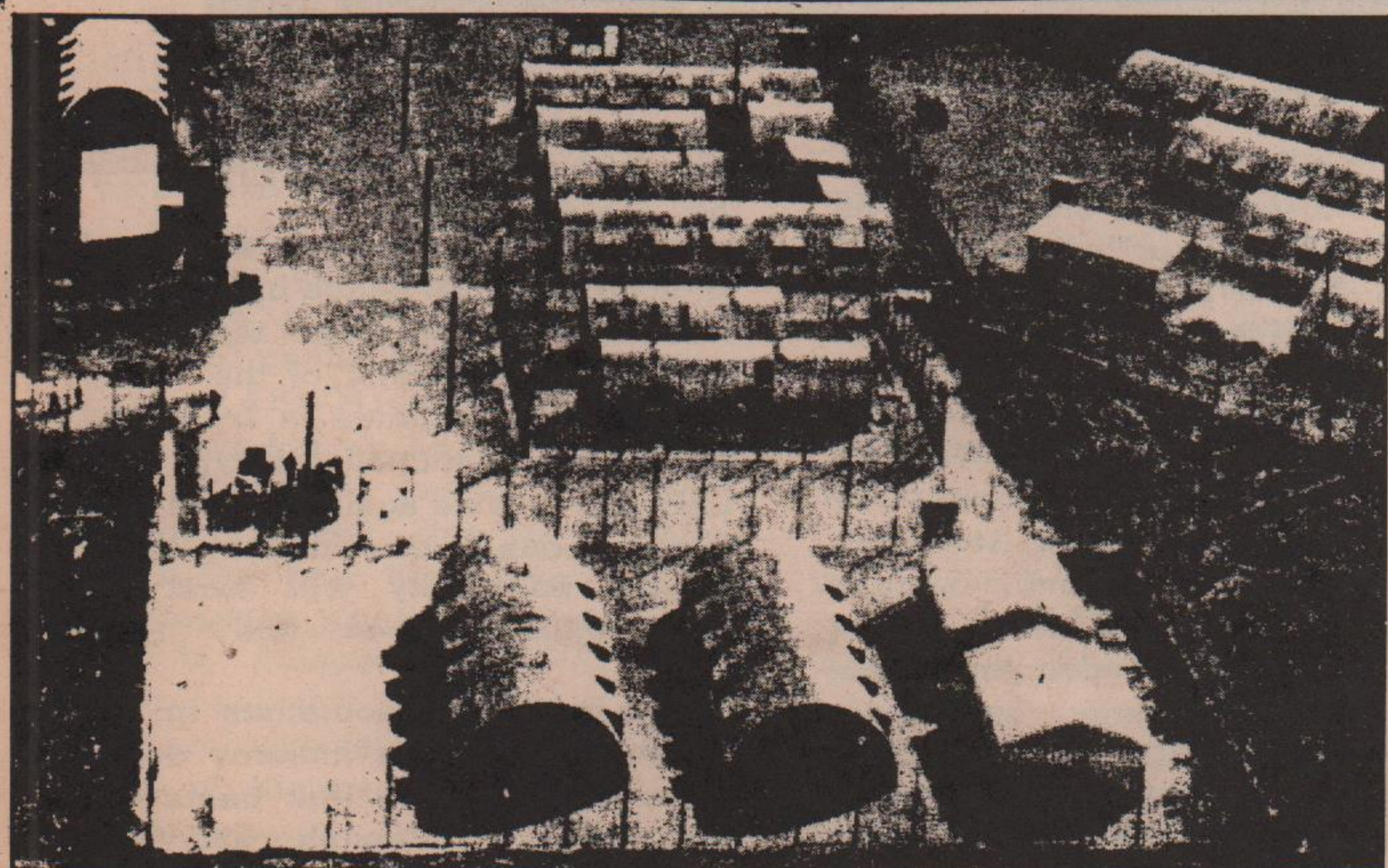


Merlyn Rees and Harold Wilson

Labour's "Constitutional Convention" plans were laid in the aftermath of this Loyalist victory and they bear all the marks of this period. Merlyn Rees and the rest of the Government know that the ultra-right and fascist elements of the United Ulster Unionist Council will win a clear majority in the elections to the Convention. But Ulster Secretary of State, Merlyn Rees is aiming in the next few months to cut the ground from under the ultra-Loyalists by carrying out their own programme of grinding the Irish nationalist movement under the heels of the sectarian forces! In carrying out this exercise Rees has been able to reap considerable advantage from the Birmingham bombings in November which give Labour the opportunity to pass their anti-Republican Act.

In the Election campaign Rees will take this Act, together with the recent "success" that the army have supposedly had in the Six Counties over the last few months, together with the rearming of sections of former "B Specials" as evidence of Westminster's determination to "hammer the Fenians".

Socialists in Britain will watch the situation in Ireland over the next few months with renewed determination to expose Labour's policies of intimidation and repression against the Catholics in general and the Republican movement in particular. We will, wherever possible, fight to follow the example of socialists and trade unionists in Manchester. They have established a committee against repression which will attempt to take up individual cases of police harassment of Irish people under the Anti-terrorism Act and fight for its repeal.



Long Kesh internment camp, Northern Ireland. Over a thousand political prisoners are held—without trial—in camps like this.

Appeal from Irish political prisoners

WE ARE a group of political prisoners in the Curragh Military Barracks and because of financial difficulties we are unable to obtain socialist literature that would give us a better understanding of the present crisis of capitalism, and the problem of revolutionary leadership for the working class. Therefore we are appealing for any socialist literature that would help us in study.

We fully understand that most organisations are struggling to keep their organisations out of financial difficulties so the contributions no matter how small will be appreciated.

The task of preparing the working class for its historic mission is crucial. The present leaders are unfit to represent the working class as class collaboration, cowardice and treachery can only bring defeat as it did in Spain, Germany and more recently Chile.

While we are in prison our duty as socialists is to politically educate ourselves for the coming battles. Therefore comrades we are asking for your help to assist us in this task.—EUGENE NORRBY (6 years sentence), DONAL PIREEN (4 years) JOE FLANNERY (7 years) DANNY McEWEN (2 years), JOSEPH DILLON (4 years), PATRICK DILLON (6 years), EION MacTURLOUGH (15 years), Military Detention Barracks, Curragh Camp, Kildare, Ireland.

SOUTHERN AFRICA:

WHITE RACISTS WHISTLE A NEW TUNE

By Chris Knight

THIS TIME last year, the white rulers of Rhodesia were speaking confidently of retaining their privileges for decades. Now, suddenly, the world seems to be collapsing round their heads.

The revolution in Portugal last April changed everything. The new Portuguese government has already ceded independence to Mozambique, where a "Frelimo" regime now rules. (Although formal independence is to be proclaimed only on 25 June, 1975.) Mozambique borders on South Africa, and contains the ports and railways on which Rhodesia depends for her economic survival.

On the other side of southern Africa is Angola. Here too, the former Portuguese colonial regime is crumbling and must soon give way to a black nationalist government. This will make South Africa's northern borders almost indefensible in any sustained guerilla war, and render Rhodesia's position impossible.

Three facts

South Africa's premier, Dr. Vorster is no fool. In relation to Mozambique, he sees three facts. Firstly, fifty percent of South Africa's trade is conducted through the Mozambique port of Lourenco-Marques. Secondly, the gold mines of South Africa are almost wholly dependent on imported migrant labour. A quarter of the entire work force is imported yearly from Mozam-



IAN SMITH

bique. Thirdly, South Africa needs the electric power which is to come from the almost completed massive Cabora Bassa dam project in Mozambique.

On the other hand, Rhodesia has no economic importance to South Africa at all. On the contrary, since UDI in November 1965, it has been nothing but a drain on resources, taking up transport facilities and a number of imports to evade and offset the effects of the sanctions imposed by the United Nations. If the new Mozambique government were simply to cut Rhodesia's rail link with the port of Beira, which carries eighty percent of its trade, the burden would become intolerable.

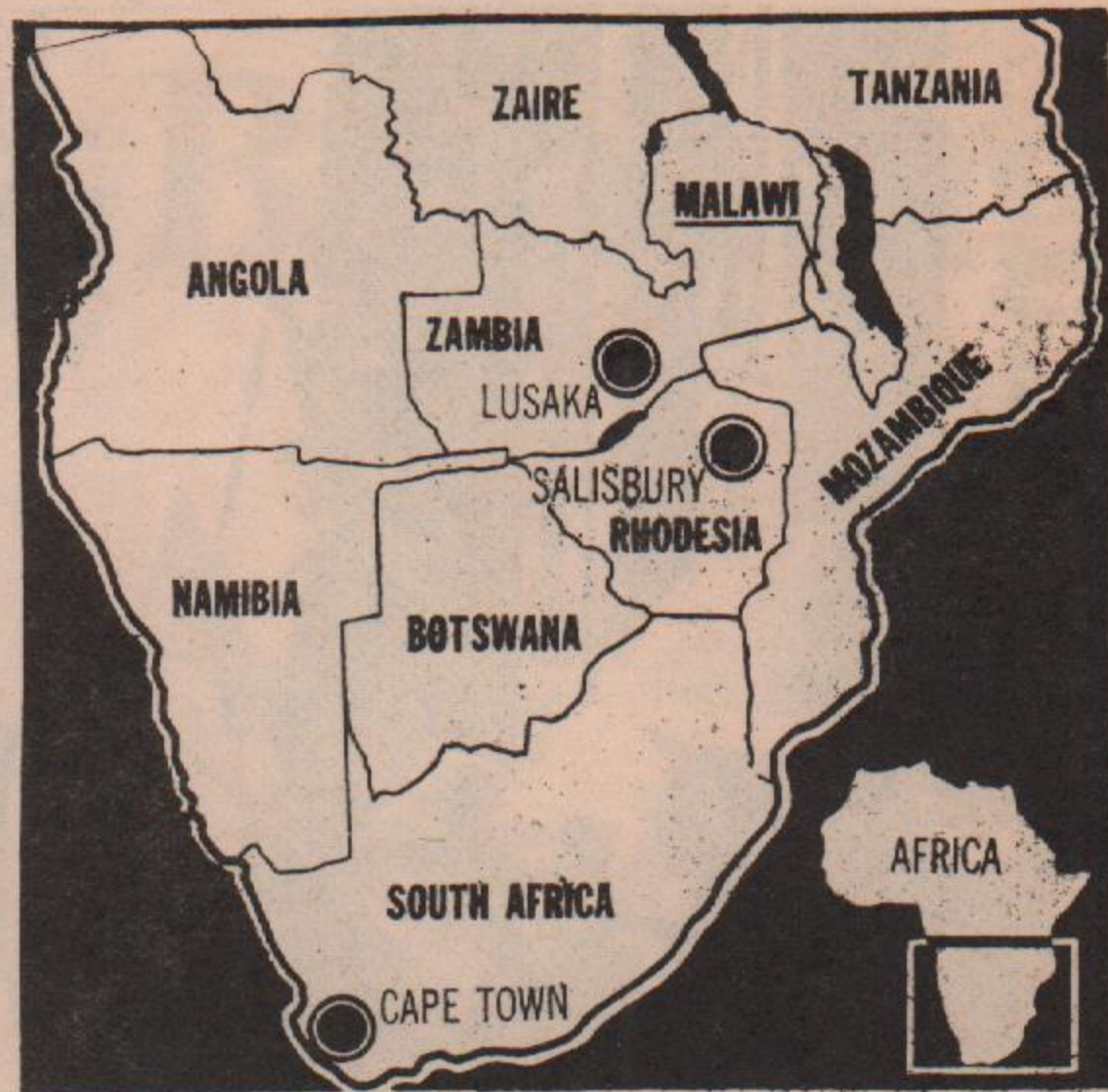
Seeing that the balance of power throughout the area has decisively changed, Vorster is

preparing to ditch his old friends and seek new ones. White rule in Rhodesia, in his view, has got to go. Then the way could be opened to an understanding with the black regimes in the area.

Conference

All this explains the extraordinary conference held in Lusaka, Zambia, early in December. Rhodesia's premier Ian Smith sat down to talks not only with the heads of the black states of Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana, but also with two so-called 'terrorists' whom he had just released for the occasion from long term detention in Rhodesia: Joshua Nkomo and the Reverend Sithole, leaders of the Zimbabwe black nationalist movements ZAPU and ZANU respectively. When, some days later, it was announced that the talks had, after all, ended in deadlock, Mr. Vorster issued a statement almost "demanding" an agreement! "The alternative", he said in fear, "is too ghastly to contemplate." On 11 December, an "agreement" was announced: a "constitutional conference" of black and white Rhodesians is to be held "without any preconditions," while Ian Smith has already released the imprisoned nationalist leaders and their followers in exchange for a ceasefire in guerilla operations against his regime.

The conference is certain to end in a complete deadlock. But



merely to have agreed to such a conference shows the plight Ian Smith is in. This in turn will encourage the Rhodesian black population to step up their efforts to throw off white racist rule once and for all.

Pledge

In Britain, the Labour government's manifesto of October 1974 contained a clear pledge "to support the liberation movements of southern Africa". This pledge must be fulfilled. The military victories of the black guerilla movements in Angola and Mozambique, by helping spark off the revolution in Portugal and altering the balance of power throughout southern Africa, have already increased the possibilities of avoiding a bloodbath. But still, the black regimes which are taking shape are far from socialist. Our movement's real hope remains in South Africa, itself, with its enormously powerful black working class. Each victory against white racist rule in southern Africa brings nearer the day when this working class will rise up, conquer state power and lead the rest of the continent behind it.

Israel isolated as war danger grows

by Geoff Bender

THE STEPPING up of Israeli air-attacks on the Palestinian refugee camps surrounding Beirut stems from Israel's weakness not its strength.

The immense power in the hands of Arab leaders to threaten the shaky economies of Western Europe and the U.S. by their control of oil prices and the re-investment of petro-dollars has served to isolate Israel from her traditional European and American backers. On the strength of this new bargaining power Palestinian Liberation Organisation leader, Yassir Arafat was allowed to address the UN General Assembly. Over 80 member states had voted to discuss the Palestinian question as a matter of national liberation. However, despite this diplomatic success the cause of Palestinian

people cannot be won in the assemblies of the UN.

Meanwhile the Arab states under their reactionary feudal and bureaucratic leaders and the Zionist state are preparing for a new war. Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid-al-Sahl has made an appeal to other Arab states for arms, to counter Israeli raids while refusing arms to the P.L.O. President Sadat, of Egypt, whilst still hoping for some deal with U.S. imperialism, is preparing for war. Already Israel's Defence Minister Shimon Peres claims Egypt has violated the ceasefire by transferring more than permitted numbers of tanks and artillery to the Sinai side of the canal.

Israel has also been making war preparations. Right-wing Israeli General Ariel Sharon has been recalled to a top position in the reserve—and arms are being poured in from U.S. sources. The decisions of the USSR to allow emigration to Palestine also constitutes a threat to the Arabs remaining in areas occupied since June 1967. UN attempts to secure the compromise solution of a West Bank Arab State based on these territories—suicide for the Palestinian's cause—has met with refusal from Zionist Prime Min-



SMOKE RISING OVER BEIRUT AFTER ISRAELI JET RAID

ister Yitzhak Rabin who has warned that the only place he will meet the P.L.O is "on the battlefield". Israel favours the return of these territories to King Hussein of Jordan.

Both Israel and the semi-feudal Arab regimes have in the past benefitted from war. Israel, by binding its population together through the Zionist organisations (the Jewish Agency, the Histadrut and the military) under the threat of an external enemy, has minimised class conflict within Israel's borders. However the recent riots following the massive devaluation of Israeli currency and the pro-Palestinian upheaval in the occupied areas opens the way for a unity of the oppressed Palestin-

ians and the oriental Jews against the Zionist state.

Arab states too have attempted to achieve social peace by national war. As the fantastic wealth of the Arab sheikdoms of the Gulf, the Baathist regimes in Iraq and Syria, and nationalist Egypt and Lebanon is once again poured out for weapons of destruction, there too the possibility will exist for class splits to ripen into open revolt.

The tasks for socialists in the coming war is the military defeat of Israel. Only on that basis can the unity of Jewish and Arab workers, in struggle against imperialism and all reactionary regimes in the Middle East, can be achieved.



ARAFAT ADDRESSING THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

WHO ARE THEY TRAVELLING WITH?

Radical Research Services pamphlet

HOW THE CIA BACKED LABOUR'S RIGHT WING



STONEHOUSE



HEALEY



CROSLAND

FOR PEOPLE fighting for socialism in the Labour Party, the most disturbing thing about the "Stonehouse affair" is not how many false passports the wayward MP travelled on, but the life he was leading. What honest representative of the labour movement would be spending his time up to his eyeballs in shady business ventures and flitting from one night-club to another? Whether or not Stonehouse was working for the American Central Intelligence Agency, as has been alleged, he has certainly put in sterling service as a hatchet man for the right-wing in the London Co-op for example.

CIA fronts

What may not be widely known and what this excellent new pamphlet tells us, is that not so long ago, many of the leading figures in the Labour Party were working away in CIA front organisations. After World War II, in the wake of the Nazi defeat, it was a priority of the US government to ensure "friendly" regimes in western Europe which would keep the working class in their place and hold the "Communist threat" at bay. An important means of doing this was the subversion and penetration of the labour movement. In

Germany, for instance, the Social Democratic Party and trade unions were "reconstructed" under US/CIA guidance, (Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is a one-time CIA blue-eyed boy). Much of this was done through Jay Lovestone's American Institute for Free Labour Development, a branch of the American trade union movement.

book review



by Martin Cook

The British Labour Party had a lot of prestige and influence at this time and later. The right-wing were grouped (still are in fact) around a magazine called "Socialist Commentary", which has never suffered from lack of funds, despite its scant influence amongst the party rank-and file. Involved in this were people like Anthony Crosland, Denis Healey and Hugh Gaitskell. They were determined to steer Labour away from anything resembling socialist policies, and towards uncritical support of United States

foreign policy. They also worked closely with journals in France, Germany and America, and organisations such as the "Congress for Cultural Freedom" and HRH Prince Bernhard's "Bilderburg Group", all of which are known to have been funded by the CIA. (Today, the CIA are more subtle, and work through "charities" like the Ford Foundation.)

Through these channels the Labour "revisionists" could spread their ideas about the "end of the class struggle" and how socialism was no longer relevant. Apart from endless articles in "Socialist Commentary", "Encounter", "New Leader" etc, this involved periodic conferences and seminars around the world, all expenses paid. The aim of all this was to contact up-and-coming politicians, intellectuals and union leaders, especially in the "Third World", who could be won to a "pro-Western" line.

Campaign

In 1960, as Richard Fletcher's article documents, the "Campaign for Democratic Socialism" was set up to "save" the Labour Party for Hugh Gaitskell after it had voted against nuclear weapons. Leading figures in this included Dick Taverne. Despite having no paid-up members, it

was able (unlike the left!) to afford several full-time workers and a massive propaganda campaign, which was successful.

The "European Movement", from which groups like the "Labour Committee for Europe" sprang, was also set up with American money.

Revelations

The pamphlet shows to what lengths imperialism will go (as in Chile) to subvert left-wing movements and governments. Recent revelations on CIA activity in the trade unions here confirms this. Nowadays, the Crosland-Healey-Jenkins wing is quite isolated in the Labour Party, but these people still have leading positions in the government. We have a right to ask: How many Labour leaders are still involved in organisations which receive CIA cash? Does this help explain the pro-American policies of successive governments? Further, we must ask, what are the Labour Party and Labour government doing to investigate and prevent CIA infiltration?

*"Who are they travelling with?" Published by Radical Research Services. Price 25p +5p postage. Obtainable from Brixton Books, 82 Loughborough Rd. London SW9

VIETNAM: N.L.F. LAUNCH NEW OFFENSIVE

by Clive Pullinger

THE NATIONAL Liberation Front (NLF) and North Vietnamese armies launched an offensive at the beginning of December. They have achieved some important military gains including the seizure of several district towns in Puncoc Long and Hung Long provinces. The campaign has been supported along the Laotian border by Pathet Lao and 'rebel' CIA-raised Special Forces.

The fraudulent Paris 'ceasefire' of 1972 has been all but forgotten. In fact since the withdrawal of US troops the casualty rate has increased.

Although a number of US 'military advisors' remain the absence of any significant force to back up the South Vietnamese Army (ARVN) should have paved the way for an all out victory by the liberation forces in Indo-China. Indeed, this would have been so had it not been for the willingness of the Stalinist leaders in Moscow and Peking to hold back the revolution which is an embarrassment to them at a time of 'detente' with US imperialism.

The recent successes (and any future victory) are due to the deteriorating state, economically, politically and militarily of the Thieu regime. They are in no

way due to the efforts of the leaders of the world 'Communist' movement but in spite of them.

In a new book, Brigadier Serong, an Australian who has spent twelve years in Vietnam, says that the Thieu regime is close to defeat with no stockpile of ammunition and no reserves for the thinly spread army. Inflation is raging at 70% each year reducing soldiers' wages to subsistence level. In the autumn Thieu dismissed three or four corps commanders, a close advisor and other ministers following opposition to him from an 'anti-corruption' movement.

President Ford, with the economic recession worsening and the opposition of the American working class to the policies pursued in Vietnam by Johnson and Nixon, is not in a position to easily, if at all, send troops.

The Stalinist idea of a 'peaceful' settlement with the Thieu government is a criminal betrayal. If the USSR and China were to provide the NLF with adequate military supplies a victory would be certain.

Such a victory—which would no doubt result in an extension of the North Vietnamese bureaucratic workers state with a war crippled economy—would be a victory for the world working class as well. This opportunity must not be lost.

COMMON MARKET continued from page 1

The Common Market is in deep crisis. The governments of its European members are as anxious as Harold Wilson that Britain remains a member. They realise that British withdrawal would be the beginning of the end for the Common Market, and are clearly prepared to make limited concessions to Wilson to enable him to recommend a 'Yes' vote.

Special Conference

These plans must be stopped now. Labour Party conference has called for a special Party Conference to determine Labour's line at a referendum. This must be held. CONFERENCE AND CONFERENCE ALONE MUST DECIDE. Until it has, Harold

Wilson and James Callaghan have absolutely no right to speak on behalf of the Labour movement.

Socialist Europe

The 'Chartist' has consistently opposed the EEC because it is part of the attack on the working class. But we refute the idea—which Benn shares—that Britain can 'go it alone'. It is no alternative to the Common Market to beat the nationalist drum, ape the right wing Tories and pretend there can be any road forward for British Labour in an isolated Britain. Our future—the future of organised Labour—is with Europe. Not with their bankers, industrialists and financiers in the EEC, but with the organised working class in Italy, France and Germany. The fight for the unity of the European working class, for a United Socialist States of Europe, must proceed from the fight AGAINST the Common Market. That fight begins NOW.

- * NO to the Common Market! Withdraw irrespective of terms!
- * In the event of a referendum, call a special Labour Party Conference. Vote NO!
- * For European workers' unity. For a Congress of European Workers' Organisations to fight against the Common Market, and for a United Socialist States of Europe.



Islington Tenants Campaign— PREBBLES STRIKE BACK



NINE MEMBERS of the Islington Tenants Campaign face legal action for damages, following the recent High Court injunction stopping them picketing the premises of a North London firm of estate agents, Prebbles.

In the early 1960's Islington's population was predominantly working class, many housed in multi-occupation large privately rented houses in an appalling state of disrepair. Then the take-over began. Today in the formerly working class areas, in particular Barnsbury and Canonbury, stand renovated Victorian and Georgian houses occupied by wealthy middle class families.

Harassment

The story of what happened to the original tenants has given Islington notoriety. The houses filled with their tenants were bought by estate agents and property speculators. Every conceivable means was used to budge the tenants, from open eviction, to harassment and bribery. The properties were then sold with vacant possession at a substantial profit or converted, often with an improvement grants from the local Council and then sold. A house bought for £4,000 in 1964 is now worth between £40,000 - £60,000. Prebbles was an estate agent with one of the most ruthless records.

The Islington Tenants Campaign was formed early in 1974 to or-

ganise activities against property speculators and estate agents and to campaign for the better management of private tenanted property, as well as lobby the local Council on housing policy and give support to individual tenants in harassment situations. The Islington Trades Council is affiliated to the Campaign, which has also received resolutions of support from local Labour parties and trade unions.

As part of its activities, the Campaign picketed the offices of Prebbles. The picket was non-violent and involved the handing of leaflets to passers-by and potential clients of Prebbles. But Prebbles brought an action for damages on the grounds of loss of business against nine of the members of the Campaign and sought an injunction to stop the picket.

Picketing

The High Court decision to grant the injunction effectively means a stop to all non-trade union organisations picketing in defence of their living conditions. Already several pickets have been arrested and charged since the injunction was granted. The decision is to those organisations what the Taff Vale case was to the trade union movement. Although picketing by trade unions for industrial purposes has since become legal, the decision, nevertheless, has serious implications should a trade union wish to



picket for other purposes.

On Saturday mornings since the High Court decision in November, demonstrators have continued to gather outside Prebbles offices. Allegations of brutality against demonstrators have been levelled at the police and the Islington Tenants Campaign says it has video-tapes to prove the accusations.

All Labour Parties, Trade Unions branches and Trades Councils should send resolutions of support to the Islington Tenants Campaign, c/o 196 Liverpool Road, N.1. and those in London are urged to join the demonstration on Saturday mornings outside Prebbles office in Upper Street, Islington.

Anti-fascist jailed in Leeds

by Graham Durham

AT LEEDS Crown Court on 6 December, Ian Coleman, a Sheffield student and member of the International Marxist Group was jailed for 18 months after being found guilty of assaulting two policemen. The charges arose from an incident outside Leeds Town Hall in June when over 200 anti-fascists successfully prevented a meeting of the fascist National Democratic Freedom Movement from taking place.

Two other anti-fascists were fined a total of £150 while two members of the NDFM were fined a total of £75. The behaviour of the Leeds police in defending the fascists is a continuation of similar police action such as the attack on anti fascists at Red Lion Square in June which resulted in the death of Kevin Gately.

Although the Labour council in Leeds banned the NDFM from using council property, this is not enough. A campaign for a total ban on all fascist organisations by Labour councils and the Labour government must be waged.

Messages of support and donations to fines can be sent to: Leeds Anti-Fascist Committee, c/o 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2.

Meanwhile the National Front have decided to stand a candidate in a council bye election in the Burley area of Leeds. This is the first fascist candidate to stand in Leeds since the war. South East Leeds YS has produced a leaflet exposing the policies of the National Front for use in the election. In addition, Burley Labour Party are to hold a one-day conference against racialism to strengthen resistance to fascist propaganda within the area.

£300 FIGHTING FUND

A final effort of £103 in December enabled us to surpass our target of £300 by the new year. We collected £319. Contributions included:

AM(POEU) £2
PF(EETPTU) £1
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DS/RS (TGWU) £1
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We thank all our readers for helping us reach the target. To maintain and improve the Chartist we hope our readers will continue to send contributions for our next target of £300 in the next 6 months. Contributions to Chartist Publications: 82 Loughborough Road, London, S.W.9.

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PUBLIC MEETINGS

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

SOUTHWARK TRADES council are holding a public meeting on Women's Rights on Friday 24 January. The meeting is sponsored by RACS Education Committee and South London Working Women's Charter Group.

Speakers

Marie Patterson: Chairwoman TUC
Tess Gill: National Council Civil Liberties
May Hobbs: Cleaners' Action Group

The Red Ladder Workers' Theatre will be performing the play "A Woman's Work is Never Done".

The meeting is to be held at Rachael McMillan Teachers Centre, 83 New Kent Rd, at 7.15p.m

Hopefully, the meeting will result in a campaign involving women, both as workers and housewives, in the fight for equal job opportunity and pay, and for better social facilities such as contraception and abortion on demand, nursery and creche facilities and longer maternity leave.

Regional Rally Sunday 26 January at Manchester.

"BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND"

2.30 Barnes Wallis Building, UMIST.

Speakers:

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Ernie Roberts AUEW (pers. cap)
Eamonn McCann
Alastair Renwick (TOM)

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